MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARIKH

BY

‘ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONI

VOLUME I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

AND EDITED BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting this translation of the first volume of Badāoni's *Muntakha῾u-t-tawārikh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English: and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badāoni's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception
been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet; if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance.

قدیر جوهر جهوری

Calcutta:
July 18th, 1898.

GEORGE RANKING.

For a life of Badaoni reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann.

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following:


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2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mulūk Shāh Bādānī, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muḥammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A.D.). This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A)

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library. This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muḥammad Nāṣim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.
TRANSLATION

OF THE منتقب التواريح OF AL-BADAONI.¹

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Oh thou ² from whose name spring all other names,
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,
No foot remained shod, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world! with this unprofitable soul of mine which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,³ in what way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and dogs, how can I chant thy eulogy.

How can the miserable dust proclaim the Unity of God.
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the root of search limps feebly in this unknown road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of speech always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,⁴ what my tongue speaks are but particles—(and therefore unintelligible).
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my tongue.

¹ Al-Badaoni. Vide Preface.
² This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are commenced.
³ منزل ديوان شدة.
⁴ حرف that which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-existing state or object, opposed to حرفين. Particles, which alone convey no intelligible meaning—حرف also signifies a letter which is also per se meaningless.
This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the cloak of meditation on men and regions should open the eye of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works and unfading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality, should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the Unity of God, so that I may see with the eye of certainty — nay more that I may recognize that

In thy excellence there is no room for duality, Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the praise of that chieftain whose name is "praised" whose end is lauded;

is of two kinds, which is a thing's being preceded by non-existence, and which is a thing's being dependent upon another for its existence. Vide Lane, art 1.

Lit. Collar or hood.

Cf. Qur'an xli. 53 we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves.

The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islam. Say. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begetteth not, nor is begotten—and there is none like unto him. Qur'an—Sura-ul-Ikhlas.

That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellence Cf. Qur'an xxvii. 61.

Is there a God with God? Nay! but they are a people who make peers with him.

See also Sura vi. 1. Also the Sura quoted in note 3.

Muhammad—the literal meaning of which is "Praised." He was thus named by his grandfather 'Abdul-Muttalib, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraish to which he belonged, said, "I wish that God who has created the child on earth may be glorified in heaven" and he called the child Muhammad. Vide Hughes, Dictionary of Islam Art, "Muhammad."
Lord of the promised fountain,¹ and of the praise which is on every tongue² (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies gracefully upon his noble figure, and the proclamation³ and stamp of undiminishable power and glorious sovereignty of-right belongs to his exalted name.

The monarch of Arabia of whom the world is a manifestation,
The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name.
He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason had no shadow⁴
To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless⁵ praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth-perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalifahs⁶ (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth⁷ risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

¹ M.S. (A) has, &c. حوض كُوُنُر و وَرِد مُورُد سَلِى — a river in Paradise.
² كُوُنُرُ أَنَّ إِلَهَيْنَا كُوُنُرُ literally means "abundance."
³ مورود
⁴ خطبة وسكة.
⁵ The coronation ceremony of Muhammedan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the kuftha and issuing coin (sikka) stamped with his name.
⁶ Muhammed was said to have no shadow.
⁷ Thousands upon thousands.

⁶ خلفاء راشدين The four immediate successors of Muhammed, Abú Bakr, A. H. 11. ʿUmar, A. H. 13. ʿUgmán, A. H. 23. ʿAlí, A. H. 35, acknowledged by the Sunnīs. The first three of these are rejected by the Shiʿas who hold that ʿAlí was the first legitimate Khalīfah.

⁷ Cf. Qurán xxvii-S1. تَوَكَّلَ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّهُ لَا يَضُرُّ إِلَيْهِ شَيْئًا "Rely then upon God. Verily thou art standing on obvious truth."
of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.¹

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muhammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism, and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and "a-healing and a mercy for the worlds," ² becomes a cause of misery.

¹ The sacred law. Cf. Qurán v. 52
² For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law is always called At-Taurát (Hebrew almart.)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán is divisible into five sections—beliefs—moralities—devotions—transactions—punishments. Cf. Kashahaf. Istilabat-ul-Funún, art ⁴

² Qurán xvii. 84. And we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers. Vide also Qurán xli. 44.
and everlasting loss "and if they are not guided by it they say—"this is an antiquated lie." ¹

If this is the case with the Qurán ² what chance has History?

"When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,³ He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony."

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who deny all principle, fundamental or derivative, ⁴ because such men are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one absolutely refuse to admit a science which is one-seventh of the

¹ Qurán xlv. 10. In the original we read—لا تعلق هملاً تغلب الأسود In both this and the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Qurán.

² I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase تاقي رفع جه رصد.

³ مالاخبوليا. The orthography of this word is مالخوليا. (The shrift في هووجن) gives the etymology the black humour, but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease. Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The Baḥr al-Jawādīh says إنما يقول مالخوليا لما كان حديثه عن السوداء غير بغطوة وهو تغير الظنون والفكران أنجري الطبيبي إلى الفاسد واخروف لوزوج سودارت يروح الروح. It is only called "mālikhūliq", where it is the result of (the humour called) "Saudā" (black bile) which is not inflammatory. It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind.

⁴ The two chief divisions of علم اللفقة Jurisprudence. According to the Iṣlāḥat-ul-Funūn the ٍ分校 of the soul and of all that appertains thereto, thus including all theological science; (Kashshāf Iṣlāḥat-ul-Funūn art. cf. al Ashbāh wal Nāgār by Zainul Abīdīn bin Najīm, (H. K.774)

i.e. Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident.
seven sections upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

"And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts" tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhárí and Qází Baízáwí up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthraling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Sára xv. 87.

being plural of repeating or reiterated. The number seven relates to the mansúls or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also Tásír ul Baízáwí.

Qurán xi. 121. This quotation is correctly given.

Háﬁz Aḥád Abdullah Muḥammad ibn Aḥísar Isma’íl ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al-Ahnaf Yezdíbah, or Yezdezbah according to Ibn Mákúla a Mâulâ of the tribe of Jáfi. (Slane Ibn Khaliq, ii. 585.) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islam.

He was the author of Saḥíb-ul-Bukhárí, a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhárí is given. He was born A.H. 194 and died A.H. 256, and was buried at the village of Kharqang near Samarqand leaving no male issue. The is held in great esteem by Muslims.

Qázi Náṣir ud-Din Abul Khair Abdullah Baízáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muḥammad, was born at Baízá, a village of Shiráz, and was appointed Chief Qázi. He was the author of many works, among others Algháyátul jîl fijh. Sharḥ ul-Masábîh wa’l mañähij. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called Ansâra-t-tanáîl. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shiráz. See also De Sacy: Anth: Gram: Arab: notes on Baízáwí, p. 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol. xi., 252 and note.
recognised constructions\textsuperscript{1} and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition.

"When the crow\textsuperscript{2} becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction."

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration. And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetype which has neither head nor root, its pages are a confused record, and in each page there is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands.

This ancient Sháhnáma relates the affairs of the kings of the world.

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection.

\textsuperscript{1} حمل is the plural from حمل, an inf. e.g. حملة. حمل

He put the best construction upon it, namely a saying (Lane, s.v. حمل.)

\textsuperscript{2} The Arab proverb runs thus:

"He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs."

The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the Arabs say爬上 the crow. More ill-omened than a crow.

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say also عَرَب الْبَيْنُ The raven (or crow) of separation.
The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with madness of the brain.
But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has deceived.

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind, 'Abdul Qâdir ibn Mâlik Shâh BADâoni (may God erase his name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 9991 in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency, the Khâliqâh of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhi 2 when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmir 3 which, by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable doctors of India had translated from the Hindi into Persian, yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metropolis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islâm to the time of writing, in a concise manner,—

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the central point* (of Islâm).
that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

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1 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)
2 The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badâoni "to make translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu'jamu-l-Buldân, Jâmiu-r-Rashidi, and the Râmâyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478.)
3 Said to have been translated from the original Hindi by Mullah Shah Muhammed Shâhâbâdâ — but not apparently the Râjâ-tarangini, for the translation of that work is usually attributed to Maulânâ Imád-ud-dîn. Cf. Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—footnote 1.
* Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic phrase is السَوَّاد الاعظم مِنَ المَسلمين The collective body of the Muslims.

Vide Lane Art. سواد.
might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying —

"These ancient pages of the sky whose beauty the stars are, Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies excel the stars in number,"

it may be that from the perusal of this book a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a cause of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted; and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexatious annoyance used to shew itself, helps being few and hindrances many; moreover by reason of fresh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place.

"Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof."

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends; accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts, until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the Tārīkh i Nizāmī which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paradise.

**1.** در حِرِّتَن عربِی‌ی وَ نسِبِی‌ی می ای‌نِا. Lit. used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on.

**2.** Khwájá Nízámú-d-dín Aḥmad, son of Khwájá Maqíím Haráwí díwán of the household of Bábá, is said in the Zakhkhrátu-l-Qawání (E.D. v. 178) to have been appointed díwán of Akbar's household. He was subsequently appointed bakhshí of the province of Gujrát.

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author Tabaqát-i Akbar-sháhí by which title Badaóni himself also styles the work. Its name is also known as Tabaqát-
"He has departed—I too follow him.  
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, 
has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberal-
ity, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of 
the chequered 1 hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed 
my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that 
there is now bygone event which has not left something for the 
present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat 
He leaves the sparrow’s portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the 
circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan 
from the Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī 3 and the Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh of Nizāmī 3 which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

1 7. 2

i-Akbari. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178.)

Nizāmu-d-dīn died in 1003 A. H., 1594 A. D. From the author’s preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Nizāmu-d-dīn. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Nizāmu-d-dīn’s decease.

1 see Lane, Art. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return and . The days.

2 This work was written by Yahyā ibn-Aḥmad ibn-‘Abdullah Sirhindī according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubārak Shāh. It commences with the reign of Muḥammad Sām, founder of the Ghori dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultān Sayyid Muḥammad, 853 A. H.—(1448 A. D.).

3 This must be the work already referred to, i. e., the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari although the name Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh is generally restricted to the work by Baɣawī (vide Elliot and Dowson II. pp. 252-253.) Its date is about 674 H. (1275 A. D.)
imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh. I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islam, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge.

"And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,
With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of the crow."

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with his universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it.

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,
And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong.

And since the first of the Emperors of Islam who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustán—(after Mahomed Qásim, 1

1 This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson, v. 477) specially given to a history by Harun ibn-Muhammad al-Kháki ash-Shirázi, completed A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D). The work of Badáni is known better as Tárikh-i-Badáni.

2 There is a play on the words َلْيَرْسَى wrong and َلْيَلْتَرَى tongue which cannot be preserved in translation.

3 The incidents of Muḥammad Qásim’s engagements and victories are related in the Chach Náma, extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol. i. pp. 131-211.) See also Futáh-i-Buldán of Al-Biláguri (E. and D. i. 113). His full name was Muḥammad ibn-Qásim ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Hakim ibn-Abi ‘Uqail, and he was sent during the Khalífat of Walid ibn-Abdul Malik 705-715 A.D., to command on the frontiers of Sind. (E. and D. Al-Biláguri Vol. i. p. 119.)

See also E. and D. Vol. i. Appendix 432, &c.
cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj-ibn-Yúsuf Ṣaqqí, who in the year, 93 A.H., (711 A.D.), conquered the countries of Sind, Múltán and Gujrát, and, by the order of Walíd ibn-'Abd al-Malik Marwání who on an important occasion wrote to him from Damascus and summoned him to his presence, starting from Oudypur in India, and wrapping himself in a raw hide, while on his journey yielded up his life to God, and after him the affairs of Islám in that

1 Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥajjáj was son of Yúsuf-ibn al Ḥakam ibn-‘Uqail ibn-Masúd ibn Aumir ibn Miṣṭṭib ibn Músík ibn Ka‘b, ibn ‘Amr ibn Sa‘d ibn ‘Abd ibn Qassí (called also Ṣaqqí). He was governor of Irák and Khorásán for ‘Abd al-Malik ibn-Marwán (692-705 A.D.) and was confirmed in that office by Walíd ibn Abdul-Malik (705-715 A.D.) For an account of him see I. K. (Slané) l. 356 and seqq. He founded the city of Wásit between Baṣra and Kufa (75 A.H.) He died on 21st Ramazán A.H. 95, at the age of fifty-four and was buried at Wásit. Ibn Khalliqán states, “His malady was a cancer in the stomach for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it: God gave also a cold ague power over him and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin he felt them not. (I.K. Slané loc. cit.).

He was a brutal ruler, and at his death it was said in thanksgiving “O my God! thou hast caused him to die: let his example also die from among us.”

“The tribe of Ṣaqqí was a great and well-known-tribe dwelling at Ta‘if, who before their conversion to Islám were devoted to the special worship of the idol Lát; the founder of the tribe was Qassí (called also Ṣaqqí) whose descent from Ma‘dá is supported by two different genealogies.” (Cassius de Perceval, Hist. des Arabes, i. 272). After refusing to hear the prophet in a personal appeal made to them, they made war against him, but eventually embraced Islám in 630 A.H., shortly after the return of Muḥammad to Medina.

2 Walíd ibn-Abdul Malik Marwání, became Khalifah in the year 86 A. H. and died in the year 96 A. H. His father was his predecessor in the Khalifate, his name was ‘Abdul Malik ibn-Marwán whence Walíd is called Marwání. It was during the Khalifate of Abdul Malik that al-Ḥajjáj pulled down the Ka‘bah and restored it to the condition in which it was in the time of As Suyútí. Walíd was ignorant, despotic and tyrannical, but withal discharged the duties of Khalif well, he built the mosque of Damascus and during his Khalifate many foreign conquests were achieved. (See Jarrett’s translation of As Suyútí’s Tārikh-1-Khulafá, pp. 227-230.)

The incident in the text relates to the vengeance taken for their father’s death by the two virgin daughters of Rajá Dáhir, who were taken captive when he was killed at the siege of the fort of Ráwar, 93 A. H. Muḥammad Qásim had sent them to Baghádád under the charge of his negro slaves.
country lost all order) were Nāṣiru-d-dīn Subuktitīn¹ whose son was Sūltān Mahmūd Ghaznavī who every year used to make incursions into India with the object of plundering and engaging in religious warfare, and in the reign of whose sons Lahore be-

When they were summoned before the Khalīfah Walīd ibn-Abdul Malik, he became enamoured of them and desired to retain them. They however assured him that Muhammad Qāsim had kept them with himself for three days before sending them to the Khalīfah and that consequently they were not worthy to become his concubines. Walīd being very indignant wrote a letter commanding Muhammad Qāsim at whatever place he might have arrived when he received the mandate, to suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the Capital. Muhammad Qāsim received the letter at "Udāfār" (Oodyápūr) obeyed its orders and was brought before the Khalīfah dead.

The Khalīfah taking a bunch of green myrtle in his hand, showed the corpse to Dāhir's two daughters, who thereupon told him that they had falsely represented the facts in order to be revenged on the slayer of their father. They were accordingly by his order "enclosed between walls." (Elliott and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 210-211, Appendix 437, Ain-i-Akbarī, Vol. II. 345, and footnote). Muhammad Qāsim was succeeded in the sovereignty of Sind by the descendants of the Banū Tamīm Anṣārī from whom it passed to the Sunnī Rājpūts.

¹ "In A. H. 107 (A. D. 725-26) under the Khalīfate of Hishām b-Abdul, Maliq Amin b-Abdūllāh Kasshri, governor of Khurāsān, conquered Ghor Ghurjistān, the territory of Nimroz and Kābul, and made the latter his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyāh and Abbās it was held by the governor of Khurāsān until under the Sāmānīs, Alptīgīn, a slave of that house, withdrew from their obedience took possession of Ghaznī and Kābul and asserted his independence. On his death Subuktitīn, father of the great Mahmūd, succeeded to the kingdom and it continued under the house of Ghaznī."

I have quoted this verbatim from Jarrett's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari Vol. II. p. 414, because it shows in a few words the changes which occurred during the period intervening between Muhammad Qāsim and Subuktitīn.

Nāṣiru-d-dīn Subuktitīn is affirmed by historians to have been a Tūr by descent who was brought by a merchant as a boy to Bukhārā where he was sold to Alptīgīn, who from being governor of Khurāsān had by revolt against Maḥnūr (A. H. 351) established his sovereignty over Ghaznī.

Subuktitīn some fifteen years later married the daughter of Alptīgīn and was acknowledged king by the chief of Ghaznī, Alptīgīn having died two years previously, during which period his son Abā Iḥṣāq was governor till his death. He then became founder of the Ghaznīvide Dynasty or the Kings of Lahore. (See Briggs Ferištā, Vol. I. pp. 11-96,) also (Elliott and Dowson, Vol. VI. 207-221.) See also Tubaḍē-i-Nāširi (Raverty) page 70 and footnote.
came the seat of Government, so that Islám never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and lauded at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

**The Ghaznavide Dynasty.**

From Sulṭán Nāṣiru’d-dīn Subuktīgin to Khusran Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islám in Hindustán, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.). Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs.

**Sulṭán Nāṣiru’d-dīn Subuktīgin**

Was of Turki origin, the slave of Alptigín who was a servant of Amir Mansūr-ibn-Nūḥ Sámanī.¹ In the year 367 H. after the death of Abū Işḥāq, the son of Alptigín, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded² to the imperial throne in the city of Bust³ and raised the standard of conquest, and

1 The eighth prince of the Šamání dynasty who reigned 22 years (D'Herbelot).

The Šamání dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Sáman. It held sway over Khurasán and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhárá—from 279 A. H. to 305 A. H. See *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amir Abul Hīrš Mansūr died at Bukhárá 366 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qásim-i-Náḥ. (Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí, Raverty 44.) For an account of the Šamání dynasty, see D’Herbelot III. 193. Abū Işḥāq was appointed by Mansūr as governor of Ghaznīn upon the death of his father Alptigín in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, Alptigín died in 352 A. H. and Işḥāq in 355 A. H. upon the death of Işḥāq Balkáltīgin, the slave of Alptigín succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pirey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subuktīgin. (See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, pp. 71-73.)

² The *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that Subuktigín succeeded Alaptagín in Ghaznīn (Raverty pp. 46-74).

3 Bust, the capital of Zábulistán (vide Abul Feda II., ii. 201) which includes Kábul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yáḵūt from Zábul, grandfather of Rustain. (Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 408). “According to the Qínún Bust is situated in 91°33’ long; and 32°15’ lat; according to the Aṯwāl in 30° long. and 33° lat. Third climate [see Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II. 115, footnote 4] Chief
girding up the loins of energy and effort for foray and religious war, he invaded Hindustán on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Júd and having fought a severe battle with Jaipál who was the ruler of Hindustán, concluded peace with him. Jaipál, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghánát, the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amir Násiru-d-dín, the army of Jaipál suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustán. Thus Lamghánát came into the possession of Amir Násiru-d-dín, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name. Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amir Núh-ibn-Manşúr Sámání and was the means of procuring notable victories in Khurásán and the regions beyond the river. Finally in the month of Sha'bán of the year 387 A.H. (997 A.D.) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.

YAMÍNU-D-DAULAT SULTÁN MAHMÚD IBN NÁSIRU-D-DÍN GHANNAVÍ.

When Subuktigín, in the month of Sha'bán 387 H., while on the road to Ghaznín, receiving the summons of the Almighty place of the district of Bost. Bost is situated on the banks of the Hendmand and is part of Sijistán. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (Abul Fida II., ii. 108) Abul Fida further states that at Bost on the Hendmand (Helmund) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Irák. (II. 76).

1 The Koh-i-Júd: includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

2 Lamghánát. See Abul Fida II. ii. 201. According to the Lobáb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah. (See Abul Fida I. cccxlvi) Lamghánát. Long 104°50' Lat 34°3' Nis-i-Ahbari iii. 89.

3 The reading of the Áyd (Khutba) and striking the kák (aikka) that is the currency of the country, were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islám, and constituted a proclamation of their authority.

4 See History of the Caliphs As Sayúti (Jarrett) pp. 322-433.

5 Mawárí-un-nahr. Transoxiana.

According to Yaqút, in his Mushárák, Táran is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See Abul Fida “Transoxiana,” for a full account of the countries included under this name.

6 The eighth month of the Muḥammadan year.
responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'īl as his successor. When this news reached Maḥmūd who was the elder son of Subuktigin, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms: That Isma'īl should give up Ghaznīn to Maḥmūd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'īl refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Maḥmūd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'īl, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznīn for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'īl then came and had an interview with Maḥmūd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yaminu-d-Daulat Maḥmūd. After this a quarrel arose between Maḥmūd and Mansūr ibn-Nūh Sāmānī and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Nūh. Eventually Maḥmūd got the upper hand. The Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fā'iq and Baktūzūn, who engaged in contest with Maḥmūd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurāsān, of Ghaznīn, and the frontiers of Hindūstān came into the hands of Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zābul.

1 The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigin to nominate his younger son Isma'īl. The author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* ignores Isma'īl's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigin died in 357, and Maḥmūd succeeded according to Fanākātī in 358. It appears uncertain how long Isma'īl held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Maḥmūd in Ghaznī, represents his whole reign.

2 The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Maḥmūd against the nomination of Bak-Tūzūn to the governorship of Khurāsān (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 49, 50). Mansūr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fā'iq and Baktūzūn who then by agreement with Maḥmūd were to hold Merv and Nišāpūr. Shortly after this (in 358 A. H.), the Sāmānī dynasty came to an end after the defeat of 'Abd-ul-Malik by Ilāk-i-Nasr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp. 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 194).

Maḥmūd is related to have assumed the title of Sultan and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, *Coins of Kings of Ghaznī*, J. R. A. S. IX. 270. see also Elliott II. 480-481).

3 She was the daughter of Alptakin, governor of Ghaznīn, which is here meant by Zābul, the words "that is Qandahār" only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.
[that is to say Qandahár *] accordingly, he is called Mahmúd Zábuli—as Firdausí ¹ says:

The auspicious court of Mahmúd Zábuli is an ocean,
An ocean such that no shore can be found for it:
I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl
The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalifah of Baghdád Al-Qádirí billáhi 'Abbási. Ṣ Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amírú-l-Millat Yamínu-d-Daulat.

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Bálkh and Herát, and in 387 A.H., (997 A.D.) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses. 'Asjadi ³ composed the following qaṣída in honour of this expedition:

When the king of kings marched to Somnát ⁴
He made his own deeds the standard of miracles.

In the month of Shawwál, 391 A.H., (1000 A.D.) Mahmúd returned to Hindustán from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry,

¹ Firdausí. For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1, and Majma'ul Fuṣahá I. 382.
² Al-Qádirí billáhi Abú ʿAbdá Abúmad-ibn-Ishák ibn il Muqtadír was born in 336 A.H. His Khalifate lasted from 381 A. H. to 422, the year of his death, a period of forty-one years. As Suyúṭí quoting from Al-Khatíb says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character. (History of Caliphs (Jarrett, p. 431.)
³ Hakím Abú ʿNásir ʿAbdul ʿAzíz ibn-Mánsúr contemporary of Hakím Ansúr, Hakím Farrúkhí, and Hakím Firdúsí. He died in 432 A. H. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá, Vol. I. p. 340.) The qaṣída in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma'ul Fuṣahá, loc. cit. MS. (A) quotes them wrongly, MS. (B) is the same as the text which reads for ثقافة. 'Asjadi was a celebrated poet of Merv. The Tabaqát-i-Násiri gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansuri (p. 82, note 1).
⁴ Somnát. Situated according to the Qánán in 97° 10' long. and 22° 15' lat. Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India. Ibn-Said says that travellers often speak of it, and it forms part of Guzerá or the country of Lár. (See Bayley, History of Gujerá, p. 18, etc., Al-Ikhtíár Vol. II. (Jarrett) 246, etc. Abúl Feda II. i. 116.)

See also Albirúní India (Sachau) I. 205, and Index Somnáthā.
See also p. 27 of this volume, &c.
and reduced Pesháwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sultán Mahmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gháxís, among them a pearl necklace which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand dinárs,¹ and the necklets of the others too, on the same

¹ Note 1. Dinár.

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the Dinár, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name—

It was during the Khalifate of Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Sayúūdí gives the following account: "Yahyá-b-Bakayr narrates—

'I heard Malik say that the first who coined dinárs was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Musá'b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the dinár "Say, God is One." (Qur. ex.ii.) and on the reverse "there is no God but God;" and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, "Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith.'" (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, "say there is one God." This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit "there will reach you on our dinárs the mention of what you will not like." Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own dinárs which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D. 694.)

The origin of the word dinár is attributed to the Latin denarius the words fals and dirham being in the same way derived from follis and drachma. (Prinsep I. 19-246.)

The denarius, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½d, its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the drachma was at first as 8½ to 9½, but owing to a falling off in weight of the drachma they at one time were practically equal in value. The drachma was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the denarius among the Romans. Both these coins then, the dinár and the dirham, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another dinár mentioned in the Rája Tarangini and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman denarius aureus of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.
scale. This victory was won on Saturday, the 8th of Muḥarram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Maḥmūd proceeded to the fortress of Tabarhindah, which was the residence of Jaipāl, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muḥarram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznīn and proceeded to Hindūstān by way of Seistān and assaulted Bhāṭāia, which is in the vicinity of Multān. The Rājā of that place, Beji Rājī, fearing the punishment of the Sultān killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultān. Many Hindūs, more than one can number, were hurried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Maḥmūd took as spoil two-hundred and seventy elephants while Dāūd ibn-Naṣr, the renegade ruler of Multān, being reduced to submission by the Sultān, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand dirhams annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden dinār was double the weight of the silver dinār and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver dinār in terms of dināres of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Dāūd ibn Naṣr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishta (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the Aṣa-i-Akbarī (Siebmachmann I. p. 36) that "the Dinār is a gold coin weighing one misqāl, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but both the dirham and the misqāl were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.


1 Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muḥarram.

2 Tabarhindah. Firishta calls this Bātindah which is also the name given to Jaipāl's capital in a history of the Rājās of Jamū. As to the identity of this with Waihind, see Raverty's Tabaqdat-i-Akbarī, pp. 76-80 footnote; see Tiefenthaler's map, Vol. III. See also E. and D. H. 438.

5 MS. (A) has which is evidently an "improvement" on the author.

6 MS. (A) has Bhaṭa MS. (B) has Bhaṭa. The real name of this place is according to Elliott Bhera, which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see E and D., Vol. II., Appendix, pp. 439-440.

6 Grandson of Shaikh Hamīd Lodi, first ruler of Multān (Briggs, p. 40.)

Firishta says 20,000 golden dirams. According to the Aṣa-i-Akbarī, Vol. I. 35, the dirham is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishta (see note 1 p. 18).
As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultán, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmir, and the Sultán reached Multán by way of Hindustán.¹ Those events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán² king of Máwará an-Nahr.³ Sultán Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkís, pursued Súkhpál⁴ Nabsa, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Ali Sinjúrí but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagar⁵—which nowadays is known

¹ Firishta says by way of Batindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihind or Waihind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

² See Raverty Tabaqat-i-Nasírī, p. 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Bukhárá 10th Zí-Za’dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, footnote 9.

³ See also Briggs' Firishta, pp. 42-44.

⁴ Firishta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkhpál Nabsa. According to Elliott his name was Súkhpál-Nawásá Sháh, the name Nawásá denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App. 444.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge.

⁵ See also Elphinston, Hist. of India, p. 280.

⁶ This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tieffenhaller's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol 1, he says, "Cótgangra nommée aussi Nagar cett est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 34 and App. 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Saktí or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."
as the Thána of Bhim—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhim, and—in the early part of the year 400 H. he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and incomputable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne that the people might gaze on it. In the year 401 H. (1010 A.D.) he left Ghaznín and again marched towards Multán, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort, where they died. He took Dáud ibn Naṣr, the heretic ruler of Multán, to Ghaznín and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghori, where he died.

In the year 402 H. (1011 A.D.), he set out for Thánesar and Jaipál, the son of the former Jaipál, offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultan, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose; so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thánesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghaznín, the idol known as Chakar-

1 A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 319 H. under Abu Táher, took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Édouard and Dowson II. 573). (See also Sale’s Qurán, Prel. Discourse, pp. 130-131) D. Herbelot (Carmat).

2 Dáthil (A) غریب
3 Firishta MS. (A)

4 Thánesar. 78°32 E. 29°30 N. vide Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III.

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus state, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, “Mais c’est un fable ridicule car celui qui y jette son or n’en recouvre rien.” The water is accounted holy.

He places Thánesar at a distance of 66 miles from Dehli giving the stages,—Narela 12 miles, Sonpat 6, Gonor 6, Panipat 12, Karnal 14, Asamabad 7, Thanesar 9. It lies N.-W. of Dehli and is now called Thanaoswar. See Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 330-331. See Alberuni, I. 199.
sám, on account of which the Hindús had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people. In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Gharjistán, and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultán heard that he was of the Bátíni sect, he exposed him to public ridicule and expelled him.

In the year 404 H. (1013 A.D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Nandana, a city situated on the mountains of Bánáth. Jaípál II left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmir pass. The Sultán gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sárégh Kwâl to defend it, while he pursued Jaípál. He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islám—a certain number he led captive to Ghazni.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A.D.), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmir, and besieged the fortress of Lohar Kot, which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmiris, and returned to Ghazni. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

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1 Chakravámin, or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol see Alberani, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Čakra svámin, i.e., the owner of the Čakra."

2 Gharjistán, or Ghurhishánt, the country bounded on the west by Herát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazni. See Jácuti in v., Ghurhishánt.

3 Esoterics, a sect of the Shi’a Muslims. For an account of them see Cureton’s Catalogue of Learned and Sacred Books page 147—They were variously called

4 Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

5 Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tieffenháler I. 105, in lat. 33°. (Alberání, Sachau trans., 317). In Rennell’s map (1782) the Belnát mountains are placed in long. 72° E., lat. 32° N. For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pages 164, 165.

6 Son of Anandpál, grandson of Jaípal I.

7 Called also Lohkot by Fírishta. MSS. (A) (B) have Lohkot.
with Abul Abbás ibn Mámún Khwárazm Sháh, and sent her to Khwárazm.

In the year 407 H. (1016 A.D.), a band of russians murdered Khwárazm Sháh, and Mahmúd leaving Ghaznín, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwárazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khwárazm. The Sultan's forces gained the day and Mahmúd appointed Altán Tásh governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwárazm Sháh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwárazm Sháh, and returned (to Ghaznín) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H., he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj, and having crossed the seven dangerous rivers of Hindustán, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kúrah, the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at

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1 For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Náširi*, pp. 231 &c., (note 2.) Khwárazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gorgan (Jurján) see Abul Fedá II. ii. 209. Chorasmii of Strabo, Herodotus, &c. The Chorasmii are coupled by ancient authors with the Dace, Massagetae and Soghdí. (Smith's Dict. of Geog.)

2 Qanauj or Qana, was for a long time the Hindu capital of Northern India. Firishtha states that when Mahmúd approached Qanauj, "he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled." (Briggs. I. 57). See also Alberání (Sachau tr. I. 99). (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham, op. cit. 376, &c.).

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called "Cannia conbadj" ce qui signifie la vierge bessue. Vol. I. pp. 193, 194.

3 These in the order Mahmúd met with them were the—

- Indus *Skst. Sindh* Gr. * redhead "Indus incolia Sindus appellatus" (Pliny.)
- Jhelam *Hydaspe* or *Bidaspé* *Skst. Vitasta* (Vihun) or Viyatta.
- Chenáb *Acesines* called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga.
- Biáh *Hyphasis or Hypanis* *Skst. Vipásat.
- Sutlej *Zarakrastus* (Nehydus (Pliny) *Skst. Shatladar.
- Jamuna *Jaun* or *Yamuná* (See also Afn-i-Akbar (Jarrett), ii. 310.) Alberání, Chaps. xxiv, xxv.

4 MSS. (A) (B) كارا. According to Firishtha the name of the prince of Qanauj was Kúnarw Ráí, see Elliott, Vol. ii. p. 161.
fortress of Barnah\(^1\) whose governor Barwat, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Maḥmūd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand\(^3\) rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Maḥmūd proceeded to the fortress of Mahāwun\(^5\) on the banks of the river Jon,\(^4\) where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar\(^6\) attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultān arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

By that same watery path he went to Hell.
When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies
Death is infinitely preferable to life.

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra\(^5\) which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and rased it to the ground. Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultān, a golden idol, the weight of which was

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\(^1\) Barnah. Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mirath. Baran. See Elliott II. 458, on the reading بورشة MS. (A.) has بورشة and gives تورشة Bardat as the name of its ruler.

\(^2\) According to Firishta 250,000 silver dinars. This gives the value of the silver dinár as \(\frac{1}{2}\) of a rupee. In the Aina-i-Akbar I we find no mention of a silver dinár, but the dirham is stated to be \(\frac{1}{6}\) of a dinár; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dinár were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

\(^3\) Vide Tieff. 165. Mahābān avec une forteresse en brique.

\(^4\) The river Jumna. Alberuni \(\text{"the river Jann (Yamuna)" p. 199.}\)

\(^5\) Kal Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 462. MS. (A) कलचन्द Kulchand.

\(^6\) Vide Tiefenthaler I. 201 et seq.

Mathra or Māhūrā, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva,—see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 199; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rājā Kansa. Arrian calls it Methoras while Pliny states that the river Jumanes (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisobora (Kalikavartta or Vrindāvana) Cunningham op. cit. pp. 374-375.
ninety-eight thousand three hundred misqāls\(^1\) of refined gold and a piece of sapphire\(^2\) whose weight was four hundred and fifty misqāls besides a celebrated elephant of huge size, like a mountain, belonging to Rājā Gobind Chand, one of the Rājās of Hindustān, which the Sultān had long earnestly sought to buy, but which was not to be had. By chance one night, when they were returning, this elephant broke loose and came into the Sultān’s camp without a keeper. The Sultān was greatly pleased with its capture, and gave it the name of Khudândā.\(^3\) When the spoil reached Ghaznin it was found to amount to over twenty million and fifty-three thousand dirams, and three hundred and fifty odd elephants.\(^4\)

In the year 410 H. (1019 A.D.), Mahmūd again turned his footsteps towards Hindustān and encountered and fought on the banks of the river Jon with Nandā the Rājā of Kālinjār,\(^5\) who

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\(^1\) The Misqāl = 1/3 dirhams = 6 dangas = 96 barley grains in weight. It is a weight used in weighing gold and is also the name of the coin. (Ain-i-Akbart, I. 36.) Cf. Hebrew shekel ע"ש see also Alberuni I. 160–164.

\(^2\) Firishta says باقرت ازرق a blue gem. The stone was in all probability a sapphire. There are four kinds of احمد ازرق ابنخ i.e. red, blue, white, and coerulean.

\(^3\) The gift of God.

\(^4\) From collating the MSS. A. and B., I think the reading here is quite plain. It is وچنین بغذیسن رسید شهراگان غناجی بیست و ود بار هزار هزار درم و پنجاها وسه هزار برد و سیصد و پنجاها واند قیبل بود.

Both MSS. have بوده but we must read as in Firishta, Vol. I. p. 51, line 9, et seq. we read thus:

وچنین بغذیسن رسید غناجی مغرفانج را شهراگوند بیست هزار دینار و هزاران هزار درم شهرا درآمد و پنجاها هزار برد و سیصد و پنجاها فیل و دیگر نفاثی خارج این بود.

and when he reached Ghaznin they counted the spoils of the expedition to Qamnj, twenty thousand dinars and thousands of dirams, and fifty thousand slaves and 350 elephants besides other booty in addition to these. (Firishta, Vol. I, p. 51, l. 9 et seq.)

\(^5\) Kālinjār in Dangayā, Bundlekhānd. A description of this fortress with two plates will be found in Tiefenthaler, Vol. I. p. 244. He states that the fort was taken by Sher Shāh and passed into the possession of the Rājā of Dangayā (Bundlekhānd) from the time of Muḥammad, king of Dēlī (1718 to 1748). Lat. 25 N., Long. 85° 5 E. (See Aīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) II. 158–159).
had with him 36,000 cavalry and 45,000 infantry and 640 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qanaúj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultán, and who had also come to the help of Jaipál, who had several times fled from before the Sultán. The servants of the Sultán who had gone forward to the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipál, so that leaving all his property, and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.—Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Máhmuíd proceeded to Kashmír and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nándá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwáliár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kálinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.

He also composed a poem in Hindi in praise of the Sultán, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sultán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sultán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nándá also sent large quantities of property and jewels.

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

1 The text has مود ر چھال و ہیں زمرہ Firishta says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS. (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

2 Abul Fazl (Aín-i-Akbari, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.
and countless articles of value as an offering to Mahmúd. The Sultán victorious and triumphant returned to Ghaznin.

In the year 414 H. (1024 A.D.), Mahmúd went to Balkh, and passed the river Jaihún. The chiefs of the regions beyond the river, hastened to meet him, and Yúsuf Qadr Khuán king of the whole of Turkistán, came out to receive him, and visited the Sultán. They held great banquets and gave presents to each other, and Ali Tagín, of whose oppression the people of the regions beyond the river had complained, learning what was happening took to flight. The Sultán pursued him and having captured him sent him a prisoner to one of the fortresses of Hindustán, then he returned and spent the winter in Ghaznin.

Once more he led his army against Somnát, which is a large city on the coasts of the ocean, a place of worship of the Brahma-

1 The Amú Daryá or Oxus. Jaihún is the name of the great river which separates Khwárama and Khurásán from Bokhára, Samarkand and that country: all the region on the Bokhára side of the river is called the country beyond the river (má wará annahr) I. K. iii. 229. According to Abúl Fazíl Balkh is situated in Lopg 101’40 Lat 35’41. The Jaihún, is also called “the river of Balkh.” See also Abúl Feda: (Reinaud) II. ii. 198-199.

2 مارا دن - Transoxiana. The country lying between Khwárama on the west and the Oxus on the south from Badakhshán to the frontiers of Khwárama. See Abúl Feda: (Reinaud) II. ii. 212 and seq.

3 The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow (Ibn Asir and) Mirghánd make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Fírishta with 415 H. (Elliott, II. 468).

4 Somnát, South-west of the peninsula of Guzerát, Long. 107’10, Lat. 22’16, (Ain-i-Akbarí. (J.) iii. 58,) on the sea shore. At a distance of 50 farsakh from Basána, (Alb.). The river Sarsuti falls into the sea at the distance of a bow-shot east of Somnath (Alb. 261). It was here that the Yádavas killed each other (Alb. 405).

The idol of Somnát is stated by Alberuni to have been the linga of Mahádeva erected to remove the leprosy of the moon. The word Sománáth means master of the moon. “The image was destroyed by the Prince Mahmúd, may God be merciful to him! — A. H. 416.” Alb. II. 103. Alberuni gives an account here of Somnát, and states (p. 176) that the day of full moon in the month Srávana is a fast day holy to Somnáth.

See also Elliot, II. 468-476, also Elphinstone 286, note 16-17, Brigga‘ Fir. I. 68, 73, 74. Ain-i-Akbarí, Vol. II. 246, and note.

Qazwíni in his Asír-ul-Bilád gives an account of the idol of Somnát and states that it was suspended in mid-air without support of any kind, and
mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmans of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindi language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát. The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnát where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Maḥmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznín, where it was placed at the door of the Jámi Masjid and trodden under foot.

At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev, one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Maḥmúd turned towards Multán by way of

further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. (Qazwíní died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1284.)

1 Cf. Qurán LI. 19, 20. Zamákshári in the Kasákhdí states that Manát was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khuzá and Saqíf, and that it was called Manát. (Calcutta Edu., Vol. II., page 1422.)

2 Patán. Tieffenthaler I. 385, states that Patán was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Nehroála. It was originally called Anhalpur. See Afs-i-Akbarí (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs’ Firishta, I., 69, 80, Anhalwára (Elphinatane).

3 Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

4 Firishta calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Maḥmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandába (Kandama Tártkh-i-Alfi). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tieffenthaler I. 402. “Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Somnath elle est entourée d’eau comme une île; mais on peut y aborder à gué en quelques endroits.” This description tallies exactly with Firishta’s that there can be little
Sindh. His army suffered great hardships from scarcity of water and forage, until with great difficulty he reached Ghaznín in the year 417 H.

In that year Al Qádir billáhi the Khalífah, despatched a flag with a letter appointing the Sultán to the Governorship of Khurásán and Hindustán, Nimroz and Khwárazm, and conferred titles of honour upon his brothers and sons, and in the same way assigned the titles of Kahfu-d-Daulát wa Islám to the Sultán, and to his elder son Amír Mas'úd that of Shahábu-d-Daulát wa Jamálu-l-Millát, and to Amír Muhammad his younger brother that of Jalálu-d-Daulát, and to Amír Yúsuf that of 'Aţlu-d-Daulát—and so forth.

In this year by way of punishing the Jats of the vicinity ot Multán, who had committed many acts of disrespect, Maḥmúd brought an army to Multán—and four thousand (some say eight thousand) boats belonging to the Jats laden with their families and property, were sunk in the Multán river on the occasion of a victory obtained by the boats of the Sultán, on which they had arranged some especial contrivance, and the Jats were drowned and sank in the whirlpool of destruction, and the rest became food for the sword, their families were taken captive, and the Sultán, victorious and triumphant, returned to Ghaznín.—

In the year 418 H. (1027 A.D.) marching towards Báfward, he

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1 Elliphstone Hist. of India, 239.
2 In the Tabaqát-i-Akbarí this rájá is called Parama Dov.
4 History of the Caliphs (Jarrett) p. 431, Al Qádir billáhi Aḥbá’Abbás Aḥmád-b-Išáq b-il-Muqtadír. A.H. 381-422.
5 See Elliott II. pp. 480-481 on the assumption by Maḥmúd of title of Sultán, see also p. 16 of this volume note 2.
8 The contrivance alluded to was fixing spikes on the prows and sides of the boats like the rostrum or ἡπῆλος of ancient warships. This instrument the origin of the modern ram is said to have been invented by the Tyrian Pisces. (Smith, Dict of Antiq). See also Elph. 291, and note.
9 Báfward. MS. (A.) has ابحدت سابلا األثر بارود رنة MS. (B.) is same as the text. Ablward ville du Khorásán est située selon l’ Afsdr par 84° de longi-
utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai¹ and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amir Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghaznín and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption,² his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he used to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghaznín, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tude et 37° 20' de latitude. On la nonce encore, dit le Lobáb, Ábáward et Báward (Abul Feda. (Reinana) II. ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Perse) p. 13, Abiwerd).

¹ A district of Persian 'Iráq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the Áfedá, in long. 76° 20' and latitude 35° 35'. Its original name was be states, Rází.

Ibn Hámál in his article on Dailam, speaks of Reyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azerbajján. It is the ancient Rhages or 'Pārdi of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya Ar-Rází, familiar to the medical world as Rházes who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles (نی ایلیجردی رحمت) was published in a Greek translation περὶ λαμψαθ in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (ZYdenham Society, 1847 ) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (Hamadán). It was called at different periods Europus and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Isfahán. The famous juristconsult Muḥammad ibn al-Hasân, and al-Kisáyí the reader of the Qur¿n, are buried there. Persian Iráq comprised the regions of Reyy, Qáshán, Isfahán and Hamadán. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhage), (Abul Feda, (Reinana) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 311 et seqq.

² Briggs,Vol. I. p. 83, states that Mahmúd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shows that this is not the case. The words are مرض سوارقینة يا أسيل بيم رسانیده &c.

The disease سوارقینة شَا-عل شینا which literally means an incurable acquisition, is thus defined by Vüller sub voce قنیت prarus habitus corporis, gr. καρδια, while the following translation from the MS. copy of Bahru-l-Jawáhir in this Library will show how it is there defined:

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (i.e. contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of dropy, but inasmuch as the term dropy is specifically
421 A.H., and was buried at Ghaznin. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was restricted to another disease, this term سا al qinya is made applicable to this condition."

In the Isfahānī-Funūn we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsey due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from Al Mājas of Sadiqī, a translation from which follows,—he writes "the commencement of dropsey due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ.

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids, become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities, and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulence and borborygmus, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its cure is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsey. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products, and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and dināri and wardī is beneficial. The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges; Cantharides flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastio and saffron are beneficial. The vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add agaricum and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease." (Al Muğhī Shārī Mājas by Sadiqī).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Mahmūd died was not either hectic fever (Badānnī) or phthisis (Firishta), but an anaemia, very probably "idiopathic anaemia" or "progressive pernicious anaemia." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scurvytive taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness. There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myxœdema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious anaemia. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV. 188, note 1.

1 This date is the same as that given by Firishta.

Raverty in the Tabaqīt-i-Noṣīrī, p. 87, note 9, gives Thursday, the 14th of
dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them: He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord; and the story in connection with him and Firdausi the poet is well known, and the holy Jámi² says:

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,
The glory of Mahmód passed away, nothing remained in the world

Save only this saying "He recognized not the worth of Firdausi.

Rabfu·gaznì, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the Maqámat of Amúd Abú Návr by Al-Baihaqi as his authority.

The Tabaqát-i·Násiri gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

¹ Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the Sháh Námah, was a native of Tásh in Khvárasán where he was born about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Guzida). He was appointed by Mahmód to complete the Sháh Námah. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand mígílas of gold for every thousand distichs. However by the machinations of Aiyáx one of Mahmód's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Mahmód as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver dirhams instead of the promised 60,000 mígílas. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sultan in the very copy of the Sháhnámah which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Mahmód's court to Máxinderán and thence to Baghádád. Mahmód at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 dinárs with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See Atashkáda 'Ásur p. 22 et seqq, also Atkinson's Sháhnámah, Preface: also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's Indian Empire, p. 219. and Beale's Dict. of Oriental Biography.

² Mulla Núrud-Din Abdur Rahmán (Jámi) author of "Yúsuf and Zulaikha" Beháristán, &c., was born at Jám in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See Atashkáda-i·Ásur p. 78.

He was called عذر the holy from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amír Ali Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herást twenty years later.
And in the Ta'kīra of Muḥammad Ufī, the following Qīta'ā has been attributed to the Sūltān Maḥmūd.

From the dread of the world-winning sword and the fear of the fort-crushing sceptre,
The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,
At one time there would I sit serene in my splendour and riches
At another time following Avarice roamed I from country to country;
Oft would I boastfully say Lo! I am a man of importance,
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are equals.
I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of castles
With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without number
When Death made the final assault, naught then did my splendour avail me
Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

Sūltān Muḥammad ibn Sūltān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī,

Who was styled Jalālu-d-Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalān, a relative of Sūltān Maḥmūd, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznin, and a month and a half after his accession Amir Aiyāz came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables, took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahābu-d-Daulah Mas'ūd who was at

1 Muḥammad Ufī, author of a biography or "Ta'kīra" Lubābū-l-Allūbū, and of another work called Jāmi'ī-l-Hikāyāt. The latter he compiled in 1228 A.D. (625 A.H.). He was a native of Merv which under the Saljuq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Nūrūddin Muḥammad Ufī. (Beale, O. B. D.). See also J. R. A. S., Vol. IX. 113.


3 Called in the Taqīrat-ul-Mulūk, 'Alī son of Iyāl Arsalān a relative of the late Sūltān Maḥmūd. (Raverty, Tabaqāt-i-Nāshirī 89 note 8).

Firāsha calls him Amir 'Alī, son Khīlī Arsalān father-in-law of Maḥmūd. (Briggs, 93). See Elliott, IV. 193. 'Alī Kurbat (Raverty), or 'Alī Kuḥšāwandī.

4 Abūl Najm Amir Aiyāz (Firāsha).
Sipálán. ¹ Amir Muḥammad despatched Súndhi ² Ráí the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them, Amir Aiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Súndhi Ráí the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amir Muḥammad. Amir Aiyáz joined Amir Mas′úd at Nishapúr, ³ and four months later Amir Muḥammad moved his camp in the direction of Bust, ⁴ and came out in full force from Ghazní with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád ⁵ all his Amirs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bajj ⁶ in Majbaristán ⁷ and having gone over to Amir Mas′úd with the whole army and treasures, went to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amir Muḥammad reigned five months, but according to Qázi Baizáví ⁸ it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the ⁹ Lubbu-t-Tawárikh writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghazní for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas′úd, and after the murder of Mas′úd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amir in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch;

¹ Ispálán, see Abul Feda II., ii. 170. (Reinaud).
² Sowand Ráí (Firíshaťa).
³ The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghán. See Abul Feda II. ii. 189. (Reinaud).
⁴ Fourteen marches from Ghazní in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghazní. Abul Feda II. ii. 108. (Reinaud).
⁶ The reading از میدان درستان in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read،
در قلعة نی از میدان میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this, but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, how ever I have translated, as it stands, faute de mieux.
⁷ Variously called Walaj (Firíshaťa) Mangsál *(Nisámû-t-Tawdríkh)* See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.
⁸ Abú Said Abdullah ibn Abú Hassan Alí Baizáwî. See Elliott, II. 252.
⁹ Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Lajjî Rqwánî Dimishqî. Died 960 A.H. (18th December, 1552) (Háji Khâlfá).
Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslân reach the sky in its grandeur,
Come to Mary that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslân beneath the dust.

SHAHÂBU-D-DAULAT SULTÂN MAS‘ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

By the consent of the Amirs and Vazirs of Mahmúd he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Hari to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi whom Sultan Mahmud kept a prisoner in the fort of Kâlinjar, made him a Vazîr. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghazni and thence started for Sipâhân and Iâi, and arriving at Herât engaged in war with the Turkomâns, and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkomâns increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.

In the year 423 H. Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi died, and in the year 424 Sultan Mas‘ud having undertaken to conquer

1 Abû Shujâ‘ Maḥammad, son of Châkirbeg Dâūd, son of Mîkâil, son of Suljâq, son of Daqâq surnamed ‘Aṣdâ-d-Daulat Alp Arslân (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljûqûiyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorasân in 451 A. H. (see Raverty 132, note 2). Born 424 A. H., murdered 455 A. H. The lines are attributed by the author of the Tabaqât-i-Nâspîr to Hakim Sanâî a celebrated poet of Ghazni. His most celebrated work is the Hadîqat-ul-Haqqât wa Sharî’atu-t-Turîqât otherwise known as Fâghrînâmâh. His full name was Abû Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanâî Al Hakim. He died in the year 525 H. (4th December, 1130) (H. K.).

2 See also Majma‘ul Faṣahâh I. 254 and Atâshkada-i-Azur, p. 108. cf. I. K. (Shane) iii. 230.

3 i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljûqûiyah in 429 H. by Tughril Beg.
Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí¹ which is situated in the way to Kashmir, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultan Mas'ūd reduced Amal² and Sári³ and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there⁴ and sent Tughdí Beg and Ḥusain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Nishápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Ḥusain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amir Mas'ūd.

Amir Ahmád Niyal Tigin⁶ the treasurer of Sultan Mas'úd whom Mas'úd had fined and had sent to Hindústán,⁷ on arriving in Hindústán revolted⁸ and the Amir Mas'úd nominated a general of the Hindus named Náhir⁹ to oppose him. Ahmád being overcome in battle fled to Mansúrah¹⁰ in Sindh and was drowned — his head they sent to Ghaznín. In the year 427 H. (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

¹ Sarsatí. (Firishta) a fortress situated among the hills of Kashmir.
² 'Amol the capital of Tabaristán, birthplace of at-Tabari. Abul Feda (R) II, ii. 177-179.
³ Sári or Sáriyah in Tabaristán (according to al-Lubáb in Mázindarán.)
⁴ Lit. had coins struck and the Khutbah read in his own name.
⁵ MSS. (A) and (B)
⁶ Tárijú-s-Subuktigin. Elliott II. 116. He was supposed to be a natural son of the Amir Mahmúd.
⁷ As governor, with kettle-drums and banners and all things usually given to generals of the army.
⁸ Elliott II. 125. Bahaqí says, In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the news of Ahmád Niyal Tigin having reached Lahore with the Turkománs, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore had flocked to him.
⁹ Bahaqí says, Tilak the Hindu was sent: while Firishta states that Mas'úd sent Náth one of the Chiefs of Hind, and that upon his death in battle Túlak ibn Ḥusain was sent who killed Ahmád.
⁰ Braidg translates “Tilok the son of Jye Sein” — and remarks upon the fact that he was an unconverted Hindú.
¹⁰ Al Mansúrah in Sindh: the former city of Bahmanwá, conquered and renamed by Muḥammad ibn ul Qásim ibn ul Munabbih. It is situated at a distance of 29 farsakh from Bháti, situated between the arms of the Mihrán river. (Alberání) Almanṣúra. Tiefenthaler, Vol. III. Map. Known later, and up to the present time as Bukkur, see Impe. Gazetteer. Also Abul Feda. ii. 113. Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 327 and note. also III. 58, and note.
Sultán took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amír Maudúd ibn Mas'úd (his son) the drum and ensign,¹ and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindústán—captured the fort of Hánsí² and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat.³ Deipál⁴ the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty putting to the sword the greater part of Deipál's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'úd turned his steps towards the valley of Rám⁶ who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non-appearance. Amír Mas'úd accepted his excuses and giving the Amir⁵ Abúl-Mujáhid son of Mas'úd,⁷ the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznin.

In the year 428 (1036 A.D.) he left Ghaznin for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkománs who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sultán then

¹ As tokens of his commission as a general of the army.
² According to Baiháqí this fort had been hitherto known as “The Virgin” as no one had yet been able to take it. It was taken ten days before the close of Rabi‘-ul Awwal. Hánsí, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hisáir. Tieffenthaler I. 131.
⁴ MSS. (A and B). فنیشتا's account is almost identical here.
⁵ Firisháta writes فرند خوشیش کوئ الیکسیج دو سر. His son Abúl Majdúd. See also Raverty p. 95, note 7. In the text we should read ابوعامیه.⁶ Sultan Azāb جلخون (agreeing with the text) گنسته تمام معاش لاکھرے متصرف شد و دادا ترکم اک تغییر بیک ر ایسمیس را قبلاً ازین شکست داده بود تمیت تمام قصد بلغ نمود.
⁷ Here I follow MS. (B). The readings of the MSS. vary here very considerably. MS. (A) reads (agreeing with the text) و سلطان ازب جلخون گنسته تمام قصد بلغ نمود. MS. (B) reads, و سلطان ازب جلخون گنسته تمام قصد بلغ نمود.

Preference must be given to MS. (A), the copyist evidently having made an error in the first word of the next line where he writes قصد بلغ نمود that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shown by the next line where he writes و درون این ذن تغییر نبود تغییر دنالیکوئ راز کرد for
crossing the Jihun occupied the whole of Transoxiana. Daud
the Turkoman, who had previously defeated Tughdi Beg and
Amir Husain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amir
Mas'ud thereupon returned from Transoxiana to Balkh and Daud
the Turkoman\(^1\) leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime
Tughdi Beg\(^2\) had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood
of Gurgan. When the Amir Mas'ud perceived the symptoms of
his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amir Mas'ud
then exacted a stipulation and promise from Begh\(^3\) the Turko-
mans who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they
would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their
boundaries in a suitable way left for Herat. While on his way
thither a body of the Turkomans fell upon the army of Mas'ud,
killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the
Sultans who were told off to attack them made the whole of that
party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families
together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amir
Mas'ud who sent asses laden with the heads to Begh. Begh
apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Begh
in praise of whom the poet Ziai\(^4\) of Persia has composed several
odes from which the following verses are selected—

24.

It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than
thee,

It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.

My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy
sorrow.

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\(^1\) See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.

\(^2\) MS. (A) has منجبد not تغذي بن.

\(^3\) Isra'il-i-Begh. See Raverty (Tahqiqat-i-Nasiri) p. 94, note 2, page 116,

\(^4\) Ziai-d-Din Khajandi Al Farst, a native of Shiraz who left Shiraz in

note 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqiah dynasty. See also Ibn
his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and
Khail: (Slane) iii. 225 and seqq.

panegyrist of Sultan Malik Shah Saljuq, and died at Herat in the year 522 H.
(In the Majmu'ul Fasahat from which these particulars are taken, the date
of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Shah died in 491 H.)

Beale (Oriental Biographical Dictionary) gives the date as 622 H., but this
is in all probability copied from the above authority.
Thou did'st say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but
verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding
 tears
At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the
love of thee, nor do I weep alone.
I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy
for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping.
Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me
Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next.
From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass
that the whole world should weep from my time to that of
the king?
Bāghū Malik Shāh, he who by his sword made the brave
warriors to weep openly on the field of battle.
The King Niẓām Din to whom at the time of his conflict
Came from the tombs of Rustam and Dārā the sound of weeping.
The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the
flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his elo-
quence,
The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep,
cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath.
From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its
zenith,
The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens.
Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl-scattering hand the
ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!
Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep
over the corpse of thy enemy?
Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood
over thy enemies in the field of battle,
What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?
There is the torture of hell, here he must weep.
Lo! one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure
Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep.
Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects
But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest.
I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,
After all what use is praise to me with weeping.
When I recite any poem in separation from thee
Both the first and last verses weep for anguish.
Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep
like Wàmiq and 'Azrá.
May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,
May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

The following is also by him:

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar² at the opening of each
smile!
Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.
In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart
In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.
The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,
The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.
Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,
Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold.
When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee
For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at
one time.)
I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief
and pain,
I have in separation from thee all of these, but no smile.
What could mankind have learned of the shape of thy mouth
Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news
of a smile.
Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of
mourning
The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.
All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,
Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am?
It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks
and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.
King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful
always to smile from joy and pride.

¹ The loves of Wàmiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances,
one by Mahmúd bin Aqmán, Lamúl, and the other by Mu'úd, a native of
Tarkhán. (D'Hélder.)
² ای لب شکریز must be read here.
Conqueror of infidelity, Nizámú-ud-Dín, whose friends are always engaged in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling.

If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation, even from the loins of his father would one begin to smile.

A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son.

It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smiling.

Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden of two doors.

Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar
Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel.
Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom
In the array of battle to smile at the helmet and shield.
Following after victory when thy sword is furious
There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven, a smile.
Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly
If scattering his heart’s blood (in envy) be to smile.

In order that the saffron may fulfil the promise of its properties, namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men; may the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from fear of thee smile from his want of success.

1 i.e., the world. Birth and death are the two doors.
2 Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally.

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to.

With regard to Saffron the says:

Actions and properties of Saffron. Exhilarating and tonic to the senses, excitant and digestive, laxative and corrective of the impure humours of the phlegm, and preventing and preserving them from alteration and badness. It is diuretic and constipating, aphrodisiac and strengthening to the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory
Then Amír Masʿúd marched from Herátt to Níshápúr and thence to Túṣ and a body of Turkománs giving him battle met their death, the people of Báwár gave up that town to the Turkománs and the Sultán having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Níshápúr.

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughhrál the organs. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It carries the virtues of medicines to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen.

The following extract from the gives a further account of its properties.

It prevents the flow of moist humour to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium. It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints; dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

Sádi, p. 143, says of Saffron. وَاهَّ خَاصِيَةٌ عَجَبيَةٌ فِي نَقْوَة جِراح

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliancy and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes.

1 Túṣ, a district and city of Khorásán, one of the dependencies of Níshápúr, distant from the city of Níshápúr about 10 farsáhs.


2 MS. (B) has shewing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindústán. A line or two lower he writes for فرار نمون. This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

3 Tughhrál Beg. Abú Tálib Muḥammad Ibn Míkáil Ibn Saljúq Ibn Dukák Ráku-d-Dín Tughhrál Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljúq (cf. Haverty, pp. 94 and 122, and also I. K. (Slane) iii. 224.
Turkomán who had raised a rebellion in Báward, when Tughral took to flight Amír Mas‘úd turned back and came to Sarakhs 1 by way of Mahnah 2 and gave orders to raise the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zirqán 3 in which place the Turkománs brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultán. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznín mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultán remaining all alone on the field, felled several of the Turkomán leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Ramazán, 431 H. (1039 A. D.). From thence Amír Mas‘úd came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznín by way of Ghaur, 4 and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance ‘Ali Dáya and Hájíb-i-Buzurg, 5 and Beg Tughdí to Hindustán and imprisoned 6 them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amír Mas‘úd now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkománs to punish them. With this intention he made Amír Maudúd 7 Amír of

1 Sarakhs or Sarkhas (Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kaikásus, a city situated between Nishápúr and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda II. ii. 193.
2 Mahnah. Firishta  مهنه مهنه Mahtaks but مهنه is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt مهنه Maihana, a small town of the district of Khaberán between Abíward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 558.
3 Zirqán is not mentioned by other authors I have consulted and may be a clerical error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dan-dángán a town in the vicinity of Merv, cf. Raverty, p. 94, note 3. Also Abul Feda II. ii. 197. Meynard, p. 239. It seems to me most probable that we should read زند خان زند خان زند خان زند خان Zandkhán, Zandkhan, is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsak from Sarakhs (Meynard, 283).
4 Abul Feda II. ii. 201. A province lying between Herát, Karáwán and Gurjistán.
5 Firishta حاجب شیبانی Hájíb Shaibání.
6 MS. (B) در قلمها حبس گرد در قلمها حبس گرد
7 Shihábú-d Daulat Maudúd his eldest son. Compare the account given by Firishta.
29. Balkh, and having appointed Muḥammad ibn Abduṣ Šamad as his Wazīr despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amir Muḥammad with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multān, and sent the Amir of that district to the foot of the hills of Ghaznīn to restrain the Afghāns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Mahmūd’s treasures which were stored in Ghaznīn and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustān and despatched messengers en route to bring his brother Amir Muḥammad who had been blinded and was then confined in the fortress of Bazghand. When Sultān Mas’ūd arrived at the frontier fort of Mārikala, his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amir Muḥammad arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed perforce, approached the Amir Muḥammad, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultān Mas’ūd who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amir Mas’ūd from within the fort of Mārikala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kīrī till at last in Jamādi-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

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1 Firishta says Amīr Majdūd—the second son of Mas’ūd MS. (A) has Amīr Maḥdūda, which should in all probability be read Majdūd. MS. (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

2 The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following which is Firishta’s version. The Amir Isaad Yār was Mas’ūd’s fifth son. Both MSS. however have both pages 21.

3 MSS. (A) and (B)

4 عَرَط Dozy quoting from de Slane gives casernes fortifícés qu’on construisait sur les frontières de l’Empire as the meaning of رَط.

5 Mārikala. Firishta says Mārkala which according to some is on the Jhilam river which in those days was called the Behāt. Raverty in his note 4, page 95 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Rawal Pindi and Attock—See Elliott II. 273, note 2.

6 In the text read این تعذي لبیش, MS. (B) این تعذي لبیش, In the text read تعذي از لبیش, Cf. Firishta تعذي از لبیش. علمان دانستند که این نسیم تعذي لبیش تعذي از تعذي از تعذي. See Elliott II. 273, note 3.
message purporting to emanate verbally from Amir Muḥammad ordering him to kill Amir Masʿūd and to send his head to him. The Kotwāl in obedience to this order severed Masʿūd's head from his body and sent it to Amir Muḥammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me
That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away
He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown
Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick underneath his head (in the grave).

This story is according to the relation of Nizāmī, but the Qāzī Baṭāwī relates that in the year 432 Masʿūd fled defeated from before the Seljūqs to Ghaznīn, and Amir Muḥammad who had consolidated his power during Masʿūd's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Aḥmād ibn Muḥammad followed him and murdered him. The Government of Sultān Masʿūd ibn Maḥmūd lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qāzī Baṭāwī (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H. as the date of the death of Masʿūd, and writes that Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd reigned in Ghaznīn for fourteen years after his father, one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

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1 Nizāmū-d-Dīn Aḥmād, author of the Tabaqāt-i-Akkbarī; Elliott, v. 177. Died 1003 H.
2 Baṭāwī's account is as follows:
Masʿūd after his arrival at Ghaznīn sent Yūsuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljūqs crossed the Jihūn and invaded Khurūsàn. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A. H. 432, he returned to Ghaznīn where his brother Muḥammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Aḥmād, the son of Muḥammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A. H. 433; Elliott II. 256.
3 That is from 421 A. H. to 434 A. H. with interruptions during the supremacy of Masʿūd. Maḥmūd died in 421 A. H. Masʿūd was murdered on the 11th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 433 H. (Raverty, pp. 95-6.)
Muḥammad was put to death by Maudūd in revenge for his father's murder in the year 434 H. Maudūd reigned seven years and died in 441 H. (1049 A.D.)
the time of Sultan Mas'ud is Manúchihri ⁴ who speaks as follows in a qaṣiḍah concerning his Wazir.

Couplet.
Shah Mas'ud is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwán ⁵ the upright.

SULTÁN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his father in Bámíán ¹) with the consent of the Wazirs and Amirs, and with the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards Mári galah, but Abu Naṣr Ahmád ibn Muḥammad ibn Abduṣ Samad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to Ghaznín, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his uncle the blind Amir Muḥammad. On arriving at Dipúr ² he engaged in a severe battle with the Amir Muḥammad and thus passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their positions. The next day Sultan Maudúd induced the Amir Saiyyid Manṣúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amir Muḥammad to side with him, and engaging in battle took prisoners the Amir Muḥammad and his son Ahmád and put them all to death. The Amir Maudúd founded there a city which he

⁴ Manúchihri Dáมะgaḥání. Hakím Abunnajm Ahmád, a pupil of the poet ‘Unṣuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called شاپت گالا shaqt gala because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma‘-ul-Fuṣahá).

⁵ Naushirwán. Chosroes I. son of Kobád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D. (See Dict. G. and R. B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muḥammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A. D (Caussin de Perseval I. 283). Muḥammad used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. Cf. D’Herbelot III. 57.

¹ Bámíán. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznín. There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called صرغ بد Surğ bud, the Red idol, and خلک بدن Kharīg bud, the White idol." Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghaznín. The district in which Ghaznín and Kábul are situated.

² Text has Deipúr (M. A. دينور Dinúr). For the locality of this place, see Raverty 96, note 2. The name is in all likelihood Dinúr as in Balhaqi.
named Fathabād. This victory was gained in the month Sha'bān of the year 432 H., or according to another account in the year 434 H. And in the year 433 H. being angry with Khwāja Aḥmad ibn Abduṣ Šamad he imprisoned him in Ghaznīn where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad towards Hindustān to fight with Nāmī ibn Muḥammad and Nāmī was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H. Artagīn at the order of the Sultān proceeded with an army to Tabaristān against Dā'ud the Turkomān, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balkh and established the coinage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amir Maudūd. Afterwards when the Turkomāns attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghaznīn. Then in the year 435 H. Amir Maudūd imprisoned Abū 'Alī the Kotwāl of Ghaznīn for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Diwān of the kingdom and Kotwāl of Ghaznīn, and imprisoned Yasūrī ibn Iyamghūr the Diwān, till at length he died in confinement; he also punished Altigin and in the year 436 H. Khwāja Tāhir who had succeeded Khwāja Aḥmad as Wazir, died, and was succeeded by Khwāja Imām Abū Fath ʿAbdur Razzāq. In this same year he sent Tughhrāl Ḥājib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abū Mansūr Zangī, the brother of Abul Fazl and brought him to Ghaznīn, he then departed for Seistān and having

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1 Raverty 96, note 2.
2 The latter date must be the correct one as Mauddūd was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 45.
3 The Tārīkh-i-Mauddūd, however, writes as follows:—

و امیر مرودری درین شعبان که شاه ملک خلیفہ بیگدینید [۳۳۵] بدینور کمک و جنگ کرن و عم را بکریت با پبسمند و کسایی که با گن پادشاہ پار بودن همگان را بکشت


4 Firishta describes him as ولد محمد مکیول the son of the Blinded Muḥammad.
5 See note 1, p. 38.
6 Altigin Ḥājib.
7 Grandson of Ḥasan Maimandi.
8 Firishta says also Zangī. Briggs in his translation has said “Ozbeky.”
engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribáṭ Amír, put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sir, where he put to death the Turkománs of that district who were known as Red-caps and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takinábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Ali bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tughral fled with a few followers. Ali plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amir Qazdár raised a rebellion and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Bártagín and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abú Qásim Maḥmúd and Mansúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr and he sent Abú Ali Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindústán to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mirák ibn Hasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mirák ibn Hasan the Vakil who had murdered Abú 'Ali Hasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

1 Finishta Ribáṭ Amír, Long. 105, Lat. 34, Afn-i-Akbári (J.) iii. 68. Both MSS. have
2 Finishta also says and does not mention the word Qalbásh and Briggs translates "called Kuxil Básí, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I., p. 121. Qalb Qizil Red is Turkish Básí. Head is Turki.
3 In one copy we find Béghi Qusí and written in so we should read here Amir Qazdár Béghi Qusí and written in
4 According to Finishta (A) reads Bútigín, MS. (B) reads Bútigín, Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Finishta we find these words: which looks as if Amir Qazdár was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bút, and is the present Khuzdár of our maps the capital of Jisaláwín in Búlúchistán."

See pp. 557-559 from which the above is quoted.

5 Parshúr, the modern Pesháwar, called originally Parasháwara. Cunn. Anc. Geog. of India, p. 78.
proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amir Maudúd reached the fortress of Siálkot, he was attacked with colic and was forced to return to Ghaznín, and ordered Mirak to release Abú Ali Kotwál. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amir Maudúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A.H. 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh states that Sultan Maudúd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz Beg Saljúqi, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'úd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khorásán to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

1 Firishta writes Sánkot. Both MSS. read Sánkot very plainly written.
2 Qālinj. Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term Qālinj of which there are stated by Sadidí to be five varieties. Cf. Sadidí Art. Qālinj. True or spasmodic colic.
3 False or obstractive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of Bilmū or mucus in the cæcum or colon.
4 Qālinj, the principal colic. An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys.
5 Qālinj, the distal colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine. Volvulus.

In the hospital we find the following definition of the disease: "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction. It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal."

Defining the Colon the author says: All those three colics are in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

3 Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh, "The marrow of History." The author was Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Latif Qazwíní who composed it in 1541 A.D.

He died 18 Dec. 1552. See H.K. Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh also Elliot, Vol. iv. p. 293.

4 Jaghar Beg. See Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násiri p. 97, notes 3-4.

MS. (A) Chaghar Beg. MS. (B) Chaghar Beg.
Sultan Mas'ud ibn Maudud ibn Mas'ud ibn Mahmud.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Ali ibn Rabih, however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne after he had reigned only five months. 1

Sultan 'Ali ibn Mas'ud ibn Mahmud.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzag ibn Ahmad Maimandi who had been sent by the Amir Maudud towards Seistan arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfrar, 2 and learned that Abdu-r-Rashid ibn Mahmud was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amir Maudud, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Ali having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A.D.)

Sultan 'Abdu-r-Rashid ibn Mahmud.

Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzag proceeded to Ghaznin, 'Ali ibn Mas'ud fled without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hajib who was one of the household slaves of Sultan Mahmud having conquered Seistan turned his steps towards Ghaznin. Amir 'Abdu-r-Rashid fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A.D.) put the Amir Abdur Rashid with all the descendants of Sultan Mahmud 3 to death and married the daughter of Mas'ud against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashid's reign lasted for four years,

1 The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudud 'Ali ibn Rabih who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'ud the son of Maudud, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghaznin; this arrangement was opposed by Bastahtin Hajib who fought with 'Ali ibn Rabih whereupon the whole populace of Ghaznin rose in arms, and eventually Bastahtin Hajib succeeded in deposing Mas'ud ibn Maudud after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Hasan 'Ali to the throne. Compare also: Tabaqdt-i-Nasir (Baverty, p. 97 and footnote).

2 اسفرار MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfrain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapur, see Meynard, p. 34. (Abul Feida II. ii. 183).

3 که نفر بیرونده Nine people in all. (Firishta).
but in the Nizamu-t-Tawdīkā his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,\(^1\) and in the Lubbu-t-Tawdīkā his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H. God knows the truth.

**Sultān Farrukh Zād ibn Maš'ūd ibn Maḥmūd.**

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljūq came up against Ghaznīn, and Farrukhzhād put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghaznīn. Alp Arsalān\(^2\) the Saljūq king brought an army against Ghaznīn from ʿIrāq and Khorāsān, and being victorious in fight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghaznīn to Khorāsān. Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both sides obtained their release, and since Zābulistān had been laid waste the Sultān remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness. He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer. He died of colic in the year 450 H.\(^3\) The period of his reign was six years.

**Saḥḥuḏuš-Salātīn Ibrahīm ibn Maš'ūd ibn Maḥmūd.**

Ascended the throne. He was a just and devout king, and used to write each year a Qurān with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka. He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God. When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljūqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustān and conquered many fortresses and districts.

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1. Firishta says "less than one year." Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī says two and a half years.

2. Alp Arsalān son of Dāūd, son of Mikāil son of Saljūq was the second Sultān of the family and dynasty of the Saljūqa. He succeeded his uncle Tughral Beg in 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.) He was born in 421 A.H. and was murdered 466 A.H. and was buried at Merv.

   For a full account of this prince see D'Herbelot, pp. 198-203.

3. See also Ibn Khalliqān (Slane) iii. 230 and seqq; where it is stated that Alp Arsalān was born in the year 424 (A.D. 1032-3) and died on the 10th of Rabiʿu'l Awwal 465 A. H. (1072 A.D.)

4. Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammām.

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74527
From one city the inhabitants of which were of Khurásání descent, whom (Afrásiáb) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons, and sent them to Ghaznin, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khairábé, and Imánábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátin, and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wáli. In his reign in Ghaznin, the Dárú-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H., after a reign of thirty years. Qázi Baígáwí says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. Masúd Sa’d Salmán flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

1 Named “Darra.” (Firishta) where we read

إِبْسَانٌ بَشْكٌ كَمَدْهُ بَزَنٍ وَفُؤُزَنٌ إِزَ رَلايْتِ خَرْسَانُ إِخْزَاجٌ كُرْدَةٌ دُوْ، وَبِهِنَدِسُتَان

In our author’s text we read — which is evidently corrupt. The words in the Tábaqát Akbar Sháhí are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word for the words — which may easily have arisen from a copyist’s mistake, seems in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

2 Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islám, according to Firishta.

3 Wáli. Abul Faṣl (Aīn-i-Akbaří) (Jarrett) iii. 350 gives the following definition of a wáli: “In ancient works many significations have been given the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being: a lofty soul will indeed love God alone. . . . . . . A wáli in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it.”

4 Firishta says 482 H. or 492 H. Tábaqát-i-Náširí 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years.

5 Mas’úd Sa’d Salmán Jurjání. Known sometimes as Hamadání. The son of Khája Sa’d ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jurján who attained
Abúl Qásim Malik Maḥmúd Ibráhím ibn Mas'úd
In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his flaunting banner,
Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger.

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says:

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose reign
The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things temporal and spiritual.
Mas'úd (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the expanse of kingdom's conquest
He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of the sword.

Ode.

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded the loins of conquest,
Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the doors of conquest,
Mas'úd, the world-conquering; for whom the age of fortune has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,
Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direction of battle,
Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred years hence
In Hindustán in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest.

So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests.

high distinction in the service of Mas'úd bin Maḥmúd and Sultán Ibráhím of Ghaznín but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nái owing to the spiteful rancour of Abúl Faraj Ráni. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghaznín where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the Majma'ul Fushá, Vol. I. pp. 514 and seqq. See also Beale (O.B.D. p. 173.) and Atashkada-i-Aṣūr, p. 162.
Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of con-
quest
When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúní ¹ too was eulogist of Sultán Ibrahím, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas'úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Diwán, and Rúní ² is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore; and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following qitā'á in praise of Sultán Ibrahím is by the Ustád Abul Faraj.

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword
Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself.
Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the throat,
Thou hast made orphan this which has no issue like a peerless pearl.

And Mas'úd Sa'íd Salmán with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas'úd's imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this rubá'í (quatrain) in prison.³

1 Abul Faraj Rúní, a celebrated poet. The name Rúní is from the village of Rúna (رصد) in Nisápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahím, and we learn from Mas'úd Sa'íd Salmán Jurjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Nái by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Láhore, so that he is known to a few as “Láhori.” His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwari. A Diván of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá I, 70). See also Ataškada-i-Ázur, pp. 137, 138.

2 Beale (O.B.D., p. 15) says that he came from “Rún a place near Lahore.” It would appear from the text above that Badašún attributed his name of Rúní to his connection with the village of Rún. The author of the Majma'ul Fuṣahá gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

3 He was imprisoned in the year 572 H. by Maḥmúd ibn Ibrahím in the fortress of Nái. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá loc. cit.). See note 5, page 52.
For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Sháh is necessary
So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs. 1
That one who springs from the loins of Sa’id Salmán
Even-were he a serpent would not sting thy realm.

The following verses are also by him:

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from regrets
Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb.

There are extant also Diwáns by him in Arabic, Persián and Hindi.

‘Aláu-d-Dín Mas’úd ibn Ibráhím ibn Sultán Mas’úd,
Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year 508 H. (1114 A.D.), having reigned seventeen years.

Sultán Sherzád ibn Mas’úd ibn Ibráhím, 3
By his father’s order became king, and reigned for one year. His brother Arsalán Sháh revolted against him and killed him in the year 509 H. (1115 A.D.).

‘Sultán Arsalán Sháh ibn Mas’úd ibn Ibráhím,
Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole of his brothers with the exception of Bahrám Sháh who fled and went to Sultán Sinjar 5 who was the son of his maternal uncle. 6
In spite of all the apologies for Bahrám Sháh which Sultán Sinjar

1 بند نور پایی تا حصاران شاید
2 Cf. Raverty, Tubaqát-i-Násîrî, page 107, note 7. Firishtâ also mentions the accession of Kámil-d-Daulah Sherzâd, and calls the preceding monarch ‘Aláu-d-Daulah also Elliott II. 278.
3 Sultán Sinjar Muizzuddín Abúl Hárî Sháh Sinjar was the third son of Sultán Malik Sháh and the last of the Saljúq dynasty in Khurásán. He was born A. H. 479 (1086 A. D.) in the environs of Sinjár and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name. See I. K. (Slane) I. 600. He governed the province of Khurásán for 20 years. He died in 552 A. H., at Merv of a “colique compliquée avec un devoyement.” D’Herbelot.

See also Beale (O.B.D., p. 236).
4 The sister of Sultán Sinjar called “Mahd-i-’Irâq” was married to ‘Aláu-d-Dín Mas’úd father of Sultán Arsalán Sháh. Cf. Raverty Tubaqát-i-Násîrî, p. 107, note 6.
made the subject of several letters, Arsalân Shâh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultan Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry and being defeated went to Hindustân. Sultan Sinjar remained forty days in Ghazñin and after presenting that country to Bahrâm Shâh retraced his steps. Arsalân Shâh having collected a large army in Hindustân proceeded thence to attack Ghazín, and Bahrâm Shâh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámíán and with the assistance of Sultan Sinjar having again seized Ghazní and taken Arsalân Shâh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalân Shâh had lasted for a period of seven years.¹

SULTÁN BAHRÁM SHÁH IBN MAS‘ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanáí² was his panegyrist. Kalíla Dammáh and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznaví³ declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying
"Bahrám Shâh is Lord of the world."

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king
I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to both my eyes

¹ This account differs from that given in other authors. The Tßbaqât-i-Nâsírî says that Arsalân Shâh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firiâhta says three years. Baijâwi gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalân Shâh was put to death. (D’Herbelot).
² Abú Muṣammad ibn Adam Sanáí died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.). A celebrated poet, author of the Hadîqat-u-Haqqat, a Persian poem commonly known as Fakhrî-nâmah. Among his other works were: طریق التحقيق - عشق إله - سیر العبادات إلى إلیعاد - کارنامه بلغ - عقل نامه

According to Majma’u-l-Fuṣâhâ (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1 p. 35.
³ Ashrafu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Násírî-n’Alavi, died 565 H. Majma’u-l-Fuṣâhâ I. 192.
Bahrám Sháh for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom.
May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king
The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place
a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king.

Another.
Bahrám Sháh from desire of whose sweet honied name
The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth parrots, (poets).

And the Ḥadiqatu-l-Ḥaqiqat of Shaikh Sanáí is written in honour of Bahrám Sháh, it was written during his imprison-
ment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznévide fanat-
cicism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having
reached the capital of Baghdád received the imprimatur of the
chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and
they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A
short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that
when they accused the worthy Shaikh Sanáí of heresy after he
composed the Ḥadiqat, he wrote the following letter to the
Sultán Bahrám Sháh.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate:
Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon
the best of His created beings, Muḥammad, his family and com-
panions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditionary
sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to
fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the
other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have
advanced in support of this is that the prophet, may the peace
and blessing of God be upon him, declared that the heavens are
established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird which,
wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

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1 The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is Ḥadiqátu-l-
Ḥaqiqát wa Sharfiátu-l-Tariqát (hortus veritatis et lex vie), and it treated
among other subjects of the Imáms Abú Hanífa and Sháfi‘í, the founders
respectively of the Hanífite and Sháfi‘í sects of Sunnis.

کي نیاید بریز رلا یه بوم ور همای از جهان شود معدوم
No one would go under the shadow of the owl, even if the Humá were
extinct from the world. See Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs p. 327. The هما
wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and oppression is as a bird which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, may He be glorified and exalted, preserves the Emperor of Islám, and the just king Bahrám Sháh ibn Mas’úd Sháh ibn Ibráhím Sháh ibn Mas’úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgment of this slave’s heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michäel were precluded from having any share therein: it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure against the learned. Hence it is that our prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools. A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Bâyazid and

Humá, is a fabulous bird of good omen; it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

1 The owl on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

e. g. مارى تو ك ه ركة را بيضي بزي يا بوصو تو ك ه ركه نشديي بدن

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou seest, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest.

again بلبلا مود! بار بیار خبر بد ببوم شرم گذار

O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Hoebuck, Oriental Proverbs pp. 140, 349.

2 Expunge گز from line 6 and read چیزیل و مکائیل از صدرة البینین

3 By this tree is meant the lote tree of Paradise ٢٧٦٥٠٨٥

Muntahá. See Mishkát, XXIV. vii.

4 Cf. Qurán II. 99-95.

5 Bâyazid Anšári also called Pir hoshan, founder of a Šáfi sect, called the Roshániyyah or enlightened. Beale (O.B.D., p. 79).

A good account of him will be found in The Emperor Akbar by Beveridge. Vol. II. pp. 139 and seqq.
Shibli: 1 these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the Al-i-Marwán contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, may the peace and blessing of God be upon it, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful ‘Ali, may God be merciful to him, above the other companions, may God be graciously pleased with them, and they do not see that he has been placed below Siddiq 2 and Fârûq 3 and Zû‘ Nûrain 4 on the ground of descent and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muḥammad Muṭṭafâ, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, with reference to the vices of the Al-i-Marwán and the virtues of the Al-i-Muḥammad Muṭṭafâ, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him. If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, “Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy’s sake

1 Abû Bakr Dâlîf Ibn Jahdar (or Ja‘far) Ibn Yûnus (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed As-Shibli, a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Baġhdâd, but his family belonged to Khurâsân. This highly respected Şâfî followed the doctrines of the sect of Mâlik and had for masters Al-Junaq and the other holy men of that epoch. As-Shibli died at Baġhdâd, A. H. 334 (A. D. 946), and was interred in the cemetery of Al-Qâziqûrân. He was born at Surrah-man-rā (Samarrâ on the Eastern bank of the Tigris). Shibli means belonging to Shibli a village in the dependencies of Osrûshna, a large town beyond Samarqand in Transoxiâna. I. K. (Slane) I. 513. See also regarding Samarrâ J. R. A. S. 1895 p. 36.

2 “The faithful.” The title given by Muḥammad himself to the first Khalifah Abû Bakr, who reigned two years and died A.D. 634 (A.H. 13).

3 The second Khalifah ‘Umar, A.H. 13 to A.H. 23. Called Fârûq or “the Discerner” as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islâm.

4 Uṣmân. The third Khalifah, A.H. 23 to A.H. 35. Called Zû-Nûrain “the possessor of the two lights” because he married two of the Prophet’s daughters, Ruqâiyyah and Ummu Kulûm.

The above three Khalifahs, the first three successors to Muḥammad according to the Sunnî Muslims, are rejected by the Shi‘a who assert that ‘Ali was the first legitimate successor, the others having been usurpers.
and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and this verse is from the Hadīqat.

If the earth is a fit place for any court
It is for the court of Bahram Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sultan Bahram Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amírs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amir revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sultan in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sultan's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Husain Súrí who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahram Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifú-d-Dín Súrí in Ghaznín. Bahram Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifú-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahram Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Aláu-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahram Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'úd S'ad Salmán wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahram Sháh.

Bahram Sháh became the world conquering king.
He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.
His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.  

2 Cf. Tabaqát-i-Nášírí, Raverty p. 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firúz Koh.
3 The humá is according to the Ghfáṣu-l-Lughát "a bird which eats bones
God be He exalted and glorified became his guide.
That polished dagger became of increasing authority.
The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.
As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the
seeds of justice,
Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,
If the sky placed his praise upon the running water
The flowing water retained his image like an engraving on
stone.
He raised true religion and justice to the zenith.
The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender
of the faith.

KHUSRAU SHAH IBN BAHRAM SHAH.

Ascended the throne after his father, and 'Alau-d-Din Husain ibn Hasan Ghori came up against him. Khusrav Shah fled and came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hindustan, and when 'Alau-d-Din, as has been related, returned from Ghaznin successful, he went back and recaptured that country, and after that the tribe of Ghuzz seized Sultan Sinjar he turned towards Ghaznin. Khusrav Shah was not able to withstand him

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity." See note 2 page 57.

1 MSS. (A) (B) not بدرشة as in the text.
2 MS. (A) not صرشرشة as in text.
3 MS. (A) reads دين وز حق پناء which is the correct reading. 'Alau-Din Husain Ghori Jahansoz, the first of the kings of Ghor.

A tribe of Turks. They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H. From them sprung the Seljuk dynasty the founder of which was Baku-Din Tughral Beg. Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tush in the year 429 A. H., when under the leadership of Tughral Beg and Dâdûl they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'ûd ibn Ma'âmûd. Ravaging Armenia they entered Djârbâkhr in 433 A. H., and in 435 A. H. entered Mosul, but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the Arabs and fled to Nasibin, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azarbaijan.

Cf. D'Herbelot, art. Gas. who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gas, tenth son of Japhet son of Noah; from Bulgar, one of the sons of Gas, sprang the Bulgarians and from Perthus the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe.
and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H., after a reign of eight years. In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called Tarjī‘-band and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusrau Shāh who with ease
Conquers with sword and mace from Hindūstān to Khorāsān.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qāzī Baīzāwī and others it has been written that when 'Alān-d-Dīn plundered Ghaznah and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghūyāgū-d-Dīn Abūl-fath Muḥammad and Shihābū-d-Dīn Abūl Muḥaffār who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Shāh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Shāh was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznīvīde family came to an end. After a time Ghūyāgū-d-Dīn died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihābū-d-Dīn, but since Khwāja Nizāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad deceased, has written in the Tūrīkh-i-Nīgāmī copying from the Rauzat-u-Safā that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Shāh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznīvīde dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.

KHUSRAU MALIK IBN KHUSRAU SHĀH.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

1 The Tarjī‘-band consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, recurring at regular intervals.
2 See Aīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) iii. 341 See also Elliott II. 258.
3 The Rauzat-u-Safā however states that Khusrau Shāh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznī, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by Baīzāwī and other reliable authorities.

4 Cf. Ruvertcy op. cit., p. 112 note 5.

Baīzāwī states that the Ghaznīvīde dynasty ended with Khusrau Shāh. The work here quoted is best known as the Tābaqāt-i-Akbarī, but its author called it Tābaqāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī, and Badāʿī notes it also by that name as well as by the name Tūrīkh-i-Nīgāmī. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the
kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghaznéviyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sám, who is well-known under the title of Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Din Ghori, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznín his capital, brought an army against Hindústán and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore. Khusrau Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview. Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sám took him to Ghaznín, from thence sending him to Sulṭán Ghīyāṣu-d-Din, who imprisoned him in Fīroz Koh and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction.

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation.

It is a newly wed bride entangled with many a lover.

This event took place in the year 583 H. (1187 A. D.). He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghaznévide dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sulṭáns of Ghor. "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit."

Hemistiche.

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

And Qāżí Baizáwí may God's mercy be upon him states that

Tárīkh-i-Nizámí. "Khwája Niẓámu-d-Din Aḥmad was the son of Khwája Muqim Harawi Diwán of the household to Bábar, he subsequently served under Akbar. (Elliott V. 177 et. seqq.). The real facts are that the son Khusrau Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H.) (1187 A. D.), as is stated by our author.

1 The Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí states that Khusrau Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarwán in Gharjístán. Fīroz Koh was the capital. The story of the treachery by which Shihábu-d-Din Ghori took Khusrau Malik prisoner is told by Firishta.

See also page 44 where the author states that Ghīyāṣu-d-Din imprisoned Khusrau Sháh in one of the fortresses of Gharjístán where he died a prisoner.

2 Qurán III. 25 "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomever thou pleasest.'"
the duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty from Sultán Maḥmúd to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qáṣí Yahya Qazwíní, may God’s mercy be upon him, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the Tarikh-i-Nigámi, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.¹

II. THE GHORÍ DYNASTY.

Who reigned in Dehli. This dynasty commences with Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí² who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sám.

SULTÁN MUIZZU-D-DÍN MUḤAMMAD IBN SÁM GHORÍ.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and Iráq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghaznín, had the khatba read and the currency struck in his own name, ³ and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

¹ None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the Tarikh-i-Nigámi is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 683 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

² It is difficult to see how Baṣáwí arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Maḥmúd in 337 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

³ The statement of Qáṣí Yahyá Qazwíní is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznévide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

⁴ Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Aláu-d-Dín Husain Jahánsaz.

⁵ As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative ‘Greatest’ is applied to Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled ‘Great’ (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli, p. 13).
In brief, Sultán Ghiyásu-d Din when he had seized Tagínábád which was one of the dependencies of Garmisir and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultán Shahabu-d-Dín, used continually to bring up armies against Ghaznin, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghaznin the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sultán Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad, the title of Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín. Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

1 Takínábád which was one of the chief cities of Garmisir. Ṭabagát-i-Náṣirí, p. 115, line 9, (Cal. Edn.), see Aín-i-Abbar (7.) ill. 68, also Elliott, II. 292, 293.

2 The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihábu-d-Dín is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu-d-Dín popularly known as Muḥammad Ghorí. (see Baverty's Ṭabagát-i-Náṣirí p. 446 note 5). It is true that the author of the Ṭabagát-i-Náṣirí states that Muizzu-d-Dín was originally called Zangi while Ghiyásu-d-Dín was called Ḥabashi—both of them being called Muḥammad. He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyásu-d-Dín's accession to the throne Ghor he was called Shamsu-d-Dín and that Muizzu-d-Dín was called Shihábu-d-Dín. The actual statement is

Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu-d-Dún and the title of his brother had been Shihábu-d-Dín. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín.” From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the Ṭabagát-i-Náṣirí intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sultán.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name “Shihábu-d-Dín” is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muḥarram Ghorí, as is the name “Muizzu-d-Dín,” and Badáoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him, constantly as “Shihábu-d-Dín.”

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sultán Al-Muazzam (or Al-A’zam) Muizzu-d-Dúnwá wád Din Abú-l-Muṣaffar Muḥammad ibn Sám.

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.
for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardiz ¹ and in the year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmania from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhati ² tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh, ³ and having entrusted that country to Ali Kirmáj ⁴ returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán ⁶ he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat at the hands of Rái Bhim Dev ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H. he seized Parshúr, ⁶ and in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sultán Khusrau Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with an elephant as a present, and Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Siálkot ⁷ and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H. he brought an army against Diwá by which is meant

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¹ Kardiz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yáqút. Or Gardi, the name of a large "darak of the Tájís, Tabaqát-i-Násírí Raverty, p. 449, note 9.
² MSS. (A and B) agree with the text جماعة بهتية For a full account of this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p. 459, note 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bháti a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and Alor. The Rája referred to according to the Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá was chief of the Bhati tribe. See Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násírí 451, note 3 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p. 61.
⁴ According to Tiefenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tief. I. 118.
⁵ So also Firishta على كرم، though Briggs translates, Ali Kirmáy.
⁶ In the text read ازرا ملائان Firishta says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."
⁷ بجانب پیشاور کة در کتاب سلف بکرم ویرشور ونرسور مشهور است (Firishta) cf. Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násírí, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr.
⁸ Siálkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers. Tiefenthaler, "Un château tres fort bâti par Maḥmoud
Tattah and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Sialkot retraced his steps, and from Tārikḥ-i-Nizāmī which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Sialkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the Mubáraksháḥī from which we learn that the building of Sialkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies; and in that year Khusrau Malik with the assistance of the Khūkhars and other tribes, besieged the fort of Sialkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Dīn again besieged Khusrau Sháh in Lahore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Ganavī... La petite riviere d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant.” Firishta states that Muizzu-d-Dīn founded the fort of Sialkot which lies between the Chenāb and Rāvi and left Ḥusain Kharmil as governor, in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.)

1 Cf. Raverty 452 note 2. See also Tieffenthaler, I. 121. Tatta est tres ancienne... on la nomme aujourd'hui Dobul .... Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karāchī. See Abul Feda, (Reinaud) I. cclxxxvi.

The position of Debal. Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karāchī and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karāchī and N.-W. of Tatta. It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mehrān (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size. It also lay a short distance to the North of Łāri Bunder which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South; the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward.

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batūta, Paris Edition, III. 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's Anc. Geog., p. 299, 300.


3 The Khūkhars. This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakhkars, cf. Aṭā-i-Ākbarī (Bl.) Vol. I. 456 note 1, and Vol. II. (J) 383 note 1, but see also Raverty (455 note 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct.
unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sulṭān who conveyed him to Ghaznin and sent him to his brother Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn at Firoza Koh. Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

Qītā’h.

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,
and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,
And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness
copies fair the past memories of Paradise,
Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly
draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.
Time is like a wind, which at the first
draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,
Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,
drags its body with ignominy to the dust.
The world at one time brings forward by turn in the
narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.
The crafty fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it
into the noose of his artfully laid snare.
One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,
Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced.
Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of
poverty should court a favour from the sun?
Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,
that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish
What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merriment
quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of luxuriousness?
What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers
from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of toil?
At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to
the brink of the pit of death.
Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the
foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.
And in this year Sultán Muizzu-d-Din left Ali Kirmáj who was governor of Multán, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H. coming from Ghaznín he reduced the fort of Tabarindhah which was the capital of the great rájás of Hindustán, and left Malik Zíáu-d-Din Tukílī with a corps d’élite consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Ráí Pathúrá the Governor of Ajmir, and Khandi Rái his brother who had been Governor of Dehlí before Pathúrá, arrived with a vast army at a place called Taráyan on the banks of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven krohs from Thánesar. It is now known by the name of Taráwarf and is distant forty krohs from Dehlí. A great conflict ensued with the Sultán and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultán evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandi Rái who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear thrust in his mouth from the hand of the Sultán. The Sultán also was struck on the head by the Rái’s spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. The Sultán got off his horse and taking up his son Khilji upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field; the Sultán proceeded to Ghaznín, and Ráí Pathúrá took the fortress of Tabarindhah from Zíáu-d-Din Tukílī on peaceable terms after a


2 Both MSS. A and B have: Jarrett (Ain-i-Akbari trans., III. 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarindhah, and Raverty (Tubagdt-i-Násirí p. 457 note 3) thinks Tabarindhah is a copyist’s error for Bathindah apparently relying on the Lubbu-t-Tawdrtih-i-Hind. From Rennell’s map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberhind, which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Biknir and Jhunjhnú in Rajputáná, that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmir.

See also Raverty 458, note 3.


4 Both (A) and (B) read: Skr. șahā krosh, is equivalent to about two miles.

5 The șahā. It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p. 327), S. E. of Thánesar.

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultañ again came into Hindustan with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandi Ráí having been overcome in battle was killed and hasted to his resting-place in Hell. The Sultañ then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsuti 1 and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmir the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Ḥażrat Khwájá Muínú-d-Dín Chishti 2 may God sanctify his heart, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmir, was at that time in the company of the Sultañ, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultañ Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy krohs from Dehli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálík range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznin. In the same year too Quṭbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandi Ráí. Then in the year 589 H. (1193 A, D.) Sultañ Shihábú-d-Dín fought with Ráí Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár 3 and Atáwah, 4 killed him and went to Ghaznin. The fort of Kol 4 fell into the hands of Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sultañs. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

1 The country south of the Himálaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).
2 Khwájah Muínú-d-Dín, Ḥasan Chishti was the son of Ghíyáṣú-d-Dín Ḥasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijstán.
He died in A. H. 633 and is buried near Ajmir.
3 Tiefenthaler I. 166 mentions Atáva and Chanouá as belonging to the Sorkár of Agra. (See Raverty (Tábqát-i-Násirí) also p. 470 note 1).
4 Cél—ville munie d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sábétghar et Ramghar. Tief, I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra.
commenced in the reign of Sultán Shamsu-d-Din Altamash 1 in the year 606 H., as will be related, if God (may He be exalted) so will it, in its own place. And in the year 591 H., he took the fort of Bhangar 2 and Badáon. And in the year 593 H. he conquered Gujerát and took his army to Nahrwálá which is known as Pattán, and having taken vengeance for the Sultán on Bhím Rai Dev, and having taken much spoil returned; and in that year Sultán Ghiyáshu-d-Din removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode, and Sultán Muizzu-d-Din having heard this news when on the confines of Tús and Sarakhás, turned towards Bádghis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother’s dominions among his kindred came to Ghazúnin and brought an army against Khwárazm, and on the first occasion Sultán Muḥammad Khwárazm Sháh suffered defeat, and the Sultán pursued him and fought the Khwárazmíans at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaihún, and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwárazm; he also fought a great battle with an army of Khitái 7 kings of Turkistán who had come to the help of Sultán Muḥammad, 1 on the banks of the river Jaihún—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andkhúd where he entrenched himself, and

1 Sultán Ul-Mu’azzam Shamsu-d-Dunyá wau-d-Din Abúl Mu’azzafar, Iyal Timish the 1st of the Shamsiyah Sultáns. See Raverty 597 note 4.
2 MS. (A) بنكنگ Thankar, but it should be apparently, as in Tiefenthaler we find Bhangar described as “un fort triangulaire, construit de terre par ordre d’un prince Indon nommé Haráraun ... Bhangar est à 30 milles de ‘Ávala à 40 de Barédi et à 8 de la rive ultérieure du Gange.

Budan, ‘ville ancienne ... elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons. Elle est a 20 milles de Barédi, à 10 d’ Ávala et à 5 de Bhangar.

Budan was the birthplace of the famous Niýámu-d-Din Auliya, called “Al Bakhús” or the controversialist, and “Moháil-shikán” the assembly-router.

3 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N.W. Tieff. I 385. See also Bayley, Hist of Gujarát 25 &c. Abúl Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 117. Afn-i-Akkábar (J.) II. 262 and III. 59.

4 He died at Herát.

5 See Raverty (Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí) 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 5.

6 The details of this partition are given in the Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí (Rav. p. 472.)

7 Sultán Muḥammad Khwárazm Sháh applied to Gúrkhán of Qará Khitá for assistance. See Raverty (Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí) 473 note 2.
having asked for quarter returned to Ghaznin; and at that time the tribe of the Khukhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultan accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Qutbu-d-Din Aibak from Dehli, and having given the Khukhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznin, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyak, which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznin, at the hands of Khukhar bandits—the following qitah has been written to chronicle this event:

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihabu-d-Din, Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began, On the third day from the first of Sha'bân, in the year 602 Happened in the road to Ghaznin at the stage Damyak.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznin to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred mans of diamonds jewel of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindustan nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sam, who in war Was stronger in heart and hand than Sam and Nairim An He obtained, like Mahmud, from the elephants of Hindustan Governments of Sasan and many kingdoms of Saman

1 For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty (Tabaqdt-i-Nasiri) 478 note 6.

2 A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznin. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty. Firishta (Bombay text) has روتي. Rohtak.

3 No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The Tabaqdt-i-Nasiri attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period."

4 The Tabriz man must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the man of Hindustan varies from 40 to 80 lbs. (Raverty).

The Ain-i-Akbart makes no mention of the man as a weight unit for jewels. Two sars are equal to half a man. As the ser was nearly two pounds this would make the man equal to eight pounds nearly. (See Ain-i-Akbart (Jarretts) II. 356 note 4).

The Tabaqdt-i-Nasiri says 1500 mans of diamonds.
He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)
That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mans of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhru-d-Din Rázi 1 may God be merciful to him who wrote the Lataíf-i-Ghiyáṣí and other books in honour of his brother Sultán Ghiyáṣu-d-Din Abú-l-Fath. He remained with the army of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sám, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sultán used to evince great emotion, and since the Imám got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Sultán from the pulpit he said Oh! Sultán Muizzu-d-Din, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rázi: The following qîta'í is by him:

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend
If behoves you to agree with your enemy,
If not, then have patience for a few days
He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rázi.

And after the assassination of the Sultán certain mischief-makers out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis, 2 and asserted that the Imám was well aware of their

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1 Abú Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Ṭımūr Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ṭímí al-Jámí al-Bakrī at-Tabarestání Ar-Rázi (native of Raí in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Shāfīite sect, he was born at Raí A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150) and died at Herát A. H. 606 (A. D. 1210). (Ibn Khalliqán). See D’Herbelot art Rázi. See also Majma‘ul Fussáhá I. p. 374, where he is called Al-Quraishi at-Tamími, Ibn Khalliqán does not mention the Lataíf-i-Ghiyáṣí among Ar-Rázi’s works, while on the other hand Hájí Khalifa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows. “11124 El-Létäf El-Ghiyathiye, subtilitates Ghiyáth-ed-Diní Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principiis religionis, secunda de urisprudentiä, tertia de ethicä, quarta de precatione agit.”

2 The term Fidá-i is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Muḥhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu-d-Din met his death according to the express statement of the author of the Tabaqät-i-Náṣir. (See Raverty 485 note 3). This attempt to implicate Rázi in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the Jámi‘u-t-Taváríšá, and the Táju-l-Madsir. See Elliott II. p. 236.
hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imam and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjari who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultân; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

Sultân Muizzu-d-Din Shâh Ghâzi whose sword in the world has become like the famous Zulfiqâr of Ali Murtazâ.

The true Sultân Muḥammad Sâm, he whose love for the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafâ.

1 Ťubaqdt-i-Nâsîrî states that he held the office of Vazîr, and was put to death by the Turkish Malikâs and Amir of Ghaznûn, together with Malik Nâsîrâ-d-Dîn Hûsain the Amir-i-Shîkâr.

2 Zâl Fiqâr. The following is extracted from Ibn Khallîqân (Sîjân) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hârûn ar Rashîd on sending Yazîd ibn Mazyad against Al Walîd gave him Zûl Fâkâr the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazîd, by it you will be victorious." To this Muslim ibn al-Walîd alludes in the following verse of a kasîda composed by him in praise of Yazîd:

'You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and the bravery displayed by the first (Musulmân) who ever prayed and fasted.'

By these last words he meant Alî the son of Abû Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it."

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hîshâm ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khallîqân states that Zûl Fiqâr belonged to Al-Aâsî son of Nabîb, both of whom were killed, in the battle of Badr; Al-Aâsî being slain by 'Alî who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that Zûl Fâqîr was given to 'Alî by the Prophet." I must observe that faqîr with an a after the f is the plural, of Faqâra which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced Zâl Fiqâr the word fiqâr is the plural of fiqra (Vertebra).

At Tabârî states that Zâl fiqâr came into the possession of Hârûn ar Rashîd in the following manner:

"Zul fiqâr was borne by Muḥammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abû Taļib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abû Ja'far al-Mansûr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave Zûl fiqâr to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dinârs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abû Taļib family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled. The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbaside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimân ibn Ali ibn Abd Allah ibn alABBâs ibn Abd-al-Muṭṭalib obtained the governments of Yemen and
Another poet says:—

The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Gházi Muizzu-d-Din
From whom the glory of crown and diadem gains increase,
The origin of victory, Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Husain
His very presence has become the mark for princely glory. ¹

And Názuki Marághái too says in praise of him:—

Sháh Muizzu-d-Dín before whose princely might
The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers
He came to the throne like a rose at the time when
The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance. ²

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dinárs.
From him it passed to al-Mahdi the Son of Al Mansúr (Khalífah from 775
A.H. to 785 A.H.) from him to Músá al Hádi and from Músá to his brother
Hárún ar Rashíd. "

Al Asmáí relates that he saw Hárún ar Rashíd at Tús wearing a sword
and that he said "Asmáí would you like to see Zal faqár," and on Asmáí
expressing a wish to see it Hárún ar Rashíd bade him draw the sword—on
doing so he found on it eighteen faqaras—The word faqár is said in a note
to the above to designate "a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else
a notch on its edge. It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter."

The word Zalfigar meaning vertebrated I think it quite possible that the sword
in question was so called from its strength and pliability, the vertebral column
being the type of the combination of these two somewhat incompatible
elements.

¹ MS. (A) has مرسية را MS. (B) agrees with the text.
² i.e. In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra
(ميرزه).

The sun enters Gemini Taurus Aries (Spring) 21st March.
حمل جوزا

Virgo Leo Cancer (Summer) 21st June.
سرطان إس سنبلة

Sagittarius Scorpio Libra (Autumn) 21st September.
ميزان عقرب توس

Pisces Aquarius Capricornus (Winter) 21st December.
جدي دلو حوت

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac. It was known to the
He in the fire of whose wrath evil doers
Give up their sweet lives like sugarcane.
The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty
The revolving sphere has mixed together;
Oh Lord! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty
Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qāzī Ḥamīd of Balkh says:

Ghāzī Muizzu-d-Dīn wad-Dunyā with whom
On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious standard.

Qua locus Erigonensis inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called Ζυγός (the yoke) by the Latins Jugum and was
first formally called Libra in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name
seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol
of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of
the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the
commentary of Theon on the Almagest Libra is frequently represented by
Ἀίρα, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from
the Sicilians, transformed into Libra and then restored to the later Greeks in
the new sense of a balance." See Smith's (D. G. R. A.) p. 151, also Afini-Akbarī (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and notes. Also Albirûnî (Sachau) p. 173, where a
table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p. 334) leant to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus
received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can
be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the
nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to
a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a
pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in
different languages. Thus we know that the sign Libra was first known as
χραλί to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then
this name was changed to ζυγός from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally
called Libra a balance.

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than
probable that we mutat look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source
whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirûnî [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

1 Fakhrull-Ulamá wa Zınul-Fuṣalá Ḥamidu-d-Dīn Umar ibn Maḥmúd Balkhí, a celebrated writer whose Maqṣámât called forth the praise of the
poet Anwari. He was the author of several works written in a style of
great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet. Several of his
works are mentioned by name. See Maqṣam-ul-Fusahd I. 197.
Búl Muzaffar, the Ruler of the East for whom in the field of battle
The Humá of his canopy carries as it were victory under its wing.

**Sultán Quţbu-d-Dín Aibak**

Who was one of the specially favourite servants of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon had a broken little finger, and was known by this sobriquet (Aibak), they also call him Quţbu-d-Dín Lak bakhsh. With the consent of the nobles of Hindústán he established himself as Protector of the kingdom of Dehlí, and after the martyrdom of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din his brother’s son, Sultán Ghiyáșu-d-Dín Muhámmad, the rightful heir of Sultán Ghiyáșu-d-Din Muḥámmad in whose praise they wrote the following verse:

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1 His full titles were: Sultán al-A’zam, Muizzu-d-Dunya wa-d-Dín Abul Muṣarraf Muḥammad. On his death difficulties arose as to the succession, the Turkomans generally claiming it for Ghiyáșu-d-Dín Muhmúd, son of Ghiyáșu-d-Dín, while the chiefs of Ghúr on the other hand favoured the claims of Baháy-u-Dín Sám, and a quarrel arose between the two parties as to the route to be taken in conducting the corpse of Muizzu-d-Dín to Gharzní in. Eventually this was settled by the diplomacy of the Khwája Muáyyyidú-l-Málik. Táj-u-Dín Yáldkúz (Yáldúz) came out to meet the body, which was buried in an enclosed grave which he had built for his daughter, on the 22nd Sha’bán (Firishta).

2 This is the reading of the text and of both MSS. and it serves as a measure to correct the current idea as to the etymology of the name Ibak. Raverty (514, note 1) states that Ibak in Turkish means finger. This does not appear to be the case, so far as I can learn from dictionaries إيدب means the comb of a cock, while the word finger is پرمک parmaq. On the other hand the word ای آي means moon and بک bey or bet means لون. Whether the finger was broken at the time of the eclipse, or whether it was a congenital defect does not appear, but from the text before us the connection with the moon is the cause of the name, not, as has been said, the broken finger. See also Raverty loc. cit. and Thomas’ Pathán kings of Dehlí, page 32, note 1. Firishta however distinctly states رجوين إنجشت خنصرة او شکسته برد اورا اببک مي گفند if his text is correct.

3 He was given the name of Sultán Quţbu-d-Dín Aibak by Muizzu-d-Dín on the occasion of a public ceremony when he distinguished him by special marks of his favour. (Firishta).

4 The bestower of laks. So called from his lavish generosity.
Sultán from East to West, Monarch from West to East
Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Ḥusain.

having sent to Malik Ḥuṭhū-d-Din from Firoza Koh the canopy and insignia of royalty, addressed him by the title of Sultán,¹ and in the year 602 H. (1295 A.D.) having come from Dehli to Láhore on Tuesday, the sixteenth of the month of ZuQa'dah in the aforesaid year, ascended the throne of empire and became proverbial for his kindness and clemency. He used to bestow upon deserving recipients rewards far in excess of their anticipations, and inaugurated his custom of lak bakhshi (bestowing laks). One of the learned men of the time named Baháu-d-Din Uşhi² said in praise of him.

Quatrain.

Oh thou that hast brought into the world the bestowal of laks;
Thy hand has brought the mine into great straits;
From envy of thy liberality the heart of the mine has seized blood drops,
And placed them forward pretending that they are rubies.

And after some time enmity arose between him and Táju-d-Din Yaldúz, who was one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Din and had read the Khútba in his own name in Ghaznín, on account of Láhore, and the fire of war and conflict blazed forth on the confines of the Punjáb; Táju-d-Din was defeated, and went to Kirmán which was his usual abode. Sultán Ḥuṭhū-d-Din went and took possession of the fort of Ghaznín and staying there for a period of forty days, spent his time in rioting and wantonness and dissipation. Accordingly the people of Ghaznín were annoyed at his behaviour and secretly summoned Táju-d-Din Yaldúz, who arrived without warning, and Sultán Ḥuṭhū-d-Din not being able to oppose him came to Láhore by way of Sáng Súrákh.³

¹ He appears to have already possessed the title of Sultán (see note 3 page 77).
² Baháu-d-Din Muḥammad Ušhi Farghání was a very famous preacher and learned divine, very famous according to Uff as an extempore speaker, and an extremely able poet and prose writer. (Majmu'a-i-Fuṣahá, I. 172).
³ One of the routes between Ghaznín and the Punjáb, for he did not dare to take that through Kirmán (Raverty, 527, note). The Tuhqát-i-Násiri omits all reference to this, and merely mentions Ḥuṭhū-d-Din's death without saying where his fatal accident happened. As to the exact date of his death, see Raverty 528, note 2.
Verse.

When the head of a Sultán becomes unsteady from wine
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head.

And after wielding power for some time he fell from his horse
when playing chauqán at Láhore in the year 607 H., and he was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of Hindustán, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four years a Sultán.

This ancient revolving heaven has overthrown many heroes;
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and moon and Jupiter.  

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din reached princely power in Hindustán and Ghaznín and Bengála and other places, whose affairs are written in their proper places; among others Táju-d-Din Yaldúz on the confines of Taráyan, otherwise known as Taráwari, having fought with Sultán Shamsu-d-Din Iyáltamish was taken prisoner. Another is Sultán Náširu-d-Din Qábácha ³ who is also one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Din, and had married one of the daughters of Táju-d-Din Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sultán Quölbu-d-

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1 قالب نهی ساخت  
"Called Nehi Sacht" Literally, emptied the mould (in which he was cast).

2 The word though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in reality the Persian word کالب (cf. قالب) in an Arab dress.  

The game of chauqán is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the chauqán being called in Arabic سولاچان  
A pony which is fit for the game of polo is called (Bhürán-i-Qá‘í).  

3 In the 'Ajáíb-ú-Makhlúqát of Qásání we find that the astrologers considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers and troops. The moon is his Váṣir and Jupiter the Qá‘í. The planet is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد إكبر. The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the Hindús Somagrha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was called 'Aditya,' i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things. See Albirúni (Sachau) I. 217 and seqq.

³ Who on the death of Quölbu-d-Din proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multán according to Raverty (530, note 6). The Tubaqát-i-Násirí states that Náširu-d-Din Qábácha married two of the daughters of Quölbu-d-Din. (See note 4, p. 529) (note 2, p. 532).
Din and Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Din during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sulṭán Qaṭbu-d-Din, he brought the whole country from Uchh 1 to Sarsuti and Kuhrám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táju-d-Din who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Mu‘aiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjári 2 being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sulṭán Náširu-d-Din, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Din and trod the way to the next world. 3 Another is Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, when Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám reduced the fortress of Bahankar 4 he entrusted the command of it to Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhásiyána 5 elected to reside there 6 and used continually to

1 70 miles south-west of Multán. For the situation of Uchh, see Cunn. A. G. I., p. 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syud Bukhári. Tieff. I. 118. In Rennell’s map, Vol. III. Surusti is shewn as in Long. 74° 5' Lat. 23° 5', Koram Long. 75° 4' Lat. 29° 4'.

3 See note 1 page 74.

5 In the year 612 H. according to the Táju-i-Mádsír, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to Tubaqáṭ-i-Náṣírī he was drowned while trying to escape. See Raverty 542-543, notes. cf. Elliott II. 304.

4 Both MSS., but according to Tubaqáṭ-i-Náṣírī and Alfi the name of the fort was Thankir or Thangir. (See however Raverty 544 note 1).

5 MS. (B) has Bhásiyána, MS. (A) has Bháyána. Tubaqáṭ-i-Náṣírī says “the fortress of Thankir which is in the territory of Bháyána.” This fortress he built was called Sultán Kot (Tubaqáṭ-i-Náṣírī).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, Beána était antrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd’hui le nombre de ses habitants est fort diminué, après que le Rajah Indou en a chassé, il n’y a que peu d’années, les Mahométans, Afgans, et Sáides, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d’Alí. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de Fatépouer au Sud-Ouest.

He mentions no fortress named Thankir or Bahankar nor does he mention Sultán Kot.

6 Cf. Tubaqáṭ-i-Náṣírī where this fort is called Sultáukot.
harass the environs of Gwáliár, and Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín at the time of his return from Gwáliár had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu-d-Dín who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two kroks from Gwáliár and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Quţbu-d-Dín and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Quţbu-d-Dín and Baháu-d-Dín. Malik Baháu-d-Dín died a short time afterwards.

Another is Malik Muḥammad Bakhtyár Ghúrí. He was one of the great men of Ghúr and Garmsír, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghaznín in the reign of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín and from thence went to Hindústán. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultán Quţbu-d-Dín, and joined hands with Malik Husainu-d-Dín Ughul Beg r of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kánpiláh and Patíáli were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Ondh and conquered that coun-

1 No date is given of these events.
2 Called also Muḥammad Bakhtyár Khiljí, the first to lead a Musulmán invasion of Bengal in 596 A. H. He belonged to the Khiljí tribe of Ghúr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the An-i-Akbarí states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nádiya by Muḥammad Bakhtyár Khiljí. He destroyed the city of Nádiya (in 1203 A. D., 600 A. H.) and transferred the capital to Lakhnútí. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Dehlí. An-i-Akbarí (Jarrett) II. 148.
3 He was a nephew of Muḥammad son of Maḥmúd. (See Tubaqát-i-Náṣírî 549) Raverty denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him. (See Raverty, p. 550 note 6).
4 Mallu-i-Muazzam Husainu-d-Dín Ughul Beg, held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb, independently of Quţbu-d-Dín.
5 MSS. (A.) and (B.) Kánpiláh. MS. (A.) Punédí. MS. (B.) Patíáli. Raverty p. 550 note 6, says Patíláh (Lat. 25° Long. 82° 54') and Kuntiláh Kánpiláh [Lat. 25° 7' Long. 82° 35'] the Kuntil of the Indian Atlas. See the note above for a discussion of the question.
6 In the text Kánpiláh is evidently a copyist's error for Kánpiláh.
try, reduced Behár and Munér,¹ and having taking large booty Sultán Quţbu-d-Din sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultánship. He then brought many presents to the court of the Sultán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sultán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,² but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnauti³ in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muḥammad Bakhtyáir brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnauti and arrived at the town of Núdiyá⁴ with a small force, Núdiyá is now in ruins. Rái Lákhmia (Lakminia⁵) the governor of that

¹ Manér ville assez distinguée située sur la rive citérière (du Gange) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l'embouchure du Son (Sacone) se trouve entre Maner à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est. Le Son se jette dans le Gange à de cosse avant Maner. Tieff. I. 423 note (a).

² Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh is situated on the Pancháná river. Tieffenthaler describes it thus "Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd'hui qu'elle ne l'a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddin Munír is buried there).

³ Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles."

⁴ See Hunter Gazetteer of India.

⁵ On the occasion of a public audience held by Quţbu-d-Din in the Qasr-i-Safed.

⁶ The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanáwati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jannatábad by the Emperor Humáyún. See Aín-i-Akbari II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz. art Gaur. See also Raverty Tabaqát-i-Náširi 559 note 2.

⁷ Both MSS. نودیا. Also Tabaqát-i-Akbari. See Imp. Gaz. Nadiya, Nadiya or Nabaowip is on the west bank of the Bhágirathí, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballal Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadiya owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágirathí at Nádiyá. The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzub—See Raverty op cit 559 note 2.

town who had heard from astrologers the fame of Muḥammad Bakhtyār and his great power, fled thence to Kāmrān, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muḥammad Bakhtyār having destroyed the place of worship and idol-temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gaur.²

VERSE.

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of heathen.

Now there is heard resounding the shout of "Alláho akbar"

And after having the khufbāh read and the currency struck in his name,³ having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amīr Ali Masīj (Mich) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestan and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan.⁵ A river

¹ For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see Tabaqat-i-Akbār which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused herself to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived, immediately after delivery of her child the mother died. (see also Raverty Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, p. 555).

² There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever known by the name of Muḥammad Bakhtyār. Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter Imp. Gaz. Gaz. Gaur.

³ The recitation of the ṣuhb or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muḥammadan nations as constituting actual accession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect.

As to this passage see Raverty 559 note 3. See Thomas Pathān Kings of Dehli p. 37 and p. 110, and notes. It appears unlikely that Muḥammad Bakhtyār issued coins in his own name, as he was nothing more than Sipahsālār of the Sultān Muizzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sām: moreover no such coins are known.

⁴ A chief of the tribes of Kūnch and Mīj called Ali Mīj (Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti.

⁵ Regarding this the Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī says that a chief of one of the
here crossed their route called the Brahmanput,\(^1\) which they also call Brahmakadi. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Shâh Garshasp \(^4\) when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kâmruḍ and went on his way. Muḥammad Bakhtyār crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads, and at last arrived at a plain in mountain tribes between Lakhmānti and Tibbat the Kûñch-Mij-and Tihárū who are all of Turkish countenance (ጉም ጥርክ ከምና ከን) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islam and agreed to act as guide to Muḥammad Bakhtyār whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Marīhan KÛ (or Bardham KÛ) \(\text{..}^2\) in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Mati and when it enters the country of Hindustân they style it Samundar in the Hindi dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges.

From this point the account differs, the Tubaqát-i-Nâṣîrî says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c.

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river after which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Badānî’s statement has more praed factae probability, the statements of the Tubaqát-i-Nâṣîrî moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Badānî’s account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kâmruḍ, where Badānî says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) इलाहाबाद Abardin; MS. (B) इलाहाबाद Abardin.

Tubaqát-i-Nâṣîrî says Bardhan (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has ماردگان کور.

\(\text{1 Tubaqát calls this river the Beg-Mati (see Raverty 561 note 1.)}\)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565. The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kâmruḍ, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Sîl Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Teesta.

\(\text{2 See Raverty p. 561 note 9 and Afs-i-Akbâr III. (Jarrett) 328 note 3.}\)
which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muḥammad Bakhtyār. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city \(^1\) from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muḥammad Bakhtyār not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muḥammad Bakhtyār had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.\(^2\) They passed the night there by some stratagem, and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muḥammad Bakhtyār were drowned in the ocean of destruction, and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel’s sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muḥammad Bakhtyār, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever \(^3\) and used to say “no doubt Sultan Muḥammad Muizz-ud-Din Sám has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me.” And when weakness took possession of him ‘Alī Mardán one of Muḥammad Bakhtyār’s greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Nārnāli \(^4\) and finding him

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\(^1\) Called Karpattan (Tubaqat-i-Nāširī) see Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyār’s retreat and disasters.

\(^2\) See Raverty 570 note 9. regarding the possible locality.

\(^3\) I take this to be the meaning of the text.

\(^4\) MSS. (A) and (B) نانوکی See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this نانوکی Naran-kôt.
bedridden, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger. This event happened in the year 602 H. after the death of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din; and after the death of Sultán Qa'bū-d-Din this same Ali Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the khutba and sikka of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultán Alān-d-Din, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Túrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultán's power why do you divide them?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Alān-d-Din, who asked "where does this fellow come from?" They answered "from Iṣfahán" then he ordered them to write a document to Iṣfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazirs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Iṣfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties." He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amírs of Khilj consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husámu-d-Din Khiljí who was one of the nobles of Khilj and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. The reign of Ali Mardán lasted thirty-two years.  

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Din abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengála and Jánnagar and Kámrúd and gained the title of Sultán Ghiyáṣu-d-Din, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultán Shamsu-d-Din Iyáltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

1 Cf. Ṭabaqāt-i-Násirī 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

2 Both MSS. have سی ردیسال but as a matter of fact Ali Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 note 7.)

3 Malik Husáiu-d-Din 'Iwaz.
seventy thousand *tanqahs* \(^1\) in cash as a present and acknowledged the Sulţán’s authority, as will be mentioned, if God (be He exalted) so will it. And in the year 624 H. Malik Nāsiru-d-Din Muḥammad ibn\(^3\) Sulţán Shamsu-d-Din went from Oudh to Lakhnauti at the instigation of some of the Amirs,\(^3\) and Ghiyāšu-d-Din\(^4\) who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnauti to Kámrúd turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Nāsiru-d-Din and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.\(^5\) The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustán incidentally with the affairs of the Sulţáns of Dehlí was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyeh kings who attained to the Sulţanat of Multán and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places.

*Sulţán Arám Sháh ibn Qutbú-d-Dín Aibak* \(^6\)

After his father, succeeded to the throne.

In the world no family remains without a master
If one departs, another takes his place;
This too is the way with this deceitful world.
The father departs, the son’s foot is in the stirrup.

By the consent of the Amirs he marched from Lahore to Dehlí. In the meantime Malik Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son-in-law of Sulţán Qutbú-d-Dín,\(^1\)

\(^1\) *Tanqah.* For the value of this see J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. i. p. 343 also Raverty 584 note 2. Thomas Chr. Pathán Kings of Dehlí pp. 161 and p. 49 note.

The silver *tanqah* weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the *ta.ms* which was \(\frac{1}{4}\) of a *tanqah,* while another coin was introduced under Muḥammad Tughlaq known as the *black tanqah* which was \(\frac{1}{4}\) of the silver *tanqah.*

The value of the silver *tanqah* was about the same as the rupee. See *Ain-i-Akbari* III. (Jarrett) 363, note 3.

\(^2\) The text should read بَيْن سُلْطَانِ شَمْسِ الدِّينِ MSS. A. and B.

\(^3\) Malik Izzu-d-Dín Jání. See Raverty, p. 594, note 1.

\(^4\) Ghiyāšu-d-Dín Iwaz ... Husain Khlījī.

\(^5\) He was the last of the Muizzí Suľtáns according to the *Tabaqát-i-Násirī.*

and had tributary relations with Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Qabāchā, at the invitation of Sipah Sālār Alī Isma'īl, had come from Hardwār and Badāun to Dehli and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arām Shāh arrived in the vicinity of Dehli Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn came out against him in battle array, and Arām Shāh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year.¹

²All of us young and old are doomed to die
No one remains in this world lastingly
This is the way of the lofty sky. It holds
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iylātimīsh ²
Called by the title of “Yamin-i-Amīr-al-Mūminīn”
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehli; and the reason of the name Iylātimīsh is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

¹ Minhāj-us-Sirāj mentions that at Arām’s death Hindustān was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Qabāchāh; Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dīn Iylātimīsh; Lakhnauti was held by the Khiljī chiefs ‘Alī Mariān having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutb-ud-Dīn, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli and Ghaznī. See Thomas’ Pathēn Kings, p. 40.

² Not in either MS. These verses are from the Shahlmāmah of Firdausī. (side Shahlmāmah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 3, and Vol. I. p. 372, line 6. The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS. from which he prepared the text.

³ In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written إلتبش. This text has إلتبش

Iylātimīsh or Altamīsh as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehli with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalif of Baghdād [Al-Mustansir b-illāh, A.H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muḥammmedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdād of this new Indo-Muḥammmedan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).
born under these circumstances Iyaltimish. His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkestán. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from there he happened to be taken to Bokhárá, and thence in the time of Sultán Múhammad Sám to Ghaznín; and in these days Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín after the conquest of Nahrwálah and the taking of Gujrát had gone to Ghaznín, and since without permission of Sultán Múhammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultán to sell him. Sultán Múhammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín after his return from Ghaznín bought a slave named Ibáq, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 tangaas: at first he called him Amír Tamghách, and appointed him to the Amirship of Tabarhindah, and at the time when Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín fought with Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, Ibáq his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwáliár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Barán and its environs, and since he began to shew signs of extraordinary hardiness he entrusted the country of Badaún to him, and in the war of Muizzu-d-Dín with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badaón and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín in the service of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river engaged the enemy bravely several

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1 Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p. 44, note 1. The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr. Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr. Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the ğ has become displaced and that the word should really be written ينتلشم

ay-tutulmish

eclipse of the moon.

This explanation seems most plausible. In Turki the word altamash means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

2 Tabarhindah in MS. A is written تبرهندہ. MS. B.


4 See Ṭabagát-i-Náṣiri. It was the river Jhilam.
times: Sultán Muizzu-d-Din bestowed on him fitting honours and distinguished him royally and gave him high recommendations to Malik Quṭbu-d-Din, and went to the greatest possible lengths in his care for him; and that same day Malik Quṭbu-d-Din wrote his letter of emancipation, and by degrees raised him to the dignity of Amir-ul-Umará (Chief of the Amīrs) till his affairs reached the height they did. And in the beginning of his reign certain of the Muizziyeh and Quṭbiyeh Amīrs rebelled against him and suffered punishment and became food for the pitiless sword. And Malik Tāju-d-Din Yaldūz after he had suffered defeat by the Army of Khwārazm obtained possession of Lahore; Sultán Shamsu-d-Din coming from Delhi to meet him in the year 612 H. drew up in battle order on the confines of Tarāyān which is known as Seráí Taláwari.1 After a severe battle Sultán Tāju-d-Din Yaldūz being defeated fell a prisoner into the hands of Shamsu-d-Din who sent him to Bādāon. The bird of his soul there escaped from the prison house of the body and took its flight to the nest of the next world. His tomb is in that city.

And in the year 614 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Din came into conflict with Sultán Nāşiru-d-Din Qabácha who had married the two daughters of Sultán Quṭbu-d-Din one after the other, and was in possession of Uchh and Multán, and victory rested with Sultán Shamsu-d-Din, and for the third time2 Sultán Shamsu-d-Din went up in person against him. He, having fortified the castle of Uchh, himself went to the fortress of Bhanchar, and Nizāmul-Mulk Wazir Jandi pursued him while the Sultán reduced Uchh. After hearing the news of the capture of Uchh, Nāşiru-d-Din sent his own son Bahrám Sháh into the presence of the Sultán and sued for peace. Bhanchar also was captured. And in the year 615 H. Nāşiru-d-Din was overwhelmed in the sea of destruction in the Punjab, and surrendered the property of life to the flood of death, and the Sultán turning back came to Delhi. In the year 618 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Din raised an army against Sultán

2 According to the Taškirtu-t-Muluk this was the first occasion in which Sultán Shamsu-d-Din had shewn hostility to Nāşiru-d-Din Qabácha. On the other hand the Taubahát-i-Nāşiri states that there used to be constant contention between them. Badáoni is very likely correct in his statement. See Raverty p. 609, note 1.
Jalálu-d-Dín Mangburní, son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changíz Khán after Táju-d-Dín, came to Ghaznín and thence from fear of the incursions of Changíz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Siwístant and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.

And in the year 622 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnautí and brought Sultán Ghiyágu-d-Dín Khíljí, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned, established the khatiba and sikka in his own name and having given his elder son the title of Sultán Náşíru-d-Dín Mahmúd made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Náşíru-d-Dín Mahmúd having fought with Ghiyágu-d-Dín on the confines of Lakhnautí got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards to each of the nobles of Dehlí.

1 So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 285, note 3). He was the last of the Khwarazm Sháhi dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 H (Raverty 290, note.) There is some question as to the orthography of this name. Thomas p. 90, note 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mankbarun, as he considers the final letter to be ٌ not ِ. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (meng) in Turki means grain de beauté while means "nez" (Dict. Turk. Orientale Pavet-de Courteille) the word originally being منکبرون منگبرون Mengburun and with the addition of the ya-i-nisbat Mangburuni.

2 For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also Afn-i-Akbarí, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D’Herbelot art. Gelaeddin, Vol. II. p 87.

3 Mistake in text ١ where 422 H. is in figures.

4 "Thirty elephants and eighty laks of treasure." (Tabuqát-i-Náṣírī.)

5 See Thomas’ Pathán Kings, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A H. as the first of the silver coinage.

6 MS. (A)

7 The word علم in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word فرضیده as follows:

8 وستمان سلیمان در سالن سات و عشیرین و ستمانه سیامی گران
1 [It is well known that a poet name Nāṣirī arrived in that country from Dehlī in the service of Hazrat Khwāja Qutbū-d-Dīn Ushī; may God sanctify him] and said I have composed a Qaṣida in praise of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn. Read the Fāṭihā that I may get the accustomed reward.” They read the Fāṭihā and he having been admitted to the Sultān’s presence read this Matla'.

Oh thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,
Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and elephants.

The Sultān by the mere reading of that matla' learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qaṣida contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs. Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthambhūr and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

بعزیم تختیر قلعة سندرور نامزد ساخته ان قلعة را با کوهی سوالک در حبیب پست اورد و بدمالی مرچچه فرود و هدایتی سال برادرانی که از از جمله ان روژگار بود و در حالی که چنگکخان ان انجا پدیده دیده و در هنیه این فتحات قصائد غزٰر گفتند از آنجا مبتل رستم قصيدة

MS. (B) reads as follows: و سلطان شمس الدين ... عزیم بهبدور تمود ر لشکریان طرف در قلعه را مقطع گردانید و در سنین اربع و عشیرین و سنین سپاسی گران بعضیم تختیر قلعة سندرور نامزد ساخته... I do not know what MS. the Manlavi Ahmad Ali used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS, to which I have access.

1 The words in [ ] brackets are not found in either MS. I have consulted.

2 A famous saint known as Kākī from the “Kāk” or Cakes which were supplied by the prophet Khīzar for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See Ain-i-Akkāri II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A.H. 634, and is buried in Dehlī. See also Raverty p. 621, note 6, third para. [Ain-i-Akkāri II. (Jarrett) 279.]

3 The silver tangah piece of 175 grains.

4 A figure of this fortress is given in Tiefenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plate xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by “une poignée de soldats” having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down
detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Mandúr,¹ brought that fort together with the Siwálik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehlí, and in this same year Amir Rúhání ² who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehlí from Buñhárá in the affair of Changiz Khán, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

The faithful Gabriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in heaven,
From the record of victories of the Sultán of the age
Shamsu-d-Dín,
Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,
Hearing this good tidings, the ³ canopy of adornment.
That from the land of the heretics the Sháhansháh of ⁶ Islám
Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky;
The Sháh, holy warrior and Gházi, whose hand and sword
The soul of the lion of repeated attacks ⁴ praises
And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one:

From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rocks in the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

¹ Or Mandawar (Tubaqát-i-Naṣirit, p. 611, note 3, Mandwar MS. (A)).
² See Rennell's map, Monopour Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandú or Mandawar. Tieffenthaler I. 323, mentions "Manoarpur ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djépour." This is probably the fort here called Mandú.
³ Hakim Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Ali Samarqandí.
⁴ MS. (A) we have instead of كُلْلَةُ أَمْمِين as in the text, the words كُلْلَةُ نُبْطِين which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment."
× I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has كُلْلَةُ بُرْطِين which is evidently a copyist’s error for كُلْلَةُ نُبْطِين

⁶ is a name of علي who is called Asad ‘Ullah or by the Persians Shir-i-Khúnlá, The lion of God.
On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has been traced by the pen
Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have been black as the pen
And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of the pen
That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament of the pen.
Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards from the pen,
Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the tongue of the pen.
'Tis from Khwája Mańšúr bin Sa'íd thrives the market of test of the pen
That great one whose words load the burden of truth on the van of the pen.
He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his swift running pen.¹
In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein of the pen.
His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden arts of the pen.

And in the year 626 H. Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt² bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets. And in this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sultán Náširu-d-Dín, Governor of Lakhnúntí, and the Sultán, after completing the duties of mourning, gave his name (i.e., Náširu-d-Dín) to his younger son after whom the Tabaqát-i-Náširí is named. In the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnúntí and quieted the disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the government of that place to Izzi-1-Mulk Malik 'Aláu-d-Dín Kháfí³ returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress of Gwáliar. Malik Táju-d-Dín the Secretary of State, wrote the

¹ MS. (A) خون پانک را سوار کرده یاد.
² This must have been from Baghdád from the Khalifah Al Mustanshir b-illah. See Robertson 616, note 2.
³ MS. (A) علایدین خانی as in the text. Tabaqát-i-Náširí reads Aláu-d-Dín Jánif. See p. 618, notes.
following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they en-
graved it upon stone:—

Every fort which the king of kings conquered
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith:
That fortress of Kálewar and that strong castle
He took in the year six hundred and thirty. ¹

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the
difference of one year. And in the year 631 H. ² having made
an incursion in the direction of the province of Málwah and
taken Bhilsá ³ and also captured the city of Ujain, ⁴ and hav-
ing destroyed the idol-temple of Ujain which had been built six
hundred years previously, and was called Mahákál, he levelled it to
its foundations, and threw down the image of Rái Vikramájit
from whom the Hindús reckon their era ⁵ (the author of this
selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor,
The Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H. and again anew in
the year 1003 H. ⁶ with the assistance of Hindú pundits trans-
lated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and
strange circumstance, from the Hindú into the Persian tongue and
called it Náma-i-Khirad Afsá—) and brought certain other im-
ages of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of
the door of the mosque of old Dehlí ⁷ and ordered the people
to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army
against Multán; ⁸ this expedition was in every way unfortunate

¹ 26th of the month Šafar 630, A. H. (Ṭabaqát-i-Naqší), 1232, A.D.
³ Bhilsa on the Betwá, is a place of Hindú pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood
are many interesting Buddhist topes.
⁴ Ujain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Málwá, and the
spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the
⁵ Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 15, notes 2, 3. Alberuni, (Sachau) II. 5, 6. The
Samvat era commencing from 57 B. C.
⁶ 1564 A.D. and 1594 A.D. Al-Badáoni died according to the Ṭabaqášt-i-
Sháh Jaháni in the year 1024, A.H. (1615 A.D.). I can find no mention of
the Náma-i-Khirád Afsá, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work
was a translation of, possibly it was one of Kálidásá's poems.
⁸ See Bawerdy 623, note 8, who holds that this should read بانیان, Banian.
Both MSS. (A and B) have بالغی, as also has Firsha.
for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Dehli, and in the year 633 H., (1235 A.D.) left his lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

Verse.

For this reason this heart-enthraling palace became cold. Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you Rise

And the prince of poets (on him be mercy) says:—

[In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyalti-mish
Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]
It is the same Dehli one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?
It is the same kingdom at all events, where has that royal dignity of his gone?
The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake
At the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sultán Shamsu-d-Din was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power. The same thing happened several times: one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sultan and shed some tears upon the Sultan’s head. He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping; after a great deal of hesitation she answered: I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

1 Nizâmi.
2 Mir Khusurú Dehlaví. A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol. iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p. 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yaminu-d-Din Muhammád Hasan; he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) and died in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) but according to the Atash Kada his death occurred A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).
3 Not in Ms. (A).
Sultán, and that God be he glorified and exalted had preserved
him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages
heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean
Akbar Sháh may God make Paradise his kingdom in Fathpur
and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into
the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with
him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sultán
Ghiyášu-d-Dín Balban and they said that when the Sultán wished
to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come
on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].¹

SULTÁN RUKNU-D-DÍN FIRÓZ SHÁH IBN SHAMSU-D-DÍN

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of
the districts of Budáon, and afterwards had received the canopy
and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore
was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the
authorities in the aforesaid year,² and Malik Táju-d-Dín his
secretary³ wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession—

All hail to the everlasting kingdom,
Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,
Yaminu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Dín
Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamani⁴ from its auspiciousness.

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indulgence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop
Except the tavern keeper⁵ and the musician who will praise thee.

¹ The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).
² 633 A.H.
³ MS. (A) omits ۰ before دیار.
⁴ The south corner of the Ka'abs, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims.
⁵ Burton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 162. Hughes Dict. of Islam, 548. See also Muir's Life of Mahomet, II. 36, note.
And his mother Turkān Khātūn, who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultan against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Qutbu-d-Din the eldest son of the Sultan by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and Malik Ghiyās-ud-Din Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultan, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik ʿIzzu-d-Din and Kabir Khān Sultanī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Din feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultan Ruknū-d-Din Firoz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Manṣūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Nizāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultan had fled to Kilūghārī and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik ʿIzzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amīrs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Manṣūrpūr went to Dehli and having sworn fealty to Razāiyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkān Khātūn. When the Sultan having returned from the army, arrived at Kilūkhāri, the troops of Sultan Razāiyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison. The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

1 Shāh Turkān, styled Khudawanda-i-Jahān.
2 The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī says, "Malik ʿIzzu-d-Din, Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budān broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik ʿIzzu-d-Din Kabir Khān Ayān sCoffee of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Din Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Ālau-d-Din Jānī who held the sific of Lahor united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.
3 Kilūkhāri, a suburb of Dehli.
4 بِرغسية خانون (A).
5 In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabīʿu-l-Awwal.
His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhaj-u-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. See Raverty, p. 636, note 4.
Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger
Like the singer who is every day in a new house.

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time] ¹ of Ruknu-d-Din was Shihāb Muhamra Badāoni ² as Mir Khusrū ³ on him be mercy says in one of his opening odes

In Budāon Muhamra rises intoxicated from sleep
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the birds of Dehli

And Maliku-l-Kalām Fakhru-l-Mulk 'Amid Tūlakī ⁴ mentions him as a master ⁵ and since the speech of the modern (poets) after the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has become like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of the glorious sun, and like the seven poems ⁶ at the time of the descent of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

¹ [ ] not in MS. (A).
² The name is wrongly given in MS. (A) MS. (B) and the text. The real name of this poet is Shihābu-d-Din ibn Jamālu-d-Din Mutmara (عثمرة). He was known as Shihāb-i-Mutmara. The verse here quoted should be as follows:

درمدا ران مست بر خزرد شهاب متمرة
بشنوس تر نغمه مرؤائان دهلی زبس نوا

In Madārān Shahāb-i-Mutmara rises intoxicated
If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehli in this melody.

Vide Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā Vol. I. page 304.
³ Mir Khusrū, the celebrated poet born at Patišālā 651 A.H. Died 725 A.H. the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā) see note 4, page 68.
⁴ MS. (A) Lāyaki We should read 'Amid Lāmaki. Fakhru-l-Mulk Khwāja 'Amidu-d-Din commonly known as 'Amid Dailami, the panegyrist of Sultan Muḥammad Yamin, said by some to have been a native of Gilān, called also 'Amid Lāmaki. Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā I. 353.
⁵ MS. (A) ⫸ ر. چوئن (A).
⁶ The سبع المعالقات or seven poems. The well-known poems of the Jāhiliyat or pre-Islamic age.

See Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry, by C. J. Lyall, pp. xxxii (Effect of al-Islām on the old Poetry) and xlix. (The Mu'allaqāt).

See also Nöldeke (Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber, pp. xvii and seq.

See also Arabian Poetry (Clouston) pp. xxxi aud seq.
Lord of the world on him be peace, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, The first comer has the best of it, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihāb 1 Muhamra [Badāoni] then says as follows:—

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign. 2
My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.
I stand at the end of the row 3 in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.
I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness. 4
All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.
There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy; while I am careless like the lily. 5

1 See note 5, page 70.
2 Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.
In its literal value also it is ساكن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as 2 hamza.
3 Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in ۱ بَاقَ, or a syllable as in قِمَات. The Alif at the commencement has a hamza.
4 MSS. (A), (B) کری ندارند
5 The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, cf. ِFāīz.

بی فیظت بلبلی چومن اند چنین چمن
با این لسان عذب ۲۵ خامش چو وسالم

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.
Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues 1?
Since I can seize it 2 while thus at rest, Why should I pursue?
Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path?
By stratagem, I can recognize no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary.
I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness.

1 The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry, cf. Hāfiz.

بسان سوسن اگرده زياب شود حافظ
چون چگه پيش توتش مهر بردهن باشد

Were Hāfiz like the lily endowed with ten tongues
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud.
also

زر سر و قاعديت پخشینم مزادر
همه تن گر زبان باشم جو سوسن

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress-like form
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues.

The lily ساسان is of four varieties. The white variety is called ساسان-ی آزاد, see Burhān-ī-qādis 9. 5. سوسن; according to the Bahru-ī-jawāhir its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches of fever.

The مکاکانو-الدکیا states that the word ساسان is an Arabicised form of the Syrian سنانی. The article may be consulted for further information regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies. The linear leaves of the lily are compared to tongues.

2 MS. (B) چون گیرم (A) چونگیرم

The text should read—

جوگیرم گرمیده چه روم پس دیده
چونه لینسم اشکارا چه دروم ره نسایی
فلک از زمین بیستت نشناسم اره مستم
چونه بیش و گردی جوگیرم بنآ روایی
I am not made out of these four elements. I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice, huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings of the ‘ashara.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat, if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

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1 For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see Sadidi, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A. H., page 7.)

Bahšu-ī-Arkān, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy. Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light. Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy...... The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements.

2 MSS. (A) (B)

3 MS. (A) (B)

4 The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called ‘ashara consisting of ten Ayat.

5 The dās, a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called بیپه نیزه (A)

6 MS. (A)
Oh Shihâb it is strange that you in this ro of kingly affairs are neither the Amir of the Eight Squares nor the Knight of the Seven Places.

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller, from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the grave, you have dressed yourself in Gûrkhâni silk.

You have become utterly regardless from lust, owing to desire for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation you have planted the foot of success.

Sorrow for the tulip-cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of your wisdom. The vein of your eye has shed blood from desire for the cup of red wine.

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth. You are a pearl of transitory existence, a shell empty-mouthed.

With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter of bad and good: with heart like a flint, you are the whetstone of dry and moist.

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-designing, from your youth hastening with greed, you are like a child in weakness.

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four (elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance of one gennulation.

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always of the moon in the heavens; you will not reach the dignity of a king from the station of a doorkeeper.

1 The Wazir at chess.

"The Wazir having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct." Bland. On the Persian game of chess, J. R. A. S. XIII, p. 11.

2 The seven labours of Isfandiyâr, see the Shâh Nâma (Turner Macan) Vol. II, pp. 1126 and seqq.

3 Gûrkhân, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khitâi, the meaning of the title being "universal king." It must not be confounded with the title of Gûrkân which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khân.

See Tâ'rikh-i-Râshidi, Elias and Ross, p. 278, note.

4 MS. A I prefer as in the text.
You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befools the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tammūz; in your ode you scatter snow perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

1 MS. (A)

2 Tamūz. The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammūz; see Ezekiel viii. 14 "and behold there sat women weeping for Tamūz," Tammūz was a deity of the Phoenicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies "dissolution" or "diffusion" see Gesenius s. v. [דָּאָמֹז]. See also Al-Biruni's Chronology, (Sachan) pp. 68–82. Tammūz was coincident with the sun's position in Cancer which is called the horoscope of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Al-biruni) Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer.

3 When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him Kalāmash ychā ast. His speech is ice.
The King of the throne of "Kun" is Muhammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahānī. He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowliness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul. He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words, from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

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1 In the technical language of Ṣūfī philosophy, the world of the order, or potentiality, is called the world of creation, or the material world.

2 Ummahānī, daughter of Abu Ṭalib, the uncle of Muhammad, and sister of ‘Ali. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muhammad called mīrāj (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahānī.

When Muhammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahānī attempted to prevent him from going out of the house and telling the Vision to others, thus exposing himself to mockery from unbelievers. See Muir Life of Muhammad II. 220.

3 MS. (A) (B). The text as it stands is meaningless.

4 MS. (A) (B). The text and MS. (B) have which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the between and
By his accountancy he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abū Qahāfah has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress for the decrees of God. ‘Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right government.

One, third in order, has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was ‘Ali who at the time of battle made the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me this Qasida, may his life like my Qasida be ornamented with the jewels of meaning —-

1 Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdul Ka'bah Ibn Abī Qahāfah. He was the companion of Muḥammad in his flight to Medīna.

2 رباط. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller’s rest house or caravansarai.

3 MS. (B). If we read حق را we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart."

4 "Ugmān, the third Khalīfa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy the good things of this life.

5 Dowlāfquār. (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muḥammad from heaven, and by him given to ‘Ali.

6 Text ٍحَمْهَ هِمْ هِوُاِرَهْلاَنَانَٰ وَهُمْ هِمْ هِوُاِرَهْلاَنَانَٰ both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qasida is given in the Mejmā‘ul Fasaḥā.

7 Text ٍزِمْ إِنْكَهُ MSS. (A) (B) have ٍثُحِثَ مِنْ إِنْكَهُ.
The following Qasida also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words "hair" and "ant," in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, may the peace of God be upon him.

Although with my tongue, I split hairs at the time of discourse, still in the praise of God, by reason of amazement, I am dumb as the ant.

And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike locks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.

And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar-lipped ones, in my fancy I have bored the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial.

That I might have a store like the ant, in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jot from any one in recognition.

Henceforth, like the ant, I will gird my loins at the door of the Incomparable one, and from the root of each hair, with a hundred tongues will I proclaim his gracious aid.

How can I open my lips, I that am voiceless as an ant and a fish. Nay rather will I make each hair a tongue to scatter pearls.

With this ant-like writing and these sugar-like words, by means of poetical arrangement I will split the hair in the declaration of the unity of God the discerner of secrets.

That God to whose workmanship each several hair bears witness, and all that exists, ant and fish and snake, wild beasts and birds, men and genii.

He who alone is self-existent, and is not within the bounds of computation, from whose wisdom in both worlds nothing is hidden, neither the track of the ant nor the point of the hair.

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1 MS. (A) رضيي
2 MS. (A) جمووري
3 MS. (A) وزين هرمو بتنوعفنش
4 MS. (A) لفظي جورن شكر از
5 Insert in text after MSS. (A) (B).
6 MS. (A) نيسيا إز عالمش
If, though as a single hair, His favour is shed upon the egg of an ant, from it there will issue in a single moment a hundred Jamshids, each one like a hundred Jamshids.

If, though as a single hair, he lets fall his wrath upon an elephant, the elephant will experience that which the cub of the raging lion suffers from the ant.¹

The intellect herein cannot understand, even by a hair's breadth, the reason why the offspring of the powerful lion should become the prey of the powerless ant.

In his decree there is not the space of a hair's point open to criticism, even though he should give the kingdom of a Solomon to an ant without recompense.²

By his decree, the shape of the ant and the lion are similar, and by his art the colour of hair and bone are opposites.

By his grace it is that every hair has knowledge of him, and from his equity it comes to pass that there is a³ guardian over every ant, that dust in the palm is endowed with chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted into pearl;⁴ that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon, and a hair of the limbs as a spear.⁵

¹ It is said that the ants attack the newly born lion cub as yet unprotected by hair and kill it. The Arabs call the ant Ethan Busy and ًَ أم ندرية Mother Turnabout, and have some curious legends about them and regard them with somewhat of superstitious awe. They say that to see in a dream ants entering a house betokens prosperity to its owner, while to see ants crawling on the carpet betokens prolific offspring. The appearance of flying ants in a house where there is a sick person betokens his death, and on no account, they say, should ants be permitted to crawl over any one lying sick (١٢٨٠١.١١١٢١). They say also that the ant has no stomach, and that it lives upon the air it breathes, and that it never sleeps.

² See Qur‘an, xxvii. 15–20.

³ MS. (A) أَكَمَد

⁴ قطرات نيسان. The drops of rain falling in the month of Naisan are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (١٢٨٠١.١١١٢١). Naisan (Burhān-i-Qātī) or Nisān was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4; Albirinii, Chronology (Sachau) 62, and seqq.

⁵ MS. (A) موردر چشم ازدها و مربی برغم سنان
Oh Thou by whose power hair and blood and bone take shape,
Oh Thou who art surety for the daily supply of food to bird and ant and snake and fish.

In the body of every ant there is an exact account of thy equity, on the point of each hair there is a boundless praise of thy bounty.
The eye of thy mercy provides sustenance for every ant and locust. The hand of thy favour tints the hair of all both old and young.
The pen of thy skill shews that of which a manifest sign is shewn on the body of every ant, and appears on the end of every hair.
The mole on the cheek of the brides appear like spots on a mirror.
The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the Arghawân.
By thy order it is that the stomachless ant is hungry in the way.
By this bounty it is that the motionless hair upon the body is satisfied.

1 MS. (A) 
2 MS. (A) عين فضلت بالمرد 
The reading in the text is preferable.
3 MSS. (A) (B) خام صنعت نماید
4 The Arghawân, or (Arabic) Arjuwân is according to the Makhzan al-Adviya, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of beautiful hue but slight odour, having a sweetish taste. It is used as a dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as clearing the voice. Its wood is soft and light. [The article from which the above is extracted may be consulted for an account of its properties].
The Buchâni-Qâî states that a drink is made from the flowers which relieves the after effects of drinking, and the ashes of the burnt wood are used as a hair dye and hair restorer.

That the dye obtained from it is of blood colour appears from the lines in the poem (Maw'allaqah) by Ibn Kulsâm, where he writes

کان نیا با منا و منهم خضید بارجوان اور علمینا

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with Arjuwân.
He who did not turn away his head from your door even by a hairs' breadth, the ant, although tongueless, began to praise him like the lizard.

When he like the ant became sleepless and fasting in devotion to you then without doubt with the sword of the finger he split the moon into two parts like a hair.

He was a sign like the true dawn, hair-splitting in his speech. His followers were as successful as ants in opposing the scorpions of religion.

The silvery body of the seven heavens, would become (black) like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

1 The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muḥammad.
2 MS. (A) The metre shows this reading to be right.
3 This story is related as follows in the Haiātū-l-Qulūb:

One day the Prophet was sitting alone when an Arab came who had caught a lizard and had it in his sleeve. He asked the people who that was sitting there, they answered God's prophet; he replied, addressing Muḥammad, "I swear by Lāt and 'Uẓẓā that I consider you my greatest enemy and were I not under an oath to my tribe, I would certainly kill you." The prophet said "Accept the true faith." The Arab cast the lizard from his sleeve and said "I will never accept the faith till this lizard does." Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying, "Oh thou lizard." The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts. Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire." The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, "Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy. He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee." The Arab said "I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother." (Haiātū-l-Qulūb by Aḥūn Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī.)

See Qur'ān, Sūrah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the Haiātū-l-Qulūb a MS. copy of which dated 25th Zul Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D.) is before me. I find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muḥammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qoreish sought as a sign from Muḥammad the performance of some miracle; the prophet pointed to the moon and by the power of God Most High it split into two halves. A trustworthy Ḥadīṣ by Ḥārat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq has come down to us, relating that fourteen infidels who were desirous of working
He lived like ants upon the earth in the midst of poverty,
For this reason the heaven appeared in his eyes as inferior in
value to an eyelash.
In that place where the angels would have always cast their
wings like ants,
If he had placed his foot even one hair's breadth beyond his
abode.
In intercession from the lightness of his spirit he split a hair,
So that, for the sake of an ant, intercession was not heavy to
him even by the weight of a hair.
If for the sake of an ant one fell into error, he would make
his excuse.
He remained without bounty if he was not thankful in the
least.
On that night when he caught the least glimpse of that
illuminated dwelling
Wings grew upon him like the ant in his desire for the
infinite.
Having cast his eye upon the fat morsel of the world which
perishes like a hair, he closed the avenues of his appetite
against this turquoise-hued table, like the ant.

the prophet's destruction came to him on the evening of the 14th of
Zul Hijjah and said to him, 'Every prophet has shewn some wonderful
miracle, so this evening we desire you to shew us some great miracle.'
The prophet asked what miracle they desired him to shew them. They
replied, 'If you have any power from God order the full moon to
divide into two halves.' Thereupon the angel Gabriel came down from
heaven and said to Muḥammad, 'The Lord of heaven and earth sends greeting
and has ordered all things to become obedient to you.' Then the Prophet
raised his eyes to heaven and commanded the moon to divide into two halves,
whereupon it split into two parts, and the prophet knelt to shew his gratitude
to Almighty God. .......... All authorities relate that this took place in
Mekka; and further it is related that when certain travellers arrived they
said in answer to questions 'We too saw on that night that the moon was in
two halves.' Consequently the infidels believed that it was a true miracle
and not merely magic." He also relates that these infidels imposed upon
Muḥammad the task of restoring the moon to its original condition, and also
of turning one-half of the orb of the moon black while the other half was
bright.

1 MS. (B)
2 MS. (A)
3 MS. (A)
For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision
that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence
of that bounty for ever and ever.

Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet
like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness
to sing thy praise.

If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread
of hair, without the permission of thy mercy this caravan
would not have passed.

I am like an ant in water, or like a hair in the fire, because
this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this relation.

I have the foot of effort in the stirrup of devotion to you
like the ant; as long as one single hair remains of me
I will not desist from this endeavour.

How can my burden be in the least degree lightened apart
from thy consent? How can I gird my loins like the ant
through avarice, in the service of this one or that one?

Although like the ant I have been crushed by the (iron)
hand of desire

Yet I never contemplated the slightest idea of profit or loss
apart from thee.

Since this is from thee I am happy, although my heart is
distraught and pained; my heart is like the eye of the ant
and my condition is like the hair of the heart-ravishing
one.

If the ant brought the foot of a locust into the presence of
Solomou, Shihāb would have come headlong to thy door
with the feet of his soul about his head as hair.

The ant of thy generous table O Sāliḥ showed him (Shihāb)
that path of rectitude.

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1 MS. (A) نعت.
2 MSS. (A) (B) تَي جونژ.
3 MSS. (A) (B) دَسْتَان.
4 MSS. (A) (B) جَوْر دارم یک موی من مالد.
5 MSS. (A) (B) لَحْبَس پنِش بِن و آن.
6 MS. (A) (B) و حَالَم. 
O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like bridge over the fire
On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours,
for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by him by so much as a hair’s breadth in the world.
Oh Lord! keep a watch upon the enemy of the king’s dominions, for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire and as an ant in the running water.

And he also wrote in praise of Sultan Ruknud-Din Firoz imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things as follows:—

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating
Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at the time of contest.
The elephant-like sky wears away my body as does the rhinoceros
The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf.
I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like a fierce elephant towards me.
It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.
The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf so treat the sheep
As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as hair from oppression.
The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength of the rhinoceros.
For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the load of an elephant.

1 The Sirat or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Sirat or bridge crossing the infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into hell fire.

See Hughes, Dict. of Islâm, art Sirât. See also Qur’ân I. 5.

2 MS. (A) خُصُم مَلِک شَاه رَا بَر بَنگاش دَارِه (A).

3 The words karg rhinoceros, gury wolf, šir lion, fil elephant.

4 MS. (A) مرزمانِ این پِید گوگ شَیر خوَیِ فِيَل خُوار
A maddened elephant is this wolf-haired rhinoceros.
Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he effects their ruin.
The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life of Rustum a strong move like "pilband."

1 MS. (A).

پیلبند A stratagem in the game of chess. See Alibiruni (India) I. 183-184. The پیلبند or elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the Piyâda-i-Ašlí or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it; under certain combinations this pawn was utilised to give mate. Thus in Auhadi's Life of Khwâja 'Ali Shârânji we find

"When he moved his Rûkh in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric: the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "Filband" of confusion."

This (پیلبند) was explained to me by a Muhammedan friend, a chess player, thus: suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q. Kt. 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q. R. 4 (ch) mate, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The Bahîr-i 'Ajâma gives the following definition of پیلبند:

پیلبند نام پیکر ز منصور بهایی پیلبند و پیلبند دادن عبارت از مات کرد

Pilband is the name of a manœuvre in chess. "To give pilband" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (Pil).

چودر جنگ پیلبند کشته کنند
دمش شاہ قنوج را پیلبند

When in contest with elephants thou disengage thy noose. Thou defeatest the king of Qanauj with the "pilband." (Nişâmi).
The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof like a lion, if the elephant of this coerulean castle has made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience like the hide of the rhinoceros.¹

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs² appeared from the wolves of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the tail of the wolf³ became evident.

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet⁴ of heart’s attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhinoceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery cheeked one demands from me gold more than the weight of an elephant.

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Hasan Dehlavi also says.

Alas! that the “pilband” of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which some of the above information is extracted, see J. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1-70.

¹ This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading جوشی مبنی چون در را را.

² i.e., when it became dark countless stars appeared. See Qur’an XII. 1–15.

³ The morning Zodiacal light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also صبح کاذب the false dawn; see J. R. A. S., July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شوله Shaula. Burhân-i-Qāṭi‘.

⁴ ta’wil MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in Macbeth, “Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf,” &c.
In the jaws of the lion and under the foot of the rhinoceros, and of this old wolf, my beloved one keeps me as though depicted upon the tear of the elephant on account of love.

My beloved with the rhinoceros-hilted sword is trotting like a wolf, I, like the elephant, am following him with a body thin as thread.

Afterwards the wolf in rhinoceros-like armour, the elephant-like heaven, the lion-hunter of the sky appeared like the torch of the king.

The pillar of the world, the elephant-conquering king with the lion-headed mace, by whose wolf-swift horse the rhinoceros is fiercely attacked.

The eye of the wolf of the sky is of all colours from his lion-like mace, the hump of the rhinoceros of the earth is trodden into hollows by the foot of his elephant.

His elephantine club empties the forest of wolves, his wolf-swift horse\textsuperscript{1} seizes the meadow from the lions.

His rhinoceros-like staff of office is in the heart of the wolf of the sky, his club\textsuperscript{2} like a pillar has cleft asunder the lions.

From the point of his javelin, and lion-headed mace, that happens to the wolf and elephant which happened to the life of Gurgsar from the sword of the 'brazen-bodied one.'\textsuperscript{3}

Oh thou from whose lion-headed mace, rhinoceros-destroyer elephant-crusher, the tomb becomes narrow and dark for Gurgin\textsuperscript{4} like the pit of Bizhan.\textsuperscript{5}

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\textsuperscript{1} Gurgin.
\textsuperscript{2} MS. (A) گرگ.

\textsuperscript{3} Isfandiyār at the conclusion of the seventh stage of the Haft khwān.

\textsuperscript{4} Gurgin-i-Milād one of the chief warriors of Kai Khūsrau.

\textsuperscript{5} Bizhan, son of Geo, and nephew of Rustam, was the lover of Manijeh daughter of Afrāsiyāb, Gurgin being jealous of his prowess plotted against him and treacherously betrayed the secret of his amour, and Bizhan was condemned to be confined in a deep pit head downwards. He was eventually released by Rustam; Gurgin was punished by Geo, and then imprisoned. For an epitome of the story, see Atkinson's Shāh Nāma, pp. 300–324. See Shāh Nāma, Vol. II, pp. 771–797. (Turner Macan Edition).
The reflection of thy elephant coloured sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

When thou brandishest thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Oh King! in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

1 MSS. (A) (B)

2 Unāb, Zīyphus jujuba (N. O. Rhamnaceae), a tree bearing an oval baccate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustān ber, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the Bahru-ī-Jawāhir the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit. (Burhān-i-Qāfi).

3 The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The Makhzan-ī-Adviya says:—Hajāru-ī-Haiyyah (حجارَةِ مَار) called in Persian Muhra-i-Mār is of two kinds: one a mineral which is known as Mār Muhra, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone; weight from one to two mīsgāls.

The other is an animal product which is found in the hinder part of the head of certain vipers. It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them; when it is taken from the muscles it is set but in contact with the air becomes stony hard. In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape, ashy-coloured. Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft. Some are artificial. In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine. If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance; and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated; and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing
Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf.¹

That Wazîr who to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused.

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook² and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King! from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee.

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature, and speech.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition.

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteness disappears.

Another test: When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, shew the same phenomenon. (Mukha'amur-l-Adwiyya).

The Bahru-l-Jawâhir says only

\[ \text{حَجَّرُ الْعَيْبَةِ حَجَّرُ الْغَادِرَهُ مِنْهَ مَا هُوُ نَقِيلُ إِسْرَ وَ مِنْهَ مَا هُوُ رَمَادي} \]

\[ \text{رَمَادي مَا قَيِّمُ ثَلَاثَةِ خَطَرَاتِ} \]

Hajaru-l-Haiyyah. The stone Pâdzahr (Bezoar stone,) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

¹ See note 3, page 115.

² MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi एँखु (Ankus).
For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf-natured sky
select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and
rhinoceros?

For that purpose again and again, this old wolf from the
elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering
its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.
The she-wolf drives away the he-lion as a good omen,
If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros-conquering
elephant.
Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badān,
Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and
rhinoceros and the lion.
As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe,
and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in writing so
long may your wolf-crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros-destroyer
and elephant-like in strength, be humbled in the dust
before the lion of your portico.
May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and
elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the
stony line in the public baths.

SULTĀN RĀŻĪYAH BINT SULTĀN SHAMSU-D-DIN

Came to the throne in the year 634 H. (1236 A.D.), and followed
the path of equity and the principles of justice; set in order the
affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pur-
suit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess
is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Niẓāmu-l-Mulk

1 MS. (A) Ṣurūn, MS. (B) Ṣurūn.

2 Text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has درسن. To sight a jackal when going
to the chase is considered a good omen, a snake or a sheep is considered a
bad omen. The she-wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the
lion represents strength. The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem
over force.

3 The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes
of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did
in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome. The walls and ceilings
of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this.
Jundi (Junaidi) Chief Wazir. Antagonism and strife shewed itself among the Amir s, and Sultan Razziyyah formed an excellent plan, and threw these disloyal Amirs into confusion so that they fled in all directions, and she having selected certain of them for punishment put them to death, and Nizamul-Mulk retired to Sir Mur and took up his abode in the secret place of death, and Khwaja Mubazzab the Deputy succeeded him in office. The kingdom of Razziyyah gained considerable power, she despatched an army to relieve Rantanbhur, which, after the death of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, the Hindus had invested continuously, and liberated the Muslims from their captivity, and Jamalud-Din Yaqut, the Abyssinian, who was Master of the Horse, became her confidant and trusted adviser, to such a point that Sultan Razziyyah whenever she rode horse or elephant used to rest upon his arm or shoulder. He became an object of envy to the Amirs, and the Sultan Razziyyah came out from the curtain of chastity and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety, used to wear a tunic and kullah when seated on the throne to rule the kingdom. And in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.) Malik lIzzu-d-Din Iyaz, Governor of Lahore, displayed hostility. Sultan Razziyyah proceeded against him and having reduced him to obedience added Multan also to his jageir, and in the same year she brought up an army against

1 See Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 104 and seqq. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri states on the contrary, that Junaidi refused to acknowledge her. She accordingly issued orders for his arrest, but he became aware of this and went into hiding, eventually dying in the hills of Sir Mur Bardar.
2 Malik Saifu-d-Din Kuji and his brother Fakhru-d-Din were taken prisoners and put to death. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 640.
3 MS. (A) در دوره سرمورونده Retired to the hill country of Sirmur.
4 The fortress of Rantunbhar in the province of Ajmir, 75 miles southeast of Jaipur, see p. 92, note 4.
5 The text has بازي اور می کرد but this is a misprint for بازي اور می کرد which is the reading of the MS. (A).
6 In the MS. (A) we have the following came out of retirement, that is simply abandoned the habits of purdah-nishini generally imposed on Musalmim ladies. This seems the better reading (see Raverty, p. 642, note 3, with reference to this subject).
7 The qaba and kullah were a tunic and hat worn by men.
8 After making over Multan to Malik Izzu-d-Din, Sultan Razziyyah returned to the capital on the 19th of Shaban 637 H. (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri).
A jageir was land held in fief, generally bestowed as a reward for some service.
Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turki Amir witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sultan Razziyah and Jamalu-d-Din Yaqut the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amir[^1], and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah[^2].

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world.
For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers.
[^3] There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of the rose.
Lament, Oh heart-reft nightingale, for here is cause for complaint.

SULTAN MU'IZZU-D-DIN BAHRAM SHAH[^4] IBN SHAMSU-D-DIN.

Next succeeded to the throne, and came to Delhi. At this time Malik Ikhtiyaru-d-Din Altuniyah[^5] the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sultan Razziyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats[^6] and Khukhars, and all the landholders, brought an army towards Delhi. Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din Bahram Shah, sent the Malik[^7] Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din) with a vast army to oppose Razziyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razziyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katikal[^8] with the intention of conquering Delhi, and again being defeated at the hands of the

[^1]: Razatu-s-Safah calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Razziyah see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.
[^2]: Tabaqat-i-Nasiri states that they put Jamalu-d-Din to death.
[^3]: Hajiz. Ode: beginning بیا کہ قصر ایسے سیت سمت نہ دیزدیس.
[^4]: Son of Iyaltimish.
[^5]: Altuniyah was appointed by Razziyah as feudatory of Barain (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession, he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, see Raverty 647, note 9.
[^7]: Malik Badru-d-Din Sankar Rumi had become Amir-i-Hajib on the death of Ikhtiyaru-d-Din. He was the patron of Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amir Akhur. The account in the text tallies with that given in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, but see Raverty 648, n. 2.
[^8]: Katikal Skr, Kapisthala. Lat. 29° 48' 7" N., Long. 76° 26' 26" E. 38 miles distant from Karnal, and about 100 miles N. W. of Delhi. See Hunter, Gaz. vii. 309.
Malik Balban the younger, took to flight and both she and Altānīyah fell into the hands of the Kāwārān and were put to death by order of Sultan Bahram Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.), and the duration of the reign of Raṣīyīyah was three years six months and six days.

A head which the neck carries loftily
That same head later finds a rope round its neck.

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sultan Bahram Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyārū-d-Dīn Ikīn who was formerly Hājīb and was married to a sister of the Sultan, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Nizām-ul-Mulk Muhazzabā-d-Dīn, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H., together with Muhazzabā-d-Dīn Wazir, by certain Fidāis, by the orders of the Sultan, and in this year the Sultan dealt with a party composed of Amirs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

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1 The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have كواران. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The Ţubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī says “Sultan Raṣīyīyah with Malik Altānīyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs” (See Raverty’s translation page 648 and note 3.)

2 It seems probable that the Kāwārān here spoken of were a tribe of Jātis otherwise known by the name of Gātwarās. They are mentioned by Elliot, as holding villages in Gohāna, in Sonipat Bangar and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliot, Races of the N. W. Provinces of India, Vol. I, page 128).

3 638 A.H. Ţubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī. There is a confusion here in the dates.

4 Firishta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabī‘ul Awwal 637 A.H. and that Raṣīyīyah and Altānīyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Raṣīyīyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, note 2.

5 is the reading of MS. (A). Firishta says “two Turks in a state of (feigned) intoxication.” دو ترک بصورت مسلاطان محمد خوی نشرالاї يکی از پیامدهای تصرف قصر فروردین لندسگان. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāis, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāi is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (Burhān-i-Qīṭī) see Raverty Ţubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī p. 651 n. 7.
some, as for example Badru-d-Din Sangar Amir Hajib 1 he sent to Badāon where they died in prison. Among them was Qāzī Jalālū-d-Din Kāshānī, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qāzī of Badāon, and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Din the Qāzī of Mārhīra 2 they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H. the troops of the Mughul Changiz Khān came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qaraqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Dehli, where the Sultān pledged the Amīrs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Nizāmu-l-Mulk 3 Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultān, to oppose the Mughul force in the Paujāb. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sultān and made many complaints of the Amīrs who were with him, and begged the Sultān to come. The Sultān, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amīrs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility 4 till then." He showed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din Bahrām Shāh sent Ḥaqqat Shaikhū-l-Islām Khwāja-i-Khwajaqān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Bakhtīyār Ushī, 5 may God sanctify him, to the Amīrs to put

1 Who had been appointed Amir Hajib when Ikhtiyāru-d-Din was murdered.
2 The M.S. (A) reads قاضي شمس الدين قاضي مارهرة أر د قلي فبلل which reading I follow. Firishta writes قاضي شمس الدين وقاضي مارهرة أر در قلي فبلل جداخت.

Tubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Darwesh who was jealous of Qāzī Shamsu-d-Dīn and had sufficient influence over Bahram Shāh to compass his enemy's death.

He calls the town Mihir. (Raverty 657 and note 4), M.S. (A) has مهرة Marhīra.

3 Tubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī states that the Sultān nominated Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Husain ibn 'Ali Ghūrī, together with the Wazīr the Khwāja Muhazzabu-d-Dīn for this purpose, and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him. (See Raverty 657, 658).

4 M.S. (A) reads تربائید كن اينمان بيا ايشان مدارائي كاني which carrying into effect the maxim بادرسائى للطف بيا رشيمان مدارا. 6 See Raverty, p. 658, note 2. Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ushī after whom the Quṭb minār of Dehli is called died in 633 H. (See Raverty 622, note 6).

Sec also page 92, note 2. This was another man Saiyyid Quṭbu-d-Dīn.
matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhū-1-Islām returned and came to Dehli, and just at this juncture Nizām-ul-Mulk and the Amir also arrived and besieged the Sultān in Dehli,1 and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world2 and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit
To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days.

Sultān Alā-u-d-Din Mas'ūd Shāh ibn Rukn-u-d-Dīn Fīrozshāh

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultān Nāšir-u-d-Dīn Mahmūd and Sultān Jalāl-u-d-Dīn, the sons of Sultān Shams-u-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that 'Izzu-u-d-Dīn Balban3 (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Malikīs or Amirs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sultān 'Alā-u-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Qutbu-u-d-Dīn Ḥasan as Deputy, and Malik Muḥazzab-u-d-Dīn Nizām-ul-Mulk Wazir of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amirs of Sultān 'Alā-u-d-Dīn Mas'ūd put to death Nizām-ul-Mulk the Wazir.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wazīrship was conferred upon Ṣadrū-1-Mulk Najm-n-1-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultān,4 became Amir Ḥājīb and in succession to him the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ājmīr was conferred

1 On Saturday the 19th of Sha‘bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zī Ṭaq‘ah (Tabaqqat-i-Nāṣirī, p. 659).
2 On the 13th of Zī Ṭaq‘ah 639 H.
3 Malik 'Izzu-u-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kašlu Khān, see Raverty p. 775 and 660, note 1.
4 Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khaṇ and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H., but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amir Akhūr till 642 H., when he became Amir Ḥājīb.

See Āin-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 298.
permanently upon Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balban, the elder, Budäon was conferred upon Malik Täju-d-Din; and in this year 'Izzu-ud-Din Tughä Khân who had advanced from Karrah 1 to the neighbourhood of Lakhnautili sent Sharfnü-l-Mulk Asha'ri to the Sultän 'Alän-d-Din with a written despatch, the Sultän then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh 2 for 'Izzu-d-Din Tughä Khân who was in Lakhnautili, and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jaläluli-d-Din, and Bahraij to Malik Näsirn-d-Din Maḫmūd, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 642 H, the Mughül forces 3 arrived in the district of Lakhnautili, the assumption is that the Mughüls must have come by way of Tibat and Khitā, and Sultän 'Alän-d-Din sent Timür Khân Qarā Beg 4 to the assistance of Tughä Khân and the Mughüls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughä Khân and Malik Qirän, 5 Tughä Khân came to Dehli, and Lakhnautili remained in the hands of Timür Khân. 6

1 The printed text has کارگر جاگنگر! but MS. (A) has کارگر which is correct. Karrah is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat. 25° 41' N. Long. 81° 24' E. (see Hunter, Imp. Gaz.) Vol. VIII. Before Akbar's time Karrah was the seat of government.

2 Qägi Jaläluli-d-Din Käšäni (Tabaqaš-í-Näsiri).

3 This is an error which has according to Raverty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p. 665.

The original reading was كیف کاگر Jaínagar which by some strange perversion became كیف کاگر خان and so to our author's statement.

Jaínagar or Jájpūr on the Baitarānī river in Orissa, capital of the province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gaipati or Lords of Elephants (Ain-i-Akbari II. 219 n. 1.) (see Imp. Gaz. Vol. VII., and Stat. Acc. of Bengal, XVIII. 85--89).

The Infidel hordes of Jaínagar were of course Hindūs and not Mughüls, hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnautili is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

4 The real name of Timür Khân Qarā Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qamaru-d-Din Qirän-i-Timür Khân and he is the Malik Qirän referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qirän and "Timür Khân" are one and the same person. In the text is a misprint for قیران MS. (A). See also Raverty 663, n. 9.
In this year the Mughul army\(^1\) arrived in the vicinity of Uchh and assaulted it, and the Sultan proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biah, and the Mughuls raising the siege of Uchh took to flight; the Sultan on reaching Delhi took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amir and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nâšîru-d-Dîn Mahmûd ibn Shamsu-d-Dîn from Bahráij, and upon his arrival at Delhi in the year 644 H, they threw Sultan 'Alâ'ud-Dîn Mas'ûd into prison and he speedily \(^3\) exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity.

This is the way of the changeable world:
In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

89. The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

**Sultan Nâšîru-d-Dîn Mahmûd ibn Shamsu-d-Dîn Iyâltimish**

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H, (1246 A.D.) and the Wazirship was conferred upon Ghiyâṣu-d-Dîn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nâšîru-d-dîn.\(^5\)

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

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\(^1\) 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughul force, under the command of "the accursed Mangitah" (Tabaqât-i-Nâşirî).

\(^2\) On the 23rd of Muharram 644 H. (1246 A.D.).

\(^3\) His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (Tabaqât-i-Nâşirî).

\(^5\) Shamsu-d-Dîn Iyâltimish.

Nâšîru-d-Dîn Mahmûd son of Shamsu-d-Dîn Iyâltimish was born at the Qâṣr Bâgh in Delhi in the year 626 H. (Tabaqât-i-Nâşirî).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyâltimish to bear the name of Nâšîru-d-Dîn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 626 A.H. (see Tabaqät-i-Nâşirî, Cal. Text p. 201, l. 18.)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur'an. Thomas (Pathân Kings) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p. 125).
That great Lord who is a Ḥātim in generosity and a Rustum in energy.
Nāsir-i-Dunya wa-Din Maḥmūd ibn Iyaltimish.
That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the heaven.
In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vesture.
How can we measure the glory the Sikka acquires from his auspicious titles.¹
Or how compute the exultation of the Khutbah at the mention of his happy name.

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident from the book called Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri² which was composed in his honour.

The Sultān entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyāsh-d-Din Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khān said, "I deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest thou commit thyself to any evil action,³ for tomorrow thou wilt be at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring shame upon me and upon thyself." The Sultān himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion, and reading the Qur'ān and in repeating the sacred names of God may He be glorified and exalted; and it is currently reported that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used to wear an old ragged garment; and they also say that he used to devote his time to the copy of the Qur'ān which he was writing.⁴

¹ His titles as given in the Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri were:
The Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri of Minhāju-s-Sirāj was written in his court and dedicated to him: hence its name.
² Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri of Minhāju-s-Sirāj is a general history up to 658 H. composed by Abū'Umar Minhāju-d-Din Uṣmān ibn Sirāju-d-Din al Juzjānī. See Elliott II, 259. An English translation by Major Raverty has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
³ Ziniba'arī court took
further that he used to write it himself in private so that no one might recognize his handwriting and buy it for more than its fair value, and he used to sell (these) in the Bazaar. They relate also several other strange stories about him, which resemble the narratives regarding the rightly directed Khalifs — among them I have seen it written in a book that one day his wife was complaining of not having a servant, and she said "Whenever I bake bread for you my hands get burned and blistered." He wept and replied, "The world is passing away, bear your toil for these few days for God Almighty on the morrow of resurrection (we trust in Him and believe in Him) as a reward for this labour, will surely give you a Hûri to wait upon you, as it is, I cannot possibly buy a slave girl for you from the public funds. His wife too, agreed to this.

The world is but a dream in the eyes of the vigilant,
A wise man does not set his heart upon a dream.

And the Sultan in the month of Rajab in the year of his accession, took an army towards Multân¹ and in Zûl Qu’dah having crossed the river of Lahore (Râvi) and having appointed Ulugh Khân as leader of the forces,² sent him towards the Jûd hills³ and the country round Nandanah, and he himself halted on the banks of the river Indus. Ulugh Khân having punished that part of the country brought it into subjection, and having given a lesson to

C'était un souverain pieux: il copiait des exemplaires du livre illustre (le Korán), les vendait, et se nourrissait avec le prix qu'il en retirait. Le Kâdhî Camâl eddin m'a fait voir un Koran copié de sa main, artistement et élégamment écrit.

¹ We find, Banian in the Tabaqät-i-Nâširi (Haverty 677, notes 5, 6.) but both MSS. (A) and (B) read Multân.
² مقدمه الجیش Also in MSS. (A and B), but this must be a抄ist's error for مقدمه الجیش
³ The Kohi Jûd (See Rennell's Map Koh-i-Jehoud) is apparently a part of the Salt Range, Lat. 32° Long. 71°. Bâber states that the tribes of Jûd and Janjûhah descended from a common ancestor, are the ruling races of the district and of all the tribes between the Sind and Bahrah. Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 405, note 2).

Tieffenthaler (I. 105), places Nandanah or Nandanpaur (forteresse en brique sur un montagne) between the Behât and the Indus it must have lain somewhere near the line Jhelum to Peshâwar.
the Khākhārs\textsuperscript{1} and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sultān and returned to Dehli, and in the year 645 H., having taken Miwā\textsuperscript{2} turned his attention to the country of the Doāb, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehli with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A.H., he proceeded against Rantanbhūr, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, and in the year 647 H., he married the daughter of Ulugh Khān.

Then in the year 648 H., he took an army towards Mūltān, and after some days Malik ʻIzzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Buzurg, the Governor of Nāgar, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,\textsuperscript{3} but when the Sultān proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H. he marched in the direction of Gwāliār and Chandārī and Mālwa, and Jāhir Dev\textsuperscript{*} the Rāi of that

\textsuperscript{1} Khākhārs, see Tioeff. I, 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habité par les Khocores ce sont ceux qui tirent le sel des mines, c'est un nation qui a quitté l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahométisme. See also this volume, p. 67, n. 3.

\textsuperscript{2} Text and Mā. (A) میروات Miwāt. This place is not mentioned in the Ṭubaqāt-i-Nāsirī, it is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbarī (I. (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Naṣrat Khān fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iq₇bāl Khān, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text.

\textsuperscript{3} Tioeffenthaler, Vol. I, p. 211, Mēvāt est un canton assez étendu, borné par les provinces de Dehli et d'Adjemere et par les Districts de Djepour et de Dik. It extends "north and south from Badshāpur to Harsana, 47 miles, and east and west from Dik to Narnol, 57 miles." Alwar is about the centre of it now.

Tioeffenthaler goes on to say "Cette contrée est habité par beaucoup de Mahométans qui étaient ci-devant gentils. Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le temps qu'ils regnaient a Dehli. La Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols. Maintenant le Djut (Jats) s'en est approprié la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājah de Djepour (Jaipūr) qui en a expulsé beaucoup d'habitans mahométans.

He speaks of the abundance of Nim (Melia azadirachta) and Sissoo (Dalbergia sissoo) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country.

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing. See also Rennell's Memoir (1788), p. 75.

\textsuperscript{3} Ṭubaqāt-i-Nāsirī says this occurred in 649 H., which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a contemporay historian.

\textsuperscript{*} This Rājā is called in the Ṭubaqāt-i-Nāsirī, Chāhār Ajūrī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A.D. 1246 (644 A.H.) under the name of Chāhār Deva, his coins bearing the inscription चाहर देव. He was a very powerful Rājā (see Thomas 67 et seqq. and Raverty 690 note 1.)
country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sultān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar \(^1\) was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik ‘Izzud-Din Balban who had left Nāgūr with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik ‘Izzud-Din Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a jāegīr the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehli intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sultān as far as the river Biāh.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehli, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhis held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalān Khān and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills\(^2\) of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

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\(^1\) Narwar.—In the Ain-i-Akbarī, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (see also Raverty 600, note 1).

In the text بیژز is a misprint for ناروار MS. (A).

Narwar. Tief. I. 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar, and a long description from which the following note is abridged.

A town of moderate size about \(\frac{1}{4}\) a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude 25° 30' N. Longitude taken from the Islands of the Bolest 93° 24'. (Cf. Ain-i-Akbarī [Jarrett] III. 60.) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs.

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass. The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South.

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder "pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone. He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

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\(^2\) Of Bardar and Bijnor (Tabaqet-i-Nasiri). In the text instead of
the ford of Miāpūr and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab, and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners, invaded the country of Kaṭīhar going to Bādāoṇ and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amirs, namely Ulugh Khān-i-Aʿzam, and Arsalān Khān and others, in concert with Malik Jalālū-d-Dīn, the brother of the Sultān, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. The Sultān thereupon marched from Dehli, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah and Kūhram and Kaithal, by the intervention of a party of Amīrs, the Amīrs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths sworn for pardon came into submission to the Sultān; and the Sultān conferred upon Malik Jalālū-d-Dīn the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 Ḥ. the feelings of the Sultān underwent a change with respect to his mother Maṭīka-i-Jahān. He gave Qutlugh Khān, to whom Maṭīka-i-Jahān was married, a jādegīr in Oudh, and a short time after turning against him also sent him to Bahrajā. He took fright at this and came to the hill-country of Sir Mūr, and Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Kasñlū Khān and certain other Amīrs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt; the Sultān

* which is manifestly wrong I read * which is intelligible and tallies with * Where the reading * in the text comes from, it is hard to say.

1 Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong. MS. (A) reads as follows:

2 The text reads * see Albirūnī (India) (Sachau) II. 261: also Elliott, I. 49 as regards the Rahab.

3 The Calcutta text of the * calls this * Our text has * ? * MS. (B) (1)

4 See Raverty 606, note 4.

5 See Elliott, II. p. 354.

6 The printed text gives * It should be * not as in the printed text.
accordingly detailed Ulugh Khán Balban with a large army to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikh-ii-Isláám Saiyyid Qúṭbii-d-Dín and Qážii Shámsú-d-Dín of Bharáij and another party of men incited Qútlugh Khán to come into Dehlí, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country; the inhabitants of Dehlí joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khán represented this at the Sultán’s court, and the Sultán issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qútlugh Khán and Malik Izzu-d-Dín KashlíKhán after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred króhs in two days and came from Sámaná to Dehlí, but did not find the party which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qútlugh Khán and Kashlí Khán also were separated, and Ulugh Khán following them arrived in the Sultán’s presence. And in the year 655 H. the Sultán issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandees from the city of Dehlí, and at the end of this year the Mughúls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Múltán; Kashlí Khán Balban made common cause with them and the Sultán came up in hot haste against them. The Mughúls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurásán. The Sultán also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalálú-d-Dín Jání marched towards Lakhnautí. And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultán from Turkištán, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Hazrat Makhdúm Ganjishakar, may God magnify his power and exalt his

1 This account differs from that given in the Tabaqáti-Náṣiri. (See Raverty p. 703 and seqq.)

2 The word نظير is omitted in Calcutta text.

3 About 180 miles, see Aín-i-Akbári II, p. 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.

The ancient Krosa of Magadh was about 1¼ miles, the kos of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than 2½ miles. The Akbari kos was rather less than 1½ miles and this is the standard referred to above.

4 These Malikas (Qútlugh Khán and Izzu-d-Dín Kashlí Khán) retired towards the Siwálik territory foiled in their object (Tabaqáti-Náṣiri).

5 Compare the account in Tabaqáti-Náṣiri according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.

6 Shaikh Farúdú-d-Dín Mas’úd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrúkh Sháh of Kábul, and son of Kamálu-d-Dín Suleimáni who came from Kábul to
memory, left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment.

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnauti as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Kashlū Khān Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Ghausu-l-' Alam Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Bahāū-d-Din Zakariyā 3 the Multāni, may God sanctify him, raised the tent of 3 close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date:

By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (zakhmi) the other perished (khūn). 4

Multān in the reign of Shihāb-u-Dīn Ghūrī. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyā, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also Aīn-i-Akbarī [Jarrett] III. p. 363).

His tomb is mentioned in the Aīn-i-Akbarī (I. 325) as being at Ajūdhan (Pāk Patan or Patan-i-Panjāb).

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates, Badāinī gives 656 H. as the date of Farīdū-d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakār's death and 657 H. as that of the death of Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyā, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 H. and the former 668 H. The Aīn-i-Akbarī gives 668 H. as the date of the death of Farīdū-d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakār and 665 H. as the date of the death of Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyā.

1 MS (A). The printed text is wrong here.

2 Shaikh Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyā was a famous Muḥammadan saint of Multān. He was the grandson of Kamāl-u-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Qureishi who left Mecca for Khwārzam and thence came to Multān, the Qubbatu-l-İlām, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahāū-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Wajihu-Dīn by the daughter of Hūsam-Dīn Tarmadī and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H. He died at Delhi about the year 666 H.; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Şadrū-d-Dīn 'Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahāū-d-Dīn. He did so and retired, but returned on hearing voices in the room saying "The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead.

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated. See also Aīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) III. 362 and note.

The tomb of Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyā is in Multān.

3 MS (A). The word gives the date 657 H. the word gives the date 56 H. See page 133, note 1.
And in the year 658 H. Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud, chastised the country of Miwât and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom. He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehli, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse.

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalam (Lord of Eloquence) during Nasiru-Din's reign, one was Shamsu-Din Dahir whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mir Khusru, may God sanctify him, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-Din) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the Ghurratu-l-Kamal and at the end of the Hasht Bihisht greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

1 The Tabaqat-i-Nasiri Cal. Text, p. 227 reads:

2 Khan-i-Mu'assam Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehli to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Miwât who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Miwât see Hunter, Imp. Gaz., Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgon, part of Ulwar and Bharpur. See also page 129, note 2, of this Volume.

3 On the 11th Jamadi-l-Awwal, as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muharram 644 H. his reign was twenty years three months and some days, not as stated in the text. He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulugh Khan having died in infancy.

There is no mention of this poet in either the Majma'u-l-Fu'ahâ or the Atashkada. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the Hasht Bihisht in praise of one Abu 'Hasifah, possibly referring to Shamsu-Din.

4 Amir Khusrû (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amir Malmud Sufu-Din was born at Patili 691 A.H. and died at Dehli in 725 A.H. (Beale p. 151).
abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his). And Sultan Ghayasu-d-Din Balban having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangala and Kamrūd had left him in the service of his elder son Nasiru-d-Din¹ Bughrā Khān, and these few couplets are from an ode of his.

Oh thou² of whom this work of my heart is unworthy though my ignorance; thou gavest me last night a false promise of entertainment.

All night I kept my eyes awake and³ I did not know that that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain.

I keep my heart⁴ exercised thinking of thy face, and wondering why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin silver.

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Nasiru-d-Din died. The Majma'ul Fushā gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehli from Turkestan in the time of Changiz Khān's invasion, and obtained great distinction in the court of Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels, when his son Amir Khurshā was appointed as his successor in his Amirship, which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 725 H. and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Shakarganj (Faridud-Din Ganjakakar see note 1, page 133).

He was the author the celebrated Qirānu-Sa'dain the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din with his son Sultan Kai Qubād on the banks of the Ghagra, and of several other works (see Elliott, III., pp. 523 and seqq).

¹ MS. (A) reads correctly Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Bughrā Khān second son of Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tughral.

He married a daughter of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Maḥmūd Shāh by whom he had a son and successor Kai-Qubād. (See Rauvet, Tabaqat-i-Nasirī 716 a.).

In Thomas, Pathan Kings of Dehli there is given a copy of an inscription of Nasiru-d-Din Maḥmūd which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligārgh bearing the date 10th Rajab A.H. 652, and the author mentions in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandalism which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861.

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Nasiru-d-Din himself. (cf. Thomas op. cit 129-130).

² MS. (A) ای.

³ MS. (A) و.

⁴ لیئیف دل (A)
I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said "no Muslim will eat raw flesh," but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion.

You call me "raw," if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready. So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second Khusru, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusru—

Conqueror of the world and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleiman was vain.

The king Mahmud Shah, that Sultan from whose father's glory the cauldron of one single desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled.

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden unripe.

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide

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1 MS. (A)

2 MS. (A)

3 MS. (A) The text has which is meaningless and spoils the scanion.

4 MS. (A).

5 MS. (A).

6 This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide page 12, note 2. Muhammad Qasim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209.)
for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is it for you to fit a raw-hide. ¹
Thy enemy bathes in blood,² instead of the collar of his garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a raw-hide.
Every deed of thine is like ³ perfected gold, and those who wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from frivolity and the assurance of shame.
Thy enemy is that naked demon ⁴ who has a skin made of the whole of the Earth, and that too, if you take it off him is a raw-hide.
If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the people, they will perforce eat raw grain, since the hand of despair from lack of bread has no other resource.
If thy enemy becomes ruined ⁵ what fear is there? although he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he is helpless though impotence.⁶
Of what avail?⁷ is the sorcery of Fara'ūn since the dragon of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent.
Oh Khusru! Shamsu-d-din ⁸ is thy secretary, strong and well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes an inexperienced scribbler.
He himself is experienced ⁹ and his verse is like purified gold—his words are not like the best sayings of Khāqānī still in the rough.
The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom ¹⁰ for thee—Oh Lord

¹ MS. (A) ² MS. (B) agrees with the text. MS. (A) reads

The textual reading is adopted with ³ in place of ⁴

⁵ MS. (A)
⁶ MS. (B)
⁷ MS. (A)
⁸ MS. (A)
⁹ MS. (A)
¹⁰ MS. (A) The line as it stands in the text will not scan.
in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amir Fakhru-d-Din 'Amid Lūmaki\(^1\) writes in a Qaṣida of which this is the opening couplet.

When my loved one takes \(^2\) the lute, and binds the plectrum on her fingernail
Her nail strikes Nālid \(^3\) with a hundred wounds in the heart through envy.

Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhid at that instant.

Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.\(^4\)

Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed \(^5\) at that,

Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,\(^6\) because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

\(^1\) Fakhru-d-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Din, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailami or 'Amīd Lūmaki said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sулжъan Muḥammad Yamin.

\(^2\) MS. (A) reads ٣٨٩٠س و٤٠٠س i.e. plays the lute.

\(^3\) Nāhid. The planet Venus زهرة, zahtra whose seat is in the third heaven (Burkhān-i-Ḳātī), called also زقق فاك, raqqā-i-falak. (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

\(^4\) This reading is preferable to that of the text.

\(^5\) This reading is preferable to that of the text.

\(^6\) MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.
of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhānshāh Naṣir-i-Dunyā wa-Din Māhmūd, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying hawk.

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin, just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber.

His head is in danger of severance by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Ḥadīṣ.

1 MSS. (A) (B) زرباز نيز نيز (B) is the better reading as in the text.

2 MS. (A) (B) بعذ أحمد يزيد كنيا كفي بارك (B) is the better reading as in the text.

3 Compare the Arabic proverb. في رأس الديم بنعلم الحجاب. In capite orphani discit tensor.

There is also a Hindī proverb to the same effect, which runs:—

سیکیگا ناو کا کلیگا بارکا

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

4 MSS. (A) (B) مسقی بر ذروہ قنالست (B) The reading in the text is a copyist's error.

5 MSS. (A) (B) جامع الأخبار تکلیف الأفزور تکلیف بناء الألفاظ بناء الألفاظ (B) In the Jami‘u-l-a‘ṣbāb of Shīb ‘ṣmūq, we find:

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (i.e., poverty) and increases the means of subsistence." Also,

من قلم تکلام و قد شاریه فی كل جمعة فم قار بسم الله وعلى سنة رسول لله ﷺ بکل قلاءة عقی ریمة من ولد إسحیع.

"He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying, "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Iṣmā‘īl.'

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Mūḥammad said, He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with near eyes. It is also said in a Ḥadīṣ by Ḥamīd ibn ʿAbdūn-r-Rahmān.

من قلم تکلام بوم الیجمده دخل فيه شفای و خرج عنده ذا

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him." The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer. In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb, thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger. The order in the left hand is (1) Thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring-finger.
From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see, that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the bears of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world: when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws.

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment like a finger nail.

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1. The text should read thus.
2. जोंबिना बिनी MS. (A) (B).
3. जरी मिर MS. (B) writes जोंबिना.
4. This line should read. नशानद द्रेस्टिर अफ रोल जदोनानस MS. (A) and (B).
5. Text अजोस्थिर MS. (A) and (B) have अजोस्थिर which must be wrong.
6. The text is wrong, we should read ब्रेह जदोनस जुरस्थिर-सीजर जदोनानस MS. (A) and (B).
7. The text it appears should read इकाही MS. (A).
If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing.¹

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,² if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well.

If the envious of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous.

I have brought in the word nail (nākhu) as radif³ in this poem which is like a charm. Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail.⁴

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing the notes of my fate.

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amîd, who was controller of all the states of Hindustân, it is essential to reproduce some thing from poems of his which are rarely met with:

Arise 'Amîd, if thy heart is not cold and dead
Leave thy love-poems, and speak the praise of the Lord of the world.

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many an azure dome without the irksome aid of tools;

¹ MS (A)
² MS. (A)
³ Radif. The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word nākhu is the radif, the rhyming letter or tagiya qāfiya being r (r). In MS. (A) these verses are in the order given here.
⁴ In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings of the nails, and the cuttings of the hair, lest some harm should happen to the owner should they fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The butchers also make a hole or a cut in the blade bones of sheep for the same reason, as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic. In the list of charms given in Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses" we find "69, to send plagues, take (parings?) from seven men and put them into a new pottage and go out to the cemetery and there say No. 69 and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses and afterwards take the dust from this pottage and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house" J.R.A.S., Jan. 1896, p. 185.
He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.¹

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (i.e., fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.²

His skill has caused the crimson anemone ⁵ to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī ⁶ and Rāhū ⁷ to blossom in the garden.

¹ The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are:—

1 فلك القدر | Falak-ul-qamar (Moon).
2 فلك المطران | Falak-ul-ujārad (Mercury).
3 فلك الزهر | Falak-ul-zahra (Venus).
4 فلك الشمس | Falak-ul-shams (Sun).
5 فلك المريخ | Falak-ul-Mirīkh (Mars).
6 فلك المشترى | Falak-ul-Mushtari (Jupiter).
7 فلك الزحل | Falak-ul-Zuḥal (Saturn).
8 فلك الثورات | Falak-ul-qawābit (Fixed stars).
9 فلك الأطلس | Falak-ul-Atlas (The plain sky).

N.B.—Means an unstamped coin.

See the Ghīyūs-ī-Lughāt.

See also Ājin-ī-Akbūrī III. (Jarrett) 37, note 1.

See also Kashāshāf Bib: Ind. Vol. II., p. 1134 and seqq.

² The constellation Libra, called ترائس-ي-شارخ (tarāsā-ī-charāx) or ميَزَان (mīzān).

³ "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic.) Steingass. In the Hasht Bihisht of Amir Khusru, we find لب چون گل سوری . A full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī. راهو None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is. شقاقین النعیم Shaqāqīn-ī Nu'mān so called because of its redness being likened to the flashing شقاقین النعیم of lightning or from شقاقین النعیم in the sense of "blood", as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood," (Lane) s. v. شقاقین
At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty he has limned the form of the mouth: at another with the pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows. The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness. The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of blackness.

The kings of the earth with submission and humility, in search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of his threshold.

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one time curved like the chaugān, at another round like the ball. So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression. That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek of the plum.

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred hawks if so many heads of ants give such power to the partridge.

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all-encompassing bounty upon Chin and Khaṭā the perfume of the bag of the musk deer.

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp. Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers, such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company?

1 سلاطین سجاژی (Salāfīn-i-majāzī) So-called kings, as opposed to سلاطین حقیقی (Salāfīn-i-ṣaqiqī) true kings, i.e., the prophets.

2 چورجان According to the Burhān-i-Qāṭi' this name is given to any stick with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the "duhal" and "naqqārā" (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia of royalty. Here it is a "polo" stick.

3 Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'ān, II. 216 and V. 92.

Khāṭā Cathay vid. D'Herbelot, II, 431 Khathai.
Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the
garden bough by its song of Kû Kû bears witness to this
beneficent one.

Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured
out there many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet-
natured loved one

Do thou 'Amid again lay hold of the thread of confession of
unity
And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were-pearls.
Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever-
living
Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit, and
eloquent without a (material) tongue.

101.

کو کوکو. The song of the dove, Where? Where?

وَأَنْ قَصْرَ كَي بِرْجُ خُبْيَ زِيدَ يَقُولَ
بَرْدَكَةَ أَوْ شَابِانَ نَأْمَارَيْدَيَ رَوَ
دِبَّسَمَ كَي بِرْكَنْجُرَ شَ فَخَيْتَْ
أَوْ زُهُيْدَي دَادَ كَي كَوْ كَوْ كَوْ
(Ομάρ Χαγάμ). You palace towering to the welkin blue
Where king did bow them down and homage do
I saw a ring dove on its arches perched
And thus she made complaint Coo. Coo, Coo Coo (Whinfield).

The pious Muḥammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is

سبحان تيري قدرت سبحان تيري قدرب. Subhān terī qudrat, Subhān terī qudrat. Praise be to Thee for thy power.

روح. Rūḥ is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7) as distinguished from the nafs or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV. 29.

وَرُحْلِتْ فِيهِ مِنْ رَحْيَيْنِ nafsāhī fihi min rūḥī, "and breathed into it of my spirit;" and again in Qur'ān V. 116.

إن كنت قلادة فقد علمت ما في نفسي

In kuntu qultuha faqad 'alimtahu ta'tamu mà fī nafsī.

"Had I said so verily thou wouldst have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul"

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a نفس nafs and a روح rūḥ.

It would seem as though the word nafs connotes the same idea as the word mind, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by
By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul. Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary influence of a husband.

Compared with thy ancient order what is Kisra and what is Qaisar?

In face of thy decree what is the Khâqân and what is Halâkî? Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath of its own will, Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the other.

the action of the روح or vital principle upon matter: the highest form of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call mind: the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifestation than those which come within our present experience is obviously possible. A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force self-existent would be روح Râh.

1 These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس nafs. نفس nafs, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (a) نفس nafs for the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b) نفس الاعیاء nafsul-haiyat the breath of life.

The first of these is again sub-divided into two, that which commands and that which forbids: thus they say نفسيه fulânun yu'âmiru nafsaihi. Such an one consults his two minds, i.e., weighs the pros and cons.

See Lane article نفس and روح, also Ghiyâṣu-l-lughât, and Kashshâf art.

فس The Choaroos. Qaisar Caesar; an Emperor.

خانقان A Turkish word meaning Emperor. The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary. (See de Courtelle Turk. Orient. Dict. خانقان). Khâqân. Originally the title Qan was given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, while the subordinate princes of the Chaghatai and other Chinghiz lines were styled only Khân.

After a time the higher Qan lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was used by many besides the sovereign (see Târikh-i-Rashidi (Elias and Ross), p. 30 n. 1).

Halâkî, descendant of Changiz Khân.
Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,\(^1\) Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.\(^2\)
On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,
Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedience and engulfed in it on all sides.

His also is the following in praise of the prophet may the peace and blessing of God be upon him.\(^3\)

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose sleeve, flows gracefully from the adoration of the soul as the ornament of its divine Creator
I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straightforward praise,
Because the two worlds are an indication of the embroidery of its sleeve;
Rose of the garden of the prophet's office, than whose spikenard

\(^1\) The word چنگ چنگ چنگ چنگ in its original sense means bent or curved; hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also "gajak کچک کچک کچک" with which elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a musical instrument (Burhān-i-Qātî). The چنگ چنگ چنگ چنگ was played with a plectrum called زخم ژرم ژرم ژرم Zaţama, and from its description as گیری خزی and گیری خزی سرگینه سرگینه was like the ژری of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

\(^2\) Yā haww. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to "My God and my Lord."

\(^3\) These words are not in MS. (A) which has no introduction to the poem.

MS. (B) has وَرَّأَةَ قَصِيَّةٍ فِي الْنَّغْمِ.

\(^4\) MS. (A) and MS. (B) کتابی.

\(^5\) MSS. (A) and (B) نَجَّرُ. نَجَّرُ.

\(^6\) Sumbal (Nardostachys jatamansi N. O. Valerianaceae) نَجَّرُ, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (S. John xii. 2).

In the Bahru-i-Jawhār it is stated that there are two kinds of Sumbal—Sumbal-i-Hindi, and Sumbal-i-Rūmī.

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain.....useful in dryspay, in flatulence and as a haemostatic in metorrhagia.

The perfumed sambil is the variety called Sambil-i-Hindi while the Sambil-i-Rūmī is also called Nardin.

See also Ibnu-l-Bajīr (Sontheimer), Vol. II., pp. 58 et seqq.
the morning breeze has never borne from Chin to Māchin a rarer odour from the fragrant musk.

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great price from the shell as an offering.

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth of the world in the five stated times of prayer.

His onyx-like eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

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"Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Chin who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Māchin his first born."

2 The phrase مدن نور means literally the six-sided oven-shaped (world). The six sides or divisions of the world are—

- عالم الإنسān, the world of mankind.
- عالم الجن or genii.
- عالم الملائكة, the world of angels.
- عالم الحيوان, the animal world.
- عالم النبات, the vegetable world.
- عالم المعده, the mineral world.

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

- صلا早餐 أضُحیة مغرب، maghrib, ‘as-hā and fajr.

The two standards علمنا are the sun and moon, cf. Qur’ān, XXXVI., 38, 39.

3 M. S. (A) reads جیزش. His onyx-like eye, &c.

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muhammad "The cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies." According to the Nuzhbatu-d-dahr (p. 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become ill-tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious.....There are several varieties of onyx......the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth......The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it wanes. The onyx softens when boiled in oil, sparkling and emitting light......The people of China (مغيرة) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the unluckiness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there.

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald-head in children; it also acts as a salutagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round their necks."

See also Lane Art. جزع where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams
Solomon because there is the stamp of his seal upon everything from the moon above to the fish below.
Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his helpers,
Earth and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven pledged to him,
His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to both worlds,
His gulangabin (confection of rose and honey) relieves the tremor of disobedience,
The mouth of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like words,
The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread faith,
The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand,
and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the path of his religion is in his right hand.
The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,
The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are but a sweat drop from his forehead,
The tongue of a green lizard is one of the marks of his seal,
The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his relation.

1 Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on which was engraved the "most mighty name."

See Lane Arabian Nights introduction n. 21 and Chap. i. n. 15. This stone was supposed to shew Solomon every thing he wished to know
See D'Herbelot art. Solimán.

2 Called پیمود Yahmût upon which the world is said to rest. See page 152, n. 2.

3 MS. (A) زمی و زمان گل‌گبقین

The properties of the rose are said in the Bahru-l-Jawâhir to be laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac: while honey is said to be a light dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a laxative and expectorant. Sadidi further says that honey is beneficial to old men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs. Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but Sadidis statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

4 This line should read. پزبان سوسماري رتمی بد سچلش See page 110,
In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his cleft the heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves as though it were a piece of cloth.¹

Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faithfulness to him.

Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his praise.

The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of his love and kindness.

The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynthus are both reminders of his love and wrath.

The garden, in submission² to his creative power, like the violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look! there is a blue mark upon its jasmine cheek.

His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the purification of³ the spirit of the human. One cannot reach to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

See 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muhammad was fleeing from Ilekka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jabal Saur and took refuge in it from their enemies. In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave.

Haiatu-l-Qulub. See also Muir’s Life of Mah. II. 257 note.

Compare the following lines by Ya’qubu l-Manjaqi, quoted by Ibn Khalliqan.

إیها المدعى الفخار اسم الفاخر
نزج دارد لم يقد ليلة الفاخر
وكان الفخار القلبوت.

Oh thou, who art so vain glorious! leave glory to him who is the lord of might and of power

David’s weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave.

The honour was all given to the spider.


According to another account immediately after Muhammad and Abu Bakr had entered the cave, an Acacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider’s web closed what remained of the entrance. D. Herbelot II. 231 art. (Hegra).
When Barāq the lightning-fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards the highest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahānt, the second step reached to the Sidra from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity which was his mighty title.

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band like the ants of the ground travelling fast along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into leaven by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

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1 See note 2, page 105. See Qurʾān Sur. XVII.
2 A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth: "After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears" (Mathew) Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ, Vol. II, p. 694.
3 See also Hedge's Dict. of Islam. (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).
4 MS. (A) (B) Qurʾān Sur. III. 98.
5 MS. (A) غزلي This alludes to the Muslims.
6 MS. (A) بوراک شمع دیشی.
7 MS. (A) and Text خسیم MS. (B) تکذیب. These are Kāfirs, infidels.
On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit since not, even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice.

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate. The Moon and Jupiter are in conjunction, each one with its own partner.

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring.

From the two earrings sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes.

‘Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his praises, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency.

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves.

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality is evident, in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup.

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

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1. MS. (A) (B).
2. MS. (A) (B).
3. MS. (A) (B) كعبتين. كة ال جرح Ka'batain. The temples of Mekka and Jerusalem.
4. The first four Khalifs the "rightly-directed." MS. (A) reads دوثران.
5. Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate. See Ibn Khaldiun Proleg: (De Slano) II. 217 and seqq.
6. Hassan and Hasain. Their eight children. درتره.
7. ‘Ali and Fatima.
8. See Ibn Khalliqa (Slano) III. 344 n. (8). Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called السحر الأعدال As-nahr-i-halal. Hafiz says,

معجزت إين شعر يا سحرحال
هائف أورد ابن سفن يا جيبريل

Is this poem a miracle, or is it lawful magic?

Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes' Dict. of Islam article Magic, also Lane' sub voce سحر.

7. This couplet is omitted in MS. (B).

MS. (A) reads جامعي كة صر ت değiştirت دوثراء. شد معينش.
are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

What person am I, what parrot am I, that sing these verses? When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QAṣĪDA.¹

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.²

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night ³ as an angel.⁴

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.⁵ Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.⁶

¹ MS. (A) has the words إِذَا. Aiżan lahu Also by him.
² The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāks one As-Simāku-r-Rāmi, the lance-bearing Simāk (Arcturus); and the other As-Simāku-l-Aʿzal, the unarmed Simāk (Spica Virginis.) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on Ung Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root Samaka to rise, to be exulted. See Ibn Khallīqān (de Slane) Vol. I. note 11.
³ Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (Qhiyāq-Il-Lughāt).
⁴ جم Būrḥān-ī-Qāṭi. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows: Also a pigeon all black with a white tail.
⁵ MS. (A) reads مَلْك which seems to have no meaning. The text reads مَلْك with a variant which we find in MS. (B).
Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth are his tilth. Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans. From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf. In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring woman of the morning-breeze rubs on the rouse of adornment like the beauties do over the patches. The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek, displayed its buds. Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays its face from the heavens. On the extremity of the plain of spring, issuing from the door of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield, the willow stands with its arrow. The jasmine and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and cheek. Thy care preserves the sugar of the concoction with salt. Except thy eternal existence how can any caravan arrive at secondary existence. In the eye of truth there is kuhl (of ornament), in the eye

1 These are according to the Burhān-i-Qātī.

2 Burhān-i-Jurjān, Burhān-i-Tabariya.

3 Burhān-i-Nīfas, Daryā-i Rūm.

4 Daryā-i-Maghrib, Daryā-i-China.

5 Burhān-i-Khwārazm.

6 MSS. (A) and (B) read خبک.

7 ترک مثال MSS. (A) and (B).

8 خال - خبک "A patch" for the face (Burhān-i-Qātī).

9 I read here جن رخ ترک مث که او روی نیاید از فلک. This seems the best reading. Both MSS. (A) and (B) lend countenance to it. The reading in the text is impossible.

10 That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so piquant that it seems as though they were tinged with salt. Conserve of roses is called parcurish.

(qidam) Existence from all eternity. For hudūs (budūs) see note 4, page 1.

The kuhl was used as a collyrium. Mīl Kūshādān (Mal Kūshādān) is to put out the eyes. Mīl, called also mūında, is the bodkin or style used for applying the kuḥl.
of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way \(^1\) verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost. In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take to craft? Why should the saw of Nūh ibn’Lamak \(^2\) cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief, \(^3\) just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net. \(^4\)

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed \(^5\) cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants \(^6\) several laks.

As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no one turns away his face from the door. It were better that the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants \(^7\) from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito \(^8\) not by the advanced guard of an army.

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\(^1\) MS. (A) reads دمَش which is an error.

\(^2\) نوح بن ملك. See Genesis v. 28-30. Noah the son of Lamech; also Gen. vi. 14.

\(^3\) زاد من. MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly ذو غم. When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

\(^4\) MS. (A) [كال كلال Text kulah-i-paridar. (Burhān-i-Qââ).]

\(^5\) MS. (A) (B) [خط كلال Text حجاب را حجابوا.

\(^6\) MS. (A) (B) [خط كلال Text يذب: MS. (A)]

In the Násākh-i-tanāvīk of Lisānū-l-Mulk we find the following account of this incident:

"The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty, the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and
If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the palate of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall."
I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather.¹

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness.²

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent. By thy help it is that this joyful sound ³ has been placed in my hand by destiny.

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation.⁴

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground. A carpet if it be of silk ⁵ is more fit to be burnt than thorns.

he ordered Abraham to be brought before him; then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand. Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man.

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field.

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there. Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty, the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitos, which are the most contemptible of all creatures, and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrud, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrud, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort. Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his lip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrud died in abject misery."¹¹

As the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable.

¹ MS. (A). The text reads wrongly در غضبان.
² That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent, like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell, not transitory like that of the wine flask which leads to emptiness.
³ دُ وَاَكَمْ kūmāk literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy.
⁴ MS. (A) بِي كَلِّك
⁵ By the laws of Islam, cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer, or as a prayer carpet. Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called مشْرَع.
Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels is refreshed while the musk of Ch'ln remains dry as a husk, Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment, until I am on the brink of the grave; that my dust may be like a rose garden far removed from the prickling of thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of modesty, and the secret of truth, the house of religion is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars is a sign of the injunction. Go on thy way, and be pure.  

May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a worthy present for the soul.  

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection, (i.e., four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Ali is independent of you? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the touchstone does not shew the shine of it? What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards "Faddak."  

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1 MSS. (A) (B) Shīrāzī. The term Ṣafī is applied by Sunni Muslims to any of the Shi'ah sects. See Hughes, *Dict. of Isla*ām. Art. Rāfīq.  
2 The four Khalifs.  
3 Ḥadīṣ. مَعْلُومٌ إِلَيْهِمْ كَأَنْجَيْنَاهُمْ إِدْماَمُ إِمَامَيْنِ إِمَامَيْنِ. My companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.  
4 بنَغْفَةٍ دِرْ. Ms. (A).  
5 Faddak was an estate near Medina which Muḥammad left to his daughter Fāṭima.

After the prophet's death Abu Bakr took it and Fāṭima demanded it of
And he who like the ill-omened owl boasts of being a Khārīji him, he replied: "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslems.

The Shi‘ahs say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The poet denies this assertion in the above verse.

The ill-omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

Si in ulula bonum fuisse, sem venator non reliquisset. Freytag Meid.

Prov. II. p. 572.

The story told by Mas‘ūdī about Bahram points in the same direction. See Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane). Prolegomenes, I. 107.

In the Huṣṭu-l-Haimeń there is a story told of Al Mā‘mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows:

يا قصر قد جمع ذكي الشيم واللوم متي يعش في اركاك الدموع
 يوم يعش نيزك ابديم من فرحي أكون أرل من نعيم مرغوم
Oh palace ill-luck and curse are assembled in thee;
When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars?
Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee!
I shall be the first to announce thy downfall.

He explained this before Al Mā‘mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruins of the palace.

1 The name Khārīji was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imāms (see Cureton’s Shahristání Milal wa Nikhal, page 83.)

See the article Khawārij in Hughes, Dict. of Islam.

The Khārījī heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalīfah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslems.

See for a fuller account of this sect. Sale’s Qur‘ān. Preliminary Discourse, p. 123 (Ed. of 1857) (Badger. Imāms and Seiyyids of Oman, Appendix, pp. 374, and seq.) (Osborn, Islam under the Arabs, p. 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when ‘Ali and Mā‘wia met at Siffin from which the following is an extract "The valour of ‘Ali was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malika-l-Ashtar, the Marshal of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amron ibn al-‘As knowing the fanatical character of ‘Ali’s troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance
compared to the confidant of the cave is like the night-flying bat in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun). Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion.

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination-working sects before that this sound reaches their ears What brought you into hell?

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy-cheeks of Yamak

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'an fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us."

'Ali's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shahrastâni names, and insisted upon 'Ali recalling Malik Al-Ashhtar from fighting against the Moelims "or " said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Ugân" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Ali and Mu'awia being settled by arbitration.

1 Abû Bakr.—The sole companion of Muḥammad when he fled from Mecca to Medinah, cf. Qur'an ix. 40.

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Saur).

3 ترک which seems to have no meaning.

5 Kızıl Aralân is the Turkish for "red lion." He was son of Ildîghî the first of the Atâbaks of Azar bailân whose dynasty commenced in 555 H. and ended in 632 H. Muḥammad the elder son of Ildîghî succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kızıl Aralân who was assassinated in 587 H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale).

6 The animal commonly known by the name dâlla, weasel or stoat.

5 Qur'an lxxiv. 43. In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners—what drove you into hell-fire?

6 Chigil. The Burhân-i-Qâtî says: A city in Turkisân where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.
Yet in the beginning of the nūn and dāl of my age (54) after the year kha and nūn and hā (655 H.),1 thanks be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the bonds of this net and gone free.

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my foot from the other, springing out of both snares like the clay pellets from a pea-shooter.2

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent," my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open dealings are with thee.

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxication of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are cold and shrunken.3

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yaquṭ says: A city lying beyond the river Sihūn in Tarkestān near Turrār. Thence sprang Abū Muhammad 'Abdūr Rahnān ibn Yahīn ibn Yūnas Aljīgīn the Khāṭīb of Samarqand in the days of Qadar Khān he died in Shāhān 516 H.

Yamak. Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people. Burhān-i-Qāṭī.4

Yaquṭ does not mention this.

1 The above shows that 'Amid Lūmākī was born in the year 601 H. The mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any intended double entendre here; though the word न्द which stands for 54 means good guidance, no meaning can be attached to the न्द which stands for न्द5. See page 99 note 4.

2 Turak is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force of the breath cf. तुफ़्गक. Steingass' Dict.

It is also called पफक, Pufak.


पफ करदन puf kardan to blow out—to puff.

A lamp which God has lighted.

He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard.

3 and 4 must be added in the text after the word सकcrap. MS. (A). This appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death, and the retraction of the chin and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to be the effects of the wineskin.
a missile, then the stone of the balista of death strikes my body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar.

Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,
At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take and eat."

Shewing his helplessness Amid thy slave offers these verses in praise of thy excellence to the best of his power.
Accept these few brief words from this vile cur.
For this mangy cur is a partner of your journey.
Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased from my heart.

**AN EULOGISTIC QAŞİDA.**

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless tofts of the violet-hued locks.
By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned.
Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.
Thy lily face is better confined by the links of thy spikenard-hued locks.

Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).
Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles;
Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a thorn.
Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy dark and fragrant locks.

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1 This appears to be the author's meaning. The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista.

2 If we read كرك for كرك the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad." There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word كرك. One meaning is according to the Burhān-i-Qāṭī "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

3 اغْلُقْ كَرَكْ should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read كرك. كرك (qutuq) is a Turkish word signifying anything eaten as a relish. كرك (qazāq) is the Persian equivalent of كرك. (qutuq).

4 This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.
Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond?
Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip
to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the
inging of a bed of tulips.
Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain,
like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this
monarch.
The world conquering king Naṣīru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth),
he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a
thousand fetters by his generosity.
Wālā Muḥammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time
of war, in the noose of his wrath.¹
Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer
of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine
of prosperity.
Beneath the saddle of the confusion of thy enemy on the day
of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four²
thongs to bind him.
He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspi-
cion,
If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy
head.³
When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the
bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tātār,
ambergris gained a fresh odour⁴ from its fragrant breeze,
and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the
newly arrived sprig.

¹ These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.
² I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate
   explanation of it.
³ MS. (A). The Bahru-l-Jawāhir sums up the properties
   of opium thus: قلیله ينفع وبنوم وكنيرو وقثل
   قلیله ينفع وبنوم وكنيرو وقثل
   In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills.
   No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the
   second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked
   by its cultivation rather than by the drug.
⁴ MS. (A). The text reads نسيم شرخ.
The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.¹

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory, That by thy justice no fetters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path Destiny places countless ² obstacles.

Like Naushirwān when thou knockest at the door of justice, Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.³

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head ⁴ is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

¹ Both MSS. (A and B) have هَرْكَةٌ إِلَّانَد. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

² MS. (A) reads مَدِ هَرْكَةٌ بَنِد.

³ Platanus orientalis. The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

⁴ چرخ گزلگر (gordor) met capit et cauda (Ross and Zend) pro quo etiam dicitur عقد تین (dual), qui est term, techn: astron: Bh. "Caput et cauda draconis, i.e., nodus or ascendens et descendens," Vüller sub vocc عقد. The Istilahāt-1-Funun, says that the ‘Uqdatu-r-Ba’s is also called ‘Uqdatu-gh-shimāliya and the ‘Uqdatu-š-Zanāb is called ‘Uqdatu-l-Junābiya, and the two together are called Janenahr. جوزهر. These terms are fully explained in the Article عقد p. 510, Vol. I. See also Lasa a. v. تین where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.
of eclipse in the knot of the dragon's tail, like me who am in the bond of distress.

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,
Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned.

Woe is me! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl taken from the casket of my heart.

Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of love of empire and usurpation?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon, the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of parrots.

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my heart's fortress.

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

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1 As regards the word كسوف it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while خسوف is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The Ghiyāz-1-Isqāf applies it to either: while the Kasbah Ištīčāšt-i-Pusnān lays down that كسوف should be used to denote a total eclipse, and خسوف a partial eclipse; moreover indicating only a change of colour, while خسوف denotes a total loss of colour. Lawe however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language كسوف is the partial loss of the light of the sun, and خسوف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition.

As ك is a much earlier letter than خ it is probable that originally at all events كسوف stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience.

2 Compare the Hindu mythological monster Rāhu.

The name Rāhu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindus, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess, Sārya Sidabānta, p. 50.

Mythologically Rāhu is a Dāitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rāhu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself. (Dowson Dict. of Hindu Mythology, p. 252.)
the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart.

No one has seen half a dáng weight of gold in my possession, And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.¹

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself, Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned.

Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release, My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me² with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west, Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet? Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice, Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,³ Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

¹ MS. (A)

² MS. (A)

³ MS. (A)
mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since you 'Amid girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

Qaṣīda.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark live in the midst of the raging billows of blood?

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails, and resting on the four anchors.

1 MS. (A)

The text as it stands must be translated, if thou hadst girt would have been brought &c.

It is evident from this Qaṣīda that 'Amid Lomaki was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the Majma‘u-l-Fusūl.

2 The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the حَدَثٔ أَنَامُ (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet or (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

3 The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. إِلَبَلْغَمٍ al-balgham. The phlegm.

إِسْوَدَاءٍ as-sauda. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.
Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors, 
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of death? 
In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical, 
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the month of Mehrgān.  
In front of the claws of this crab and the revolution of the nine heavens, loosen thy four anchors and then launch thy bark. 
The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance. 
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albirûnî) this day (Mihrajān) used to coincide with the beginning of winter" at which time the Jihūn would be frozen and unfit for navigation owing to the intense cold. Yâqūt states that in the winter the Jihūn freezes so hard that the ice is five spans (about 40 inches) thick; that the people dig wells through the ice with pick-axes to get water, and that caravans and carts cross the ice, which become like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mehrgān, the Barhān-i-Qāṭî says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamsī year, which corresponds with the position of the sun in Libra, which is the beginning of autumn. The feast of Mihrgān is the next greatest feast among the Persians to that of Nauroz, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, Mihrgān-i-Ādās and Mihrgān-i-Āmāma; the feast of Mihrgān lasts for six days beginning from the sixteenth of the month. It is said that God Almighty laid out the world on the 21st and endowed bodies with souls on that day. They say also that Faridān ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the binding of affection (حبت پیرسی) and it was so called because for the above reasons the people were treated kindly by their rulers on that day. Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of death of a tyrannical king. (Barhān-i-Qāṭî).

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kizās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albirûnî).

See also Albirûnî (Chron. of Ancient Nations), p. 208 and seqq.

2 At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; i.e., March 21st.

3 MSS. (A) and (B) have. 

4 بنده.
guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge.\footnote{1}

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony-like world, because a ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this worthless world.

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness
For an overloaded ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy lord.

The centre of kingship of land and sea Tāju-l-Haqq, who made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum) of sorrow.

Sinjar\footnote{2} who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing of the ocean of Qairawān.\footnote{6}

\footnote{1} He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune. Ebony is said in the Burhān-i-Qāfi to be “a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the (‘ūd) or aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder.”

The Bahru'l-Jamā'ir says that ebony “is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water,” hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink.

\footnote{2} Abul Hāriš Sinjar Ibn Malakshah Ibn Alp Arslān was Sultan of Khurāsān, Ghazna and Māvarān-n-Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljūq Sultāns,

He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of the Persian kings. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe in 548 A.H. (1153 A.D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 555 A.H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born according to Ibn Khalliqān in A.H. 479, in the environs of Sinjar whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) I. 600.


\footnote{6} Qairawān, Long. 10° E. Lat. 36 N. is situated in the North of Africa, in the province of Tunisia. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwān. At the commencement of the Muslim occupation it was the capital of Africa. See Abul Feda (Renand) II. i. 198. The ocean of Qairawān is the Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda (Annales), we find that Qairawān was founded in the year 50 H. (665-666 A.D.) and was completed five years later.
From the breeze of his smile in the ocean, the ship produces from every dry stick the branch of saffron.¹

When his auspicious prow turns towards the ocean the ship looks like a pearl emerging from the sea.

The heaven offers itself as his ladder when, arriving near the shore, the ship stands in need of a ladder.

At that time when his ship floats over the crimson tide of the blood of his brave enemies,

If we look, it appears as though his ship crosses over the dry (sparkling) water of the points of daggers and spears.

Thy enemy saw his life like a snare (from which he must escape) and the ship of his desire shattered to pieces by thy bond-loosening arrow.²

By the good fortune of thy arrival the ship sails along on its breast, on the tops of the waves to the very highest heavens.³

Thy dagger lays open the breast of thy envious enemies just as, by means of its keel, the ship opens the lips of the waves and the mouth of the ocean,

At that time when, in pursuit of the punishment of thine enemies, the morning breezes hasten their march and thy ship goes with slackened rein.

From this lake Khusrū demanded a ship (ode),
Saying such and such a ship is fit for this wide ocean.
I obediently set it sailing over the face of that ocean,
Although that ship was not fitted for such a sea.
When the sea of my mind burst into waves in thy praise, I made the word كشتي (kishti) the radif by way of trial.
If the ship had not been like a fish, tongueless in its essence It would not have addressed me except as "Ocean of benevolence and mine of eloquence"

Among the profoundly learned is there anyone better than

¹ See page 41, note 2.
² MS. (A).
３MS. (B) has the same with the exception of رخن for رخن in line 2.
⁴ MS. (A) and MS. (B) both have wrong readings of these lines.
Amid who has launched his ship from the Nile of excellence into this Clyisma of eloquence.
Always, as long as in the shape of the crescent moon, with each new month, the ship appears on the bosom of the ocean of the sky,
May thy boat of wine, bright as the sun, and liquid as fire, float upon the water of delight for ever and ever.

Qasida.

Happy art thou! at the sight of whose maddening glances the stag is intoxicated.
The snood of whose musk-fragrant ringlets puts the stag to shame.
The eye of the narcissus is embarrassed by thy glances.
The stag is harassed by envy of those muskilaaden locks.
Though the stag roamed round the garden a hundred times he saw no bed of violets to equal the bloom on thy cheeks.
What magical power is there in that eye which, with one glance, captivates hearts from within and hunts the stag from without.
From envy of the musk-coloured spot which stands like a drop of dew upon thy rose-like cheek, the stag without respite nurses a lacerated heart in his breast.

1 The بحر قلسوم Bahr-i-Qulzum. Clyisma. The Gulf of Heropulis, or Western Gulf of the Red Sea, through which the Israelites passed on dry land. It is the modern Gulf of Suez, and it is probable that Suez occupies the site of the ancient town of Clyisma. Epiphanius mentions Τὸ κατάρχον τῶν κόλπων as one of the three ports of the Red Sea, the others being Elath and Berenice.

There was in ancient times a fork or arm of the sea of which the "Bitter Lakes" are remains. The canal of Trajan beginning at Babylon entered the Red Sea at Clysmo.

2 MS. (A) (B) 
لا غمذر
با حياة حبي ترغي وماتي حبي وسط
زي من الجر على خديك بالسكت منقطع
بين ايفانك سلطان على ضفتي ماء
Thou my life art when thou smilest
But my death when thou art angered.
Ah! thy cheek like summer roses
With the grains of musk be sprinkled!

3 Cf.
Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,  
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares  
of thy locks.  
When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,  
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.  
The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine  
eyes,  
And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the  
assembly of the world-subduer.  
The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion,  
Sinjar,  
In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag.  
The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor¹  
taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khišā as a memorial.  
Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became² the  
ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority  
over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.  
Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted  
fear and shun as³ the stag avoids the lion.  
An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape;  
Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the  
lion?  
At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleeter than  
thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-  
footedness.  
At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his  
efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy charger’s  
hoofs?  
Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the  
lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse  
man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultan,  
Helpless, lo! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the  
commonest similes among Persian poets.  
¹ The sun is called کیش  كش shámāma-i-žafir.  
² MS. (A).  
³ MS. A. ۱۳۱.
Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast 1 of the dried blood of his navel in Tāṭār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes. ²

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk. In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him. The day that thou pursueth him he showeth only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder.

What power have two hundred enemies against thy prowess? What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee.

At that time when the stag’s horns are capable of fighting the lion.

1 MS. (A) نزِک.  
² The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons. (Burhān-i-Qāgī'.

The following is abridged from the Haiṣṭāt-i-Haiwān. "The stag is fond of snakes which it eats whererever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions, and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it, this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind, more especially as a remedy for impotence, and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag’s blood dissolves stone in the bladder."
In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.

Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag" with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.

It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as $\textit{radif}$ a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.

Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

'Amid has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.\footnote{mishk is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of Khitā. (\textit{Burbation-i-Qâfit} and \textit{Makhtawan-i-Adwiyah}). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (Castorium) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inunction. Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of $\textit{bisk}$ (aconite) and $\textit{qurínus-s-sumbul}$. (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye. It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."}

Always, as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,

May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard.

Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time.

Fasting has made his form which was like the Nārwān\footnote{The Nārwān is described in the \textit{Burbation-i-Qâfit} as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also \textit{Gullan}.} slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān\footnote{The Arghawān according to the \textit{Burbation-i-Qâfit} is a tree with} pale like the saffron.
How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile.\footnote{1}
Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarir\footnote{2} through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghawān.
How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the Khiri.\footnote{3}
How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and tremulous?\footnote{4}

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication. The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black. Ibn-Baitār (Sontheimer) says, (Vol. I. p. 28).

"The tree is very abundant in Isfahān and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmetic. The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic." Sontheimer does not give the botanical name. See note \footnote{3} on page 109.

\footnote{1} See p. 41, n. 2.

Zarir. The Burhān-i-Qāfī says this is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also asparag (إسپارگ) According to some however it is the leaf of Zard choba (turmeric) some other authors say it is a flower. It is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice. (Burhān-i-Qāfī)"

In Vüllers we find اسپارگ (Asparag) herba flava tingendo inserviens, alias زور (Zarir) or ورس (wars).

According to Ibn Baitār, (Sontheimer) ورس is Memecylon tinctorium—N. O. Melastomaceae, regarding which Drury in his Useful plants of India, page 291, says, "The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow lake......they are also good for dyeing clothes red...by itself it gives an evanescent yellow.

\footnote{2} A flower of which there are many varieties

Khiri-i-Khifā'ī — is dark purple
Khiri-i-Mirdini — is violet. It is also called حَفْث رنْگ. 

خُرِيَّي سَعْرَی خُرِيَّي خَرَمی Khiri-i-Sahrā'i — is red and white; called also خُرِيَّي خَرَمی Khiri-i-Khiramī.

Khiri-i-Shirā'ī — is yellow; called also غل هیشش پَهَر Gali hamesha bahār and in Arabic عصیر 'Aṣīr (Burhān-i-Qāfī).

See also Vüllers.

According to Ibn Baitār (Sontheimer) this plant is the wall-flower Cheiranthus Cheiri. N. O. Cruciferæ.

\footnote{3} MSS. A and B have توان which is a better reading.
His form stately as the Nārwān is bowed like the reed,
Has any one ever seen fasting proceed from the Nārwān and
cypress of the garden?
Till his face, which was like a full-blown rose, drew back again
into the bud there was no certainty that the rose and the
garden had commenced their fast.
Till his full moon once more became a crescent moon who had
clearly seen fasting overtaking the sun and moon of the
heavens.
The shaft of grief is broken in my heart, for his stature has
been brought by fasting from the straight form of an arrow
to the shape of a bent bow.
It is two days since I have seen jar upon jar of sugar in
that very moment when fasting set its seal upon his lips.
I am in astonishment at her sugar-distilling lip which is like
the pistachio, for there is sugar in the jar on each side and
fasting in the middle.
Because of her love her mouth is less than an atom, nay
even less than the minutest atom, can any one imagine that
a minute particle such as this can endure fasting.
Look! how marvellous it is with what skill she imprisons
fasting between those particles of ruby which scatter
sweetness.
With a glance she drinks my heart's blood because she
thinks that by taking a draught of blood she will openly
break her fast.
This heart of mine is faint with longing for her lips.
In this desire that I may break my fast with the seeds of the
pomegranate.

1 The text has which is right.

2 Niṣāmi Ganjamī says.

3 Nangshāker, means the lip of a mistress, and also a sugar jar of special form having a very narrow mouth.

The heart of the jar of sugar from the tightness of her honied lips, is
more tightly bound than is the cincture of her waist.

Cf. Niṣāmi (Sīra:daansima).
Haply she has hung the amulet on her silvery mouse-like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting.  

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising her.  

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it).  

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of the praise of my Lord;  

The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast;  

Muhammad whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose spear broke their fast with the blood of the enemies (trickling down) from the point.  

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyâr, has also, from the liberality of his hand, caused the age to break its fast on this side of the seven stages.  

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine have, in their utter poverty, considered fasting to be their bounden duty.  

Hail O King! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it were a shepherd, has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock.  

Thou art like the two first fingers, a close companion of the heavens, just as fasting goes hand-in-hand with prayer.  

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting is the twin brother of Zakât, Hajj and 'Umrah.  

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate  
A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar.

A favourite simile with Persian poets.

1 These couplets occur in this order in MSS. A and B.  

2 MS. (A) reads which is the reading adopted here.  

3 The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb.  

4 Zakât or almogiving is one of the five foundations of practical religion, Qur'an ii. 77.  

"And speak to men kindly, and be steadfast in prayer and give alms."  

The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property.
The breeze of thy good qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the faster, has carried fasting as a special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the custom of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, inasmuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and excused the feeble from fasting.

The spirit of man is often broken by the vicissitudes of the heavens just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.

In this time no one, from the time of Jamshid till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds.

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of Nimrud on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull (the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the body in this darkness.

_HaJJ_. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means.

_'Umrah_. The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zul Hijjah. See Hughes (Dict. of Islam.)

Text. (MSS. A and B read


cğon طاش مشکبی خلوق

khālāf is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Hadis says.

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane. Art. خلف. It became altered (for the worse).

The Qāmūs, says

خُلفُ فمِ الصلائم تخلوًا و خلونُ اتغیرًا وعسته

Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word šahāt to be a plural formed by Badis on the analogy of _ummaḥāt_, and to stand for the _nūh šabā-i-‘alīyiya_, the nine heavens.
On this earth, the world's children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.¹

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me and said,

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting.

The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the humā do I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "radiq" better than 'Abdul, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise.

MS. (A) reads زبایزید نه پیدا ونی نهان روزه MS. (B) reads زبایزید the reading in the text is زمانه بزی پیدا ونی نهان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation.

نماز بید نه پیدا ونی نهان روزه

¹ The text reads نه پیدا but MSS. (A) and (B) read شمار بید

² مقتدر MS. (A)

⁴ "The following is the routine of a fast day. About half an hour after midnight, the gun sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the Sahár (سحر) or morning meal." (Barton's Mecca I. p 110 note) see also Lane's Modern Egyptians for the observances of the month of Ramāzan.
Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the
beauty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a
hundred princely treasures,
Mayest thou be famed for generosity and kindness in this
world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

ANOTHER QAṣīDA.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the Simurgh
I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.
Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened
land?

I have gone like the ‘Anqā and have made my resting
place in the mountains.

1 MS. (A) reads فالتة instead of فالتة as in the Text.
2 The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was
abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language
of the country. On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from
her wing and said “Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger
put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy
1. pp. 97 et seqq.
3 There is a play on the word بُوم here which cannot be preserved.
4 Another name for the Simurgh, and a synonym for anything rare and
unattainable. (See Burhān-i-Qāṭi' under the name عتقی مغرب)
There is a long account of the ‘Anqā in the Ḩavyāt-t.-Ḥāʾīmūn where it
says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the ‘Anqā is the largest of all birds
which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat. It once
lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayer of
a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean
beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals. When the ‘Anqā flies there is
a sound like thunder and floods. It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age
of 500. It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups. A
description of the mode of capturing the ‘Anqā is also given but is too long
to quote.

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is which is
said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. “May the Anqā
fly away with him.”

They also say اجَنَّو رِهْيَل وَالأَزْعَلَا تَلَّاغه إِسْمًا إِشْيَا لم تُجْدَد وَلَمْ تَكْن
Libelosity, the Ghāl, and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable
and non-existent.

To dream of the ‘Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman,
or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.
Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest of the lower world, I have made the harvest field of the sky full of grain-like stars.

Why does the moon display the halo-harvest when it does not shew a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf.

By the light of the knowledge of God, I have made the newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day.

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by comparison with the astronomical tables of intellect.

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four elements, great is the training which I have given the unruly steed of my passions.

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form of this uncouth body which is like a midden, every moment to rival the nightingale of the verdant garden.

The parrot has left for the garden, the kite of lust which is following it circling round and round my nature I have detained within the midden of the body.

In many an art for which the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as a man who follows but one art.

*My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the light to the wick.*

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the storehouse of the treasury of secret knowledge.

Once by way of vaunting in the rose-garden of desire,
I displayed the brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower.

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow, ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.¹

This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.

The seven-headed dragon (The Sky) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (night and day) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bizhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manîzha² nor have I committed the crime of Bizhan.

¹ The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.

² The daughter of Afrasiyâb. When Bizhan undertook to clear the country of Armân of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Gîrzîn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manîzha, the beautiful daughter of Afrasiyâb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersîwîz was sent by Afrasiyâb to put Bizhan to death: by the intercession of Pîrân the punishment was averted, but Bizhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manîzha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rastum, Bizhan was freed and he and Manîzha went to Iran together. (See Atkinson’s Shâh Nâmâh, pp. 300 and seqq.). See also page 116 note 5.
Patience has the strength of Rustum,\(^1\) as one may say, I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the arm of Rustum-like patience. All of my companions are free to follow their occupations while I am fast in prison, God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have committed this fault. The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of the Ishrāqi philosophy\(^2\) which I followed so excellently have thrown me into misfortune? The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and through from the back, although I had armed my breast with the cairass of patience. My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart as its meat. Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent.)\(^3\) Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow) from dearth of benefactors, and though like the lily I have ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise. I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

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\(1\) Rustum extricated Bishan from the pit by drawing him up with his aman or lasso.

\(2\) The Illuminati. A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their own proper inspiration and mental illumination, which they held to be the result of spiritual meditation. Ḥājī Khalifah, III. p. 87, writes as follows: “Philosophia illuminationis (Heknet el-ishrāc) sive Neo-Platonica inter veteres disciplinas philosophicas enudem locum tenet quæa Theosophia inter doctrinas Islami simili modo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas locum tenet quæa theologiam dogmatico-scholasticam inter has.”

In the by حاجي مل عاديمي سيد زراري شرح منظومة we find: Philosophers are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation, those who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retirement, those who arrive at it by combining these two. These last are called the Ishrāqi sect.

See Ḥājī Khalifah علم الحكمة See also de Slane, Proleg. Ibn Khal : III. 167.

\(3\) The MS. (A) has خيشتى را دة زنات The text follows MS. (B).

See note 1 page 101.
lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Lādān into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.²

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of Qīṭrān,⁴ not now only but long ago.

1 لَدَانُ Lādān. The resinous balsamic juice of Cistus creticus and other species; according to the Burhān-i-Quṭṭi it is called also ʿEbnīrāsīl Honey-ambergris and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards; si femīna quædam, cui in utero factus mortuus sit, vagīnam suam vaporavit ladāni vaporaverit, factus ills mortuus illico excidit. See also Ibn Baṭṭār (Sontheimer) I. p 420.

It is the last of Genesis xxxvii. 23 and xliii. 11, where it is translated in our version myrrh. The Greeks called it σαρακ. The true myrrh (Ar. 淼 marrūn) is different.

The ʿAshaṭ Ashhab is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

² A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

³ MSS. (A) and (B) have ʿAṣṣūz but Ṣūṣūz is a better reading.

⁴ Qīṭrān, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the Burhān-i-Quṭṭi and Quāmāst for inunction of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called ʿAṣṣūz 'Aṣṣūz, (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the Maṣḥuṣ-ʾAdwiya: Deobstruent, diuretic, enmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen; relieves flatulence, haemorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains. Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antispasmodic. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps Juniperus Sabina (Savina) which is powerfully ecobile. According to Ibn Baṭṭār (Sonth.) II. p. 94, it is Pinus cedrus, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, saʿ ʿAṣṣūz 'Aṣṣūz 'Aṭṭar.

The word ʿAṣṣūz is derived in Burhān-i-Quṭṭi from ʿAṣṣūz-i-Quṭṭi and ʿAṣṣūz-i-Quṭṭi, i.e., mule-like, because mules have no offspring.
This one poem of mine is worth a whole Divān and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair.

Imprisonment has brought me to lamentation, and from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation.

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date-tree of thy favour, I have made the bird of my heart, to sing the praises of thy Unity.

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, lo I have fled to my refuge.

Keep far from the darkness of infidelity, hypocrisy, hatred and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee.

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief.

**Sultān Ghīyāṣū-d-Dīn Balbān-i-Khurd**

Who had the title of Ulugh Khān, by the consent of the Malikhs and Amirs adorned the throne by his accession in the Qasr-i-Safed

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1. The word شعر here has its double meaning. Saifi in his prosody says, "A bait (poem) is called bait for the reason that bait means a house and they compare the bait of poetry (شعر) with the bait of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abū-l-Alā Maʿrūrā


The Wahhābi writers define Shirk as of four kinds:

- شرك العلم Shirku-l-ʿilm.  Ascribing knowledge to others than God.
- شرك التصرف Shirku-t-taparruf. Ascribing power to others than God.
- شرك العبادة Shirku-l-ʿibādah. Offering worship to created things.
- شرك العادة Shirku-l-ʿādah. The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.


See also Qurʾān. xxxv. 38 and xlvii. and 8, and various other places.
(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.¹ He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amir. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulugh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of the Sultān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum ² on the condition that if the Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.³ When this request was represented to the Sultān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amirs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them ⁴ he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amirs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

Verse.

Reputation arises from equity and justice;
Oppression and kingship are as the candle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

¹ Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban there is no known historical record. The Tārikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī of Ziāu-d-Din Barānī only begins from Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban.

² MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبل and يسير.

³ MS. (A) reads نقد و جاس گزارنند.

⁴ مکرری راسته. According to Firuztā, one of these was Ḥaidār Khān the Amir of Ondh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amir publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (See also Elliott, III. 101.)
display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to shew himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity, In days of retirement he would wear a blanket; And he strove in prayer and supplication His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a cauldron; A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue; Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge All that was visible of these intricate matters.

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnauti sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sultān proceeding to Patiāli 1 and Kanpila, built the forts of Patiāli, Kanpila, Bhojpūr, and certain other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jud hills. In two days after leaving Dehli he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāithar 2 and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Jalālu-d-Din the territory of Badāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kāitharis, 3 and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpūr, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the Doāb, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, imprisoning some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintūr

1 MS. (A) Patiāli. The printed text has Betāli.

Patiāli. In Aliganj tahsil, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter Imp. Gaz.)

Kanpila. In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(Imp. Gaz.)

Bhojpūr. The residence of the Ujjainiah Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Scaseram, a pargana in the Sirkār Rohtās Bihār.

2 So also Tāvīk-i-Fīroz Shāhī. Firishta reads Katcher. MS. (A)

vads Kānthar. The district of Rohilkhand is meant.

3 Who Firishta says were notorious robbers and brigands.
hills, and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it Hisār-i-Nau (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army towards Lāhor, and rebuilt the castle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughāls in the reign of Sultān Muʿizzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness reached the confines of Lakhnauti, and Tughral, Nāib of Amin Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khān in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amin Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Muʿizzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkila (Nārkila) and Malik Ikhṭiyārū-d-Dīn Bihārīs was ordered to pursue him, the Rāi of Sunārgām named Dhanūj offering his services to the Sultān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhṭiyārū-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughral, who had fled into a jungle, walking about off his guard, and having put him to death sent his head to the court. The Sultān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughra Khān, Governor of Sāmānā, who eventually received the

1 MS. (A) reads کوہپیاہ سنبدز Kohpaya-i-Sambāz. This seems to be a copyist’s error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kamān hills must be meant.

2 Neither Firuqta nor Zān-ud-Dīn Barni mention this.

3 MS. (A) reads نارکیلا در بجرہ سرخشہ Nārkila dar Ḍehrā Surkhshah. Malik Ikhṭiyārū-d-Dīn Tangrāz Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sultāni. See Elliott, III. 117, note.

4 Called Danūj Rāi in Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī. See Elliott, III. 113, note.

5 “The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgānaw, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S. E. of Dacca.” It is marked in Rennell’s Map given in Vol. III. of Tieffenbhalter “Sonnergong.” See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

6 The printed text and MS. (A) both have ک در جنگلی گرخنگه می گشت The above appears to be the meaning.
title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle’s son to the Sultān and one of the “Forty Slaves” of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and Governor of Lāhor and Dībālpur, and had read the Khutbah in Ghaznīn in the name of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, the Mughuls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustān) the road of communication had become opened 1 to the Mughuls, accordingly Sultān Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sultān Muḥammad, who is known as the Khān-i-Shahīd, and Qān-i-Mulk, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tattha and the seacoast was in his possession. Amir Khusrū and Amir Hasan of Dehli remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shirāz and begged that Shaikh Sa’dī, 2 may God have mercy on him, would come to live with him. The Shaikh did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mir Khusrū to the care of the Sultān, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sultān Muḥammad used to visit Multān every year to see Sultān Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

1 The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading راشد هو. Thus losing all the sense of the passage. Cf. MSS. (A) (B).

MS. (A) has, correctly, راشد هو.

2 Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Mūslih ibn ‘Abdu-llah as-Sa’dī. He was a native of Shirās where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning. He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Beale says 120). He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in quietude: He died in the year 691 H. (1291 A.D.) He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amir Khusrū of Dehli who entertained him. His Kulliyāt are of world wide reputation. The Majma’ul Fawādi (I. 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa’dī’s birth, and gives the date of his death as 791 H. which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sa’dī was born “about the year 571 A.H.” The above account would however place his birth in either 589 A.H. or 579 A.H. Of his works the Gulistan and Bustān are the best known.

For a full account of Sa’dī see the preface to Platt’s Gulistan. See also Atashkāda, p. 284.
possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultan instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehli, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multan; and in the same year Itimar\footnote{Itimar. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Žiān-d-Din Barnī calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Timūr Khān.} the Mughul with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Ravi by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a petition to Khān-i-Shahid\footnote{Called Khān-i-Shahid or the “Martyr Prince” because he fell in battle opposing “the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changiz Khān” (Elliott, III. 122.)} telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,\footnote{MS. (A) باغ سبز MS. (B) باغ سبز the text reads باغ سبز Begh-i-Sarir with a footnote variant Begh-i-Sard.} on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zū-Ḥijjah of the year 683 H,\footnote{Ẓiān-d-Din Barnī says 684 H.} and Mir Ḥasan\footnote{Ẓiān-d-Din Barnī attributes this lament to Amir Khusrū. (Elliott III. 122). Firishta also states that Amir Khusrū escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mir Khusrū. The Ḥasan which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A)(B) may have had its origin in a copyist’s error.} of Dehli composed a prose lament and sent it to Dehli. It is copied here in its very words.

\textit{The Lament of Mir Ḥasan.}

\begin{quote}
It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to shew acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first, like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a case where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the
\end{quote}
gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death.

Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold, The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old.

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qâ‘ân-i-Mulk Ghâzi,¹ may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies, on Friday the last day of the month of Zû-l-Hijjah in the year 683 A.H., when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen, the Sun with the company of the army of Islam came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of “jihâd” firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup. By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Itimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three farangs. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one farang coming face to face with those accursed ones,² elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

¹ Qâ‘ân-i-Mulk Ghâzi. The eldest son of Ghiyâsu-d-Din Balban who was Khân of Multân. See page 187 ante.
² ١ مَعَ السَّمَّاءِ وَاٰنَّ مَعَ ١ MS. (A)
of Bāgh-i-Sarir\(^1\) on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accordingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers\(^2\) should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde\(^5\) and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way,
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire.
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,\(^4\) and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion\(^3\) (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

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1. Probably the Bāgh ‘Sīrār mentioned before.

2. The Rāvi and Satlaj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Fīrishta, who states that after having routed the Mughul army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughul chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

3. I read خفافی شام. MS. (A).

4. MS. (A) reads در resonate عالمی جا لغاش با لغاش. Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following —

إذا نزل القضا ة بطل المجرر When Fate comes, caution is useless.

إذا نزل القضا ة عمي العصر When Fate comes the eye is blind.

5. The three stars in Orion's belt. See Lane, e. c.
manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb "In face of Fate wide becomes strait" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history). In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world-conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels. The Khān-i-Ghāzī at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body-servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them', drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar. After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the jiḥād, while the Tātār infidels, let confusion and dismay come upon them, crossed the river of Lāhor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims. Thereupon these wild-loving desert-born savages, placing the feathers of the owl upon their illomened heads, while the Ghāzīs of Islām, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustān, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war, reciting the takbīr

1 See Qur’ān IX. 5.

The thick wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia: commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog. See D’Herbelot Vol. I. p. 610, II. p. 282. Ibn Khaldoun, Prolemy: I. 162.

The owl called by the Arabs غراب theilī is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean, Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (Haigū-t. Hainvānī).

Hence the proverb لَوْكَانِ فِي الْبُوْمَةِ خُيَرَ مَا تَرَكيِّ يُصِيّد.

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. See also p. 157, note 1. See also J. A. 8. B. 1877, p. 81.

According to Şāfi writers there are two Jiḥāds. Al-Jiḥādul-Ākbar or "the greater warfare" which is against one's own lusts; and Al-Jiḥādul-Asghar or "the lesser warfare" against infidels (See Hughes, Dict. of Islām art. Jiḥād.)

5 Crying Allah Akbar إِلَّا حَلَّمُ أَكْبَرُ God is Almighty. See Miṣkīma-t-Masāḥīh X. ii. 1.
raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of able-bodied men of the Mughul cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks interweaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the weft (of existence) of the Tätärs was being torn to shreds.\footnote{There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. \textit{تیر} \textit{tir} is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of “arrow.”} 

In the beginning of the fray the \textit{arrow} of the king leapt forth

The Tätärs were all laid low.

As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword, with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced, and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All-powerful. I close my eyes against the fatal eye.\footnote{\textit{سند} \textit{Sand} According to \textit{Burhán-i-Qāfi}, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being “overlooked” by the evil eye. \textit{See} Vüller’s Lexicon. For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane’s \textit{Modern Egyptians}.}

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.

Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.

The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,

I am as mule upon that fire to guard that eye.

As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and warfare, each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me.
this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting
and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the
enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit
some untoward act. The arrow too was saying,

Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the
Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger.¹

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head,
lest the close-eyed beauty of the heaven,² who sits on the fifth
roof near the door of the eighth mansion,³ sitting in ambush, out
of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of
error from the bow of fraud and malice; the lasso was saying,
to-day the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand
of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate
conflict and ill-considered battle; wait a while! for Islam and the
Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your
favours. Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long
delay putting the halter round their necks.

I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake
Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy
locks.

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter
of infidelity, from mid-day till eventide attacked that impious
crowd with the whole main body of his army,. cheerfully and
willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the
clamour of those eager for the fray⁴ deafened the ears of the world
and of the sky,⁵ and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

¹ MS. (A) has فندة as has the text. MS. B Neither is intelligible.
² Possibly we should read مفسدة. Jauzhar the head and tail of
Draco, see Burhān-i-Qātī also ‘Ain-i-Akbārī, II. (J.) p. 9, also Kāshāhīf, I. 202.
³ I read ترادر خانه which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as
رسانیده for which there is no sanction. The text reads but it seems to me نزن安静 is more likely to be
right. It might easily have become نزن by copyist’s error.
⁴ MS. (A) and (B) have which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as
شمالان غلبان for which there is no sanction. This is a better reading
than the text.
⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) read سما اسماع سما in the text.
the flashing spears, and tongues of the swords made not a single mistake in even a letter in transmitting the message of destruction. In that uproar like the day of resurrection every one thought of this Ayat A day when a man will flee from his own brother,† the surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men who have lost their sons ‡ was full of blood, and the face of the sky like the head of sons who have killed their fathers, full of dust.

Alas! my father why dost thou submit to the steel of the fire-like sword

Oh! dost thou wish to inflict the wound of orphanage on my heart.

In the very midst of this weary conflict, and amid all this pain and anguish, suddenly an arrow shot by Fate struck the wing of that falcon of the field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body of that noble one to the gardens of the Compassionate and meadows of Rizwān §

Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return.¶

At that same moment the backbone of the religion of Muḥammad, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, broke like the heart of sorrowful orphans, and the rampart of the religion of Muḥammad fell in like the grave of poor people of low origin, and the assistance which the arm of the king alone could give slipped from our grasp, and the confidence which the army of the Muslims had possessed ¶ was lost. Exactly at the time of sunset,

† Qur'ān Sur: lxxx. 34.
‡ MS. (A) بصر بیاد داده. The text has بصر بیاد داده which is bald and destroys all the antithetical force of the sentence.
In MS. (B) the word بصر is omitted.
§ MS. (A) کلش خانه و رفیع ضمای. Rizwān, the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradise. The word means "Pardon" "forgiveness."
¶ The formula of resignation to the Divine will uttered by pious Muslims in all times of adversity, more especially bereavement or in presence of death. In the Qur'ān II. 150, 151 we read, "We will try you with something of fear, and hunger and loss of wealth and souls and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return'; these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided." (Palmer).
§ see Lane, Ar. Dict. بیضة الإسلام. The place which comprises El-Islām (meaning the Muslims) like as the egg comprises the young bird, or the congregation or collective body of the Muslims.
the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sank into
the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners,
dyed its raiment blue, while falling tears began to course
down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the require-
ments of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe
to black and bewailed the people of Hindustân because of his
death: Jupiter, in pity for that dust besoiled body and blood-
stained mantle rent his garments and cast his turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the
eye of the beauties, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the
locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity,
with a rankling thorn 1 which brought forth his heart’s blood,
was trembling like the Fish 2 before the Sun, and like the Ram 3
in the hands of the slaughterer, while the Sun, for shame that
it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster,
came not forth, but sank below the earth, and Venus when she
saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the
hands of Time, played her tambour more vehemently, 4 changed
the tune of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure,
and because of the death of that slave-cherishing king, others in
place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercury 5 who
in forage and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write
many records of victory, in that tyranny 6 was blackening his
face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself
in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records,
while the new moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon,
with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited
the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the
customary mourning duties.

1 خار عقرب. Khâr-i-‘Aqrah The thorn of Scorpio. Mars is called
2 جمط. Hāt. The sign Pisces.
3 عمل. Humal. The sign Aries.
4 قاد في الهندي. Zad fī al-hindib. In the analogy of
said of a liar.
5 The tambor is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played
with a plectrum. The word was originally دنب بره دنّب برع from its being likened
to the tail of a lamb. (Lane).
6 Mercury is called دیر فلك Dabr-i-Falak. The scribe of the sky.
7 نظام. Tagullum MS. (A) MS. (B). The textual reading must be wrong.
Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this for thee
Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the Earth.
If thou goest out to the chase (i.e. diest) thy dust is my life:
My life! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee? I do not wish it for thee.

May God, be He exalted and blessed, raise the purified and sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the brilliancy of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds!

And Mir Khusru ¹ also on that day fell a prisoner into the hands of Labori, a servant of the Mughul, and had to carry a nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He reounts this circumstance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,
He placed a load on my head and said "It is a rose." ²

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehli two elegies written in tarkib-band ³ which are found in the anthology known as

¹ For an account of Mir Khusru see index reference.

² means both horsecloth and also rose. There is a difference in the readings. MS. (A) reads, نبرة برسنهاد وقفتنا جليل MS. (B) is like the text.

³ In this class of composition a certain number of verses having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on. In Tarjiband as
Ghurratu-l-Kamāl. For a space of a month more or less, folk used to sing those tarkib-bands and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house.

The following is one of them:

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven which has come to light?
Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared upon the earth?
That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustān has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the foundation of the world.
The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the petals of the rose before the wind.
Autumn the leaf scatterer has, one would say, appeared in the garden.
Every eyelash, in the absence of friends, has become a spear-point to the eye, and each point of the spear has brought blood spouting forth to a spear's length.
The heart writhes in agony since Time has broken the thread of companionship;
When the string is broken, the pearls are scattered far and wide.
Such a flood of tears has been shed by the people on all sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multān.
I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the form of words,
When lo! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my mouth.

has been stated elsewhere, the plan is similar to the above, but the interpolated couplet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in Tarkib-band and in Tarjī' band.

1 Ghurratu-l-kamāl. The longest of the four Diwāns of Amir Khūrū. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life; for an account of this and the other "Diwāns" see Elliott, III. Appendix. See also Hāji Khalifah, IV. 311.

2 MS. (A) reads گلستان for پوستان.

3 MS. (A) agrees with the text. MS. (B) has a worthless reading
I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes; when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be!

It is essentially impossible—how can this Banātu-u-Na'şh become the Pleiades\(^1\) (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen\(^2\) did the king lead his army from Multān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

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\(^1\) The text has در چشم we should read در چشم as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

\(^2\) This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of ترکب بنده tarkib band, see p. 196, note 3.

بنات النعش Banātu-u-na'şh, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation Ursa Major. See Lane, s. v. نعش.

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the Trésor Universel des Tables Astronomiques d'Olong Beg, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear نعش لاعزر Feretrum Lasuri, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail Maria, Martha ac ancilla." The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of Ibnul-Amid (see de Slane, Ibn Khall., III. 263).

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 13, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

\(^3\) MSS. (A) and (B) read تالخ.
When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustum must not be indebted to an armed host.

One assault took him from Multān to Lāhor, saying

In my reign can any one rebel against me?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies over the surface of blood like a duck over the water.

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth.

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention.

His eyes were smitten by the stars; if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muḥarram for him, not for him only but for all people.

1 These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this order.

2 MSS. (A) and (B) read برسخ پر گشید.

3 M3. (A) reads غزنا شد گرم.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Zul Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muḥarram.

The 'Āshūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. We read in the Mishkat (VII.) Ibn Abbās said I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Āshūrā and the fast of Ramaṣān." Again "the fast of
Since at the end of Zul Hijjah he drove his dagger into
the neck of his enemies.
That the day of 'Ashūra might arrive he entered the ranks
of holy war like Ḥusain; the dust of his steed served as
collyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.
What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of
the army!
One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and
came upon them unawares.¹
Thou didst see the king's steed,² casting the cloud of dust
to the sky.
The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless
as dust.
He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of
his army.
He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing
of his cavalry,
From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and
the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the
plain and desert and mountain.
His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as
fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck
sparks.³
What awe was there! at one time drawing up for battle,
What terror was there! at another time raising the battle
cries.⁴
From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered heat
and oppressiveness around him.

¹ MS. (A) reads جورق جوق كاب را بانغشت وانه در سيد and گنче سائت گنگ.
² MS. (A) reads جاق جاق instead of گنک as in the text.
³ MSS. (A) (B.) read وسم هرآنشین نعلي.
⁴ MS. (A) reads same as (A) repeating هیده in the second line.
While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like so many thorns.
The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their enemies,
The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.
[While, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that field of battle,
Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].
Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the unmanly cowards,
And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered sword.
Raising aloft like Jamshid the standard, to restrain the demons,
Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.
Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.
Making the sun perform the Tayammum \(^2\) with that dust.
[At that time when there was a distinction between brave and coward,
Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks pale].\(^3\)

\(^1\) These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

\(^2\) Tayammum. This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted to the Wu'ūū or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water, which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour. Qur'an V. 9. "If...ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces, and your hands therewith." This like so many of Muḥammad's injunctions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

\(^3\) The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding band as though this poem were a tarjī'band. The following is the correct reading as given in MS. (A)

Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.

26
The day was cast into darkness when they hurled\textsuperscript{1} one
upon the other,
The sun became pale when dagger was interweaved with
dagger.
The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords\textsuperscript{2}
were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.
The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of)
a comb,
The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair
with hair.\textsuperscript{3}
The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was
knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden
when shield was woven with shield.
The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow,
The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers
of a wing.
When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept
off by the sword
Those infidel heads\textsuperscript{4} which were matted together like the
locks of black hair.
Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears\textsuperscript{5} from the sword
So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with
the jewels.
Each single head was cleft in twain when the swords
blows met.

\textsuperscript{1} MS. (B) reads تانتند which is the best reading.
\textsuperscript{2} This is the reading of MS. (A) كّزنجار نیغ MS. (B) follows the text
but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS. (A) is not quite satis-
factory and it seems possible that we should read لّزنجار نیغ. \textit{i.e.} The war-
riors' swords.
\textsuperscript{3} MS. (A) has the following:—
شان را مانند که مغافی نیغ از گردوس
MS. (B) has شان را مانند while the text has this as an alternative
reading for بانتند.
MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however تانتند (text) and MS. (A) for تانتند MS. (B) in the second line.
\textsuperscript{4} MS. (A) کانسر هرسر.
\textsuperscript{5} Insert لّ before نیغ MS. (A).
The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.
The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain  
Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.
Long had they been striving even from morning till evening; face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.  
The king  wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail
Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.
* [His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for one moment.
From the declining day till night in that day of declining fortune].
Oh Lord! was that blood which flowed over the face of the plain
Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the thirsty.
Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it  in a sieve
So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.
The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.
The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,
Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.  

1 MS. (A) reads كشتشان اثنادة در اطراف آن چهاری سبز which is the reading adopted.
2 MS. (A) reads رویروی وسو بسم وسو بسو بر یافتن دند.
MS. (B) رویرو بسو بسو وسو بسو بر یافتن دند.
3 MS. (B) reads incorrectly خوست شد
4 The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندرا میدان, see page 196 note 3, instead of the lines which should follow
یک زمان شهیار ابتکار نیاسود از قتال
از زوال روز تاشب اندرا روز زوال
5 MS. (A) بیدی
6 These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five couplets later.
The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side. The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders falling. The feet of the horses speeding and the heads of the riders bowling along. Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck by an arrow leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an arrow.

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm served for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flew straight to the heart of the enemy’s army. And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of his arms and legs, was running now to the water and now to the plain. The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in drawing up his line, and planning the scheme of action. The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the hair, Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the accursed (infidels).

2 [The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take to flight, Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us]. What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the sky! And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars had fallen. When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune.

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1 These lines follow here in MS. (A) which reads چ bör که کریتر نچه تد. 2 Here again the text and MS. (B) are wrong. Here should follow as in MS. (A). 3 These are omitted in MS. (B.). MS. (A.) reads کتاب نفع را گون شد. This and the following are transposed in the text.
Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Húsain of the famous Kerbelá⁠¹ was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muḥammad whose end came upon him in the water.⁡²

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.³

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage.

Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning.

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¹ A city in 'Irāq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates. Húsain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yazid ʿbn Muʿāwia on the 10th of Muḥarram; the name of the place where Húsain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelá. See Hughes Dict. of Islām art. Húsain.

² MS. (A) reads گه در گستش به گرم افکار به بود but the text is the correct reading.

³ It refers to the circumstances already related under which the Khān-i-Shahid, the Martyr prince met his death. Firūghta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustān discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muḥammad, the Martyr Khān, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughul Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush." (Tārīkh-i-Firūghta, I. 143. Bombay Edition.) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men killed. It was here Amir Khuršūd was taken prisoner but escaped.
The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood looked like coconuts engraved and ornamented with vermilion.\(^1\)

The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying desolate owing to separation from life.

Alas! many were the living who were lying among the dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep.

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (the sky) for lions were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters at the hands of (infidel) dogs.

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrection, then I have seen it].\(^2\)

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about such a change, that it made the centre of Islām to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.\(^3\)

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wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Ḥāṣaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (رَجُلْ) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurāt (Book of the Law) which they read aloud; Ḥāṣaf the demon was not able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the water and fled. Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by; she ran off to her father and begged him to marry her to Solomon. Eventually this was settled (though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's daughter to fry. She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole house becoming illumined, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

1 MS. (A) reads کشتنگان را سر کشتن. The text and MS. (B) read کامتهای سر کشتن which seems preferable.

2 The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are نی فزع بود که قیامت را معین دیده ام गर قیامت را نشان ایست پس من دیده ام.

3 MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) دايرات آسمان کن پرگار. MS. (B) is the same as the text except that it reads پرگار in both lines.
Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's spring?
Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely pearl?
When the king entered the cave of the protection of God, that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the cave with his lamentations.
That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing from his enemies, is no disgrace.
The elect of God (Muhammad) fled towards the cave to avoid the attack of his enemies.\(^3\)
And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies this too is right for the wrath of Nimrod at last committed Abraham to the fire.\(^4\)
And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed and count it as a shame to him for 'Isa through the spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.
And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say this, that it is of a piece with the dog like behaviour which was shewn to ('Ali) the Ḥaidār-i-Karrār (lion of repeated attacks).\(^6\)
And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.\(^7\)
Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting the Mughūlā,
At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

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1 Qur'ān, Sūratu-Ḥadīth, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A) \(\text{سکست گوشه} \) which the text follows reads \(\text{گوشه} \); and the text reads \(\text{گوشه} \).
2 MSS. (A) and (B) read \(\text{ز رژم خُصُمان} \).
3 The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here: the correct reading is \(\text{ز نیبر خُصُمان هم رواست} \).
4 Qur'ān, xxi. 52-53.
5 Said they: Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so.
6 MSS. (A) and (B) read \(\text{ز نگ ک شان دل بدمکن} \). The reading in the text \(\text{نگ کن بدمکن} \) is inadmissible.
7 Abdur Rahmān ibn Muljim slew 'Ali with a sword while engaged in prayer on the 19th Ramāṣān 55 A.H. in the Mosque of Kūfa.
This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life; we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate). The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony.
The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain.

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zul Hijjah that this battle took place At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of auspicious features,
Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one.
Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west
Behold the obedience of the servants who wept without any master.
In his reign birds and fishes were so happy
That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air. The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass.
The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.
The people of Multân, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and everywhere.
No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

1 MS. (A)
2 MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text
3 This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).
They were preparing to perform the waṣū in the water of their eyes,
Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.  
Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,  
So sorely did they weep for the captives of calamity.  
Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the throat of the slain,  
So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead.¹
And if by chance a captive returned from that bond of calamity,  
Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow.  
[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears were greater than those of the Jihûn.  
This was my own condition, the state of the others how can I describe!]²
Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth make my arm livid,
Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue heaven?³
Every man of reputation, tattoos his arm with the needle,  
But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of the king leaps forth on my arm.  
Alas! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping beneath the earth, while because of his sleeping there the whole horizon has become blue (dark).
There was both the blackness of the Hindû and the whiteness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindû are wearing blue (as mourning)
⁶ [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens and dividing them among themselves,

¹ This is the order of the couplets in MS. (A).
² MS. (A)
³ This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B) MS. (A) reads
⁴ MS. (A)  
⁵ Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia.
To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments.

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.\(^1\)

In every street\(^2\) of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides.

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.\(^3\)

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this, For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises).

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

[How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning!

Nay I will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life].\(^4\)

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

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The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

1 MS. (A) reads یاکو for ماکو the latter is the correct reading.

2 MS. (A) ببرکوی.

3 MS. (A) پبرهنامی عروسی.

4 MS. (A) موری سر تا چند از این غم زار و گرگان ببرکم. Not in the text.

پیون چون چون موری باری چون جان ببرکم
Alas! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to their friends.
The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the midst of blood and water.
Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed
That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood money for my friends.
If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise,
I would devote the remainder of my life to secure the existence of my friends.
It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight.
How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends,
My friends are gone! How can I embrace a stranger!
How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any friends!
I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium). How can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should be so little valued.
In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head (from my body),
Still the desire for my friends will never be severed from my head.
Oh my King! whenever thou biddest me I will tear my garment of life to the very edge in mourning for my friends.
My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into shreds for the sake of my friends.
My friends have gone of whom are you talking,
Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breathe a prayer for my friends.

1 MS. (A) The order in the text differs.
2 MS. (A) The order in the text differs.
3 MS. (A) The order in the text differs.
4 I follow the text here. MS. (A) reads.
Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,
Because nothing shows you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer. 1
O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls, 2
May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of thy light.
In the day of battle the Great Khan was their leader,
May the same Khan be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise.
If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly, 3
May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.
The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave, 4
Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.
[When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection
May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads], 5
When they give 6 into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,
May the record bear as its heading the words “A book for the right hand.” 7

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (B).

1 باذِ مِنْ كِنْ خَفَنْسَاَنْ رَآ خَاَمِهَا وَ حَالٍ دَعَا
کت بِرَحْمَتِ رَآ ٌتُمْمِاَحَو مَرْحِبِ دَعَا

2 دَلْلٍ-دَلْلُ ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْى ُعَلْй

3 در هواش گرملک پرند گردد مگس 4

4 در ظلمات گور (A).

5 This couplet is omitted from the text.

6 مس. (A). (B)

7 See Qur'an lxxxiv. 7, 8, 9 “and as for him who is given his book in his
May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon.
For the thirsty ones¹ whose souls departed for lack of
water;
May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads.
For the captives² who were long subjected to hardships.
Oh Lord! may the hope of speedy release make their way
light for them.
May the affliction which they suffered in imprisonment, be
to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the
cause of their eternal salvation,
And those who have survived and have returned from
that calamity,
May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,³ and
may the favour of the Sulțān be theirs.
Since Muḥammad has departed may the event be happy for
the king. May his son Kaiqūbād be most fortunate and
his son Kaikhusrū be blessed.

And the opening [of another threnody]⁴ is as follows:

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,
Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left
therein.

In the following ode too he refers to the same disastrous
occurrence:

Behold this calamity⁵ which has been fallen this year on the
frontier of Multan,
The right wing of the believers has been defeated⁶ by the
infidel ranks.

right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go
back to his family joyfully.";

¹ MS. (A) reads نشکستان را که چنانیا ی شان بیدی ای گذشت I follow the text here.
² This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads نشکستان MS. (B) reads نشکستان ویزلر.
³ These words are not in either MS.
⁴ MS. (A) reads دمین بالا نگر امسال. This is the preferable reading.
⁵ MS. (A) reads نشکستان. This is the preferable reading.
How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the
agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved
respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzis, attacked
the front of the Khaibaris, like the Lion of repeated
attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which
was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

What was the condition of the battle field? it was one
load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying
upon it.¹

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was
mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows,
like rose chains,

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-
cords;²

The necks caught in the toils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation,
Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture.

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my
blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak
and emaciated body.

I was poured out like water running without beginning
and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters
appeared on my feet from much travelling.

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters,
Like to the seams of a slipper burst open.

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a
sword

¹ MS. (A) reads زمین رنگ که شد بار کشته بود همه

² MS. (B) reads زمین رنگ که شد بار گفت بود همه

The real reading seems to be زمین رنگ که شد بار کشته بود همه.

² See Richardson s.v. صورت بازی.
From weakness my body was become wood like the handle
of a club.¹
Not a breath remained in my wind-pipe by reason of thirst,
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger.²
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns.
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops
Like the (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the
neck of a bride.
A Qurâna⁵ driving me on in quest followed along the way
seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range
Fœtor ab isto ore teterrimus axillæ odori similis,
Capilli oris ejus pubi similes usque ad mentum delapsi.⁴
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatigue
He would draw at one time his falchion⁵ at another his
javelin.⁶
I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself:
Alas! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity!
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body
unhurt by the sword.
When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,
Water and clay built up for me anew my palace of years.
But what good to me was my escape from that rope
If snapped like the bond between the Muhâjir and Ansâr.⁷

¹ چاقمار. Paret-de-Courteille in his Turki dictionary gives this
word as چاقمقر, with the meanings mace, gourdin.
² These lines are as follows in MS. (Α).
³ یطشنه نامه بنایم زبردن تشنه
دنی شده شکم من زماندن ناهار
⁴ I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turki
qärchi, an armed soldier.
⁵ See Elliot and Dowson, III. 528.
⁶ طغاز there is a Turki word تی‌غاز which means
a falcon, and another تی‌غازک tāghānak oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P.
de C.). Hence the above translation by the word falchion.
⁷ یخمار takhmâr a dart having no point (Richardson).
The Ansâr or ‘helpers of the prophet’ were those tribes of El Medinah
All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those
who can smell their perfume,
How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud
at this treatment! ¹
Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,
It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."
Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring
Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.
Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret
I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.
Now that the date is 684 (H.)
To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good
tidings of the thirty-fourth.
Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty
thousand, when one comes to the account of Annuilation
neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.
I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then
I shall become dust.
I am not a Khusrū, even were I a Kaikhusru, still at that
time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the Ghurratu-l-Kamāl he writes some
epitomised poems relating to this circumstance; the gist of
the matter is that they brought Tughral to nothing, and the
prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the foot
stool of the best of all helpers saying Make me of thy mercy
a victorious Emperor rose to such power in the districts of
Lakhnauti and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the
stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of
Muḥammad.

The Muḥājirīn were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and
strife between them and the Anṣār, each of the Anṣār was made to swear an
oath of brotherhood with one of the Muḥājirīn. This bond was however
broken shortly after the battle of Bedr. See Muir's Life of Mahomed, Vol. III.
p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the Qur'ān, p. xxxiv. and Hughes Dict.
of Islam s. v. Anṣār.

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A).
Malik Shamsu-d-Din Dabir, and Qāzi Aṣir desired to retain me by seizing my garments, but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In those very same months, the Khān-i-Buzurg Qāān Malik arrived from the conquest of Damrela, and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him, so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words; unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gavè for five years more to the Panjāb and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars; the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher." The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

How can we describe that day of resurrection, When even the Angel of Death sought protection from the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the
rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the home of Islam and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,
See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of Paradise.⁴

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patiāli on the banks of the river Ganges."

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultan, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sultan Nāṣiru-d-Din⁵ to Lakhnauti saying. Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

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1 The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads, which has no evident meaning: MS. (B) reads which is not the variant I adopt although the phrase is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

2 This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qurān, iv. (Sūratu-r-Rahmān).

3 Patiāli "Ancient town in Aliganj tahsil Etah District, N.-W. Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 mile north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz. xi. 90. Tiegenhüler I. 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dihli and about 20 from Furrackābād.

4 See page 186.
sorrows which I suffer on his account. Naṣiru-d-Din who had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnauti) put off for some time coming to Dihli, and even after coming to Dihli at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, “the elephant bethought him of Hindustān” so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father’s permission together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnauti and busied himself with his own affairs.

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country?
Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend?
I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sultan Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khan who was called Kaikhusrū, the title of Khusrū Khan, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqubād the son of Bughrā Khan should be sent to his father in Lakhnauti. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaikhusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

1 MSS. (A) and (B) ....... The text and both MSS. call him Naṣiru-d-Din.

2 His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is دوک چمی ن الوک ہے، گز-i-chaman zi khażir-i-bulbul namirumma, i.e., the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

3 برسخت ہاتر. MSS. (A) and (B). The reading in the text is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians. Barni says “He wanted to go to Lakhnauti so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father” (E. D. 111. 124).
the next. This event took place in the year 686 H. He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.

Oh my heart! the world is no place of permanence and stay, Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.

**SULTĀN MU‘IZZU-D-DIN KAIQUBĀD BIN SULTĀN NĀŞIRU-D-DIN BIN SULTĀN QHIYĀSU-D-DIN BALBAN.**

In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachhan, who was called Itimar, and other Amirs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire. Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khān with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Nizām-u-D-Din was appointed Dādbeg and they gave Khwāja Khaṭīru-D-Din the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhīk Amir Ḥājīb that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of Wākildar: and after six months he left Dīhlī and founded the palace of Kilūghārī, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwāja Khīzr on the banks of the river Jumna; there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Musulims, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Nizām-u-D-Din ‘Alāqa the Wazir (this Nizām-u-D-Din ‘Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muḥammad ‘Auﬁ composed the books Jāmū’u-l-Ḥikāyāt and

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1 1287 A.D.

2 Zīāu-D-Dīn Bārnī, author of the Ṭārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l-Umārā Kotwāl of Dīhlī, Khwāja Ḥusain Baṣrī the Wazir and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrāv son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrāv succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu‘izzu-D-Dīn (Elliott III. 124).

3 Nephew of Maliku-l-Umārā Kotwāl of Dīhlī.

4 Chief Justice.
Tazkirat-ut-Shu'arā'; and to Malik Chhajū (who eventually became grantee of Karra and Manikpūr, and whom Mir Khusrū eulogises in the Qirānū-s-Su'dain in these words, 2

Khān of Karra Chhajū, conqueror of countries
Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets formed from the lips of Khāns)

was given Sāmāna, his daughter was united in marriage to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād. At the end of the month of Zul Hijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatār infidels whose leader was Itimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multān. The Sultān appointed Shāhik Bārbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khān-i-Jahān despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatārs as far as the foot of the Jūd hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sultān Kaiqubād, during the lifetime of Sultān Balban, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriousness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued; and Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa seeing that the

1 Not كرنا as in the text, but، كرنا 8. MSS. (A) and (B) also Barni. See note 3. Malik Chhajū was brother's son to Balban.

2 MSS. (A) and (B) تعريف كرو و غفنة. See Háji Khalīfa IV. 510, 9399, for Qirānū-s-Su'dain.

3 In the original there is a play on the word كرنا Karra which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as followa: MSS. (A) and (B).

خان كرنا قهری کشیر کشی کر اخلاقان کر درستی پانی
See Ain-i-Akbāri II. 167, note 2, where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batūta) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn and Nasīru-d-Dīn. See also Karra Imp. Gaz. of India, Vol. VIII. but Karra in on the Ganges, and lies far away from the line Lakhnauti — Dihli, but so also does the river Sarjū.
Sultān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom’s affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghiyāsu-d-Din. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu’izzu-d-Din to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sultān Muḥammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amir and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslems, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu’izzu-d-Din.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son’s ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnauti, wrote a letter full of hints couched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sultān Mu’izzu-d-Din warning him of the sinister intentions of Nizām-i-Mulk. Sultān Mu’izzu-d-Din out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father’s advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din should leave Lakhnauti, and Sultān Mu’izzu-d-Din should start from Dihli and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mir Khusrū may the mercy of God be upon him, says in the Qirānu-s-Sa’dain,1 and also from the Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi2 we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Din, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihli, and Sultān Mu’izzu-d-Din also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū3 lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

Qirānu-s-Sa’dain. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets, Jupiter and Venus, see H. K. 9399, also E. and D. III. 524. 1

2 Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi, the author of this work is Yāḥyā bin Aḥmad bin ‘Abdullah Sīrhindī. (Elliott. IV. 6).

3 The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghari (Gogra) the Snī, and the Gudi (Gumti). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance shew themselves. (Āin-i-Ākbari, Vol. II. 171).
the other side, and neither was able to cross the river. The Amirs and Maliksof Ghiyaşu-d-Din's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms, and Sultān Nāširu-d-Din with a party of special retainers crossed the river, as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne, and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultān Muʿizzu-d-Din from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat, and after a long time the Sultān Nāširu-d-Din returned to his own camp, and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities, and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnautī. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods, and rare and unique presents such that the accountant of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value; and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amirs of Ghiyaşu-d-Din and Nāširu-d-Din and Muʿizzu-d-Din, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliksof both parties exchanged visits: Mir Khusrū relates in detail this meeting in the Qirānu-s-Saʿdāin, and in another place he writes in a qaṣīda:

Hail! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one.
Hail! to the happy era when two troths are as one.

Afin-i-Akbarī II. 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son. For the river Sarjū, see Tief. II. 250, 259, 260, 291, also plate XIX. facing page 292, in which the confluence of the Sarjū and Ghāgra is shown as it was in 1768.

The Qirānu-s-Saʿdāin fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajūdhyā on the banks of the Ghāgra.

1 Ibn Batūta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nāširu-d-Din and Muʿizzu-d-Din. Paris Édu. 1855, Vol. III. p. 177, see also Elliott III. p. 596.
Behold! the son is a monarch, the father a Sultan,
Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.
'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,
That for the world, two world-protecting kings become as one.
One is the Nasir of the age, the king Mahmud Sultan,
Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.
The other is Mu'izzu-d-Din the world's king Kaiqubad,
In whose grasp Iran and Turan are welded into one.

And this is his also—

Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Dunya wad Din Kaiqubad Shahr
Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four kings

On the last day 1 when Sultan Nasiru-d-Din came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk and Qiwamu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Din many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusru and the other noted Amirs and Malik of the adherents of Ghiyashu-d-Din; then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramazan, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulman religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Nizamul-Mulk Alaaqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtseans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

1 MS. (A).
restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquetries, and sense-ravishing gestures and allurements.

The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in his heart
For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of pleasure.

And the elephant saw Hindustān in its dreams and he broke through his forced repentance, which was as filmy as the web of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, "Which advice? and what counsel?

I will not give up the delights of to-day for tomorrow
Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it "Bring it."

In opposition to this view is the following,
It betits not a king to be drunken with wine
Nor become entangled in lust and desire;
The king should be always the guardian of his people,
It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken.
When the shepherd becomes full of new wine
The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf.

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the light-living cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used to foretell this calamity,

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends
From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,
Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum;
Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose.

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Dihli where he arrived in the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.). There certain of his notable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

1 See note 2, page 219.
2 The text has كدام پند misprint for ددام پند.
3 The text reads لاين كتله but MS. (A) reads preferably نكية.
to the skirts of the mountains. Sher Khān who was one of their number repeated and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Firoz Khān ibn Yaghmaš the Khilji, who eventually obtained the title of Sultan Jalâlu-d-Din, the title of Shayista Khān, and entrusted the district of Baran to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Himār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb "He who dug a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself.

Thou hast dug a pit in the way that thou mayest overthrow others.
Dost thou not fear lest one day thou should'st find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Maltān, but Nizāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king's retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Nizāmu-l-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultan was attacked by paralysis from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirās and Malikās who were well disposed to him raised his son

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1 MS. (A) reads Arsar Khān.
2 MS. (A) reads Shayista Khān.
3 MS. (A) reads Eqtāb Bern.
4 MS. (A) reads Nurchāhi Knde Dararl.
5 Arabic.
6 Laqua Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the Bahru-l-jawāhir "a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed."
Kai Kāūs who was an infant of tender years to the throne with the title of Shamsu-d-Din.

In the year 688 H. (1289 A.D.) they made terms with Shayista Khān who had distanced all his rivals. Accordingly he ordered all his kinsmen and retainers whom he had summoned from Baran, and had stationed fully armed and equipped in readiness on the other side of the river, to cross the river Jumna and prepare to contest the day with their enemies. Certain of the Amirs of the party of Ghiyāsu-d-Din and Mu'izzu-d-Din came out to oppose him with elephants and a large gathering, and having placed a royal umbrella over the head of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din, who was reduced to a shadow by weakness and emaciation, displayed him from afar off from the summit of the palace of Kilughari where he was but barely visible, and made obeisance to him. In the meantime Malik Chhajū, brother's son to Sultan Ghiyāsu-d-Din, who had acquired the title of Kishli Khān cried out "I wish to place Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din upon a boat and take him to his father at Lakhnauti and remain myself in the service of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs."—In spite of this the people of Dihli, from the highest to the lowest, came to the assistance of Shamsu-d-Din, and having assembled in front of the Budāon gate stood up to oppose Shayista Khān in battle, and since the sons of Malik l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Din Kotwāl had been taken prisoners in the fight with Shayista Khān, and Malik Ḥimār Surkha, who had plotted with the servants of Ghiyāsu-d-Din to kill Shayista Khān and carry off Sultan Shamsu-d-Din (Kai Kāūs), had fallen by the hand of Ikhtiyāru-d-Din son of Shayista Khān; accordingly Malik l-Umarā (Fakhru-d-Din) opposed the people and prevented their assembling as they desired, till at last the adherents of Shayista Khān removed Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs from the throne by force and carried him off to Bahāpur, where Shayista

1 MS. (A) omits the word طفل
2 The reading of the text is here adopted. MS. (A) readsUBLISH
3 MS. (A) omits the words (ب) after خليفة
4 I can see no other meaning for these words
5 MS. (A) reads إسلام
6 MS. (A) omits the word كبابور
7 MS. (A) reads بيارس Barni says Bahāpur (E. and D. 111. 134).
Khan was; they then ordered a man whose father had been put to death by Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din to go to the palace of Kilughari, which he did, and finding the Sultan at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghur, and kingship from the family of Ghiyasu-d-Din. This occurrence took place in the middle of the month of Muharram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.). The duration of the sovereignty of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din was three years and some months.

This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow;
At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons you with enmity,
This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi that Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din, after the capture of the Shahzada, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst: in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain.
The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.
My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel
To-day alas! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itimar Surkha and the people of Dihli subsided, and Shayista Khan had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this, Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din bade farewell to this transitory unstable

1 MS. (A)
2 MS. (A)
3 Firishta says 687 H. Tariikh-i-Mubarak Shahi says 19th Muharram 689 H.
4 The Tariikh-i-Mubarak Shahi gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Din as the 19th Muharram A. H. 689.
5 MS. (A) omits.
world, and realised that all that wanton enjoyment had been but a dream and a phantasy.

*Quatrain.*

If with your love you have lived in peace your whole life long,
Should you taste all the sweets the world can give your whole life long.
Still at the end comes Death to meet you, and then you find 'Tis but a dream you have vainly dreamed your whole life long.

**Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs.**

The son of Mu'izzu-d-Din Kāiqbād nominally ascended the throne in Bahāpur in the year already mentioned, by the cooperation of Shāyista Khān and Malik Chhajū; and the uncle of Shāyista Khān, named Malik Ḥusain, who had kept quiet at Kilūghari during the disturbances, for the safe custody of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din, had established great confidence. Shāyista Khān made Malik Chhajū Kishli Khān undertake the duties of Regent, and handing over the young prince to his charge, made a request on his own behalf for the districts of Tiberhindā, Debālpur, and Multān, and asked permission to depart thither; Malik yielding up the Regency and Vazirship to Shāyista Khān asked for the district of Karra for himself. Shāyista Khān immediately acceded to his request, and conferred on him a robe of honour, and some days later allowed him to proceed to Karra, and Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Din Kotwāl having congratulated Shāyista Khān on his accession to such high office and great prosperity was instrumental in obtaining permission for Malik Chhajū to leave.

Shāyista Khān used to bring the prince into the durbar hall and used himself to give audience and to regulate the important affairs of state. After a month or two, he brought Sultān Shamsu-d-Din on horseback to the palace of Kilūghari, and imprisoned him, and giving him as his fellows the inhabitants of the prison-house of the grave, sent him to the secret abode of destruction.

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1 MS. (A) reads برعخت سلطنت.

2 MS. (A) reads بعهداء ار.
The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Din Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.\(^1\)

The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,
The world’s one employment is jugglery—naught else.

**Sultān Jalālu-d-Din ibn Yaghrash Khiljī**

Whose name was Malik Firoz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said, with the consent and assistance of Malik Chhajū Kishli Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom\(^2\) the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Din Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpuri,\(^3\) the author of the history called Tābqāt-i-Muḥmūd Shāhī, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din and Sultān Muḥmūd Mālwi from the stock of Qālij Khān, sou-in-law of Chaugiz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālij and Khajj in spite of the fact that Qālij has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj\(^4\) with the meaning

\(^1\) Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kailkāa (or Kaimours) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljīs. Jalālu-d-Din Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizir when Niṣāmi-i-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The Šef of Barnī had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made ‘Arīz-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kailqubād have been detailed above.

\(^2\) MS. (A) omits the word (مملک).

\(^3\) See the Tābqāt-i-Muḥmūd Shāhī.

\(^4\) The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قلی (qalj) and قلی (qalij) are the same, the \(\text{ال} \) being in place of the \(\text{ا} \) which follows the \(\text{ی} \) in قلی, in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki. Further he states that among modern Persians ق is frequently used for ق.
of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khajj is the name of one of the sons of Yāfīs (Japhet) the son of Nūh (Noah) on whom be peace and that the Khiljīs descend from him. God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khan Khānān, upon his second son that of Arkali Khān, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khān, while he gave to his uncle Malik Husain the title of Tāju-l-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jamna opposite to the Mu'izzī palace he called it a citadel, "The Rocky Citadel"; when it was completed it was called "Shahr-i-nau" (New-town) and in Sha'bān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajj Kishī Khan went to Karrān and became openly rebellious. The Amīrs of the party of Ghīyān-d-Din who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijjāna with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajj who was to come by way of Karra, and Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din left Khān Khānān in Dihli and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Budāon, sending Arkali Khan towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajj. Arkali Khan fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Rahab. In the meantime the people of Bairām Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koella, gave information to Malik Chhajj that Sultān Jalāl-ud-Din was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sultān, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwārā. Arkali Khan crossed the Rahab, despatched Bairām

1 MS. (A) اشن نموتسم گردید.
2 MS. (A) reads کراس راه کرب سید. The reading in the text is adopted.
3 MS. (A) inserts و here.
4 MS. (A) reads از راه کرب ولیدن سید. The text is preferable.
5 The text gives an alternation reading نورانیان.
6 MS. (A) عبور کرد.
Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner
together with some of the other Amirs of the Ghīyāṣī faction.
Then he went in the direction of Bahārī and Kasam Kūr, which
is the same as Shamsābād, and when they took Malik Chhajū and
the other captive Balbāni Amirs in fetters and chains into
the presence of the Sultān, he called to mind their old ties of rela-
tionship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths,
clothed them in rich garments of honour, and made them
partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhajū with the greatest
marks of respect to Multān.

169. Malik 'Alā'u-d-Dīn who was the brother's son and son-in-law of
the Sultān, and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and
Ilmās Beg, the brother of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn who subsequently became
Ulugh Khān was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the
meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-
Khānān. The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mir
Khūsrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him:

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,
If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon.
Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,
So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain.
In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see
the Khāqān.
The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the
mine.
My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see
him not.

1 MS. (A) omits باشد.
2 MS. (A) بہ بند و گل.
3 MS. (A) ملک علا ادیب را which is a mistake, and omits the
after the word ہم, inserting it after the word
بہ.
4 MS. (A) which reads کہ بعد اززان الخان گشت.
5 There are plays on the words خطا meaning a fault, and the kingdom
of Khata or Cathay, and چدن meaning a wrinkle and the kingdom of
Chin or China. The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of
Cathay. For the meaning of Khāqān, see Tārīkh-i-Rashidi, (Ross and klias),
page 30, note 1.
Lo there is the King, seated on his throne, with his courtiers standing round him on all sides, All are there, but still I do not see Khān-i-Khānān. When I saw fortune blinded, I asked him, Dost thou wish for sight?
He replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see Mahmūd Sulṭān!

And in the year following, Arkali Khān came from Multān to Dihli, and the Sulṭān leaving him in Dihli proceeded to Mandāwar, and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghilāšī Amirs, he made over the district of Budāon to Malik Maghlaṭī, sent him off at once and appointed Malik Mubārak to Tiberhindah, then after reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted series of marches to Dihli; and in those days a certain Saiyyid ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God, relying upon Him, bountiful, adorned with so many excellencies and perfections, Sidi Maulā by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia) to Ajūdhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master Shaikh Farīd, Ganj-i-Shakkar, may God sanctify his resting place, and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hindūstān. They said to him "Beware of crowds of men, and abstain from intercourse with kings." When he reached Dihli, Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son of the Sulṭān, displayed the greatest desire to become his disciple. In the same way the greater number of the deposed Malik and Amirs of the Balban party used daily both morning and evening to sit at the table of that darvesh, who would not accept anything from any one. People used to credit him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that a thousand muns of fine flour and five hundred muns of freshly skinned meat, and three hundred muns of sugar used to be the daily

1 MS. (A)

2 MS. (A)

3 MS. (A)

4 See Beato's Dictionary, page 240.

5 MS. (A) omits ToEnd.

6 MS. (A) omits 5.
expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigils¹ and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Fridays, nor was he bound by the conditions of public² worship in accordance with established custom, and Qâzi Jalâlu-d-Din Kâshâni (and)³ Qâzi Urdû and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sultân, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand durbâr and ordered Sidi Maulâ with the Qâzi and the other Amirs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sidi laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sidi denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qâzi Jalâlu-d-Din lay under the Sultân's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultân deposed him, and nominated him as Qâzi of Budâon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrûd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maulâ thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultân saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sultân accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Malikîs in that same assembly, and some he expatriated; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maulâ⁴ were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultân was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abu Bakr Tûsi Ḥaidari who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

¹ MS. (A) adds.
² MS. (A) adds.
³ MS. (A) omits.
⁴ MS. (A) omits the words.
said "Why do not you darveshes avenge me of this tyrant," thereupon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sidi several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers 1 with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side 2 with sackmakers' needles, and then, by command of Arkali Khan, the second son of the Sultān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sidi, and martyred him with countless tortures may God be gracious to him. They say that this same Sidi, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good;
The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.
If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,
He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a whirlwind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened; there was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindūs, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands threw themselves into the river Jumna, and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sidi and as evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be only coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it.

God has never cursed any nation
Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved.

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkali Khan, were delivered from the danger which threatened their lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sultān; and in this same year the Sultān for the second time marched against

1 مَعَانِيس مَبَارك MS. (A).
2 أي إِمْرَأَة مَارْك MS. (A).
Rantanbhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol-temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Arkali Khan went to Multan without his permission, at which the Sultan was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khan came up against Hindustan with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultan's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanam. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustan they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultan thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halak Khan, and also his son, who called the Sultan his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country; and Alghu, the grandson of Chingiz Khan, embraced Islam, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sultan. Alghu was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultan. The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyaspur in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nizamul Auliyā and God sanctify his resting place. It is commonly known as Mughulpur and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sultan having gone up against the fort of Mandawar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alau-d-Din the Governor of Karra, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa and attacked that country and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultan, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindus, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badaan to be trampled upon by the people. These services of 'Alau-d-Din being highly approved, the jagir of Oudh also was added to his other estates; and since 'Alau-d-Din was very angry and incensed

1 See Tārīkh-i-Rashidī (Eliass and Rossa) p. 34.
2 Nizāmul-Din Auliyā. See Beale O. B. D., p. 211, also Ain-i-Akbāri (J) III. 365.
3 MS. (A) reads بحلسنا which is meaningless.
4 MS. (A) reads ولیا乍 د تأ and has خانلش for مصبرد.
5 MS. (A) omits after and has فیلمادو for منشد.
against the Sultān’s consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sultān, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sultān’s dominions and go to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sultān\(^1\) to bestow upon him the district of Chanderī, and leaving Dīhlī came to Karra, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chanderī, he went by way of Illichpūr, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogir; leaving Malik ‘Alāū-ī-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sultān, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik ‘Alāū-d-Dīn’s whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sultān was exceedingly sorry.\(^2\) Suddenly news arrived that ‘Alāū-d-Dīn having gone up against the rebel Deo Gir, had conquered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, several thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra. This was a source of great gratification to the Sultān, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that ‘Alāū-d-Dīn\(^3\) had gone to that country without permission from the Sultān, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika-ī-Jahān who was the consort of the Sultān, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now\(^4\) that he was in a position perfectly to put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the Court, it was strange that the Sultān seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sultān, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which ‘Alāū-d-Dīn had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

\(^1\) MS. (A) از جانب سلطان.
\(^2\) MS. (A) دلگرمی نمای داشت.
\(^3\) MS. (A) omits که.
\(^4\) MS. (A) omits یک.
to speak of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Din, the Sultān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sultān was in the neighbourhood of Gwāliār he summoned a council of his Amirs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Din and said: "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Din’s object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihli?" Malik Aḥmad Chap who was a Vazir of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Kāṛa, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Din on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sultān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Din declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, and the other Amirs also went with oily speeches to the Sultān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sultān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihli; Malik Aḥmad Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Din with all this pomp and royal display has arrived at Kāṛa and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnauti, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sultān he repeated the following lines—

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1 MS. (A)
2 MS. (A)
3 MS. (A)
4 MS. (A)
A foe man, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size.

The Sultān then came from Gwāliār to Dihli, and 'Alāū-d-Din having reached Kaṛra¹ wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sultān by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnauti, and having sent his brother² Zafar Khān to Oudh ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Sarū. The simple minded Sultān Jalālū-d-Din wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alāū-d-Din's request and sent it³ by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imādu-l-Mulk and the other⁴ Zīāu-d-Din. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing⁵ that the face of affairs was altered⁶ and 'Alāū-d-Din having prepared the dish for the Sultān, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over⁷ those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmās Beg his brother, who was also a son-in-law of the Sultān,⁸ and sent it to Dihli, couched in these words: “Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sultān I proceeded to Deogir, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sultān, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

1 MS. (A) خبرد خود طفر خان the word in the text is omitted here.
2 MS. (A) فرستان.
3 MS. (A) دیگری.
4 MS. (A) طرح وضع اور.
5 MS. (A) که ورق دیگر گون شده literally "that the leaves had changed colour,"
6 MS. (A) سربر.
7 MS. (A) که امّه دیماد سلطان دون.
imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sultān’s mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world.” When Iklās Beg laid that 1 letter before the Sultān, he on the instant sent 2 Iklās Beg to reassure ‘Alāu-d-Din and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Iklās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water, 3 on the seventh day joined Malik ‘Alāu-d-Din, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnauti, 4 but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of ‘Alāu-d-Din said, “What need have we to go to Lakhnauti when the Sultān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogir, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped 5 in the very height of the rainy season. 6 At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary, 7 and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot.” 8 Since the cup of the life of Sultān Jalālū-d-Din was full 9 and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure, 10 and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him:

Verse.

When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,
All the wise men became blind and deaf.

177.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him, 11 he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

1 MS. (A) اِن ۚتَمْعَ ارَّاضِی.
2 MS. (A) رَخْصَت فَرْصَة و رَعْدَة کُرْد.
3 MS. (A) بِرُوِّی اب رواة شد.
4 MS. (A) و اوْرَا پرِفْنی بِلَکْنُونی تُحَرِّی تَعْریض نَسِم 
5 MS. (A) ایکُن س (A).
6 MS. (A) پیش گال بِشکال. Turki word, “saison des pluies” (Pavet de Courteilles.)
7 MS. (A) هر انديشي که باید اندیشیم.
8 MS. (A) and omits می.
9 MS. (A) همانچ‌ا.
10 MS. (A) پرِشْدَه و (A).
11 MS. (A) مال مور هریم شوم.
12 MS. (A) کُشُنَدَه.
13 Lit, striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.
sowārs, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Karra: he sent Malik Aḥmad Chap the Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land, ¹ Malik Aḥmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no purpose.

Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sultān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Karra on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramāzān: and 'Alāu-d-Dīn, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Karra and Manikpūr and had pitched his camp: then he sent Imlās Beg to the Sultān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to 'Alāu-d-Dīn. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sultān, and with great crafthiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that ² if he had not come 'Alāu-d-Dīn would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, “and to such an extent” said he, “have the evil speakers stuffed his ears ³ with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sultān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.“ There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sultān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here.”

¹ MS. (A) روان ملخ. ² MS. (A) گپ. ³ MS. (A) غوش اورا. ⁴ MS. (A) omits گ. ⁵ MS. (A) omits گ.
traitor Ilmās Beg further represented ¹ saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sultān ² and is quaking from head to foot; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sultān's clemency." ³ Accordingly the Sultān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sultān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sultān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Din was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram ⁴ the Vakildar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind us at your instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this that we see an army ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to review his army, and following his usual course, he wishes to make a proper display ⁵ before the Sultān, with an eye to future advantage," the Sultān in accordance with the saying "When fate comes the plain becomes narrow" ⁶ up to that moment even did not discover the deceit of his enemy, but of his own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of the dragon.

Verse.

When the day becomes dark to any man,
He does that which is hurtful to him.

When he said to the stony-hearted Ilmās Beg "In spite of my old age and the weakness due to fasting I came so far; even yet will not your cruel brother's heart induce him ⁸ to get into a boat and come to me?" Ilmās Beg answered "my brother is unwilling to receive the Sultān empty handed ⁹ and with reserve.

"If thou goest empty handed to visit a Sheikh,
Thou wilt get no profit, nor wilt thou even see him."

He is busy selecting elephants and valuables and goods to present,

¹ MS. (A).
² MS. (A).
³ MS. (A).
⁴ MS. (A).
⁵ See page 190, note 4.
⁶ MS. (A).
⁷ MS. (A).
⁸ MS. (A).
⁹ MS. (A).
and is quite occupied in that service and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sultān, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sultān all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume; they reached the river’s bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and ‘Alāū-d-Dīn having got every thing ready came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultān and fell at his feet. The Sultān smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great shew of fondness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik ‘Alāū-d-Dīn was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultān laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was shewing him marks of his special favour, and had given his hand into his, ‘Alāū-d-Dīn seizing the Sultān’s hand firmly, wrenched it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultān. Then Maḥmūd Sālim who was one of the scum of Sāmāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultān and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultān made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch ‘Alāū-d-Dīn, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikṭīyāru-d-Dīn who had been a particular protégé of the Sultān ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him; he then cut off his head and brought it to ‘Alāū-d-Dīn. By Alāū-d-Dīn’s orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Karra and Manikpur; from thence they took it to Oudh; and the body-servants of the Sultān who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Kuchi fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Aḥmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sultān’s army brought it to

1 MS. (A) خدمت مشغول
2 MS. (A) omita
3 MS. (A) بنفاد
4 MS. (A) adds
5 MS. (A) گورد.
Dihli and\(^1\) pending the arrival of Arkali Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sultān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jalān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sultān, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Ruknu-d-Din Ibrāhīm. The Amirs and Malik of Jalālu-d-Din's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Din lost no time,\(^2\) but on the very day of the assassination of the Sultān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head \(^3\) was addressed as Sultān and \(^4\) in the middle of the rainy season marching uninteruptedly he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering dinārs and dirhems like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,\(^5\) came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and slighted there. Day by day the Amirs of the Jalālī faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Din was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy\(^6\) of the copper of faults; liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din reached Badāon sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Ruknu-d-Din Ibrāhīm seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amirs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Din), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Din.

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1 MS. (A) inserts ٢.
2 MS. (A) reads عال٠.لحدن فيست ندادة هم دررئُز.
3 MS. (A) ببرغرخور گرفته.
4 MS. (A) inserts ٢.
5 MS. (A) در حوا ٢ ر منچيتق.
6 کیمیا

All copper which is affected by Kiniyá becomes gold.

"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means."

See Proleg: Ibn Khaldūn. (de Siane) III. 207. See also Skeat, s. v.
The kingdom is God’s and greatness is His. The massacre of Sulṭān Jalālū-d-Din took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramazān in the year 694 H. (A.D. 1294) and the duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verses.

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star, Mention it not; what is the heaven, its revolution, or its arched vault? How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the kingdom headlong into the dust, Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sulṭān Jalālū-d-Din had a taste for poetry, and Amīr Khusrū after the death of Mu‘izzu-d-Din Kāiqubād, came into the service of the Sulṭān Jalālū-d-Din, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qur‘ān-keeper to the Sulṭān, he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amīrs of the Sulṭān 1 and were tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust.

In this same category were Amīr Ḥasan and Muid Jājarmī and Amīr Arslān Kātibī and Sa‘d-i-Manṭiqī and Bāqī-i-Khāṭib and Qāṣi Mughīṣ of Hānsī, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalālū-d-Din and wrote a Ghazal in nineteen metres 2 of which this is the opening:

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with fresh youth dight,

Thy glory is the fairy’s pride, a fairy thou, at glory’s height.

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sulṭān’s assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poeras, and delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following few verses are the offspring of the Sulṭān’s genius:

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1 MS. سلطانی (A).

غزل نوزده فرسی It would appear from the statement that this ghazal or ode was made up of nineteen lines, each of which was in a different metre.

The first of the above lines is either Mutaqārib or Ramal. This is called نوزده فرسی Zabahrau (of two metres) in prosody.

The second line is in Ramal.
I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled
I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.
I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my
embrace
Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it
hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwāliār he built a
pavilion and a lofty dome¹ and wrote this quatrains as an inscrip-
tion for that building:

Quatrain.

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,
How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity?
This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that
Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Manṭiqī and the other poets he ordered to point out
to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all
praised it exceedingly and said! It has no fault, but he replied:
You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect²
in this quatrains:

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless
sky;
Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
One atom may fall to my lot: this will suffice me.

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DIN KHILJĪ.

On the twenty-ninth ⁴ of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and
ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sultānate

¹ MS. (A) omits عيب.
² MS. (A) reads دوم نيعم while our text has
³ The highest of all the heavens so called إطليس because it has no stars. The literal meaning of إطليس is "worn out," "effaced." Thus إطليس man whose garments are worn out. It also
 meant by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the sense of "Satin." Hence there is a double play on the word إطليس here, in its opposite senses.
⁴ MS. (A) reads دربيست و دوم while our text has
of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilmās Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khān and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the Mir-i-Majlis, he gave the title of Alp Khān, while to Malik Nuṣrat Jalaisari he gave that of Nuṣrat Khān, and to Malik Badru-d-Dīn that of Zafar Khān, and alighted at the plain of Siri, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amīrs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the Khutbah and the Sikka promulgated in his own name and conferred appointments and titles upon the Amīrs, and distributing jāgīrs gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.

Verse.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his shoulders,
Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muḥarram 696 A.H. (he sent) Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān against Arkali Khān and Sultān Raknu-d-Dīn; both these

Mir Khusru in the Tārīkh-i-'Alā, states that 'Alāu-d-Dīn left Kārra Manikpur on the 19th of Rabī‘ul Ḥādīd 695 H. and after taking great booty from Rām Deo, Rāi of Deogir, returned to Kārra on the 28th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Rāmāzan 695 H., and he arrived at Dihli on the 22nd of Zilhijjah of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. Barnī does not give the day of the month; nor does Firīshtā. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Dīn, Malika-i-Jahān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Dīn on the throne, with the title of Raknu-d-Dīn Ibrahīm, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkali Khān, who refused to come hearing of 'Alāu-d-Dīn's success with the army.

1 MS. (A); the text reads الله يبير خان.
2 Barnī says that the title of Zafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn, (Elliott III. 157).
3 The text omits مقرر before دистем supplied from MS. (A).
4 It appears both from Barnī and Firīshtā that the youngest son of the late Sultān was in Dihli and that Arkali Khān was in Multān. See note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 159.
5 Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.
brothers were besieged in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Din Quraishi may God sanctify his resting place, came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān, who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dīhli; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dīhli. When they came near Bolār a place in the vicinity of Hānsi, Nūrāt Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons of Sultan Jalālu-d-Din, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultan, and of Malik Aḥmad Chap, and handed over the Sultan’s sons to the Kotwāl of Hānsi and martyred them together with two sons of Arkāli Khān. They kept the Sultan’s wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dīhli, sending Aḥmad Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwālīār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sīdi Maula soon

1 I read here though there is a question if we should not read . The text reads which is manifestly wrong: MS. (A) reads which is perhaps meant for MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads .

2 Barnī states that the sons of the Sultan sent Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Din to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits. This Ruknu-d-Din was the son of Shaikh Ṣadr u-d-Din ‘Arif and grandson of Shaikh Bahlāu-d-Din Zakariyā (See A’in-i-Akbarī, Jarrett III. 365).

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Din, his father and grandfather q. v.

5 MS. (A) ملاصقات نبودا

4 MS. (A) بدر.

6 MS. (A) هُرَدُ پُسَ.


7 MS. (A) omits.

8 Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkāli Khān were slain.

9 MS. (A) omits مرحوم.
became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep. In a short time it became the cause of the shedding of the blood of Sultan Jalâlu-d-Din and his family, and of so many thousands of others among the people who had been murdered.

The wealth of Qârûn which still sinks down to the bottom of the earth,
You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the poor.

And in the year 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.), Naşrat Khân having been appointed to the office of Vazir, used strenuous efforts to recover the money which Sultan 'Alâlu-d-Din had lavished in the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affections of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large sums deposited them in the treasury; and having summoned from Kârma 'Alâlu-l-Mulk the uncle of Ziaû-l-Din Barnû, the author of the Târikh-i-Firoz Shâhî (whom Sultan 'Alâlu-d-Din had removed from the kotwalship of Dihli and had sent as governor to Kârma, appointing Naşrat Khân to the office of Kotwâl) he conferred upon him his old rank, Alp Khân being appointed to Multân. And in the year 698 A. H. (1298 A.D.) one Saldi a Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustân, and Ulûgh Khân and Tughlaq Khân the governor of Depâlpûr (who is Ghâzi-i-Mulk), were appointed to put down that rising, and offered strong opposition to them on the confines of Jârin Manjlûr. The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultan 'Alâlu-d-Din returned victorious with many spoils. A second time

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1 MS. (A)
2 MS. (A)
3 See Qurûân XXVIII. 76.
4 Omit सल MS. (A).
5 The text reads چتالدی Chatâldî. MS. (A) reads ملدی Salâdi, so also Barnû (Elliott III. 166) and 'Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) III. 347.
6 MS. (A)
7 Both Barnû and Firâshta say Siwistân.
Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā, came from Māwara-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated as far as Dihlī, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihlī itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits, and Sulṭān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn placing Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gīlī. Zafar Khān was killed, and the Sulṭān had gained what he wanted in this. Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhī Mughul who was one of the margans, that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Amir Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughrāq Ghāzi-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran, joined with Malik Tughrāq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls. The Mughul forces being routed, Targhī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughrāq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muḥammad Turtāq and ‘Ali Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

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1 MS. (A), so also Firishta.
2 MS. (A) در آمدہ.
3 MS. (A) جا تنک گشت.
4 Or Kili (Barni).
5 Barni explains this. He says “‘Alāu-d-Dīn returned from Kili, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace.”
6 مرگ. This word is given by M. Pavet de Courteille in the meanings of fusilier: bon tireur: héros. It is a Turki word.
7 The reading of MS. (A) is here followed: vis.
8 ملك تغلق غلي ملك از درگارا نجعت دفع ان فنسا نامزد گشت.
9 پیغام برس بن برامنه (A).
10 The reading of this name is a little uncertain. MS. (A) may be either ترتن or ترتن. Neither Barni nor Firishta give any assistance: nor does
a very large army, which they divided into two, one bore down
upon Nāgor, while the other seized the fort of the Sirmūr hills
and occupied the country as far as the river Biāh which they call
Kāli Pānī. Sulṭān 'Alāū-d-Dīn appointed Malik Mānik his
slave (who is Kāfūr Nāīb or Hazār Dinār) with Malik Taghīnāq
Governor of Dehpālpūr to proceed to Amroha; and while the
Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many
cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Raḥab, Malik Mānik
came up in pursuit and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul
princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners,
and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed
ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant
of the sword fled panic-stricken to their own country. The heads
of these two princes were taken to Badān and impaled upon
the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that
time wrote the following quatrains which was afterwards inscribed
upon the southern gateway of that city.

Quatrain.

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the
Almighty ever be!

May the victory and conquest of the Emperor ever be thy
standard-bearer!

The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thee
new,

May Targhi, like 'Ali Beg become thy captive.

And Mir Khusrū has written an account of the fight between
Malik Mānik (who had obtained the title of Malik Nāīb) in

either word appear in the Turki dictionary. The text reads Taryāq
which seems rather an ex necessitate reading. The Tūrīkhā-'Alāī reads Tūrīq.

(Ellett III. 72.)

1 MS. (A) Ajango Nāgoīr Pard.
2 MS. (A) Kānara Kalāī Yānī Mišīnādī.
3 So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dinārs.
4 MS. (A) Az'aq Ribdeh.
5 MS. (A) 'Alī Pīyā.
6 MS. (A) ʿAlīhā rihātā.
7 Firishta states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kāfūr (Hazār
Dinār) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to
proceed against Rām Deo, Rāja of Deoghār, a refractory tributary.
the *Tārīkh-i-Khazāin-i-Futūḥ* 1 a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named Khusrū, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind
It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion Iqṣâbmand and Kapak, Mughuls, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turtāq 2 and ‘Ali Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Mūltān. The Sultān on this occasion also appointed Malik Nāib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughals were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle. Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tātārs, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands. 3 From that day the Mughals lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustān, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

After these victories, the Sultān one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine. The night, like the circulation of the wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other 4 with hand, and eye, and bow that it was time to break up, 5 the Sultān happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bāhā (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

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1 This work, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-‘Alāi*, is a prose history of the first years of Sultān Alau-d-Dīn Khiljī from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68–69.)

2 MS. (A) omits ترباق and gives the pointing of Turtāq as سمر. (A)

3 MS. (A) إفادة بور. This account differs somewhat from that given by Khusrū, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqṣāb Mudbir as he calls him.

4 MS. (A) يكنگررا.

5 MS. (A) منظور سلطان.
what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultān\(^1\) that his suspicion was groundless.

Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,  
And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is plain to thee.

Then he asked for Qāẓī Bahā\(^2\). They replied, He was sent into eternity at that very moment.\(^3\) The Sultān was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment\(^4\) and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day, the taverns were in ruins,\(^5\) and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,\(^6\) while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses:

Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the cup,\(^7\)
How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in which we sup.

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\(^1\) The text has a note here to the effect that a ی should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS. before the editor.

MS. (A) has ی, and reads سلطان را چهار روز رشید شد که آن گمان خلط بود.

\(^2\) The text here and in the former line reads پهار. MS. (A) has پہا.

\(^3\) The text reads ار خود همان زمان بهارسالها پیوست تعزیر مالی و ندی میکرند.\(^7\)

\(^4\) MS. (A) تعزیر مالی و ندی میکرند.

\(^5\) There is a play on words here in the original خرابات خواب شد.

\(^6\) Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilised for vinegar: There is a hint here that every one was discontented, had, as we say, sour looks which the Persians express by saying "بیشین کس سرکه فرشی می کند".

So and so sells vinegar. Qānī says to his mistress.

مرکه فرشی میکن چون گردید در دمشق
هیچم لئین سرکه کم نگردید صفرا

\(^7\) MS. (A) omits ی but the text is correct.
And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sultān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls was contemplating to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortionate demands for refunding money, were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sultān should be hunting and hawking. One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sultān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time.

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sultān; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Zafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet on whom be the peace and blessing of God, and his companions may God be gracious to them all. The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as Sikandar-i-gāni. When he sought the advice

1 This was spoken of above. 'Alān-d-Din's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

2 MS. (A).

3 MS. (A) omits دروفان ما و

4 MS. (A) omits عليه الصلاة و السلام.

5 MS. (A) omits 2.

6 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168½ and 169½ gns. are in existence bearing the legend

(See Thomas, p. 168.)

Sikandaru-g-gāni Yaminu-l-khulāfat Nāṣīru Amīru-l-māminin.
of 'Alāū-ı-Mulk Kotwāl of Dihli he restrained the Sultān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided by God, and till he can perform miracles This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, nay is certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt: as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vazir like Aristotle, none of which are here existent.

If the Sultān clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihli from these contumacious ruffians, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar."

The Sultān, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent, and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alāū-ı-Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The Amirs, who on account of the harshness of the Sultān, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alāū-ı-Mulk and were loud in praise of him.

Verse.

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path.

In this year the Sultān proceeding to Deogir gained a fresh conquest and doubled his spoils:
That which he cut after that his sword cut double,
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again and again.

And in the year 698 H. (1298 A.D.) he appointed Ulugh Kholm to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gūjrat against Rai Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty head of elephants. Ulugh

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1 MS. (A) مم عن الله نياشند.
2 MS. (A) مم چزارد ماد نشورند. The text reads مم دیود نشورند correctly.
3 MS. (A) زم مجمدد نمود و.
Khān, after Rāi Karan was defeated, ravaged and laid waste Nahrwāla, and pursued him; ¹ and Rāi Karan took refuge with Rai Rāmdeo ² who was the ruler of Deogir, in the country of the Deccan. The family of Rāi Karan, with his treasury and elephants and all his possessions, fell into the hands of the Muslim warrior. Among the ladies of his harem was one Dewalrāni, of whom Khizr Khān the son of Sulṭān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn ultimately became enamoured. He related the account of his amours to Mir Khusrū for him to turn into verse, and the book of Khizr Khān and Dewalrāni, which is known as the ‘Ashīqa, is in his name. Ulugh Khān carried off an idol from Nahrwāla (in place of the idol of Somnāt which Sulṭān Mahmūd had carried ³ to Ghaznin, and the Hindūs had made an object of their worship,) and took it to Dihli where he caused it to be trampled under foot by the populace; then he pursued Rāi Karan as far as Somnāt, and a second time laid waste the idol temple of Somnāt, and building a mosque there retraced his steps.

Nusrat Khān having proceeded to Kuhān-bāyat, ⁴ a well-known post, seized much spoil of valuable goods and rubies and other jewels from the traders; ⁵ Kāfūr Hazār Dīnārī whom the Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn had latterly taken into close favour, and made Nājbūl-Mulk, was part of that booty.

When Ulugh Khān arrived on the frontiers of Alwar he occupied himself with verifying the amount of property and spoil which had fallen into the hands of his people during these several battles, and exacted the giving up of much of it with great severity. A certain party of Mughuls who accompanied him thought

¹ MS. (A)
² MS. (A)
³ MS. (A)
⁴ MS. (A) reads كهناباه.
⁵ Cambay, in Gujerat. According to Hunter (Imp. Gaz., III. 272) "the name of Cambay or Kambhāt is said to be derived from Kambha or Stam-bhātirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. During the 11th and 12th centuries, Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom and at the conquest of that kingdom by the Musulmāns in 1297, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India. Tieffenthaler. Vol. I. p. 372. Cambāhat, grande ville et port de mer, que les Européens appellent Cambayse. (pp. 389-381.)
⁶ MS. (A)
this rather unfair, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed; some of them went off to Rāi Hamir Dev in Jhāin,¹ which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere.

Ulugh Khān proceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dihli, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrat. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H. (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khān was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāin, which is better known as Naushahr,² and Rāi Hamir Dev, the grandson of Rai Pithora,³ who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor.

Ulugh Khān having reported⁴ the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sultān to capture the fort; the Sultān collected his forces⁵ and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skillful effort, and aided by the energy of his Maliks, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed⁶ a Kotwāl to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhāin upon Ulugh Khān, left to attack Chitor,⁷ and having conquered that place also within a few days,

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¹ Tieffenthaler, I. p. 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.
² See Elliot, III. 146 where Jhāin is said to be Ujjain, also p. 172, note 1, where this opinion is abandoned.
³ Tieffenthaler does not mention this name.
⁴ MS. (A) reads Rāi Hamir Dev of Rantanbhor, omitting نبسا of Rāi Pithorā, so that the reading of the text is adopted.
⁵ MS. (A) omits l.
⁶ MS. (A) puts تبند نمود.
⁷ Barni says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamir Dev to death the Sultān returned to Dihli; so also Firigha. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. III. 430.
and having given it the name of Khizrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Khān aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nuṣrat Khān had come from Karra to Rantanhör, to reinforce Ulugh Khān before the Sultān arrived there; and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sultān, that is to say Zafar Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Mallah the Sultān one day was engaged in the hunting field; when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport. In the meantime the brother’s son of the Sultān, Akat Khān, together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in performing the duties of guards, attacked the Sultān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultān was wearing a cap stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khān wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sultān’s head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultān is killed! Akat Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amirs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

1 MS. (A) م.
2 MS. (A) ناکر.
3 MS. (A) omitted.
4 The reading here is doubtful. The text has with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads کلیب در نواحی و تلیب. Firishta (Bo. Text p. 186) reads Taltib.
5 Qamurgha, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turki word signifying hunting ground. Firishta loc. cit. also uses this word.
6 MS. (A) omitted.
7 Firishta also says Akat Khān.
8 MS. (A) reads کلہ پیندہ.
as the rightful king,¹ and raised no overt objection. Akat Khān was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the ḥaram,² but Malik Dinar Ḥarami who was on guard at the entrance to the ḥaram with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you show me the head of the Sultān I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sultān ‘Alā‘u-d-Din, when he had somewhat regained consciousness³ after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khān, in unison with the Amīrs who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life. for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhāin (where Ulugh Khān was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khān would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khān took the road to Afghānpūr, but a body of men who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,⁴ sent him into the Sultān’s presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qutluq Khān his brother also perished.⁵

Verse.

One who injures the country is better beheaded

And at that same time ‘Umar Khān and Mangū Khān the two

¹ The words تورا و تورا تورا are Türkī words (P de C) or تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا Tora, which signify the royal family. It also means king: law: right, also a custom introduced by Chengiz Khān تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا تورا Tora. The words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.
² MS. (A) omits خاص.
³ MS. (A) بیش آمدم.
⁴ MS. (A) اورا دستگیر کرده.
⁵ The account given by Barni of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III. 172–173). Firišṭa also calls him Suleimān Shāh, Akat Khān, though Briggs in his translation calls him "The Prince Rookn Khān."
nephews of the Sultan, revolted in Badāon: certain of the Amir[s] sent from the Court seized them and brought them to the Sultan, by whose orders their eyes were put out.1

If thou revoltest against thy benefactor
Even if thou art the sun, thou wilt fall headlong.

This further occurrence took place, namely, when the Sultan was engaged in besieging Rantanbhor, a person named Ḥāji Maulā, one of the slaves of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl,2 gathered together certain Russians, displayed a counterfeit order in Dīlī,3 entered the city by the Badāon gate, and sent for one Turmuṣi Kotwāl and in an instant cut his head off,4 closed the city gates, and sent a messenger to ‘Alā‘-l-Mulk5 a friend of his, who was Kotwāl of the New Castle, saying “An order has come from the Sultan, come and read it.” ‘Alā‘-l-Mulk being fully alive to what was going on6 did not obey the summons, whereupon the rebel Ḥāji Maulā went to the Ruby Palace, and liberating all the prisoners, gave a horse and arms and a large bag (of gold) out of the treasury to each one, gathered together an immense following; then he seized by force Saiyyid Zāda-i-‘Alawi Shāh Nabsa,7 who on his mother’s side was descended from Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Altamsh (Iyaltimish), summoning his chief men and nobles for the purpose, and seated him upon the throne at

1 MS. (A) ميل در جنگم انا کشیده شد
2 According to Barni “a maulā or slave of the late Kotwāl Amīru-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Din.”
3 Pretending to have received it from the Sultan (Barni).
4 MS. (A) مرش از ذن جدا ساخت.
5 ‘Alā‘-d-Din Ayāz (Barni).
6 MS. (A) از سركار ایلطن شده.
7 Barni’s account is as follows: “There was an ‘Alawi (descendant of ‘Ali) in Dīlī who was called the grandson of Shāh Najaf who by his mother’s side was grandson of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din. The Maulā set off from the Red Palace with a party of horse, and went to the house of the poor ‘Alawi. They carried him off by force and seated him on the throne in the Red Palace. The principal men of the city were brought by force and made to kiss his hand.—(Elliot III. 176). The editor remarks that the passage in which he is called the grandson of Shāh Najaf is very doubtful.

Firigha writes. ........ عليکي که اورا شامشہ ختقدری ‘Alawi whom they used to call Shāhanshah who on his mother’s side traced descent from Shamsu-d-Din Altamsh.
the entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sultan, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hajj Malal when Malik Hamidu-Din, who was Amir of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Zafar Khan who had come from Amroha to oppose the Mughuls, engaged Hajj Malal in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Saiyyid Zada also, and sent their heads to Rantanbhor. The Sultan nominated Ulugh Khan to proceed to Dihli to track out those who had taken part in that rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Maliku-I-Umar on this suspicion that Hajj Malal would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.

The Sultan after adding the fortress of Rantanbhor and its surrounding districts to the jagir of Ulugh Khan returned (to Dihli). Ulugh Khan was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died, and Rantanbhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddad.

1 MS. (A) reads بعد تمام فوق احاد و الغالبة نفق قلعة دمست داد و.
2 MS. (A) reads بجيغ عرض ملفي.
3 MS. (A) reads در آن فنده.
4 The text reads شروع در بنی امر محمد باشد, so also MS. (A), but we should, read نه نموده باشد as without this the sense is not very obvious.
5 The Tarpak-Firoz Shahi states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khan did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attaching Tilang and Mabar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khan died about six months later.
6 MS. (A) reads حكم بهشت این مارد کرد. See Qur'ân lxxxix. 5.

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ad? with Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land."
Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mir Muḥammad Shāh, were captured in Rantabohor after the fort

Iram of the columns “This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Haşramaut and Ṣana‘ā. It was founded by Shaddād ibn ‘Ād, who was excessively strong and mighty, and when he heard of Paradise and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, ‘palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur‘ān xxxix. 21) he said to his mighty men ‘Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.’ Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim-ibn-Ulwān, Zaḥāk ibn ‘Ulwān, and Wālid ibnūr Raiyyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he built therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve farāshāhs and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were built therein three hundred thousand palaces; set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces — and there passed in the building of it five hundred years.
was taken. When the Sultan asked Muhammad Shah (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamir Dev to the throne.' The Sultan wondered, and was amazed at this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amir the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. Firstly, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. Secondly, that he should put an end to winebibbing, which is the source of so much evil. Thirdly, abandonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others’ houses and holding deliberative meetings. Fourthly, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiery or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and nouveaux riches, and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Raïs, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sultan did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hûd ibn Khâlid who came and called upon Shaddâd to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hûd warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom, but he would not be moved from his evil ways."

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Murâd who had it is said believed in the words of Hûd. When Shaddâd arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers, the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth."

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1 MS. (A) reads تاهم. in place of بام. نوكيسیای سفته. Naukisah-i-sifisa.
regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of Ziā-i-Barnī.\(^1\) Those laws were the most extraordinary of all: this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the Mughuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,\(^2\) the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

196. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī to proceed to Mālwa with a large army [and Kōkā the Rānī who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled].\(^3\) 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.\(^4\) The Khusrū of poets has described this in the 'Ashīqa, in these words:

He gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa;
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
That which he ordered was brought into sight.
He marched with an army drawn up in array,
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.\(^5\)

And in the year already mentioned the Sultaṇ set out for Sorath\(^6\) on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Satal

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1 The Tūrīkā-i-Fīroz Shihā. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 et seqq.
2 MS. (A).
3 The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).
4 Firīshaṭa gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rājā of Mālwa. The text and MS. (B) reads رنی Rānī.
5 There is a series of play upon the words ای aia and dida both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.
Dev a rebel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sultan’s army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A.D.) the fort of Jâlor was reduced by Kamâlu-d-Din Kark and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell.

And in the year 702 H. (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kâfür Nâib with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhat, and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.) Malik Nâib Kâfür went a second time to Arankal and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Râi Nadar Dev the Governor of Arankal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country of Ma’bar as far as Dhor Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims.

And in the year 711 H. (1311 A.D.) Malik Nâib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand muns of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other
booty beyond the limits of computation; Amir Khusraw who was with that army has given full particulars in the *Khazāīnu-l-Futūh*; some attributed these victories to respite before punishment, and some to the miraculous powers of Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din, while others held that the peace and security of that reign were due to the unbounded blessings of the Sultanu-l-Mashaikh Nizāmu-l-Auliya.¹ may God sanctify his resting-place.

At length when the Sultan’s mind was satisfied, and he gained some leisure from the administration of the State, he set himself to provide for the future of his two sons, allotting to each one a province in the neighbourhood, and setting apart districts for them. Among other events was the marriage of Khizr Khan to Dewal Rani, and Girai’s account is of a nature to last to all eternity, and those who have the taste may read the account of that in the ‘Ashīqa;² then having bestowed upon Khizr Khan the canopy and staff of office, and having made him his heir the Sultan sent him away to Hatnāpur³ and the foot of the hills. When affairs were settled,⁴ and the heavens began to act with their ingrained natural deceit, and commenced displaying those evil traits, and old age overcame the Sultan’s health, his followers deserted him;

Verse.

In the world, when a king becomes advanced in years
His worshippers grow weary of him;
His head, which is worthy of a crown,
He must recline on musk not on ivory.⁵

198. Various disorders affected him,⁷ and hectic fever which leads * to

¹ Nizāmu-d-Din Auliya was the son of Ahmad Dānyal. He was born at Badāin. He died A.H. 735 and is buried at Dihli.

² See *Ain-i-Akbari* III. 365. Firishta gives a long biography of him.

³ MS. (A) omits اللّه.

⁴ See E and D III 552, 553.

⁵ Text reads هننا پر MS. (A) reads حسنناوار Hastināwar (? Hatnāwar).

⁶ See *Ain-i-Akbari* (J) II. 104 and III. 70. also Hunter *Gaz. Ind.* v. 352.

⁷ MS. (A) reads قرار باليت.

⁸ It was the custom to bury kings with musk, camphor and other odoriferous substances. The throne was of ivory.

⁹ MS. (A) reads مرجب for مربج.
ill-temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lamp to light the whole house, Khiżr Khan in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatınpür¹ barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihlg, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sultanu-l-Mashaikh wal Auliya,

"Shaikh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nigāmu-d-Din 
Like Khiżr and Masih, with a breath brings bones to life 
with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity.

And Malik Nāib informed the Sultan of the coming of Khiżr Khan with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khan, the maternal uncle of Khiżr Khan, who had arrived from Gujrāt, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Nāib and Vakil, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khiżr Khan, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultan whose health was upset, and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices, in accordance with the saying,² "When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered," from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion³ as the truth, instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khan.

Malik Nāib and Malik Kamālu-d-Din Kark seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Nāib induced the Sultan (on the ground that Khiżr Khan had taken alarm at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration⁴ of order in the State, he should go for some

1 MS. (A) reads Hatanpür. Khusrū in the 'Ashiqā states "When the Sultan recovered in some degree, Khiżr Khan set out on his expedition to Hatınpür." (E and D III, 554).

² MS. (A) ع.

³ MS. (A) reads سفس

⁴ MS. (A) omits إصلاح text line 1 and برد text line 2.
time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr Khān having obeyed this order with a sad and distracted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his father and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,¹ that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultān to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihli. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sultān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khizr Khān went thither, and Malik Naib out of villainy,² on the instant went back to the Sultān and filled his ears with lies, saying,³ 'Khizr Khān has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sultān takes no notice of the matter.' The Sultān upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān, to the fortress of Gwāliār.⁴ Malik Naib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihābu-d-Dīn, the son of the Sultān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exacted from him an agreement. After two or three days the Sultān's life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

*Verse.*

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,
At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the world,
It could not be as he wished, though he would have given a world could they have given him in return the brief respite of a moment.

¹ I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بَعْرَنُ.  
² MS. (A) reads اَزْوَى حَرَاشْمَا.  
³ MS. (A) omits وَفَعَّلَتْ and inserts كَ.  
⁴ MS. (A) كَالِدُوْر. Kālemur.
The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life.
This event took place in the year 715 H. (1316 A.D.).¹ The duration of the reign of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din was twenty-one years.

'Alau-d-Din who struck his stamp upon the golden coin
Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold-scattering hand.²

By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed, but that gold
Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now passing from hand to hand.

[Account of Amir Khusrau and Mir Hasan may God have mercy on them].³

And among the poets by whose existence the reign of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusru-i-Sha'iран (Prince of Poets), may God shew him mercy and acceptance, whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled the world from one remotest end to the other.

He completed his five works, collectively called Khamsa,⁴ in the year 698 H. (1298 A.D.), in honour of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din,

¹ MS. (A) reads خمسى Khamṣ in place of ست sit and this is correct as 'Alau-d-Din died on the 7th Shawwal 715 H. see E and D Ill. 555; but see also p. 208. "On the sixth Shawwal towards morning, the corpse of 'Alau-d-Din was brought out of the Red Palace of Siri, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jama' Masjid" (Tūrīk-i-Firuz Shāhī.) See also Thomas Pathan Kings of Dihli p. 158 n. 1.
³ These words are not found in MS. (A).
⁴ MS. (A) reads واژ جملت شعرائى كه زمان. These were the following:

Hasht Bihisht.
Laili va Majnūn.
Panj gani.

Khusrau was of Turki origin, his father Amir Mahmūd came to Dihli during the invasion of Changiz Khān into the service of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh by whom he was advanced to high office, but was eventually murdered. Mir Khusrau succeeded his father, but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Nūrān-d-Din Aniyyā. His Khamsa was written in imitation of the Khamsa of Shaykh Nūrī. He is said to have written 400,000 couplets. Neither Khamsa is now extant.
within the space of two years. Among these works is the Mafla'\'u-
\-l-Anwàr\(^1\) which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in
these verses):

\begin{quote}
The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away
Was after six hundred and ninety eight.
Following on the steps of the sky traversing star\(^2\)
In two weeks did the full moon\(^3\) arrive at completion.
\end{quote}

In the Nafah\~at\(^4\) it is stated upon the authority of Sul\~tanu-
\-l-Mash\~ah\~i\~kh Ni\~z\~amu\-l-Auli\~ya, may God sanctify his sacred resting-
place, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast
of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-
burnings of this Turk All\~ah\(^5\) (God's champion); Mir Khusr\~u
probably alludes to this when he says:

\begin{quote}
Khusr\~u my friend, strive in the right way
That you may be called Turk-i-Khud\~a (God's champion).
\end{quote}

Another poet was Mir \~Hasan Dihlavi,\(^6\) whose anthology also
has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that
reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by
reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks
into insignificance.

"When the sun comes out the stars disappear."

The death of Mir Khusr\~u took place in the year 725 H. (1325
A.D.). He is buried in Dihli at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

\(^1\) The Mafla'\'u-l-Anw\~ar, "Ortus luminum. Poema persicum,
quod ad Pentada Khosrewi Dehlew, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1324) mortui,
pertinet. Viginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent." H.K. 12256.

\(^2\) Ak\~atar-i-gurd\~a\~un k\~afir\~m, \textit{Mah-i-K\~amil.}

\(^3\) Nafah\~at. The Nafah\~atu-l-Uns see Hai\~ji Khalifah.

\(^4\) Nafah\~atu-l-Uns "hallitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus
prodeuientes, auctore Molla nostro N\~ur-ed-din Abd-el-rahn\~an Ben A\~nim
Jami\~ anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo." H. K. 13922.

\(^5\) Turk All\~ah.

\(^6\) Mir \~Hasan Dihlavi, whose name was Shaikh Najmu-d-
\-Din Hasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like
Mir Khusr\~u, was a disciple of Ni\~z\~amu-d-Din Auli\~ya. \textit{Majmu'\-u-
\-l-Fus\~ah I. 196}. He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H.) at Daulat\~ab\~ad in the
Dccon, where he was buried. So also Atash Kada p. 351.
own spiritual instructor \(^1\) may God shew mercy to them. Maulānā Shīhāb \(^2\) wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the shrine \(^3\) of Mir Khusrū. It is as follows:—

Mir Khusrū, the Khusrū of the kingdom of eloquence,
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection;
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
His poetry purer than the most limpid streams;
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal:
In tracing the date of the year of his death,
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
One phrase ‘Adīmu-l-Miṣl \(^4\) came as the date,
Another was Tūfī-i-Shakar Maqāl.\(^5\)

Mir Hasan, in the year in which Sūltān Mūhammad having laid waste Dihlī built Danlatābād \(^6\) in the Deccan, died in that

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\(^1\) Niğāmu-d-Dīn Auliya.

\(^2\) See p. 99 note 2 of this work.

\(^3\) There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means “a place of pilgrimage.” The word “shrine” conveys this idea better than most others.

\(^4\) The letters of عداد المثل give the date 725. Thus 70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 500 + 30. So also do those of طوطيشکرمقال. Thus 9 + 6 + 9 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725. Not counting the hamza.

Mir Khusrū died in the month of Ramāzān 725 A. H. (1325 A.D.) and is said in the Majma'ū-l-Fushāḥ to have been buried in the burial place of Shaikh Shakkar Ganj; as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Niğānu-d-Dīn Auliya.


\(^6\) MS. (A) omits ending اباد ساخت تعمیر فرمود. Danlatābād. Lat 19° 57' N. and long. 75° 18' E. 28 miles N.-W. of Hyderābād.

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by Alāū-d-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Mūhammadans in the Deccan, it was given back to its Rājā Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Nāib Malik Kāfür, taken prisoner and sent to Dihlī whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Mūhammad Tughlaq Shāh
country, and was buried in the city of Daulatabad where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity 'Arif Jāmī,1 may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustān was filled with sugar,
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

**Sultān Shihābu-d-Din ibn 'Alāū-d-Din Khilji**

202. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwal, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title He sent Malik Ikhtiyārū-d-Din Sanbal to the fortress of Gwāläär to put out the eyes of Khızr Khān and Shādī Khān. He also caused the mother of Khızr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dīhil for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatabad and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dīhil to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Baṭūta (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and says that the citadel was named دير سهلا. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogir as we should probably read دیر سهلا.  

1 Nūrū-d-Din 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī.

His father's name was Nizāmu-d-Din Āḥmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūrū-d-Din (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maulānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of 'Arif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the Haft Avarīn, a series of seven poems, viz., Silsilatu-l-Zahab, The golden chain; Qissas-i-Sulāmān wa Absāl, Story of Salāmān and Absāl; Tuhfatatu-l-Ahrar; The Offering to the Wise; Subhāntu-l-ubrār, Rosary of the Pious; Yūsuf wa Zuleikha, Yusuf and Zuleikha; Laili wa Majnūn, Laili and Majnūn Khirad Nāma, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 696. H. (1492 A.D.)

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāū-d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubāshshir and Baṣhir in concert with a body of pāiks of the garrison of the Hazār Sūtūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāib.¹

Verse.

If thou dost evil, hope not for good,
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns;
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat.

Then, having released Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān from prison, they appointed² him to be Nāib to Sūltān Shihābū-d-Dīn in place of Malik Nāib: Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amīrs and Malikūs. Then he sent Sūltān Shihābū-d-Dīn to the fortress of Gwāliār where he finally died in the year 716 H.³

Verse.

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error.

The Sirdārs having put some of these pāiks to death,⁴ scattered the rest of them in all directions.

Verse.

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,
This is the way of the world: requital of actions.

And the period of the reign of Shihābū-d-Dīn was three months and a few days.

Sūltān Qutbū-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh ibn 'Alāū-d-Dīn Khīlji.
Ascended the throne of Dīhlī with the consent of the Amīrs

¹ Thirty-five days after the death of 'Alāū-d-Dīn (Barnī) i.e., 715 H. (1316 A.D.)
² MS. (A) منصوب گردیدند.
³ There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS. The former has 710 H. while MS. (A) reads 716 H. which is correct, as is seen from the Nah Sipīr of Mir Khusrū.
⁴ MS. (A) بقتل رسانیده.

With regard to the succession of Shihābū-d-Dīn, see Firīshṭa, who describes him by the name of ‘Umar Khān (Brigg’s Firīshṭa I. 383). His full name was Shihābū-d-Dīn ‘Umar according to Mir Khusrū.
and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, H.\(^1\) and apportioning appointments and suitable jābegirs among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Hasan, Bārāwar bacha,\(^2\) who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the protégé of Malik Shādi Nāib-i-Khās, the Hājib of Sultān ‘Alān-d-Din.\(^3\)

He gave him the title of Khnsrū Khān. The tribe of Bārāwar are a family of servile position in Gujrat; but now in the kingdom of Dihli, the Sultān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unfitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazīr.

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
Give not high office to an upstart;
Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined
Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultān Quṭbudd-Din, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā the Son of Ghāzi Malik, who eventually was entitled Muḥammad ‘Ādil, to be Mir ‘Ākhor.\(^5\)

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogir otherwise called Daulatabād,\(^6\) but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

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\(^1\) So also the Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi of Barnī, but Khnsrū in both the ‘Ashiqs and Nah Sipīhr, says the beginning of 716 H. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muharram, 716 H. But Firishṭa says the 7th of Muharram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the Nah Sipīhr, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

\(^2\) MS. (A).

\(^3\) MS. (A) omits خاص. \(^4\) MS. (A).

\(^5\) Master of the Horse. Akhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkı word signifying, a gelding.

\(^6\) See p. 271 note 6.
Verse.

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
That the world’s king should move from his place;
Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers,
Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king?

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultan Quṭbū-ḍ-Dīn sent Sar Salāḥī Kotwāl, with orders to proceed to Gwāliār and put to death Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān. Having done this he summoned Dewal Rānī and included her in his hāram. With reference to this Mir Khusrū writes:

Verses.

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
That when the Sultan Mubārak Shāh in cruelty
Turned against his own kith and kin with auger and frowning,
He considered that the interests of the country demanded
their murder,
And thought that they deserved the sharp sword.
His object was to empty the country of noble men by malicious enterprise.
Secretly he sent a messenger to Khizr Khān
Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will
Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the assembly,
Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light;
Thou knowest that this is none of my doing;
The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears.
If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient endeavour.
Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that captivity.

1 "A ruffian named Shādī" (Mir Khusrū E and D III. 555.)
If thou art fitted to become a king
We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
Dewal Rani who is but a handmaiden to thee,
For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were
an easy matter,
I have heard that she is so dear to thee
That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.
This is not fitting that from shortsightedness
The king should be enslaved by a slave.
The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden
That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the
Chinar.
A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the
floods.¹

[My heart’s desire makes this request, that thou should’st give
up that mistress of thine.]
Since she went from here, send her back hither again
Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
When the messenger went and took back the message
Khizr Khan’s heart no longer enjoyed any rest.
First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,
Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood
Saying, since the Shah has attained his ambition in becoming
a sovereign,
He must leave Dewal Rani to me.
If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth
You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.
Since this heart’s delight holds her head as high as mine
Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.
When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

¹ Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets.
Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,
The Emperor waxed wrath from head to foot
From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,
The flame of the fire of enmity shot forth,
He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one.²
In anger he sent for Sar Salāḥi (the Kotwāl).
Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred krohs;
Go to Gwālīr at this moment without delay,
And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the country,
That I may be safe from the nobles of the country;
Because this disturbance, small as it is, risks the existence of the country.
At his order the tyrant set out,
The pigeon was tied by the foot and the hawk hungry.
In that day and night he travelled several leagues
He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him).
He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe measure;
The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly into that pure place of chastity,
The veiled ladies were thrown into consternation and screamed so that the roof and doors shook with their cries.
In that palace every arrow-like beam became curved like a bow,
The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise;
From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

¹ MS. (A) reads گوک گوی زد زبانه.
² MS. (A) reads بای جوی را باید بهانه.
³ MS. (A) reads بند. The text has a misprint.
⁴ The text is wrong here. MS. (A) reads correctly.
⁵ MS. (A) reads بابی آبی.
⁶ MS. (A) reads بیو بیرشیدگان.
⁷ MS. (A) reads نیز has here the two meanings of arrow, and rafter or beam.
The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power. Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.¹
Shādi Khān Wālā waxed wrath, and sought aid from the protection of God most High,
Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for a long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword wherewith to slay him.
Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory
What did that unattainable strength avail him?
Allies ran up to help him from right and left
They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.
Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs,²
See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,
Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky
That permits dogs to hunt lions!
When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chieftains,
The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.
Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,
Blood-reeking swords appeared on every side
When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,
The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,
Hard as a rock,³ source of grief, though his name was Shādi (Joy)
As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief arising from debt.
Artful enough to depose Dajjāl ⁴ from his place,

¹ توار مريده خرد درخواب رفته MS. (A).
² بريک شرته دمگان سک پيارخبت (A).
³ جمادي (A).
⁴ Al-Masihā-i-Kazzāb.

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجال in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar.

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجال) in arrogating to himself godship; or again from داجالa in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," see Lane s. v.
Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness; On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,\(^1\) 
From every hair sprang a sword.\(^2\) 
Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner’s sword, 
A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād;\(^3\) 
His lips wreathed in an angry smile, 
Through wrath seizing his lips between his teeth 
His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment, 
From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn;

According to the Mishkāt, Dajjāl will be the second of the ten signs or tokens which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have occurred, namely, the rising of the sun in the west, the coming of Dajjāl, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Safah, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjāl is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known. He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word كفر kufr, Infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and ʿIraq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cave (Qurʾān XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medinah. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days. Dajjāl will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjāl at the entrance to a village called Lud in Palestine. The Jews of Ḥisfāḥ will follow Dajjāl before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one-third of its rain and the earth one-third of her productions, during the second the sky will withhold two-thirds and the earth two-thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce, and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

\(^1\) His whiskers. 
\(^2\) MS. (A). The text reads برسه. 
\(^3\) Farhād. See Beale Dict. Or Bio. p. 87. for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely Shirin, with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain; he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of Shirin that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.
When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides
Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.
May God have mercy!
How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that
crowd of moonlike faces.
Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief
In pity for so many young and beautiful men?
Oh Lord! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold
To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.
How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart
of the butcher?
Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.
When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,
Why should he withhold his knife from the rose-like body?
Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed
in shedding their blood,²
There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind
A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth
Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman;³
Nay! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face
Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,
Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people;
Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,
Like a morning in Dai ⁴ at Ghaznin cold and inhospitable;
Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,
Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.
A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,
A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis;
That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,
His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe;
Long whiskers twisted over his ears

¹ MS. (A)
² MS. A
³ Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have
been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world,
while the first man (whom they call Gayōmarth) was born from the sweat of
the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān.
See Albīrūnī (Chron.) p. 107.
⁴ The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albīrūnī (Chron.) p. 52.
It answers to our month of December.
His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave’s ear;  
Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,  
[You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208.
His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn back for bloodshed.]  
He demanded a well-tempered sword from his officer;  
Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic;  
[The head of that cypress-like noble fell from his shoulders
He who was renowned for his youth and beauty]  
Martyrdom was evident 4 in Khiṣr in that palace;  
Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves
The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment;  
The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,
Rizwân threw open the gates of Paradise,
All the Hûris began to sing his praises.
From that martyr’s shout of triumph which came forth from the Shâh,
The sun and moon joined in the martyr’s song.
When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shâh’s face was seen amid its clustering locks,
Lamentation arose in that assembly like 5 the roll of thunder;
The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
But Fate turned it on one side from before him.
When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee;
With one blow which that ruthless one struck
He made the Shâh’s head a guest in his bosom.
To wash away the blood, the revolving water-wheel of the sky
Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood;
But, since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,
Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.
Dewal Râni, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
Was the lifespring of Khiṣr Khân’s existence.

1 A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS. MS.
(A) contains them.
2 MS. (A) ز نارا ۳
3 These lines are not in the text. MS. (A) reads
بر که گرد گر ی هر و گرا می چ که از ی ور ی خود بود نامی
4 MS. (A) شهادت خاست
5 MS. (A) جون رعد
Since the Khizr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him
That very well of life 1 of his became the sword of enmity.
When we look in this crystal globe carefully
Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khizr.
The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,
But still was hovering round about the beloved one.
A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,
Thou wilt shed thy blood 2 for it a hundred times.
Instead of rose water they drew his heart’s blood from that
rose,
See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood!

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction of the family of ‘Alâu-ud-Din was laid, the question was asked of a devotee, why this should be? His reply was because ‘Alâu-ud-Din had cast a firebrand into the family 3 of the uncle of his benefactor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out to his own family.

Verse.

In this full voiced, re-echoing dome (the world)
Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sulțān Quṭbu-ud-Din, all the rules and regulations made by ‘Alâu-ud-Din, each of which embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sulțān Quṭbu-ud-Din, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of desires to the people; and when Malik Kamālu-ud-Din Garg, after that Alî Khân had been summoned to the presence and had been executed, proceeded to Gujrât where he attained martyrdom, ‘Ainu-1-Mulk Multāni was nominated by the Court, 4 and having quelled the disturbance there regained possession 5 of Nahrwâla and all the country of Gujrât, Sulțān Quṭbu-ud-Din married the

1 MS. (A) reads.
2 MS. (A) reads.
3 MS. (A) reads.
4 MS. (A) reads.
5 MS. (A) reads.
daughter of Malik Dinār, and having given him the title of Zafar Khān sent him to Gujrat. He performed the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultān Qutbuddin marched for Deogir with a larger army, and the Rāis of that country were not able to stand against him.

He flayed Harpāl Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Rām Deo. The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbuddin who, having given Khausr Khān the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Matbar, and having left Yalakhi in Deogir as Nāib, returned to Dihli. Near Badra-i-Sakūn Malik Asaduddin ibn Yaghra Khān who was called Malik Khamūsh, and who was the uncle's son of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Din, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship, and plotted a rebellion against the Sultan, who however was warned of this design by one of his loyal adherents, and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asaduddin. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of Yaghra Khān who were aware of this conspiracy some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhāin he sent Shādi Kath his chief captain to Gwalīr to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān with the remainder of the karam of 'Alāu-d-Din to Dihli, after having

1 MS. (A) inserts راوزا.
2 MS. A. يب كرل. The textual reading is preferable.
3 The Sultan ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogir.
4 MS. (A) omits ك. Called Ghāt-i-Sākūn by Barni.
5 MS. (A) reads سری. خبردارگردانید (A)
6 MS. (A) reads خبردارگردانید.
7 There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS. (A) writes ك را زاب واقعه خبردارشکند، and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death, though the statement that some were children is kept with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barni. "They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep."
8 MS. (A) reads شادي که. This is the name given also in Barni's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.
killed Sultan Shihâbu-d-Din, which he carried out. Sultan Qutbu-d-Din was led by the fact that Khizr Khân had been a disciple of the Sultanu-l-Masâhiikh Nizâmû-d-Din Auliya, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknu-d-Din from Multân, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jâm, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizâmû-d-Din) with special distinction.

Verse.

When God 1 desires to openly disgrace any man
He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Zafar Khân Wali of Gujerât.

In the mean while Yaklaki had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusru Khân reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yaklaki and made him over to Khusru Khân, who sent him bound to Dihli where he was executed. The Sultan 2 also put to death Malik Shâhin who was known by the title of Wafâ Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

In these days the Sultan used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience. Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice, inter marem feminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.

Verse.

Statura cujusvis ut littera Alif erecta, idem quod litterae Dal et Nun incurvescebat, adeo Alif in rimam omnium inserebat.

1 MS. (A) omits the word خذ in error.
2 MS. (A) omits the word سنطان but it appears to be required.
He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amirs, as for instance Šaykhul Mulk Multāni and Qarābeg, who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudaefacti, gestu turpi et obsceno, in vestes nobilium honoratorum mingebant. Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

Verse.

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too.

And the kingdom seemed to say:—

Oh! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers
What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust
The king maddened by lust, the empire reigned, the enemy
before and behind.

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass.

And after the murder of Zafar Ḵān, he raised Husāmu-d-Dīn who was half-brother to Khusrū Ḵān to succeed to the position enjoyed by Zafar Ḵān and nominated him to proceed to Gujrat. Husāmu-d-Dīn collected together the Barāwar crew from all parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his brain. The Amirs of Zafar Ḵān's party however seized him and sent him to Dihli. The Sultan led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusrū Ḵān took no steps to punish him, but had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Waḥīdu-d-Dīn Quraishī, to Gujrat in place of Husāmu-d-Dīn. He it was who was the

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1 Barnī calls him بِرادر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle. But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not بِرادر مادر but بِرادر مادری that is to say half-brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word بِرادر اخیانی here used, and would further account for Barnī later on calling him baseborn.

2 MS. (A) برادر.  
3 MS. (A) بکثر.  
4 Thus the printed text. Barnī also calls him Waḥīdu-d-Dīn so I have adopted this reading. MS. (A) reads وجیه الدین Wajihu-d-Dīn.
cause of the arrest of Yaklakhī, Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithili country, and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amirs whom he had with him. Malik Talbīgha Yahgda and Malik Talbīgha Nāgori and Malik Ḥāji Nāib, with certain other Amirs of the Sultān’s party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogir to Dihli in seven days and acquainted the Sultān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sultān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sultān of the villainy of the Amirs. The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amirs, censured them severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracious witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished.

The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalīfah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him; and used his wife Zubeida Khāṭūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalīfah was

The printed text has simply but MS. (A) reads Yaklakhī. Yaklakhī it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogir after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barūn, Yaklakhī was “an old servant of ‘Alā‘ū-d-Din, who for many years was nāib of the barīdā” (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Wāfīdū-d-Din.

1 MS. (A) omits.
2 MS. (A) reads thus: Barūn calls him Malik Talbīgha Yahgda.
3 MS. (A) omits after خاطرنشان.
4 MS. (A) omits بعد إيشان.
favourably disposed towards Zubêida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq.¹ He accordingly wrote these lines:—

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked.²

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked. From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs.

As soon as Khusû Khân became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultân, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrât and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultân. The Sultân reposed entire confidence both in him ³ and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,⁴ abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery.⁵

¹ Abû Firâs Hammâm or Humaim the son of Ghâlib b. named Abû Akhâl was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamîm. He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance. The meaning of Farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded. (Freytag Harnasah II. 585). It was a nick-name given him according to Ibn Kutaiba on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (farazdaq) with which women polish their teeth. But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small-pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall: de Slane III. 623).

² Read مَتَّأْمَرًا for متَمرًا which appears to be intended for متَمرًا. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqa, when Nawâr the granddaughter of Dubeia, wished to marry one of the Quraish tribe, and asked Al-Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle. He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs, to say he would marry her himself. Nawâr was very angry at this and went to ‘Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, sovereign of Hijâz and ‘Irâq, to obtain redress. Al-Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al-Nawâr stayed with al-Khula’ wife of Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, and Al-Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al-Khula’ interceded for al-Nawâr, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereinupon Farazdaq spoke as above. (Ibn Khall: (de Slane), III. 624).

³ MS. (A) (Arabic).
⁴ MS. (A) omits پاز.
⁵ MS. (A) مشغول شد.​
Verse.

Casting aside the Qur'an and the sword
Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb
and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw
themselves upon the protection of Khusru Khān,

Verse.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you Sir!

And the family of Barāwar 1 gained entire control of the Court
of the Sultān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the
house of Khusru Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the
Sultān, and when Qāzī Žiāu-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāzī Khān,
made these facts known, the Sultān who was the slave of his lust
immediately summoned Khusru Khān in private, 2 and informed
him of what had been said, whereupon Khusru Khān said, the
people see the great kindness which the Sultān shews me and
regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely
accuse me. The Sultān believed him and 3 made over to him
the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses
as well: Khusru Khān 4 regarded this as a proof of his complete
ascendency deduced from it a favourable omen for his future;—

Verse.

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusru Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultān was holding a drinking
party in the company of Khusru Khān, and the Amirs of
the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzī Khān came
down from the roof of the Hazār Sultān palace and was engaged
in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

1 MS. (A) adds در خلوش.
2 MS. (A) adds تصديق اور کرد و سیول.
3 MS. (A) adds صحرا.
In the meantime one Randhol the uncle of Khusru Khan with a body of the Barawas, having daggers concealed under their arms came upon Qazi Khan, and kept him engaged in talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard, they stabbed him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode in Paradise. There was a great uproar, and the Sultan, who at that moment had no other companion than Khusru Khan, enquired what was the tumult. Khusru Khan rose from beside him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the Sultan, then returned and said that some of the horses of the stud had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves. At this moment Jahiriyah the uncle of Khusru Khan approached the Hazar Sultan with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrahim and Ishaq who were on guard at the palace, made for the Sultan. The Sultan rising, half intoxicated as he was, ran towards the haram, Khusru Khan caught him from behind by the hair of his head, and as the Sultan was begging him to aid his escape Jahiriyah arrived, aimed a blow at the Sultan wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the Sultan's head threw it down below from the roof of the palace.

Verse.

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns
For his brocaded bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting to death some of the Amirs at the door of the palace, the Barawas entered the Sultan's haram and tore Farid Khan and Mangi Khan, the two infant sons of Sultan Alau-d-Din, from their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the four winds all the honour and glory of Alau-d-Din and Qutbu-d-Din.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant
The whole course of the world becomes changed.
And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirs namely ‘Ainn-1-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā, by whom is meant Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Taghlaq Shāh, and Malik Wahīdu-d-Din Quraishi with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hazār Sutān; and when it was day they made all the ‘Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the Khutbah in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāzi Zīāu-d-Din Qāzi Khān, all except his wife who fled, to the aforesaid Randhol.

Husānu-d-Din, the brother by the mother’s side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol became Rāi-i-Rāiyān, and the harams of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Din and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself in marriage the chief wife of the Sulṭān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Din was four years and some months.

Verse.

Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be, To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

Nāṣīru-d-Dīn Khusrū Khān

Whose name at the first was Ḥasan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of ‘Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-Dīn, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency. Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-
spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasure of Alāu-d-Dīn and the wealth which Qatḥu-d-Dīn had amassed,

Verse.

Who was it had acquired the wealth,
Who was it squandered it?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and 'Alī Khān, and Bahādur Khān,¹ and gained over certain of the Amīrs, such as 'Ainul Mulk and some others.

The Hindus gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swept suddenly upon the followers of Islam and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghuzz which had happened in the time of Sultan Sinjar² was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

Verse.

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door of death,
You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān⁴ issued firmāns to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf Ṣāfī Azlbacha⁵ the title of Ṣāfī Khān while Ikhtiyārū-d-Dīn Sanbal was styled Ḥātim Khān. He also made Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣāfī Wakīldar, and the son of Qurra Qumār 'Ariṣu-l-Mulk; Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzi Malik he appointed Ākhur Beg, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghāzi Malik also, who

¹ MS. (A).
² MS. (A).
³ MS. (A). The text reads برواریپه. MS (A) omits ر.
was one of the notable Amirs of ‘Alāu-d-Dīn and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dipālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave ‘A’in-ul-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of ‘Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzī Malik, he wrote a letter\(^1\) expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihli to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.\(^2\)

And of the Amirs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzī Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating the ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhrul-d-Dīn sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihli and asking for post horses,\(^3\) which in the Hindi tongue are called ḍāl chauki, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

219. At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrām Iba\(^4\) the governor of Multān and Uchh\(^5\) he fled from Dihli with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

Verse.

Seated upon that fleet Burāq\(^6\)
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

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1 MS. (A) (A).
2 I read here although MS. (A) is the same as the text.
3 Ulāq or Ulāgh travail sans salaire—cheval—coursier—petit bateau. (Pavet de Courteille).
4 MS. (A) and text footnote.
5 The text has a misprint here.
6 The animal upon which Muhammad was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the Mīrāj (mi‘rāj) Qur‘ān XVII. 1. In the Mishkāt-1-Musābīḥ it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a
And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti. When Khusru Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Malik Fakhrud-Din Jūnā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power: accordingly he despatched the son of Qurra Qumār, whom he had appointed Āriz-i-Mamālik, in pursuit of him. He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsuti, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusru Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs.

Ghāzi Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Malikis; further by issuing orders for the commencement of the jihād he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dihli.

Khusru Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Sūfi Khān with the other Amirs of this canaille against Ghazi Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant. But on the other hand Malik Bahram Iba, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzi Malik. The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar. At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

mule and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see. The name of the animal was Burāq" (Mīghkātu-l-Masābiḥ, Matthews, II. 651). The word Burāq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

1 MS. (A) reads برطور دولت خور. 2 Mustermaster General. See p. 291. 3 نمرود and 4 Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islām.

5 حوض ثا نيسر. This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name Sthānesvara is connected viz., Sthāna (a name of Mahādeo) and Sar a lake. See Hunter: Imp. Gaz., XIII. 260.

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town, it is called by various names. It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims. It was in full repute in A.D. 600, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Pandus themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself (Cunningham, A.G. India, pp. 335-336.)
were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusra Khân abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dihli. Ghâzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches and reached Dihli in one long march. Khusra Khân having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the haram the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alâû-d-Din whom he had blinded, and put them to death; then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Hauz-i-Khâss where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Hauz-i-Khâss to Indrapath, while Ghâzi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb of Sultan Raşîya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusra Khân fled with haste towards Dhâr and Ujjain; his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusra Khân. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusra Khân obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghâzi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghâzi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

1 MS. (A) کافی. (A)

2 The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

3 Barnî says the Hauz-i-'Alâî. The royal lake constructed by 'Alâû-d-Din.

4 Indrapath. MS. (A) اندرو پاد. Barnî tells us that Ghâzi Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihli. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

5 I read here خطرنا as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultan Raşîya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638 H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

6 MS. (A) شفاوی.
valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly
discomfited the infidel horde and Malik Talbagha Nāgor, and
the son of Qurra Quṃār with the other nobles of that ignoble
kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword, as such
hypocritical knaves should. Khusrū Khān brought to bear all
temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and
fought bravely till the close of the day, but at last finding he
was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned
his back in flight, and made for Talpath; his canopy and
standards and borrowed retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzi
Malik.

Khusrū Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of
Malik Shādi who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught,
and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid
hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and
brought him to Ghāzi Malik, so that he reaped the reward of his
infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Doest thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghāzi Malik left Indrapath and alighted
at Kūshk Sabzi. Great and small came out to welcome his
coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day
following he went on to the city of Dihli, where tidings was

1 MS. (A) 
2 Text MS. (A) 
3 Tābilīge. 
4 MS. (A) omits Bāy Darīgh. 
5 Shāyista Khān. 
6 MS. (A) inserts و. 
7 MS. (A) omits ملک. 
8 MS. (A) omits اندر پنجه. 
9 MS. A. The text reads اندر پنجه. But the real reading should be اندر پنجه, Indrapath, as is shewn by what has gone before, and also by Baroi. 
10 “the Green palace” but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS., I think we should read for كوشک سبزی undoubtedly كوشک سبزی kūshk-i-Siri, the palace of Siri. This is the reading of the Tāriḵ-i-Firos Shāhī.
brought to him that the rascal Khân-i-Khânân had crept into the corner of a garden,\(^1\) where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fâhhrû-d-Din proceeded by order of Ghâzi Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him\(^2\) paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.). The duration of Khusrâ Khân’s rule was four months and a few days.

\textit{Verse.}

That which thou dost they will shew thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

\textbf{Sultân\(^3\) Ghîtâsû\(-\)d\(-\)Din Tughlaq Shaḥ\(^3\)}

Who is the same as Ghâzi Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amirs and nobles and was styled by this title. In the space of one week he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.\(^4\)

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amirs of ‘Alâu\(-\)d\(-\)Din and to some of the Malik of Qutbû\(-\)d\(-\)Din gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqâbâd and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay)\(^5\) and Badr Shâ’ir Shâshi\(^6\) invented as a chronogram for the date of building

\(^1\) MS. (A) omits \(\ddot{\text{w}}\).

\(^2\) \textit{Mugla Sâkhâna} is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is “making a public example.”

\(^3\) MS. (A). The text omits the prefix سلطان —

Barnî gives an account of the mode in which Ghâzi Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of ‘Alâu\(-\)d\(-\)Din and Qutbû\(-\)d\(-\)Din. (See Elliott, III. 223–229).

\(^4\) MS. (A) omits the words نکرانند داد and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy. See \textit{footnote} to Text.

\(^5\) There is a difference here. The printed text reads شروع دران نمرد Showed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع دران نمرد set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

\(^6\) Badru\(-\)d\(-\)Din Châchî, “was a native of Châch in Turkestan. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in
the fort (of Tughlaqabad) the following: "Enter then her gates."
He brought to punishment also a body of men who during the
glorious reign of Sultan Quṭbu-d-Din had joined hands with
Khusrū Khān and had aided and abetted the band of ruffians
and scoundrels. He also gave the title of Ulugh Khān to
Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā who shewed marked signs of discre-
tion and kingly dignity, and conferred on him a canopy and the
other insignia of royalty, making him his heir-apparent; he also
raised Bahram Iba, who was the adopted brother of the Sultan,
to the dignity of the title of Kishlah Khān, and entrusted to him
the district of Multān and the whole of Sind. To his other four
sons he gave the titles of Bahram Khān, Zafar Khān, Mahmūd
Khān and Nuṣrat Khan.

And in the year 721 A. H. [he appointed] Ulugh Khān [to
proceed in command of his troops which were at Chanderni and
Badāon and in the other eastern districts of Hindustān, towards
Deogir and Tilang, and Ulugh Khān] taking with him the army
of Deogir, invested the fortress of Arankal which for the
past seven hundred years had been the capital of Rai Sadar
Mahadeo and his ancestors, and having gained possession of the
clay-built citadel forming the outer line of defence, was on
the point of reducing the inner stone citadel also. In the

Dihli as the panegyrist of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh and other
monarchs who provided his allotted portion from the tray of their bounty.
His Divān consists of 2,000 couplets. His style is strange." (Majma‘ul
Faṣāḥā I. 169). The date of his death is not stated. See also Beala, O. B. D.
p. 62.

1 MS. (A) inserts غفلة باد.
2 غفلة خلوما. These words give the date 727 H.
3 Omit one ١٩ from text.
4 MS. (A) omits پسر خوید which is in the printed text.
5 MS. (A) omits س. It is unnecessary.
6 MS. (A). The printed text has بھرم اسلام Bahram Ullah.
7 The printed text adds the words غفلة شاه.
8 See also the account given by Barni which is almost identical with the
above. (Elliott, III. 230).
9 By the copyist’s error the words included in square brackets have been
omitted from MS. (A), he having omitted all the words following the first
غل خان and proceeding with the words following the second.

The printed text is correct.
meantime 1 'Ubaid Rākāti 2 the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious 3 opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses:

Khusrū's own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took Nizāmi's 4 saucepan by mistake, his flummery 5 to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsafi) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqi on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihli, spread a false report that the Sultān Tughlaq was no more, whereupon great dismay spread through the Muslims, 'Ubaid also terrified the Amirs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army; 6 Malik Tigin and other revolutionary Amirs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowārs came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amirs took themselves off, each to his own district; and Malik Tigin who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmir 7 was taken prisoner with his family, and Tāju-d-Dīn Tālaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigin who had escaped from prison, was captured 8 on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet) 9 also was captured in the same way in a wretched

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1 MS. (A) reads دَرِين مِدَائِن.
2 'Ubaid. MS. (A) adds رَكَّتٌ. See Beale, O. B. D., p. 275.
3 MS. (A) reads مَعَارِض مَشْبَرِ.ن
4 Shaikh Nigānī Gaujawi whose full name is Abū Muḥammad Nīgānī d-Dīn Aḥmad Ilīs ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mūsāiyyid al Muṭarrizi, a celebrated poet, author of the Sikandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works. His Khamsa (pentad) consists of Khusrū and Shīrin, Haft Paikar Lailī-o-Majnūn, Makhdum-n-l-Asrār and Sikandar Nāma.
5 His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the Majma'ul Famaḥā (I. 637) he died in the reign of Tughrul ibn Arslān the Saljuq. 576 A. H.
6 We should here read مَطْرَمْ لَشَكْر. MS. (A).
7 MS. (A) Lat. 26° 55' N. Long. 70° 57' E. in Rājpūtāna, C. L.
8 MS. (A) غَزَّوْنَارَ غَنْشَت.
9 MS. (A) omits. Barni says that he was impaled alive. Firishta says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231-233.)
plight. All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went.

And in the year 723 A. H. (1323 A.D.) Ulugh Khān for the second time marched towards Tilang; and Rāi Lādar Mahādeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khān gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels by force of arms, and took the Rāi prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājnagar and Bidar, and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihli [and despatched Rāe Lādar also to the capital and having given to Arankan] the name of Sultānpūr returned to Dihli.

And in the year 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khān as his viceroy in the capital Tughlaqābād which had been built in the space of three years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole civil administration, and left for Lakhnauti with a firm intention of setting things straight; Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din the ruler of Lakhnauti, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to meet the Sultān and placed their necks under his yoke; Sultān Tughlaq Shāh conferred upon Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din the canopy and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted Lakhnauti once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihli; then he sent on in advance Tātār Khān his adopted son, the Governor of Žafarābād who brought Bahādur Shāh otherwise known as Tūda (?) Nūdā) the Governor of Sunār Gānw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

1 MS. (A).

2 Or Jājpūr, the former capital of Orissa. (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol. VII and Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XVIII for a full account of this place).


4 The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's] error omitted in MS. (A), the word Dihli occurring twice has misled the copyist. The printed text is correct.
his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sultân Tughlaq Shâh taking Bahâdur Shâh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dihli, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khân upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Afghânpur which is at a distance of three krohs from Tughlaqâbâd. It was completed in three days, so that Sultân Tughlaq Shâh might alight there, and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqâbâd.

The Sultân arrived there and Ulugh Khân having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultân gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sultân was mounting with all haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sultân Tughlaq Shâh was engaged in washing his hands and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him.

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khân may have built the palace without

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1 These words are repeated twice in MS. (A).

2 The text has بتقريب دست ناشستن but MS. (A) reads the latter is correct. MS. (A) also omits the words لان خالد (line 2 of the printed text).

3 Barni gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235). Firuzta gives a somewhat similar account to Badamî; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khân of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Sadr Jahân Gujarâti, Ulugh Khân had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Hâji Maḥammad Qandahâri says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (Firuzta Brigge, I. 408).

4 MS. (A) قصر را. The text has قصد qasdan purposely.
foundations as was currently rumoured, but the author of the Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Firoz Shāh and out of regard for him.

This event took place in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh was four years and some months.

Verse.

If thou placest the world beneath thy feet
Thou wilt not sleep at last in thine own place.

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sultānu-l-Mashaikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dihli, either the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I." The Shaikh replied, "Dihli is still some way off." This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The Tughlaq Nāma of Mir Khusru which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sultān and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sultānu-l-Mashaikh and also of Mir Khusru occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

Sultān Muḥammad 'Adil ibn Tughlaq Shāh.

That is to say Ulugh Kān, by the agreement of the Amirs and

1 مصنف literally means "hollow" but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support. cf. فعل إجوني "hollow" verb: a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

2 In accordance with the proverb دو دریش در گلیمی بخشند dā darvīsh dar gilme nastuspend. Two dervishes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb درشمشر در یک نیام نامعینان. Two swords will not go into one scabbard; as we say: There cannot be two kings in Brentford.

3 This is a well-known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu, used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task, or on an occasion of unnecessary haste. "It's a far cry to Loch Awe." Roebuck in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian, but as an Urdu proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.
officers of the Court ascended the royal throne in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.), and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days, went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave largesse such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed appointments and offices among the Amirs, he made Malik Firoz his uncle’s son (who is the same person as Sultan Firoz) Nāibu-l-Mulk, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Hamid Lawiki, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sartz obtained the title of ‘Imādu-l-Mulk, Malik Khurram that of Zahiru-l-Juyūsh (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindār Khilji was given the title of Qadr Khān, and Malik Izzud-Din Yahyā that of A‘zamu-l-Mulk, the district of Satgānū being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326-1327 A.D.) the Sultan having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of dhāwa, that is to say pāik, or runners, as guards at distances of one kroh along the whole road from Dihli to Deogir, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed a Shaikh to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf and all provisions for hospitality; and in

1 According to Firāštā on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.
2 The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in Genesis l. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob “the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of these which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in Numbers xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days.
3 The period of three days only is enjoined on Muhammadans; except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called Iḥād for four months and ten days. Among Hindus the period of mourning is thirty days. (See Matthew, Mīshkātu-l-Ma‘ābīh I. 389).
4 The word धावण is a Sanskrit word धावक: rt. धाव to run. पाईक its Persian equivalent has a more usual form paik.
5 MS. A omits درار.
6 MS. (A) نصب فرمود.
7 The leaf of Chavica betle (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceæ is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of Areca catechu, known as Supári, some lime (chūn) catechu (kath) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together
both (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Daulatābād and considering it as the centre of his dominions made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhdūma-i-Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amirs and Malikās, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād: all the Saiyyids and Shaikhs and Ulamā also proceeded thither in the following of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying “Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions” this desolation of Dihli and its desertion was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and skewered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale. In this condition they are known as khill, كهيلي bīrā or گلوزي gīlaurī. The distribution of this pān or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the bīrā is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acrid taste. It is a powerful salagogue.

The medicinal virtues of the Chavica betle are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts. A form of cancer known as "betle-chewer's cancer" has been described by Dr. Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated. (Drury, Useful Plants of India).

1 MS. (A) omits the word طوز.
2 MS. (A) نام نهاد و. See page 271, note 6 of this volume.
3 MS. (A) خور جمان ولايات omits.
4 The word Saiyyid (سيد) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fāżima by ʿAli. The Sultān of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shaikh (شيخ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world: a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe: or a reputed saint.

The two first Khalīfahs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are known as ʿAbdul Nāsir. The two Shaikhs.

The term Ulamā (علماء) includes all religious teachers as Imāms, Muftis, Qādis, Mawlavis, (see Hughes Dictionary of Islam, also D’Herbelot.)
comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there; and towards the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gurshasp the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihli, and Malik Aiyāz, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultan and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahāram Ība the adopted brother of Sultan Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān, and put to death ‘Ali Khaṭṭātī who had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sultan, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatabād for Dihli and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahāram having come out against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultan who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shāikh-ul-Islām Qutb-ul-‘Alam Shāikh Rukn-ul-Haqq waun-d-Dīn Quraishi, may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultan and made intercession, the Sultan pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse.

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.
Great men have shewn mercy mean men have committed faults.

And the Sultan having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmusul-Mulk Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time having turned

1 narnī makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishta gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-din and states that he was governor of Sāgur. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-din Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A.H. twelve years later than Badāoni’s date, according to Briggs (I. 418). A reference to the original text, however, shows that the date given by Firishta is the same as Badāoni’s date. Firishta Bo. Text I. 241.

2 MS. (A).

3 MS. (A) بمقابلة　کمها　مرقائلا نمودہ.

4 Ain-i-Akbār (Jarrett), III. 365.

5 MS. (A) عقورود ر.

6 MS. (A) چند کمها.
against him despatched Behzād to replace him, but Shāhā Lodi the Afghan killed Behzād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultān on his arrival at Dipālpūr found that Shāhā had fled into the hill country, so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) Narma Shirin the Mughul, the brother of Qutlugh Khwāja the Mughul King of Khvāsān who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered the Dihli territory with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts, and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lābor and Sāmāna and Indari to the borders of Badāin; and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced; the Sultān pursued him as far as the frontier of Kālānor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujiru-d-Din Abārijā returned in the direction of Dihli. At this time the Sultān formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Deob it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country; he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexatious and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country, the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sultān gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dihli and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatābād, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatābād was populated, and Dihli

1 MS. (A) افغان The text reads افغان. The text is correct.
2 MS. (A) منغل The spelling منغل adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect, but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr. Ney Elias in his introduction to the translation of the Tāriḵ-i-Maghādī (p. 73, note 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often Mongol or Mo-gol as Mongol. It has, he says, always the vowel sound of o, and never that of a which is a foreign introduction.
3 MS. (A) تماثب ارتباط و The text reads تماثب. The text is correct.
4 MS. (A) omits آن.
became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition:

Verse.

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her friends in the garden,
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros
and vulture their abode.

This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sultān enacted that the mukār of copper should become current on an equal footing with the mukār of silver, and any one who shewed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins, and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one tanka of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sultān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper tanka should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden tankas in equal value. The people

1 Firishta does not use the word mukār and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round mukār in Akbār's time was of the weight of eleven mīshas and was worth nine rupees. (Ain-i-Akbār I. 30): Barni uses it in the same way as Badāuni. See Barni. Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

2 M.S. (A) omits the word mukār but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barni states that the Hindūs of every province coined krors and laks of copper coins, so also Firishta.

3 The Persian text is: گر در خانه پاید "Every one who has in his house a copper tanka." Barni's account is much the same, Firishta's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the copper tanka having
profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper tankas were lying in heaps in Tughlaqabad as late as the time of Sultan Mubarak Shah according to the author of the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year \(^1\) 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand \(^2\) cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Himachal \(^3\) which stands between the country of Chini and Hindustan, and which they also call Qara'chal \(^4\) with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

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\(^1\) MS. (A) 
\(^2\) Omit ۹. Firishta says 100,000.
\(^3\) Himachal. Snowy mountain. The Calcutta Text of Barni calls this mountain 
\(^4\) Rashidu-d-Din: the Jami' u-l-Tawarikh (Elliott, i. 46) states "Besides these mountains there are others called Kalishchal (called also by the same author in another passage härjal). The editor notes "The mountains of Sirinor." Reinaud reads the name "Kelardjek." Ibn Batuta calls them "Kalischil" (Vol. III. 325). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit šchal mountain. The first part may be the Turki word signifying black; from the intense cold of such a snowy range.
paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand
to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove
back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many
of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the
most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyr-
dom, taking the rest prisoners.¹ For a long time they wandered
helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after
countless hardships the Sultan visited with condign punishment.²
And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round
the Sultan and all that money expended in their pay was thrown
away.

And in the year 739 A.H. (1338 A.D.) Bahrām Khān Governor
of Sunargānw died, and Malik Fakhr-ud-Din Siyāh-dār became
rebellious and assumed the title of Sultan, and having fought
with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnauti in conjunction with Malik
Husam-ud-Din Abūrjā the Mustaufi, and ‘Izzu-d-Din Yahyā
A’gamul-Mulk, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his
treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and
when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to
Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money³ and had
stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of present-
ing it to the Sultan. In spite of all that Husam-ud-Din Abūrjā
could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men
to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not
listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Husam-ud-Din
ensued; Malik Fakhr-ud-Din returned, and the soldiery of Husam-
ud-Din joined him and killed their own master, and all the money
took the lot of Fakhr-ud-Din. The absolute control of Sunār-
gānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhlīs a servant of his,
to Lakhnauti, and ‘Ali Mubārak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān
put Mukhlīs to death and aspired at independence, writing diplo-
matic letters to the court of the Sultan. The Sultan appointed
Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sultan, having other
affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district.⁴

¹ Barni states that the Hindūs of Qarjāl seized the passes behind the
advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowars returned. (p. 475).
See also Elliot, III. 242.
² According to Firūzta all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultan.
³ MS. (A) omits ومال.
⁴ MS. (A) جملت (A).
At this juncture 'Ali Mubarak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhru-d-Din, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din, and Malik Ilyas Hajji who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alau-d-Din to death with the assistance of some of the Amir and Maliks of Lakhnauti, and himself assumed the title of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din.

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sultan Muhammad having left with the object of reducing Sunargauw, seized Fakhru-d-Din and brought him prisoner to Lakhnauti, where he put him to death and returned. Shamsu-d-Din became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons, and never again returned to the possession of Sultan Muhammad 'Adil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Saiyyid Hasan Kaithali the father of Malik Ibrahim a feoee of the Sultan, who was generally known as Hasan Kangu, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alau-d-Din Bahman Shah, ferment a revolt in Mabar on the grounds of the severity of the Sultan's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions, and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dihli who had been appointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the opposite party. The Sultan proceeded from Lakhnauti to Deogir for the purpose of quelling that disturbance, and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dihli. He left Qutlugh Khan in Daulatabad; thus the rebellion in Mabar remained unchecked and Hasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery Malik Halajun and Kul Chander Khakhhar and Malik Tattar Khurd, the Governor of Lahore, and when Khwaja-i-Jahann came up against them, they came cut to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

1 MS. (A) reads $\text{تَأْمَتَ ثَمِّي مَدِيدَ ذَرَّ عِبَادَ ٌ فُرْزَنِدَانَ إِي بُودَ}$.

2 MS. (A) has not the word $\text{قَتَلَ إِلَٰٓا}$. simply $\text{كَشَتَهُ}$.

3 MS. (A) has $\text{كَشَتَهُ}$. The text has $\text{كَشَتَهُ}$. $\text{كَشَتَهُ}$ which seems preferable.

4 MS. (A) omits $\text{نَامِزَة}$. and reads $\text{رَفِتُ}$.
And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultān passing through Sanām and Sāmāna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Hasan Kānkū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearness and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatabād should return to Dihli, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of Khurāsān and Irāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Ḥāji Saʿīd Ṣarqari ¹ arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalifah ² with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultān the title of Nāṣir-i-Amiru-l-Müminin from the Khalifah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaikhs and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Ḥāji Saʿīd and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the 'Id, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalifah, he read the Khutbah in the name of the Khalifah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilāfah, with the exception of Sultān Maḥmūd. He then gave largesse ³ of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

¹ The printed text reads بحاجي سعيد، but MS. (A) has بحاجي صربي. So has also Barni, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, 111. 249).

Barni gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalifah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

² Al Ḥākim bi Amr ʿIlīhī ʿAbdāb Āḥmad ibn ʿAl Mustakī bīlīhī, who was proclaimed in 741 A.H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalifahs, see Thomas' Puthan Kings, pp. 207 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

³ MS. (A)بمنار.
patched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Hājī Barq'āi, with other rarities and presents; and having become, in his own opinion, the rightful Khalifah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qur'ān and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalifah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalifah, and used to say "The Khalifah says" this or that. He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalifah, and went to Sarkdawārī which is in the vicinity of Shamsābād, and on two or three occasions in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Makhdūmzāda-i-Baghdādī came to visit him, and the Sultan went on foot to Pālam to receive him; and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kili with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A. H. (1344 A.D.) Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-llah the brother of 'Ainu-l-Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābū-d-din Sultan waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qutlugh Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābū-d-din coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutlugh Khān inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence.

And in the year 746 A.H. (1345 A.D.) 'Ali Sher sister's son to Zafar Khān 'Alā'i gained possession of Gulbarga in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

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1 MS. (A) reads مختار. All MSS. read which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here in the sense of 'honours,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him.

2 MS. (A) omits دیگر نیز.


4 Ghiṣa-d-din Muḥammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdad Al-Mustansir-billah (Thomas, P. K. D. 257, note 1).

5 A full account of this is given by Ibn Batūta (Paris, Edn. iii. 253 and seqq.) who writes و إعطاء جميع مدينة سيدي إسماعيل. He gave him in fief the city of Siri. Barni (Calcutta text p. 490) says و كوشك سيدي و ناجي. بحصول دون حراس سيدي.

fought with Qutlugh Khân, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bidar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khân however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawârî which was the camp of the Sultan’s army. The Sultan in the first instance sent the captives to Ghaznîn in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

And in the year 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the Sultan had made Sarkdawârî his camp, ‘Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Zafarâbâd and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sultan came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutlugh Khân from the Dakkan, and send ‘Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. ‘Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawârî and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brother Shahru-l-lâh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sultan went in pursuit of them as far as Qauanîj, and ‘Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Nâib Barbâk, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side attacked the army of the Sultan, and like the thieves and Gauârs (of India) took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being able to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight, and Shahru-l-lâh and his other brother together with the majority of the sirdârs of ‘Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the Gauârs, who having found ‘Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders and brought him bareheaded to the court and gave him a few days respite, and the Sultan in consideration of his excellent

1 MS. (A) omits طرط.  
2 MS. (A) omits هند.  
3 MS. (A) (unused).  
4 MS. (A) (unused).  
5 The text reads بِرَاشَة بُرِداشَة and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of بُرِداشَة in the original copy.  
6 MS. (A) reads بِرُفَانَة naked.  
7 Barni entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The Gauârs are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass. I can find no mention of them in Sherring’s Hindu Castes, nor in Elliott’s Tribes of the N. W.
services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihli; then he recalled Qutlug Khān from the Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutlug Khān had reduced that country to excellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection) and ‘Aziz Khumār who was one of the canaille, proceeding to Mālwa put to death many centurions (or Amirs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word Yūzbāghi in accordance with the Sultān’s orders, and thence arose many insurrections.

And in the year 748 A.H. (1347 A.D.) the captains of hundreds, stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrat against Muqbil the servant of Khwāja-i-Jahān who was nāib-vazīr of Gujrat, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night; getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king. The Sultān arrived at Gujrat with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amirs as for instance Malik ‘Ali Sarjāūdār, and Aḥmad Lāchin to Daulatābād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Aḥmad Lāchin arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their alarm came to a common understanding, and put Malik Aḥmad Lāchin to death; Aziz Khumār who had gone from Gujrat to oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabhoī and Baroda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head, fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the Sultān and had augmented his wrath considerably. And after the defeat of Muqbil and the murder of ‘Aziz, the Amirs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sultān and having captured the fortress of Daulatābād from the the governors of Malik ‘Alam took possession of it, and raising

1 MS. (A) omits. 2 MS. (A) omits: ‘Aziz Hmīar. 3 بُوز بَاشلِغ: Commandant de cent hommes. (Pavet de Courteille). 4 MS. (A) omits the words جان خُریش. 5 MS. (A). The text is wrong here. Dabhoī. See Tief. I. 372. also map, Vol. III. see also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 76; and Bayley, *History of Gujrat*. 6 دَمْسَ وَ يَا،ِمُ كَرْدَة (Lit.) Had lost his hands and feet. 7 The printed text reads طَلَبِيْدَه بِیِّر السَّلَتَان which is meaningless. MS. (A) reads اَلْسَلَتَان and this seems the correct reading.
to the throne one Isma'il Fatḥ gave him the title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din. After this the Amirs of hundreds of Dabho'i and Baroda over whom the Sultan had appointed other Amirs, being defeated by the army opposed to them joined hands with the Amirs of hundreds of Daulatabad. When the Sultan went to Daulatabad Isma'il Fatḥ prepared to give him battle, but being defeated shut himself up in the fortress of Dharānagar by which is meant the citadel of Daulatabad; many Muslims of Daulatabad were slain in this rebellion, or were made prisoners, and Malik 6 Imādul Mulk Sartez was ordered to pursue the fugitive Amirs of hundreds towards Bidar. In the meantime tidings arrived of the rebellion in Gujrāt of Malik Taghī, who, having put to death Malik Muzaffar the governor of that place, had obtained possession of a large number of horses and much property. Thereupon the Sultan leaving in Dharānagar Malik Janhar and Khudāwandzāda Qiwâmu-d-Din and Shaikh Būrau-d-Din Baḥārāmi left to quell the rebellion of Taghī; the army which had fled from Daulatabad under the leadership of Ḥasan Kângū, coming out of hiding attacked Imādul-Mulk Sartez. Imādu-l-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatabad and sought shelter there, and Malik Janhar with Khudāwandzāda Qiwâmu-d-Din and the other Amirs not being able to withstand Ḥasan in Daulatabad evacuated those districts and made for Dharānagar. Ḥasan Kângū pursued them and came to Daulatabad, and having driven out Isma'il Fatḥ assumed the title of Alau-d-Din and usurped the government, and from that time forward the rule of the districts of Daulatabad and the sovereignty of that kingdom remained in his family. The history called Futuḥa-s-Salāṭin was written in his honour. And Taghī
the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultān at Gujrat, ventured a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place, the Sultān however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultān having sent for Malik Firoz from Dihli attached him to his Court; and in this year Malik Gir the son of Malik Qubul Khalifati, to whom the Sultān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khalifah, had sent it by the hand of Hajji Barqa'i, died, and Ahmad Aiyāz, who is also called Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Qubul Qiwāmu-i-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihli. Towards the end of the reign of Muḥammad, disaffection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasingly evident day by day, so that if he turned his attention to curing one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place, and matters were past all remedy, and the glory of the kingdom, and prosperity of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islām. There were many reasons for this, which by their cooperation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history the Firozshāhi, and also in the Mubārakshāhi. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. Firstly.—The greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts were

1 MS. (A) ر و بس و بس
2 MS. (A) چند
3 دیگری از دست نمیرفت
4 This is the reading of MS. (A).
5 Omit إِمَانَ و
6 The printed text has نیک. MS. (A) reads correctly.
7 There are two histories known as Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī one by Zia-ul-Din Barni, (Biblioth. Indica 1862) and the other by Shams-i-Sirāj ‘Affif. (Biblioth. Indica 1901). (Elliott, III. 269).

MS. (A) reads (as does the printed text) در اصل تاریخ اصل از در اصل تاریخ با نام Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī of Barni as the original history of that name. The Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī is that of Yahyā ibn Ahmad. (See Elliott, IV., pp. 6 and seqq).
ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shirin, and never again recovered their prosperity. Secondly.—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doâb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustân, was increased from ten per cent. to twenty per cent., besides which there was the numbering of the cattle, and the house-census, and other taxes over and above these, and in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle. Thirdly.—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the Mubârâkshâhî, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated. Fourthly.—the desertion of Dihli, and the population of Daulatâbâd, because after Dihli was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatâbâd, so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them. Fifthly.—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body in the hills of Himâchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. Sixthly.—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. Seventhly.—The blood thirsti-
ness of the Sultan, and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyyids, Ulama, Shaikhs, ragamuffins and scoundrels, artisans, peasants, and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels). At last the Sultan was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees grew feeble, at length disease overcame him, and the Sultan was freed from his people and the people from their Sultan.

Verse.

Of all the people of the world, although most of them
Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,
Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape
(punishment),
Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy tyranny).

They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sultan which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Mufitis to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places, so that when anyone who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Mufitis about his due punishment, so far as he was

1 Whether we read this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (أعمال حرفة) artisans themselves.

2 This again is not correctly used. It must be read but should be plural.

3 MS. (A)

4 MS. (A)

5 MS. (A)

6 Mufi. The officer who assists the Qazi or judge by supplying him with fatwas or decisions.

1 We should read here جلالة دارة در منزل مدين نواة داشته بود.
able, and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then if after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight he would pass orders for his execution, and if he himself found for conviction he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments, and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say that one day Sultan Muḥammad wearing his shoes went on foot into the Court of Justice of Qaṣī Kamāl-ud-Din Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmi has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaikhzāda was summoned he confessed (to having said it) and the Sultan enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sultan was silent and rose up from the Court, and ordered that the Shaikhzāda should be bound; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulātābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dihli, he brought him before the same Court, and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sultan was a mixture of opposites, and for this reason his name has been handed
down in tradition, aye and even in some books also as “the Bloody” not as “the Just.” There are many stories bearing upon this which I have heard, but to write or speak of them would lead me too far afield. So “Take example from it ye that are endowed with sight.”¹ In short after great havoc had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sultan, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair,² by reason of his various toils and his evil designs, the disease of Phthisis⁴ found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghi, and in the

¹ Qur’an, LIX. 2. ² MS. (A). ³ MS. (A). ⁴ دمحمدي دقي This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from phthisical disease of the lung. The following definition is from the Bahru-l-Jawahir.

The fever called “Diqq” is when the heat which arises from the constitution seizes upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears. Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The Burhān-i-Qātī states that it is called دقي حمي because it emaciates the body.

Sadidd’s account is as follows. The fever دقي حمي is usually fatal....It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The signs of this complication are persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present. The worst complication of all is (he says) when “diqq” is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of “diqq” is the opposite to this.

The pulse in uncomplicated “diqq” is hard, frequent, and slender....The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body.

Food should be nourishing .....Some unskilful physicians withhold food and kill the patient speedily. Food should be moist and cooling. If the fever passes on to the degree called ذيول the pulse increases in hardness and tenuity, the eyes change and become covered with sordes, the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of the forehead tightens, the skin loses its lustre, and has a dusty appearance; the eyelids become heavy; all this is the result of rapid dissolution, and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture. There
hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where Taghi had fled for safety; and in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altān Bahādur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultan. The Sultan’s illness was at that time slightly less urgent and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the ‘Ashūra, which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, whereupon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muḥarram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world, the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (یلد) then the diarrhoea recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shown by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhoea apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name “typho-malarial” has been suggested.

Probably the complication of “diqq” with “putrid fever” of which Sadīdī speaks was more comparable to the “enteric fever” of modern science. Sadīdī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called “diqq” the second more severe is called sabīl and the most severe of all is called “hashf.”

I have only been able to epitomise Sadīdī’s account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (Al Mughni fi Sharh il Muṣllā).

1 بدر نصیب MS. (A).  2 MS. (A) و.  3 MS. (A) نصیب و.  "The ‘Ashūra,” is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunnī Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and Eve heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death. It is kept by the Sunnīs as a fast.” (Hughes, Dict. of Islam, 2c).

5 On the banks of the Indus at fourteen kos from Thatha according to Barni (Elliott, III. 266), but Sadīdī states he had arrived at Thatha. Barni states that he was taken ill thirty kos from Thatha where he had arrived on the ‘ashūra, thence he was carried ill as he was “for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen kos of Thatha.” There he remained according to Barni gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muḥarram.
When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.
The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of Khurāsān;
A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān ¹ he built of Haft Jūsh ² which in loftiness
Would need the Nasr-i-Ṭāīr ³ to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible as Harumān.⁴
So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.
You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the owl.
In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.
It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him." ⁵

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sultān Muḥammad is Badar Shāshī ⁶ who wrote a Shāhnāma in his honour, of some thousand verses ⁷ and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

SULTĀN FIROZ SHĀH IBN MALIK RAJAB

Who was the brother's son of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Tughlaq and uncle's son of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil, in accordance with the

¹ Haft Khwān. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Daz was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the name of the Haft-Khwān. See Shāh Namah (Atkinson), pp. 407 to 426, also Burhān-i-Qāti' a. v.
² Haft Jūsh. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony, Steingass) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. Burhān-i-Qāti'. According to the Ghiyāṣu-l-tughāt, it also contains quicksilver and brass.
³ Nasr-i-Ṭāīr. The constellation called also مَعْقَاب 'Uqāb. The Eagle.
⁴ Cf. Qur'ān XXVII. 64.
⁵ See page 296, note 6.
⁶ This looks as though we should read قرب بنيت هزار بيت nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.
authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultan Muhammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaikhs and the leading Amirs and Vazirs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Makhdumzada-i-Abbasi of Baghdad, and Shaikh Nasiru-d-Din Chirag-i-Dihli may God sanctify their sacred resting places were
the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultan Firoz, and it is currently reported that [Makhdum Shaikh Nasiru-d-Din Chirag-i-Dihli may God sanctify his resting place] had secretly made Malik Firoz King during the absence of Sultan Muhammad. Some of the Muftis informed the Sultan of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple were to be taken in confinement from Dihli and brought to the camp. This was carried out, and Malik Firoz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hansi to Shaikh Badru-d-Din who was one of the descendants of Shaikh Jamali-d-Din of Hansi may God sanctify their resting-places. That holy man exclaimed "Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sultan, and he wots not of it"! When they arrived at the camp of the Sultan in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaikh and the Sultan; then Sultan Firoz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sultan's son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

1 MS. (A) reads بیعت نمردن (Text).
2 The words between square brackets are omitted from MS. (A).
3 The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has مرید و مرید را while MS. (A) has مرید و مرید را. The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression.
4 MS. (A) reads بیاورند. The text reads بیاورند.
5 MS. (A) reads که یکی از ولاد شیخ جمال الادین هانسی قدس إلهہ سرما بود.
6 MS. (A) reads سرما ایند.
7 MS. (A) reads دیده ایند.
8 MS. (A) reads کدناشته ایند.
9 MS. (A) reads By Sultan, Firoz Shah must be here meant.
after that he had returned to Dihli he made the pargana of Chaurasi in the district of Hansi a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badru-d-Din, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth. They also say that Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, may God sanctify his resting-place, tied a knot upon one of the Sultan's robes and said "Naširu-d-Din fastens and God opens" and that very day the Sultan died.

Verse.

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline,

Hear my words freely spoken, is the kingdom of the darvesh.

Vers.

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder.

Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise.

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Siwistan made for Dihli by continuous marches, and Ahmad Aiyaz, styled Khwaja-i-Jahān, who in the absence of the Sultan had urged the claims of an obscure child to the

1 "بعد إلزانكة"

2 "در فُفْيَت"

3 Shams-i-Siraj 'Affif gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlū Khān Bahram, one of the servants at the Court."

He asserts the Khwaja-i-Jahān who was on terms of great intimacy with Firuz Shah received false tidings that Tātar Khān and the Amir-Hājīb Firuz Shah were missing and either dead or prisoners. "After the days of mourning were completed, the Khwaja, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultan Muhammad Shāh upon the throne, and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder." Elliott, III. 279-280.
throne, and had given him the title of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Maḥmūd Shāh, appointing himself Vakil, after considerable argument, and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashrafu-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsi, and had an interview with the Sultān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness, and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsi, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarsuti tides arrived of the birth of Shāhzāda Fath Khān, whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death of Taghī Taghī also reached him there from Gujrāt; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dīhilī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāṣiru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānor whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsuti and [gave it to Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Din Multānī, may God sanctify his resting place, the Shaikhū-l-Islām] and Malik Qubāl Nāīb Vazir he made Khān-i-Jahān, and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnauti with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Ḥājī Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Din. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāla, which is the strongest of the forts

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1 Cf. Elliott, III. 285.
2 MS. (A) کہ پچرخ تہفاتی ہائی برود. Sirāj 'Affī tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fatḥābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.
3 MS. (A) قتل طاغی.
4 See note 6, page 254.
5 In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.
6 Ikdāla. Regarding this fortress, see J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Azādpur by Firuz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).
of Bangâla, and after a desultory defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sultân who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season, retraced his steps.

And in the year 755 H. (1354 A.D.) having crossed by the ford of Manikpur he arrived at Dihli and built Firozâbâd on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.) he

1 This appears to be the meaning. MS. (A) omits and has دراکم and sees also Thomas, Pathan-Kings, p. 294 and note.

2 pushkâl in M. Pavet de Courteilles Turki Dictionary this word is given pushkâl or pushkâl Saison des pluies. He gives three instances of its use from the Bâbernâmâh.

3 Firozâbâd. This must not be confounded with the Firozâbâd which arose from the change of name of Panjûah, see Elliott, III. 295, and Panjûah, Imp. Gaz. Vol. XI.

This Firozâbâd (see J. A. S. B., 1870), was situated five kos (ten miles) from Dihli, and included according to Shams-i-Sirâj 'Afif, eighteen places, the qâba (townships) of Iudarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III. 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hissâr (Hîsâr Firozâh) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jumna. The modern representation of the latter canal, which was called Rajiwa, is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnâl (see Hunter’s Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 258 for an account of this canal). The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Aâgh Khânî (Ulugh Khânî). In modern maps there is a trace of this canal, but it is called the Jureah canal, which is probably the word Rajiwa converted and applied in error to this canal. Rennell’s map (Tieff. Vol. III) shows the supposed canal of Firoz Shâh, and it is evident from our author’s statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hissâr end but from Dipâlpur, which lay at the junction of the Biâs and Sutlej on the banks of the Biâs, and passed south-east near Fatbâbâd, if not actually through it, to join the river Jahjar, which in Rennell’s map is called the Jidjer, its nearest point measured from Dipâlpur being exactly 100 miles (forty-eight kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jhajhar Lat. 28° 16’ N. Long. 77° 42’ 15’’ E. is 200 miles (Hunter’s Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 195). (The river Jahjar flowed south-east through Fatehpur joining the Jumna near Etawah). For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jhajhar but into the river Jahjar as above stated. (See Bo: Firigha, Text i. 263).

Shams-i-Sirâj ‘Afif makes no mention of Dipâlpur in connection with any canal, and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rajiwa and Ulugh Khânî, were conducted through the vicinity of
went to Dipālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight kroh from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandū (Mandili) and Sarūr, and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānsī Karnāl. If this was so the "supposed canal of Fīroz Shāh" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugh Khānī. His words are as follows:

Dahāna-i in har do jā az ittisāl-i karnāl birān ʿawarda miyān-i hashtād kroh kroh dar shahr-i Hisar Fīroza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Fīroz Shāh would take his canal from Dipālpūr to Karnāl when his objective was Hisār; we have also Badānī's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjar, this canal would coincide with the line of that shewn in Rennell's map, but not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Sirāj 'Affī refers (Elliott, III. 299-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was: I can find no trace of any places named Mandū (Mandili) or Sarūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badānī must be what 'Affī calls Great Lazāz, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Lazāz that Sultān Fīroz built the city of Hisār Fīroza. (Elliott, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraisen, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāssān in the original, that is to say the two Rāses, Great Lazāz and Little Lazāz.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hisār Fīroza, one from Dipālpūr to Hisār and on to the Jahjar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jumna as far as Karnāl (Rajīwah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnāl (Ulugh Khānī). At Karnāl according to 'Affī's account these two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the courses of the Sutlej and Jumna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar say near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jumna via Karnāl.

See also Thomas' Patīān Kings, 294 and notes.

1 MS. (A).

2 I cannot identify these places. Fīrīshītā (Bo. Text I. 262) says Mandawī and Sirmūr, MS. (A) reads Mandili and Sardar.
and thence to Rās, where he built a fortress which he called Ḥisār Firoza, and dug a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal; he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghar underneaths the fortress of Sarsutī, and from thence to Birnī Khēra, and in the space between them he built a fortress and named it Firozābād. At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Īdu-Ẓuhā a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Khalīfah Al-Ḥākim bi amrillāhi Abūl Fatḥ Abū Bākr ibn Abīl Rabi' Suleimān from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān: and in this same year messengers from Ḥāji Ilyās the ruler of Lakhnauti, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants should be sent. The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sultān Firoz with the exception of Lakhnauti which was held by Ḥāji Ilyās, who had come to terms with the Sultān, and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sultān Muḥammad, had come into the possession of Ḥasan Kāngū.

1 See page 326, continuation of page 325, note 3. Briggs’ Firishţa calls it Baiseen. I. should be Bāsain, the two Bāses, i.e. Great Larās and Little Larās, Elliott, III, 298.

2 MS. (A) گاکت.

3 MS. (A) the text reads وارنی کھورا. Sarsutī is shown in Rennell’s map (Tief. III) as lying southeast of Karnāl. Birnī Khēra, I cannot trace. Firishţa Bo. Text, I. p. 263 reads بنهرسر کھترہ ba nahr-i-Sarkhatra. Compare Rennell’s memoir, pp. 72-73.

4 MS. (A) فورسماہی.

5 لہوری ایباد نام کردو. At the village of Gāwīn on the banks of the Jamnā, Elliott, III, 302.

6 According to the list of Egyptian Khalīfahs given in Thomas’ Pathān Kings of Dīlī the Khalīfah in 767 A.H. was Abūl Fatḥ Āl-Muṭārīdbillāhī Abu Bākr ibn ul-Mustakfī billāhī. He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalīfahs. Al-Mustakfī billāhī Abūl Rabi' Suleimān ibn ul-Ḥākim biamrillāhī was the third of this line.

7 MS. (A) adds خرب.

8 MS. (A) omits خرب.

9 MS. (A) reads کہ حاجی إليس داشت.

10 MS. (A) مصائحة کرند ( ).
And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samāna, he appointed Malik Qabūl Sarbardadār to proceed against the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dipālpūr. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sulṭān’s army turned back and went to their own country, and the Sulṭān returned to Dihli; and in this year the Sulṭān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnauti who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents, and at Bihār they heard that the Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn had died, and Sulṭān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Karra.

And in the year 760 H., the Sulṭān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnauti with a vast army, left Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli, and after deputing Tāṭār Khān, that is to say Malik Tāṭār, to proceed from Ghasnīn to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Zafarābād, and at this place, Ā‘zam Malik Shaikhdzāda-i-Buṣtāmī who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Aḥmad Aiyāz, and by the orders of the Sulṭān had been banished, brought from the Dārul Khilafat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sulṭān and received the title of Ā‘zam Khān. Saiyyid Rasūldār was sent with the messengers of Lakhnauti to the Sulṭān Sikandar at Lakhnauti, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sulṭān when the rains were over leaving Zafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnauti, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the Shāḥbzāda Fāth Khān, they also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

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2. MS. (A) برس مغل.
3. MS. (A) صوحة.
4. MS. (A) ضده.
5. MS. (A) مراجعات نموذج.
6. The events preceding this are related by ‘Afīf, shewing how friendship was established between Sulṭān Fīroz and Sulṭān Sikandar. Bādānī’s account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305-312.)
7. MS. (A) omits خاس.
8. A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words بانته برد لکھنوی follow the word.
Of Pandūlah, Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikḍāla ¹ whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultān had laid siege to that fortress Sultān Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H. (1359-60 A.D.) the Sultān proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūlah ² to Jaunpār where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a lightly equipped force ³ by way of Behār towards Jājnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Karra, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgār the Rāi of which place ⁴ withdrew, and thence he came to Bārānāsi ⁵ which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahāndūri,⁶ and the Rāi of Bārānāsi having taken to flight made with all haste ⁷ for Tilang. The Sultān pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt, ⁸ and arrived at the country of Rāi Parihān Dev ⁹ who sent a present of thirty-two ¹⁰ elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultān coming to Padmāwati and Param Talāo ¹¹ which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive] ¹² and Malik Ziau-l-Mulk ¹³ wrote a quatrain upon this:

1 See ‘A’fif’s account of this. (Elliot, III. 308). Siraj ‘A’fif calls this place the islands of Ikḍāla.” see note 6, page 324.

2 ‘A’fif says by way of “Qamūj and Oudh”—Jaunpur was we are there told so called by Sultān Firoz Shāh after Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughlaq Shāh, whose name was Jaunān, so he called the place Jamnān-pūr. He stayed there six months, during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowah (Gümṭi).


4 MS. (A) متنهگرد.

5 Named Adēsar (‘A’fif) or Rāe Sidhan (Firiṣhta).

6 ‘A’fif says Banārasī the ancient residence of the independent Rāis of Jājnagar.

7 MS. (A) مبندوری.

8 ‘A’fif tells us (Text, pp. 166-67) that the Sultān turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliot III. 312-313).

9 The Rāja of Beerboom (Briggs’ Firiṣhta).

10 MS. (A) reads & three.

11 MS. (A).

12 Not in MS. (A).

13 MS. (A) غیب-الدین.
Verse.

The Shāh who of right assumed a lasting kingdom
Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun
To hunt elephants he came to Jājnagar,
Two he killed and thirty-three he took alive.

And thence by way of Karra he returned with all possible haste.

248. And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Dehli, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salima, which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz. The Salima is also called the Sarsuti, and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarsuti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sihrind and Mansārpūr and Sāmānā.

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three gaz (in length). They were partly converted into

1 MS. (A)
2 There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS. this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Affif's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Affif, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.
3 MS. (A)
5 Compare with this Firishta's account, with which Badāoni's is almost identical. Firishta, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.
6 Firishta says see Hunter, Imp. Gaz. XII. 261, for the Sarsuti or Sareswati. See also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 49-76. The Salima seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhābad S. of Ambālā.
7 Gaz. See Afn Akbari (Jarrett), II. 58 et seq. Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of gaz—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called fassāj.

Presumably it is the short gaz which is here meant but even this would be about 26 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the fore-arm, an ulna measuring 26 inches is hardly likely to have been human.
stone and had partly remained bone, just as they were. That stream however could not be diverted, and in the meantime he made Sihirind and for ten krohs beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Ziaul Mulk Shamsu-d-Din Abû Rijâ, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Firûzpûr which is in fact Sihirind, and the Sultan from thence, went to Nagarkoṭ whose Râjâ after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment. The Sultan gave to Nagarkoṭ the name of Muḥammadābâd after the deceased Sultan Muḥammad; and when they brought the Sultan ice on that mountain fort he said, “when Sultan Muḥammad, who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a sharbat mixed with ice, but he had no inclination for that beverage because I was not with him.” Accordingly they made an iced sharbat with several elephant and camel loads of cane-sugar which was carried with Sultan Firuz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur’an for the soul of Sultan Muḥammad and distribute the sharbat among the entire army. Under these circumstances they informed the Sultan that from the time when Sultan Sikandar Zul Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshâba and keep it in a room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmans of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jawālamukhi; a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of mashks of water. The Sultan having sum-

1 I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is گوی کنده نشد.
2 MS. (A) inserts گ.
4 See Elliot III. 318-319.
5 MS. (A) گک.
6 MS. (A) اژان.
7 MS. (A) adds the word سلطان.
8 Firîshta's words are صورت نوشته به را ساخته.
9 Firîshta say Jillamukhi جلال مکهی.
10 مشک mashk. The goatskin bag for carrying water.

Briggs in his translation adds the words “the wife of Alexander the Great,” but upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander were Boxâna the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B.C. and
moned the Brahmins, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books into Persian. Among those translators 'Izzu-d-Din Khālid Khānī, who was one of the poets and mūnḥīs of the time of Firūz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day Dalāīl-i-Firūzī, and the author of this Muntakhab read it in Lāhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sultan Firūz, some of them on the Science of "Pingal" that is to say on Music, and the kinds of Akhāra which they call Pātur bāzi, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profitless, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sultan leaving there proceeded to Thatha, and the Jām, by which title the ruler of Thatha is called, entrenched himself so that the Sultan was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearness of (2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Barsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darīūs III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife. (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written Rushāna and by copyist errors perverted to Rushāne Nūshāhe.

Firīshtha's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

1 MS. (A) omits but writes بعد.
2 MS. (A) reads Beale (O. B. D.) calls him 'Izzu-d-Din Khālid Khānī and mentions him as the author of the Dalāīl-i-Fīroz Shāhī, probably on the authority of this passage.
3 MS. A.
4 So called from Pingala or Pingalanāga, the inventor of the art of prosody. See Albirūnī, Indis I, 137, also Colebrooke Essays, II. 57.
5 The Akhārā is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett), III. 258. The word Pātur signifies in Hindī a prostitute or dancing-girl.
6 'Affīt tells us that Jām the brother of Rāi Unar, and Bānhbana (بانبهیانه) his brother's son were in possession of Thatha.
grain, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrát, which country he placed under the control of Zafar Khan; then having deposed Nizāmu-l Mulk and appointed him Nāib Wazīr of Dihli, he returned to Thatha; and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter had an interview with the Sultān, and with all the Zamindārs accompanied him to Dihli, and from there took his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thatha. In the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-jahān the Vazīr, died, and his son Jānā Shāh obtained that title; and the book Chandāban which is a Maqānavī in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lārak and Chandā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Dā’ūd. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Maqādham Shaikh Taqiu-d-Dīn Wāiz Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit, and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and when certain learned men of that time asked the Shaikh saying, what is the reason for this Hindi Maqānavī being selected? he answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Ayats of the Qur‘ān, and the sweet singers of Hindūstān. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H. (1371-72 A.D.) Zafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son.

1 Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihli was that the army had been lost (‘Afif. Text, p. 211).
2 Amir Husain son of the late Amir Miran (Elliott III. 326).
3 famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III. 334).
4 ‘Afif says the son of the Jām and Tamāchī brother of Bānhbāna were appointed to rule over Thatha.
5 See Elliott III. 371.
6 MS. (A) reads ‘Handāyān without dots, and also reads ‘Handā. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.
7 MS. (A) omits ‘Sheikh.
8 MS. (A) reads امر comprehensive coverage of conditions of rivers and rivers.
9 MS. (A) reads ‘Pedro de And.
10 MS. (A) reads ‘Pedro de And.
11 According to Firāshtā, Zafar Khān died in 775 H. and was succeeded by his elder son Daryā Khān.
Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A.D.) an event distressing to the people (death) happened to Fath Khān; and in this year Shamsu-d-Din Dāmāghānī having obtained the yellow girdle and the Chandol of silver, that is to say, the palanquin of honour, was appointed governor of Gujrat in place of Zafar Khān; and since he had boasted when accepting the post on his departure, that he would send to the Court every year a hundred splendid elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves, Muqaddamzādas ¹ and Abyssinians, together with valuables and money, when he found that he could not perform his promises he was compelled to rebel.

And in the year 778 H. (1376-77 A.D.) the Amirs of hundreds ² of Gujrat put him to death and sent his head to the Court; thus that rebellion was quelled, and thereafter Gujrat was put under the control of Farhātu-l-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarrih Sulṭānī.³

And in the year 779 H. (1377-78 A.D.) he marched towards Itāwa and Akchak ⁴ and having sent the Rāis of these districts with their families to Dihli, built many fortresses on these frontiers; then having left Firozpūr and Bātlāhī, ⁵ in charge of the son of Malik Tāju-d-Din, and having given Akchak to Malik Afgān returned to Dihli. In this year also Malik Niẓāmu-d-Din the ruler of Oudh, who was in attendance on the Sulṭān, died, and the government of that province devolved upon Malik Šāfu-d-Din his eldest son.

In the year 781 H. (1379 A.D.) having gone ⁶ to Sāmāna and passing through Shāhābād and Ambāla, he came to the country at the foot of Sīntūr hills,⁷ and receiving many presents from

¹ Muqaddamzāda has the same meaning as Khānazād, born in the house.
² Brigga' "Ameer Jadeeda" is in the original text Amirān-i-Shuda as in Badāoni.
³ We see from Firishta that it was now he acquired the title Farhātu-l-Mulk (Bo. text, p. 267).
⁴ Firishta gives the reason of this expedition, which was a rebellion of the zemindars of Itāwa. Instead of Itāwa Akchak, Firishta reads Akhul. He says Itāva, Akhul, and Tilāi.
⁵ Firishta reads Tilāi Firishta.
⁶ MS. (A). Ruẓaḍ.
⁷ Firishta says بِدَابِ إِن كُوَةِ سِهْرَانِ يَوُن. To the foot of the hills of Sahāranpūr.
the Rāis and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital and summoning Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, who held the title of Nusrat Khān, from the district of Karra and Mahoba, appointed him to the Multān district, with a view to close the door to Mughal intrigues: he then confirmed Karra and Mahoba together with all their dependencies upon the son of Maliku-sh-Sharq Suleimān the son of Malik Marwān, whose adopted son was Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sulṭān Ālāu-d-Din Badāoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihli.

And in the year 782 H. (1380 A.D.) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khūkhar Rāi Chief of Kaithar, who had invited and put to death by treachery both Saiyyid Muḥammad and Saiyyid Ālāu-d-Din his brother, who were Governors of Badāoon. The rebellious Khūkhar fled towards the hills of Kumāon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khitāb the Afghan in the country of Sambhal to deal with the rebellion of Khūkhar, and turned back after having made over Badāon to Malik Qabul; Qabulpūra which at present is a quarter of Badāoon lying outside the fort is called after his name; also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaithal country.

And in the year 787 H. he built a fortified town in a place called Babūli which is seven krohs from Badāon and is better
known as Mawāsā,¹ and gave it the name² of Firūzpūr, and since in later times no other building was ever erected by the Sultān it became commonly known as Ākhīrinpūr.⁵ Now-a-days although not a trace of that building remains, still from the old bricks and the foundations and general lie of that high ground it is evident that once upon a time there was a building on that site.⁶ The age of the Sultān was now nearly ninety years, and how truly had these verses come to pass—

When thou reachest eighty or ninety years
Great is the vexation thou reapest from the world;
And going further when thou reachest the hundredth stage
Death will then be to thee a form of life.

Khān-i-Jahān ⁸ the Vazir who had obtained great influence in the affairs of the state, and was in a position to overthrow those who opposed his schemes of self-aggrandisement, at a hint from the Sultān destroyed one party and put to death another, and making accusations of conspiracy against Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān and some of the other Maliks who were hand in glove with him, by this means turned the Sultān against him, and gave him a fixed idea⁶ that this confederacy had for their object to raise the Shāhzāda to the throne; accordingly the Sultān set his heart upon the defeat and extinction of these Amirs. The Shāhzāda, however, after that he had been in terror for some days and had omitted to pay his respects to the Sultān, one day in private⁷ came into the Sultān's presence and loyally told him the whole truth, and informed him also of the treacherous designs of Khān-i-Jahān, so that the tables were turned.⁸ Obtaining cartes blanches from the Sultān to defeat and exterminate Khān-i-Jahān, and having brought over to his

¹ Or Mawāsā: MS. (A) مواسا.
² MS. (A) نام گذابش.
³ i.e. Last city.
⁴ MS. (A) omissions.
⁵ Briggs says Zaffar Khān Farsy—but this is not in the text. This was Jūnān Shāh who has been mentioned, see next page, note 7.
⁶ MS. (A) خاطر نشن اور کون.
⁷ Firishta tells us that he came in concealed in a woman's litter under the pretence that his own wife was visiting the Sultān's harem.
⁸ MS. (A) قضیه منعکس شد و.
side the Firuzi Amirs and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajab 789 H. (1387 A.D.) he started with a strong force to attack Khan-i-Jahan, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. Khan-i-Jahan fled with a few followers towards Miwatt, and took refuge there with one Kuka a Zamindar; and the Shahzada destroyed certain of the Amirs who had been well-disposed to Khan-i-Jahan. Subsequently to this the Shahzada became Vazir with full uncontrolled powers, and the Sultan having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of Nasiru-d-Din wa-nd Danyi Muhammad Shah, in the month of Shaban of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and betook himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday Khutbah the names of both kings used to be mentioned; Sultan Muhammad ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amirs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Yaquib the title of Sikandar Khan appointed him to attack Khan-i-Jahan in Miwatt; Kuka Chunhan a Zamindar of Miwatt bound Khan-i-Jahan and sent him to Sikandar Khan who put him to death, and having sent his head as a present to the Court of Muhammad Shah set out for Gujrat.

And in the year 790 H. (1388 A.D.) Muhammad Shah arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmur hills, and Malik Mufarrigh who was in Gujrat, in unison with the Amirs of hundreds put Sikandar Khan to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

1 MS (A) منتفق گردانیده.
2 Having first put to death Zafar Khan (Fir'ishta).
3 Fir'ishta calls him Kuka Chanhan.
4 See Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 297 and 305.
5 The word خطاب must be inserted here though no copy has it.
6 MS. (A) omits the words زمیندار میورات.
7 MS. (A) بقتل رسائیده. The first Khan-i-Jahan was according to 'Affif originally a Hinda. He was a native of Telengana and a man of high position in favour with the rai of that country. His name was Kattla, but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqbal. 'Affif states that he died in 707 A. H. and when he died all Dihli went into mourning. This Khan-i-Jahan was his son Junan Khan.
8 MS. (A) مرده شد.
came with the Sipahi Salar to Dihli; Muhammed Shah, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khan, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sultan's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samun-d-Din and Kamalu d-Din, who were the proteges of Muhammed Shah, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahiru-d-Din Lahori whom the Shahzada had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muhammed Shah and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shahzada having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shahzada was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultan, so that they took refuge with the Sultan Firuz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sultan's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sultan, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muhammed Shah and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultan Firuz they left fighting and came over to the Sultan. Muhammed Shah with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmur hills, and the army of the Sultan, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muhammed Shah, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultan at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muhammed Shah from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Taghaq Khan the son of Fatih Khan, his grandson, the title of Taghaq Shah raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Taghaq Shah behoved Mir Hasan the son-in-law of the Sultan, who was a special favourite of Muhammed Shah, and having exiled Shahlib Khan the governor of Samua, sent him to the country of Bihar. On the sixteenth of Ramazan in the year 790 H. Sultan Firuz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

1 So Firishta. Briggs says here, p. 451, "placed his grandson Gheiss-ood-Deen ...... upon the throne." The text is تغلق شاه ولد شاهزاده فتح خان.

Taghaq Shah the son of the Shahzada Fatih Khan. This was Ghiyasu-d-Din Taghaq Shah II.
Hauz-i-Khāyā, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well-known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death Wafāt-i-Firūz and Naqīl i-Firūz Shāh, the second of these is deficient by one unit. The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months.

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
In the dust one man is no better than another.
When a drop is thrown into the river
It cannot again be recognized.
The nature of the Heavens is to overthrow,
It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate.
Who knows with the blood of what hearts
This stirred up dust has been mixed!
Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and slaughtergreen from the wild ass.

Among the poets of the reign of Firūz Shāh and his boon-companions, is Malik Aḥmad, the son of Amir Khusru, may God have mercy upon him, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men; and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of Zahir:

زهى زينة زنة فرحة نور
کلاه کریشنا هرودن زوری مباری

Hail! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

زمی طبیان نیا قهر نور ژب طریق نگان

Hail to thee! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

1. From the Naqīl-i-Firūz. These words give the value 790 while Naqīl-i-

Firūz Shāh give 789.

2. Firāsha says nearly forty years, p. 271, Bo. text.

3. That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals.

4. Zahiru-d-Din Tahir ibn Muhammad, a co-temporary of Jamālu-d-Din Isfahānī and Ḩakim Khāqānī Shirāqī, was a native of Fārāb.

He died in the year 598 H. and is buried at Surkhāb of Tabrīz which has been called “the Sepulchre of the Poets.” His poetry was held in great estimation. (Majma‘ul-Fusul I, 330) see also Beale O. B. D., p. 286.

MS. (A) reads جباری for مباری see also footnote to text.
and in place of दौड़े (snatched) in the last hemisticch we should read फुकड़ी (thrown); ¹ and another is this verse

इन समय सल्लुख क्यों ग्योर्ग दर्शन हुसैन
गोर नन दाता खालसी जन रा ज्ञेय करूँ

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur:²

If he had asked bread from the Khwājā, what could I have done?

which was thus written,

इन समय सल्लुख क्यों अब जिनां खालसी

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

गुरुळक दाता खालसी जन रा ज्ञेय करूँ
नर्ग गुरुळक दाता खालसी ज्ञेय करूँ

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,

For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the purchaser.

The poet had written,

गुरुळक दाता खालसी जन रा ज्ञेय करूँ

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rubies, do not grieve.

² Some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Āhmad was the real son of Amir Khusrū, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

¹ The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).

² Gügird-i-Āhmar (Sulphur). The red Gügird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in Al-Ikṣair (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called Abūl-arwārī (Father of spirits), they call this Abūl-aṣād (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (Burhān-i-qāṭi').
Another poet was Maulāna Maqār Karra,¹ whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnauti and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity of expression.

Another poet is Qāzī ‘Abid ² who wrote this poem—

My friends say, ‘Abid with this fine nature of yours
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes?
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes!
perforce;
The door of claims and causes is closed.
The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to
hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.
And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

SULTĀN TUGHLAQ SHAH IBN FATH KHĀN IBN SULTĀN FĪRÚZ

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amirās in the year 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Ghiljāwū-d-Dīn Tughlāq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amirās to oppose Mūhammād Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Mūhammād Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot, and the army of Tughlāq Shāh on account of the difficulty³ of the way turned back (to Dihli) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Zafar Khān and grandson of Fath Khān, who was his brother’s son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,⁴ and Malik Rukan-

¹ In the Majma‘ul Fuṣūḥa he is called Maqār-i-Hindi Qāzī of Agra (? Karra) the panegyrist of Fīrūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The Atash Kada-i-Azur merely mentions his name as Maqārī.
² Neither the Majma‘ul Fuṣūḥa nor Atash Kada-i-Azur mention this poet.
³ MS. (A) صعب.
⁴ MS. (A) پچائی پدر وقت و.
d-Din Chanda Wazir, in concert with other Amirs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khan, and killed Malik (Mubarak) Kabir in Firuzabad at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shah, and having pursued Tughlaq Shah and Khan-i-Jahan the Wazir when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Safar in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shah, was five months and eighteen days.

Verse.

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden of the king
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.]

ABU BAKR SHAH IBN ZAFAR KHAN [IBN FATH KHAN?] IBN FIRUZ SHAH.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shah, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amirs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amirs, and raised Ruknud-Din Chanda to the dignity of Vazir, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknud-Din in concert with certain of the Amirs, was plotting sedition, and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihli and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amirs of hundreds of Samana cut to pieces Malik Sultan Shah Khushdil, the Amir of Samana, who had been sent against the Sultan Muhammad Shah to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Samana and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shahzada Muhammad Shah at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muhammad Shah accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Samana by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

1 MS. (A) omits مبارك. Firigha calls him Amiru-l-Umaru.
2 Firigha tells us that this was Malik Firuz ‘Ali son of Malik Taju-d-Din.
3 MS. (A) inserts ل.
4 MS. (A) در مفرسة. Firigha says 21st of Safar.
5 MS. (A) writes لا هندو ده، رز.
6 Not in MS. (A).
7 The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).
paraphernalia of royal magnificence, for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabī‘ul Awwal in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.), and in the following month of Rabī‘ul Aakhir of the same year, set out to capture Dihli with a force of 50,000, and alighted at the palace of Jahān Numā where he bestowed upon the Amirs suitable appointments; among others, he conferred upon the Governor of Multān the title of Khizr Khān; and Abū Bakr Shāh having raised an army for the assistance of Bahādur Nāhir Khān Zāda of Miwāt, on the (2nd) of Jumādīn-1 Awwal of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Firūzābād with Muḥammad Shāh, and gained the day. Muḥammad Shāh, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doāb, and sent Humāyūn Khān his younger son to Sāmāna, and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amirs of Hindustān with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihli. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abū Bakr Shāh and was again defeated, and Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Chapītar, which is a town on the banks of the Ganges, and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muḥarram of the year 792 H. (1390 A.D.) Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān having called together many Amirs from the frontier of Sāmāna to reinforce him, laid waste the country round Dihli, engaged in battle in the neighbourhood of Pānipath with ‘Imādu-l-Mulk who had been sent by Abū Bakr (Shāh) with four thousand cavalry to oppose him, and being defeated retreated towards Sāmāna. And in the month of Jamādīn-1 Awwal of the aforesaid year Abū Bakr Shāh marched for Chapītar (Chitar) with a strong force, with the object of opposing Muḥammad Shāh, and had encamped at a distance of twenty kroh from Dihli, when Muḥammad Shāh with

1 MS. (A) از آنوجیله

2 The text and MS. (A) both read بنتارخلا جمید الأول

3 MS. (A) جیتر. The text reads جیتر Chitar. Firishta says اليسر.

4 Jālesar. Bo. text p. 275.

5 MS. (A) در نواحی

6 MS. (A) از آنوجیله

7 MS. (A) از آنوجیله

8 MS. (A) از آنوجیله
four thousand men,\(^1\) passing unobserved round his right flank,\(^2\) reached Dihli by another route and entered the palace of Humāyūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihli, and having put to death Malik Bahāu-d-Dīn Jangi whom Muḥammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humāyūn, and Muḥammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the Ḥunṣ-i-Khūṣṣ fled again with all haste to Chapar (Chitar) his original abode and asylum.\(^5\) Many of his noted Amirs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sūltān Muḥammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still\(^6\) the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramāzān in the aforesaid year, Mubāshir Chap and some of the slaves of Firūz Shāh’s party who had been promoted to the rank of Amir, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence\(^6\) with Muḥammad Shāh, and invited him;\(^6\) Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of a king’s assistance from Bahādur Nāhir set his face to go to Kotīla\(^7\) of Mīwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhin and ‘Imād-ūl-Mulk and Malik Bahārī and Ṣafdar Khān in Dihli; then Muḥammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amirs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzshāhīd with great ceremony; and Mubāshir Chap,

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\(^1\) Firīgha says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

\(^2\) Firīgha says,

\(^3\) And at a distance of 20,000 was Kotīla.

\(^4\) MS. (A) adds here.

\(^5\) MS. (A) adds here.

\(^6\) MS. (A) adds here.

\(^7\) Kotīla. Hindi Kotīla, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was ruler of Mīwāt, see Firīgha Briggs, 471. This word Kotīla seems to have been made use of by Firūz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. See Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 292, note 3, and references there given.

By this Kotīla however, Kotīla of Mīwāt, we may understand probably Hardwar or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Rennell’s map G. n. as “Coupele” see Elliott, III 455. n. and 458.
having received the title of Īlām Khān, was promoted to the rank of Vazir, and after some time he left Firūzābād and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Juhān (Numā),¹ and gave orders for the slaves of the Firūzi party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustān were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,² and were put to the sword. Ābū Bakr Shāh after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the Kotila (of Miwāt) just as he was till Muḥammad Shāh³ by continuous marches came against him, and Bahādur Nāhir Miwātī and Ābū Bakr Shāh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultān Muḥammad Shāh. Bahādur Nāhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Ābū Bakr Shāh in the fort of Mirath. In that selfsame prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H. (1390-91 A.D.);⁴ the duration of the reign of Ābū Bakr Shāh was a year and a half.

¹ MS. (A) omits اما.
² This passage is not intelligible in itself, but Fīrishta’s account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muḥammad Shāh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this ‘Shibboleth’ were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes,

Fīrishta Bo. text p. 267.

Muḥammad Shāh said “whoever among you instead of Khārā says Khari, is a native of the country,” and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words, but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word Khārī signified brackish as applied to water; natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word Khārī in place of Khāri, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word pārī, water.

³ MS. (A) not in the text.
⁴ There is an error in MS. (A) here which writes 753 H. see Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 303.
Verse.
He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verse.
This world is like a corpse upon which there are
thousands of vultures
[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak]¹
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH IBN FĪROZ SHĀH.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch
ascended the throne of Dihī in the abovementioned year by the
consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,² and assumed
absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the
kingdom. And in this same year Muṭarrīf Sultānī governor of
Gujrāt revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajīhu-l-Mulk was ordered
to proceed thither.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A.D.), the samīndārs (land-holders)
of the Doāb³ breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of
Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against
Harsingrāi⁴ defeated him, while the Sultān went as far as Qanauj
and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and
laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chītrā⁵ which was a favourite
resort of his, and there built the city of Muḥammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqarr-
rabu-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

¹ Not in MS. (A.)
² MS. (A) reads:—
سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت بدرزاده خرود ابرویکر
در سنگه مذکور داعی اعیان دولت و رزگان سلطنت بر سوره دهلی دم
نز استقلال زد.
³ MS. (A) omits مواس.
⁴ Rājā of Itāwa.
⁵ See Thomas, Pathān Kings, 307 n. 1.
This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firāshṭa's
account.
For Jalesar see Hunter Imp. Gaz., VII, 103.
Itâwa, who by promises and engagements\(^1\) induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qanauj, where he put them to death and returned to Muḥammadābād. And in the month of Shawwāl in this year, the Sultān was attacked by illness; taking advantage of this Bahādur Nāhir made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dihī. The Sultān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Koṭla; Bahādur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sultān victorious and triumphant returned to Muḥammadābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city when his illness returned.

In the year 796 H. (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān to oppose Shaikhā Khūkhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Lahore, but the Shāhzāda was still in the city when the Sultān\(^2\) took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the Haiz-i-Khāṣṣ;\(^3\) the duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Munavvi.

What is the world, but a wayside abode of trouble and evil? A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction? Here is no truth and no faithfulness; here are no friends and no friendship;

Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent experience.\(^4\)

Sultān ‘Alū-d-Din Sikandar Shāh ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Fīroz Shāh,

Who bore the name of Humāyūn Khān, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

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\(^1\) MS. (A) قول و قادر داده.

\(^2\) He died according to Firīstha’s account on the 17th of Rabī‘u-l-Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the Haiz-i-Khāṣṣ. Text, p. 278.

\(^3\) The Haiz-i-Khāṣṣ was a reservoir constructed by Firūz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarānāma of Yazdi to be “so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihī obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firūz Shāh is by its side.” Elliott, III, 411-501.

See also Thomas Pathān Kings, 310 note 1.

\(^4\) MS. (A) and footnote to Text read: دیدجی و از موده صمدیار.
Rabi‘u‘l-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one
month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house,
and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.¹

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will
it ever be.

The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shāhzāda, a learned man wrote
and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqāmāt of Hariri
I have seen a Maqāmah from this work].²

Sūlṭān Māhmūd Shāh ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh,

Who was his youngest son,³ ascended the throne on the twentieth
of Jumādīn-l-Awwal in the aforesaid year relying upon the
allegiance of the Amirs,⁴ with the title of Sūlṭān Nāṣiru‘d-Din
Māhmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu‘l-Mulk the title
of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,⁵ and confirmed
to the Amirs their appointments districts and titles; and with a
view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which
had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse
infidels, he bestowed the title of Sūlṭānu‘sh-Shurq⁶ upon
Khwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bihār with
full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither.
He proceeded as far as Jājnagar⁷ and took possession of it,

¹ And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the
Hey-i-Khāṣṣ. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firishta).
² The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).
³ Firishta also says كچکدین پسران: the youngest of his sons. Briggs
translates this "a youth, the son of."
⁴ MS. (A) omits سلطنت.
⁵ Text reads جمادی الأولی.
⁶ The text reads here بحر خم تبیعت, but this is I venture to think wrong.
MS. (A) reads صعت بحر خم تبیعت, and taking this together with Firishta's reading, we
should, I think read بحر خم تبیعت "relying upon the allegiance."
Firishta reads: جملة کتاب و امر و امری بیعت کرده سردر زیاقه فراموش گردنده.
⁷ Firishta says became Vakilu-s-Saltanat and Amiru-l-Umarī.
⁸ MS. (A) ولایات و خطابات.
⁹ So also Firishta. Briggs however converts this into "Mullik-oos-Shark,"
p. 478.
¹⁰ Firishta says Jaunpūr.
acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as presents to Dihli.

He also rebuilt the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malūta, Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khān to the district of Dībālpūr to quell the rising of Shaikhā Khūkhār. And in the month of Zu Qu’dah of the same year Shaikhā Khūkhār fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Śamothala, which is twelve krohs from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamūn; Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother Ḥādī Khān, and returned towards Dībālpūr.

And in the month of Sha'bān of this year Sultān Mahmūd leaving Muqarrab Khān as his Viceroys in Dihli, and taking with him Saʿādat Khān, who was commonly known as Abdu-r-Raḥīm Sultānī, marched in the direction of Bīāna and Gwāliār. In obedience to the order of the Sultān a spacious chief mosque built of stone was erected in the town of Basāwar, and is standing at the present time, and when the Sultān arrived near Gwāliār, Malik Ālāū-d-Dīn Dhārwāl, and Mallow Khān the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān son of Malik Rājū conspired against Saʿādat Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik Ālāū-d-Dīn and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.

1 MS. (A) Dalmar.
2 MS. (A) Dalmūr.
3 MS. (A) supplies Kāpukhār. Firigha says “advancing from Ajūdhān.”
4 Firigha does not give the name of the place.
5 MS. (A) reads لاھورا برادر خورش عادل خان.
6 MS. (A) repeats the words بعد أرشفيد سلطانی... 
7 MS. (A) erases.
8 MS. (A) omits ر.
9 MS. (A) omits خور.
10 MS. (A) omits خان. Firigha calls this man Mallow Khān.
11 So also Firigha.
12 Firigha writes بکشت. Badāoni apparently always uses مبایست in the sense of capital punishment.
Maloo Khan fled to Muqarrab Khan in Dihli. The Sultan having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khan fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Maloo Khan, entrenched himself and prepared to fight and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khan and Sa’adat Khan.

And in the month of Muḥarram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khan to leave Sa’adat Khan, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khan, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khan and Sa’adat Khan met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khan being defeated again entered the fort. Sa’adat Khan went to Firuz-ābad, and acting in concert with some of the Amir summoned Nusrat Khan son of Fatḥ Khan and grandson of Sultan Firuz Shāh from Miwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabi’u-l-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nasiru-d-Din Nusrat Shāh. Nusrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa’adat Khan assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Firuzi party and some elephant drivers joined with Sultan Nusrat Shāh, and by some clever artifice placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa’adat Khan unawares in full force; Sa’adat Khan was paralysed and helpless, and of necessity took to flight and came

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1 MS. (A) omits خان.
2 MS. (A) كدخ.
3 This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firista writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khan came out to receive the Sultan and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Maloo Khan, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa’adat Khan Bārbak, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muḥarram 797 H, and came to terms with Muqarrab Khan, who on the following day started from Dihli to fight against Sa’adat Khan, but was defeated and forced to return to the city.” (Firista, Bo. text p. 279). Cf. Briggs, p. 490.
4 Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firista).
5 The text reads نصر خان بن فلخ خان بن سلطان دیروزشاه. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.
6 MS. (A) خان.
to Dihli, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously 1 put to death by him: then the Amīrs of Nūṣrat Shāh's faction such as Muḥammad Muẓaffar Vazir and Shīhāb Nāhir and Malik Fāzlu-Ilāh Balkhi, 2 and the slaves of Fīrūz Shāh's party one and all 3 renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sultān Nūṣrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sultān Maḥmūd was known as King in Dihli, while in Fīrūz-ābād Nūṣrat Shāh enjoyed that title, 4 and Muqarrab Khān placed the citadel of old Dihli under the command of Behādūr Nāhir Miwātī, and bestowed upon Maloo Khān 5 the title of Iqbal Khān, 6 and day by day battles were fought between these two kings, 7 who were like the two kings in the game of chess. 8 Sultān Nūṣrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doāb, and Sanbhāl, Pānipath, Rohtak, and Jahjar, 9 while a few old ruined forts such as Dihli and Sīrī and the rest, remained in the hands of Sultān Maḥmūd, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression: The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudāwandi-ī-Ālam) is from Dihli to Pālam. 10 And all over Hiudustān there arose various parties each with its own Malik. 11

Verse.

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule
For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers.

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihli party got the better of the Fīrūzābād 12 party and at another time the positions were reversed.

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1 MS. (A) omits بعذر.
2 Muhammad Baqī Ḥamīd (Fīrūzā).  Ḥamīd (Fīrūzā).
3 MS. (A) omits ببنا م.
4 See Thomas' Pathān Kings, 312, note 1, and 318, note 1.
5 MS. (A) omits خان.
6 Fīrūzā states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out.
7 For a space of three years (Fīrūzā).
8 That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter.
10 Ḥukm-i Khudawand-i-'Ālam az Dihli tā Pālam.
11 See Thomas' Pathān Kings, p. 315 n. 1.
12 MS. (A) ندركوریان.
Verse.

267. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.¹

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the Masnad-i-'Ali,² Khizr Khān, the Amir of Multān, and Sārang Khān the ruler of Dipalpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwān, who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of Khizr Khān, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sārang Khān the governor of Dipalpūr,³ Multān passed from the possession of Khizr Khān to that of Sārang Khān, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sārang Khān having overcome ⁴ Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, and Tātār Khān the Wali of Pāni-path, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihli.⁵ Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās ⁶ a slave of the Firūz Shāhī party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tātār Khān. He accordingly drove Sārang Khān out of Sāmāna and delivered it to Ghālib Khān.⁷

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; Sārang Khān was defeated ⁸ and fled towards Multān, and Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundi, and sending Kamālu-d-Din Mubin in pursuit of Sārang Khān, returned. And in the month of Rabi‘u-n-Awwal in the year already mentioned,⁹ Mirzā Pir Muḥammad, grandson ¹⁰ of the

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¹ The Burhān-i-Qādī.
² See Thomas' Pathān Kings, p. 329, n. 1.
³ MS. (A) omits the words حاكم دیبالدور.
⁴ MS. (A) omits و.
⁵ MS. (A) omits ر.
⁶ MS. (A) also Firīhta.
⁷ In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (Firīhta).
⁸ MS. (A) reads إفتاد ومضت مللذان.
⁹ MS. (A) reads سنة مذكور.
¹⁰ MS. (A) Firīhta writes نبضه.
great Amir Timur Gurgan  King of Khurasan and Mawar-an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus, and was besieging the fortress of Uchh. *Ali Malik, Sarang Khan's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malik Taju-d-Din Bakhtyar arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sarang Khan, Mirza Pir Muhammad left Uchh, and taking Malik Taju-d-Din Bakhtyar and his thousand sowars * unawares in their position on the banks of the river Biakh, attacked them. The greater number of Malik Taju-d-Din's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction; and Mirza Pir Muhammad after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed, and invested the fortress of Multan. Sarang Khan held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mirza, who took up his station in Multan pending the arrival of the great Timur.

1 MS. (A) Gurgan. The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed; the most recent opinion is that of Dr. Erdmann, according to whom "Kurkan or Gurgan stands for 'son-in-law' or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some 'mighty monarch.'" In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used, he tells us by Rashidu-d-Din. He also tells us that Kurkan or Gurgan represents the Chinese expression Fu-ma and that the Amir Timur was called Timur Fu-ma by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chun-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. Fu-ma in fact means "son-in-law" in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word.

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the Turkish Dictionary by Elias and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille's Turki Dictionary we find "prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djenghis-Khan: prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi: prince né de parents issus de Khans qui épouse la fille d'un Khakan: surnom de Timour; savant, beau, poli." see also Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 464. n.

2 By a bridge of boats (Firishta).

3 MS. (A) omits the words ختيار هزار سوار.

4 Firishta says خلاصه اکثر آن مردم در وقتی گریز بقتل رسیدند، و بعضی در ابر غرق ماندند.

Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river.

5 MS. (A) omits پیشر حیدر.

6 Firishta tells us that Malik Taju-d-Din escaped with a few men and fled to Multan.

7 MS. (A) omits نمای.

8 Firishta.

9 Being compelled by famine (Firishta).
And in the month of Shawwāl in the aforesaid year Iqābāl Khān, who is better known as Mollo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sulṭān Nusrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahānnumā,1 taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihli. On the third day from this Iqābāl Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nusrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise; Nusrat Shāh fled from Jahānnumā and came to Fīrūzābād,2 and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vāzīr at Pānīpath. The whole of the army and elephants of Nusrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqābāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqābāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amirs peace was established between these two leaders; but after a few days Iqābāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,3 and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sulṭān Maḥmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month of Zū Qa‘dah of the aforesaid year Iqābāl Khān wrested Pānīpath by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqābāl Khān, had left Pānīpath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country7 to the winds left Dihli and went to Gujrāt with a large following to join his father.8 Iqābāl Khān coming to Dihli bestowed upon Malik Naṣīrū-1-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of ʿĀdil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Doāb.

And in the month of Safar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amir

1 MS. (A) reads جهان نما but Firīghta reads جهان پنالہ as in the text.
2 MS. (A) (نیامی) روز.
3 MS. (A) روز.
4 MS. (A) روز.
5 Firīghta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."
6 MS. (A) مذکورہ
7 اولکا Aulaka or ًاولکا aulakā. A Turki word signifying "province, ville, pays, sief" according to M. Pavot de Courteille.
8 His father Zafar Khān (Firīghta).
Timur the Great attacked the town of Tulumba, and taking Multan, put to the sword the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sârang Kân whom Mirzâ Pir Muâammad had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhat, and having taken prisoner Râi Jaljin Bhati put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there and taking Sâmâna, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dipalpûr and Ajûdhan and Sarsuti, who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jamna, and entered the Doâb, and sweeping the greater part of the country

1 Text Firîsha MS. (A) Tulumba (see Hunter Imp. Gaz., XIII. 163) is shewn in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenâb, Langana being at the junction of the Chenâb and Râvi: (Tieff. III.)

Firîsha says, "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamâ and the Chenâb met where there was a strong fortress called Talânâna." Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chenab with the Ravy."

From Tulumba Firîsha tells us Timur marched to Shâhnawâz where they took all the grain they required and burned the remainder. From thence he went to Ajûdhan and Bhatnîr. Shâhnawâz is shewn in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Râvi, Long. 72° E. Lat. 30° 5' N. Ajûdhan is Pak Pattan, and is about 90 miles S.-W. of Shâhnawâz. Here is the tomb of Shâlih Farîdû-d-Din Ganji Shâkkar which was visited by Timur. From Ajûdhan to Bhatnîr is about 90 miles. Firîsha says from Khâlıshkotol to Bhatnîr is fifty Krok. See Elliott III. 415 et seqq., for the description of this campaign translated from the Malfuzât-i-Timârî. Timur calls Khâlısh kol, Khâlısh Kotali, and says it is ten kos from Ajûdhan and fifty from Bhatnîr.

2 MS. (A) Bhatpar This should be Bhatnîr, see note 1 above. Firîsha says that Timur's force accomplished the distance between Ajûdhan (Khâlısh kol) and Bhatnîr in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

3 The Bombay text of Firîsha has the name of the governor of the fort. The Malfuzât-i-Timârî calls him Râo Dil Chain, see Elliott III. 422-423.

4 On the 3rd of Rabî'u-l-Awwal.

5th of Rabî'u-l-Awwal, see Elliott III. 426-428.

6 MS. (A)
with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lānī́ 1 not far from Dihli; 2 and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen 3 into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustani Muslims for Hindūs, in their desire for the reward of holy war 4 sent many of them with their own hands into the next world.

270. Then in the month of Jamā’ud-1-Awwal 801 H. the great Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Firāzābād 5 and the next day encamped above the Ḥānz-i-Khāṣṣ. Iqbal Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city, 6 so complete was the rout. And in this defeat 7 many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbal Khān and Sultan Mahmūd leaving their families and friends

1 Lānī́, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihli. Tiefi. I. 136. Louni ville entre fois peuplée et munie d’un fort. Timūr arrived there on the 27th Rabi’u-l-Awwal. Lānī́ was situated on a Doáb between the Jamna and the Halin.

2 MS. (A) نيزديكي.

3 MS. (A) اذنادة بور.

4 The reward of the Ghāzi “God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet.” He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (Mishkât, XVII, 1).

The ġiḥād or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur’ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. Ġiḥād).

5 Firishta states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbal Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Ḥānz-i-Khāṣṣ; and see Elliott, III, 438, et seqq.

The date given by Badāoui is apparently wrong, as the Mafjūgāt-i-Timūrī says that Timūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabi’u-l-Ākhīr. See Elliott, III, 443 and note 1.

6 MS. (A) omits درو and writes بشر.

7 Not in MS. (A) which reads و خلاط عظیم.
in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight. Sultán Maḥmúd fled straight to Gujrát, and Ḥaqāẓ Khán crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Timúr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihlí, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners; and took them all off towards Transoxiâ; eventually Shaikh Ḥmád Khatûsh whose tomb is well known at Sar Khez in Gujrát near to Ḥmádábád, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timúr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvesh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again the learned doctors who were with the

1 On the 7th Rabi‘u‘l-akhir.
2 Firâhta. See Elliott, III. 447.
3 MS. (A) كنو.
Shaikh Ḥmád Khatûsh was born at Dihlí A.H. 737 (A.D. 1336) of a noble family of that city. His name was Naṣīru‘d-Dīn. He was a disciple of Bābā Ishāq Maghrîbi, and came to Gujrát in the reign of Sultán Aḥmád Gujrátî (A.D. 1411-13). He was buried in Sarkhej near Aḥmádábád, (Ain-i-Akbari [Jarrett], III. 371).
Shaikh Aḥmád Khatûsh surnamed Ganjbakhsh was surnamed from Khatûsh a village near Nâgor, the residence of his spiritual guide Bābā Ishāq Maghrîbi. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujrát and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Aḥmádábád in the building of which he was associated with Sultán Aḥmád, A.H. 813-20.
He died at Sarkhej in 849 A.H., aged 111 years, and his mausoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muḥammad Ṣâḥî I, the son of Aḥmád Ṣâḥî, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qubu‘u‘d-Dīn Ṣâḥî. See Bayley, History of Gujrát, pp. 30-91, notes.
4 The text reads سكچع إحسم إلماحودAIN-I-ABARI (Blochmann), Text, II. 220.
The text of Badāi‘i reads MS. (A) reads سكچع.

Tieffenthaler, I. 377 speaks of it as follows:—“A trois milles de Guzarate se trouve Sarkés, village où est la mausolée construit à grands frais par Guus Ahmad roi du Guzarate” again at page 375 we find “Guus Ahmad, dont le magnifique tombeau porté par des arcades voutées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkés, distant de 3 milles de la ville.”
Sarkhej was three miles South-East from Asáwal in the vicinity of which Aḥmádábád was built by Sultán Aḥmád, 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.).
5 MS. (A) بسشتېای اسلامي كرده.
Transoxiana force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Timūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded¹ to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the Maqāmāt of the Shaikh. A few days after this victory Khizr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Miwāti,² who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Miwāt, came in and paid their respects to the Great Timūr;³ orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khān, who had apparently done some former good service which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwāilik hills,⁴ and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words रखा (Rakhā, affluence, prosperity) and खार (Khār, a thorn); and Shaikhā Khūkhar ⁵ also, who had formerly served the Amir and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dipālpūr and Multāū to Khizr Khān he

¹ MS. (A) قبول فرعموده.
² On Friday the 24th of Rabi‘u-l-Åkhir according to the Malfuzāt-i-Timūr, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.
³ Badāoni omits to mention the capture of Mirat (29th Rabi‘u-l-Åkhir) and the victories on the Ganges (Jamādi-l-Awwal 1st to 15th).
⁴ According to the account in the Malfuzāt-i-Timūr this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Timūr at Kūtila.
⁵ Both of these words give the date. रखा = 200 + 600 + 1 = 801
   खार = 600 + 1 + 200 = 801.

⁶ Timūr captured seven forts in the Siwāilik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khukhar and was taken about the 16th of Jamādi-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 467). Malik Shaikhā Khūkhar was brother of Naṣrat Khūkhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sulṭān Muḥammad of Dīlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pir Muḥammad and Rustam and Amir Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Timūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The Malfuzāt-i-Timūr states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammā whence his route was by Jahān, Sambast, Barija to Attok where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jamādi-l-Åkhir and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also Zafar Namā of Yaxdī, Elliott III. 520-52.
said to him "I have taken Dihli and have made a present of it to you." Leaving Lahor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kābul to his capital Samarqand while Khizr Khān went to his own territory (jāgīr).

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihli that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihli. In this interval Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, who after his defeat by Iqbāl Khān had gone into the Doāb, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mirath and thence to Fīruzābād, and fortified the city of Dihli. Jādīl Khān and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls, coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him; when he had got together this company he nominated Shihāb Khān to proceed to Baran against Iqbāl Khān. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindūs attacked Shihāb Khān suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbāl Khān with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nuṣrat Shāh, became more and more entangled. Iqbāl Khān leaving Baran, started in the direction of Dihli, and Nuṣrat Shāh leaving Fīruzābād made for Miwāt where he died, and the four quarters of Hindūstān came under the dominion of Malik of the various tribes."

Then in the year 802 H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched against Shams Khān Anḥādī, the ruler of Baiāna, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nūh and Paṭal; fortune favoured Iqbāl Khān and Shams Khān proceeded to Baiāna. Iqbāl Khān led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rāi Harsingh. And in this same year Khwāja-i-Jahān was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpūr.

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1 MS. (A) reads here حواله نموذئه برزبان صعرف.
2 Firishta tells us the names of these various independent rulers. See Briggs I. 408.
3 According to Firishta this was in 803 H.
4 MS. (A) رائى هر سنگک Rāi Harsingh was Rāi of Itāwn. By Kaithar or Katehar is meant Rohilkhand. See Thomas Pathān Kings, p. 325, note 2.
Quatrain.

How long wilt thou say “Who has drunk the cup of pleasure?”
How long wilt thou say “Who has gained the palm of fortune?”
What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,
What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubarak Qaraqal, 1 having assumed the title of
Mubarak shah, took his place.

And in Jamadul-Awwal 2 in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams
Khân of Baiâna and Mubarak Khân son of Bahâdur Nâhir had
an interview with Iqbal Khân, who taking them with him fought
a battle near Baitâli on the banks of the Blackwater, which is
known as the Kalapâni, with Rai Sir 3 the ruler of that district,
and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines
of Itâwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultân-şah-Shârqi Mubarak
Shâh came up from Jannpûr and sat down over against him on
the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of
them could effect a crossing, they each returned 4 to their own
country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbal Khân
treacherously put to death Shams Khân and Mubarak Khân. 5

In this same year Turkbacha Sultânî, the son-in-law of Ghâlib
Khân of Sâmâna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of
Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khihr Khân near Ajûdhân,
and being defeated went to the town of Bhûhar, where Ghâlib
Khân in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

1 His adopted son Malik Wâsil.
2 All MSS. write this constantly جمادي الأول جمادي الأول instead of جمادي الأول جمادي الأول.
3 Firîshta (Bo. text) says.
4 The text here is wrong; for بزو کشیدن بزو کشیدن read مس. (A).
5 MS (A) only says Shams Khân, but Firîshta’s account includes Mubarak Khân so that the text is probably correct.
And in the year 804 H. (1401 A.D.) Sultan Muhammad ibn Muhammad Shāh arrived at Dihli from Dhār, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahān Numā 1 palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultan Maḥmūd became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Malikū-sh-Shaṭir Mubārak Shāh died, and his younger brother Sultan Ibrāhīm succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultan Maḥmūd and Iqbāl Khān. Sultan Maḥmūd before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultan Ibrāhīm who treated him with scant ceremony; Sultan Maḥmūd accordingly removed Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān of Herāt, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj, both people and soldiers, joined Sultan Maḥmūd, and Sultan Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr, while Iqbāl Khān retraced his steps towards Dihli, so that Sultan Maḥmūd was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwāliār, which Rāi Harsīng 2 had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timūr, and wresting it from the possession of Bairām Dev the son of Harsīng, 3 took it into his own control.

And in the year 806 H. (1403 A.D.) Tātār Khān the son of Zafar Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asāwal, assuming to himself the title of Sultan Nāṣiru-d-Din Muhammad Shāh, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khān administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khān and the whole army joined him.

1 MS. (A) reads جهان نما نما. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dihli connecting old Dihli with Siri. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city, and had thirteen gates; of the other two, Siri had seven gates, and old Dihli ten gates. See Elliott, III. 448. The palace was called Jahān Numā as in the text.

2 Firigha calls him نارسنجh, 3 Both MSS. and text read هارسنجh.
Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbal Khan marched towards Gwalior and Itawa, the Raiss of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itawa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbal Khan leaving there came to Qanauj, and fought with Sultan Mahmud, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dihli without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muharram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Samana, and from thence came to Rupar, and by stratagem laid hands upon Babram Khan Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sarang Khan, and flayed his head. Leaving Rupar he proceeded towards Multan, intending to fight with Kbiir Khan, and at Talaundi taking with him Rai Kamaluddin Mubin and the other Zamindars, on the nineteenth of the month of Jumadil-Awwal in the above-mentioned year, he engaged in battle with Kbiir Khan in the neighbourhood of Ajudhan, on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj); and since

1 In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambala city, Lat. 20° 57' N. Long. 76° 33' E. on the south bank of the Satlaj, (Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII. 82).
2 Ajudhan the ancient name of Paskattan. Lat. 30° 20' 40" N. Long. 73° 25' 50" E. It is known as Pakkattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Faridud-Din Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghanistant, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the Muharram festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise. For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

3 In the text and MSS. we read اجدیان در کنار دهنده. Ajudhan dar kinwar i-dihinda, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted. We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajudhan was situated (G. g.) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a
ill-fortune attended Iqbal Khan, he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khizr Khan pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fathpur, one of the dependencies of Multan. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Aakhir of this year Sultan Mahmud came from Qanaaj at the invitation of the Amirs of Dihli, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihli, and conferred appointments upon the Amirs, and sent the family of Mubarak Khan to Kol. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Awwal of the year 809 H. (1406 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud marched with a force towards Qanaaj, and Sultan Ibrahim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.

Sultan Ibrahim went towards Jaunpur, and Sultan Mahmud towards Dihli, but seeing that the Amirs of Sultan Mahmud’s army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sultan Ibrahim turned back and besieged Qanaaj; Malik Mahmud Tarmati, who was holding Qanaaj for Sultan Mahmud, kept Sultan Ibrahim engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qanaaj to Sultan Ibrahim. Sultan Ibrahim passed the rainy season at Qanaaj, and then having made over that district to Ikhtiyar Khan the grandson of Malik Daulat Yar of Kaupila, started to reduce Dihli.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajudhan, and flowing south-west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Badshoni’s statement. The town of Ajudhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (A. G. of India 214) says “The ancient town of Ajudhan is situated on the high bank of the old Satlaj 28 miles to the south-west of Depalpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river” (1871 A.D.) But from Badshoni’s statement it is clear that Ajudhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pankitpan, see note 2.

1 There is a play on the words اقبال Iqbal, good fortune and إبارة Idbar, bad fortune.

2 According to Firishta Ibrahim Shah was induced to return to Jaunpur by the intelligence that Magaffar Shah of Gujrat had taken prisoner Alp Khan, commonly called Sultan Hoshang, and was now marching on Jaunpur.

3 MS. (A).

The text has the words فتح كردة which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS. (A).
And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz, and Tātār Khān the son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marḥabā the slave of Iqbal Khān, turned against Sultān Maḥmūd and joined Sultān Ibrāhim, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultān Ibrāhim reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān; then crossing the Ganges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kichha in the vicinity of Dihli, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār and was making his way to Jaunpūr; accordingly leaving Malik Marḥabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpūr by continuous marches; Sultān Maḥmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marḥabā in battle, and taking Sambhal without a fight, left there Basād Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qauaj and the Sultān came to Dihli. And in this year Khizr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna. The Amirs of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihli fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doab remained in the possession of Sultān Maḥmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd proceeded to Hissār Firūz took it from Qiwām Khān to whom Khizr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata turned back towards Dihli: Khizr Khān then  

1 Or probably Gurgandāz “the wolf-slayer” MS. (A) reads کنچ. (? ) kinja, which means a huge elephant.

2 In Central India. Lat. 23° 36' N., Long. 75° 4' E. see Hunter Imp. Gaz. IV. 248.

3 In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.

Sultān Ibrāhim built at Jaunpūr the Atala Masjīd, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindā temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. VII 152.

4 In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradabād and four miles W. of the Sot River. See Rennell's map. Tief. III. where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McRindles’s Ancient India, p. 133. See also Hunter XII. 187.

5 Tief. I. 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsi and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihli.

6 MS. (A) reads  اع حصارا این Firishṭa call the fortress فیریشا Firūza.

7 Or را. Rana MS. (A).
came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fatḥābād to oppose Sultān Maḥmūd,¹ and laid siege to Dīlhi, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dīlhi, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fathpūr.²

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)³ Bairām Khān Turkbacha,⁴ who after the death of Bahāram Khān Turkbacha had become master of Sāmāna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khīzr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khīzr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in siefe. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khīzr Khān besieged the fortress of Rohtak ⁶ for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpūr.⁶ In this year Sultān Maḥmūd made an expedition to Kaithar and arrived at the capital Dīlhi.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khīzr Khān came to Narnūl ⁷ and Miwāṭ ⁸ and ravaged that country, and blockading Sultān

¹ MS. (A) reads here

² For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here. cf. Firīshta, Bo. text, p. 292, and Briggs, pp. 503-504.

³ The text says 712 H. MS. (A) gives 812 H.

⁴ The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.


⁷ By way of Sāmāna (Firīshta).

⁸ Which was held by Iqīlim Khān and Bahādur Khān (Firīshta).

⁹ Miwāṭ. For an account of this Province see Hunter Imp. Gaz, Vol. IX. pp. 418 and seqq. from which the substance of this note is taken:

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Bājпута, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Mīnās. The original Meos probably became convert to Islam at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznin; their customs are a mixture of Hindī and Musulmān observances.

The province of Miwāṭ lay south of Dīlhi and in Mughal times formed part of the Sūbah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnāul, Ulwar,
Mahmud in the fortress of Siri, which is part of Dihli, and Ikhtiyar Khān in Firozabād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege by reason of the dearness of grain, and returned to Fathpur by way of Panipath.

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Firuz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years and two months, during which Sultan Mahmud had had only the name of sovereignty.

Verse.

Who is there in this long-enduring world
Who can say “Mine is the kingdom” save the Almighty?

Verse.

A head which the fates exalt to a lofty position
They later on entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijara and Rewari. Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khanzada race, long the rulers of Miwāt.

The province of Miwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgao, a considerable portion of Ulwār, and some of Bharatpur.

See Tiefenthaler. Vol. III. Map. where the province is marked.

1 In the Malīḡat-i-Timūrī we read that Timūr plundered “all the three cities of Dihli, by name Siri, Jahānpanah, and old Dihli.”

See Elliott, III. p. 447, also Thomas Pathān Kings, p. 313, note 3.

2 MS. (A) omits.

3 Panipath. A town of great antiquity. Lat. 29° 23' N. Long. 77° 1' 10" E. 53 miles N. of Dihli. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgoons, father and son, Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Binā were natives of Panipat, see Aīm-i-Akbāri (B) I. 543, note to No. 94.

See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XI. 44.

* In the month of Zū Qa'da (Firista). Firista does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H. but sec n 2: Bādānī however agrees, with the Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī. On this point see Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 317, note 7.

MS. (A) reads here,

W M D M T M Κ H N H T R L R N O L S \S D R M A B D

Firista has almost the same words but says twenty years as in the text. So also the Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī.

Firista’s statement is not very clear as to the year in which Mahmud died, but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amir gave in their
Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
Save the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert.

Of the poets of the reign of Sultan Mahmūd is Qāzī Zahir Dihlavi who has left a Diwān (anthology) full of qaṣidas in eulogy (of Mahmūd) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultan Mahmūd,
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty of the world;
He removed Dabarān from the sky to serve as his signet,
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye left.

By the first strain of his bow string he has wakened the Lion,
And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the deep-piercing arrow.
The whole world boasts of full satiation at the board of thy favour,
Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty.

Oh thou whose world-conquering sword flashes in the darkness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the darkness of night,

Although the heaven has made thine enemies intoxicated like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last it has overthrown them.

allegiance to Danlat Khān Lodi, who struck the coinage, &c., in Muharram of 816 H. it is tolerably clear that he means Zu-l-Qa’dā 815 H. as the date of Mahmūd’s death, and not 814 H. as Briggs would have it.

1 Misprint in the text. MS. (A) reads بنيز.
2 Qāzī Zahir Dihlavi. I can find no mention of this poet.
3 الدبیران The Hyades one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation Taurus the other being the Pleiades.

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades. Thales reckoned two only (α and ε) the two eyes of the Bull. (Smith, Dict. Greek and Rom. Antiq. 150 a).

4 The constellation Taurus is here spoken of as having lost one of his two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not α and ε of Taurus as reckoned by Thales.

5 The دیبل rabāb or lute, is a stringed instrument like a guitar but having the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin.
It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author:

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,
Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults,
*Qiblah* 1 of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Mahmūd

Whom the assemblies of Sulṭān have chosen as their Imām. 2
The Qāzi of the heavens 3 comes out on foot to receive him.
When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.

He keeps constant watch 4 lest sedition should make a night assault,
Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).
In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour
The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh. 5

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1 This line should read as in MS. (A).

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Badāonī and that probably the word *دُنِين* has dropped out after the word *مَمْعِسُور* This is a quite unnecessary supposition. The reading above given fulfills all requirements. MS. (B) corresponds save that for *دُرُول* it reads *وَرُول* an evident copyist’s error.

*Qiblah*. This is the direction in which Moslems are bound to turn during prayer: This is laid down in the Qur’ān, Sura II. “We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it” (v. 139). From the Hijra, Muḥammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jerusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka’bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah.

See Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, s. v. Qiblah.

2 Imām. In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalīfah.

3 قائِمٌ جُرْح. Qāṣi-i-Charkh. The planet Jupiter.

4 MS. (A) reads incorrectly *هَبِيدَارِ يَاسِم*.

5 This complet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears: the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.
The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one of the various families.
It were not possible to allot the arrows in any better way than this.

The following is also his:
My love has gone outside, do thou my life also go outside,
For if thou art not outside with my love, thou wilt be outside
the pale of love.
Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels,
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.
Shāh Mahámūd, he who when he sallied forth against the
infidels,
Thou would'st say 'Isa has come forth to slay Dajjal.
Thy reign hath cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.
I said to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner of the
Sultán, free him not!

1 Sīhām, called also qiddāh, These are the arrows used by the
ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called 'Al-maisar (for-
bidden in the Qur’ān, II. 216, v. 92, 93). In this game a camel was bought
and slaughtered, and divided into twenty-eight portions which were drawn for
with ten arrows called ālām. The numbers after the names of the
arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, fozz (1), tawm (2),
raquib (3), nāfis (4), ḥilis (5), musbal (6), muallā (7).
The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their
names were safih, waqih, mahāh. The name of each
arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called
arba'ah, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as
al-mufīl or al-muṣfī whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw
out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of
the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate
share according to the value of the arrow. See Majma‘u-l-Bahrain, Maqámah,
XIII. p. 99.

2 The couplets are here given in the order in which they occur in both
MSS. (A) (B).

3 Dajjal. See page 278 n 4 "A name given in the Hadīṣ to certain
religious impostors who shall appear in the world; a term equivalent to our
use of the word Antichrist. Muhammad is related to have said there would
be about thirty." Hughes' Dict of Islām. 64. See also Albirūnī Chronology of

4 MS. (A) بندن MS. (B) بندن.
This is also his:

The month of Dai\(^1\) has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold.\(^2\)

That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.
The earth is cold and frost bound,\(^3\) the air is even colder than the earth,

In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.
In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gûnär have died down,

From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.
The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,

I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.
No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.

The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,

When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.
Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day

The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.

The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh,
Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.

So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,

You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.

Shâh Maḥmûd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like Paradise.

---

\(^1\) The tenth month of the Persian Shamsi year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.
\(^2\) MS. (A) omits.
\(^3\) MS. (A) reads گشته از برف in place of گشته آلیس. Text and MS. (B).
He who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,
The lines of the enemies at the very sight of him pale with
terror.\(^1\)

His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,\(^2\) and he has
knowledge,
Because\(^3\) he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.
Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to
vazirs,
The vazirs have issued no order save on the authority of thy
judgment.
If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial
of thy virtues\(^4\)
Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden,
The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks
like Suhā\(^5\)
Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Time confesses thy excellence;
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take
shelter under thy wing.
The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.
The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of
sweetmeats.
Hail Khusru! even should I remain excluded from attendance
upon thee
I shall not take one moment’s rest from praising and eulogis-
ing thee.
My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises.

---

1. An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a
   "ταυρίς-ταφεί
tausi-t-fahi or play upon words here which cannot be pre-
served in English. The words ārad Ṣafrā, have two meanings, 1st,
draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as Ṣafrā is taken as two
words or as one.

2. MS. (A) and (B) write گر. Text and MS. (B) گر.

3. MS. (A) write خواهم بنشت.

4. MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهم بنشت.

5. Suhā is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. See Lane s. v. سهای.
Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow thee
Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy assistance.
As long as the nights of the month of Dai are longer than its days,
And until the season of Nauroz comes round unprecedented by winter,
May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of spring.
May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.
The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the rose-garden,
Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.
The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Isā, refreshes the soul in the garden
Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.¹
Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one side to the other
Yet a stream flows, Praise be to God, up to the Șirāt-i-mustaqīm.²
The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale complain in its song?
How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he has Khīzr for companion? ³

¹ "So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; solace and drink and cheer thine eye.' " Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20–28.
² Șirāt-i-mustaqīm. The hair-like bridge over the midat of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.
Qur'ān, I. 5, Hughes art Sirāt. It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islam. Qur'ān, III. 44. See also Lane, s. v.
³ This refers to the legend told by Muhammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when Khīzr had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he
The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribe as he drives his pen,
The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the astronomer as he prepares his tables.
The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white garments,
The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wearing as it does a black blanket.\(^1\)
You would say\(^2\) that the narcissus has produced a transcript of these people (\textit{umam}) who sleep below the dust. Look! it has for each \textit{alif} two \textit{mim}\(^3\)
The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes of the fair ones;
Of those two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness, the other comes intoxicated (with love).\(^4\)

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a fish which he was directed to take with him. The companion spoken of is said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v. 64) was no less than Khīr himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said, "Verily thou canst never have patience with me. How canst thou be patient in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of." Khīr upon being assured by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about anything he might see. They embarked in a ship which Khīr scuttled, whereupon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they met a boy whom Khīr killed and again roused Moses' impatience; again they found a wall which Khīr prevented from falling without exacting any reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khīr said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the reason for his action in each case. See Qur'ān XVIII. 64 and following verses.

1 The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS.
2 The text reads \textit{گوری} with a foot note variant \textit{نیلی} MSS. (A) (B) agree with text.
3 \textit{نرگس} or \textit{نارگیس} \textit{Narcissus}. The poet's narcissus. Narcissus poéticus N. O. Amaryllidaceae. This natural order has a single style with three stigmas, and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards. The poet here likens the three divisions of the style to three \textit{alif} (\(\textit{i}\)) and the stamens to six \textit{mim} (\(\textit{m}\)) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its downward stroke. Thus the single \textit{alif} (\(\textit{i}\)) and two \textit{mim} (\(\textit{m}\)) form he says the word \textit{umam}; the plural of \textit{ummat} \textit{followers} meaning the followers of a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men as in the saying \(\textit{Dem Mith nābāt} \textit{generations of men have passed away.}\)
The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of the garden,
In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when misfortune befalls him.
You would say that the black spot which has come in the heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn
Is a Hindū who has fallen into the flames of hell.
She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes
Beseeching the merciful Lord to grant the King eternal life.
He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is as an old man bowed with age,
And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom is as an intelligent child.
When once the power of growth has obtained sufficient intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the earth.
The star of sovereignty, which has left its orbit to seek thy auspicious presence,
Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy court.

page 146: see also Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, pp. 405 et seq. for a paper on this, the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken: the true sard or Jatāmāsi which, by the way, has other names in the Amaraske, the smoothest of which are gatilā and lūmasā both derived from words meaning hair. The comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

1 MSS. (A) (B)

2 The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

3 MS. (A)

4 I read here pīr-i-nīgūmāst for pīr-i-nīkūnast (MSS. and text) pīr-i-nekūst which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote nīgūmāst.

5 ʿaql-i-kull. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Šāfī the ʿaql-i-kull (called also ʿaql-i-sawāl) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See Kāshānī, I. Isfahānī, l. funūn, II, p. 1023.

6 قریت نامه

7 Rujāʿ-i-kaukab, called also Rijaʿ, is the motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by the term Istitiqlāmat. See Kāshānī, s. v. رجوع.
And in truth after Qāız Zahir no poet arose in Hindûstân whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultân Mahmûd the great Amîrs of Hindûstân as for instance Mubâriz Khân and Malik Idrîs who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khîzr Khân and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khân, Khîzr Khân accordingly stood fast in Fathpur and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muḥarram of the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) Daulat Khân having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Râis of that district into his toils, went to Baitâli, and Mahâbat Khân the Wâli of Badâon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sultân Ibrâîm besieged Qâdir Khân the son of Mahmûd Khân in Kâlpî, and Daulat Khân being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places; and Khîzr Khân in Zû-l-qa’dâ of this year came to the fortress of Firûzâbâd,1 the Amîrs of which district came into him, and Malik Idrîs was besieged in Rohtak. Khîzr Khân marched by that route to Miwât and taking with him Jalâl Khân Miwâţî the brother’s son of Bahâdur Nâhir, conveyed him to Sanîbal which place he pillaged, and in Zû Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dihli with the intention of taking it; Daulat Khân held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonâ and the other supporters of Khîzr Khân to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khîzr Khân who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwân Khân who conveyed him to the fortress of Firûz and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabî‘u-l-Awwal.2

Verse.

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last3 spills his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is his enemy.

Masnad-i-‘Ali Khîzr Khân ibn Maliku-sh-Shärq4 ibn Malik Sulaimân,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dihli, having

1 MS. (A) reads به حصار فيرزة كم.
2 Firîshtâ adds. The duration of his reign was one year and three months.
3 MS. (A) reads كخشع عافية.
4 MS. (A). The text reads ملك إشري.
raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon
the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by
Malik Naṣīr-u-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhī to the rank of a son,
and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a
Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-
Jahānīyān Saiyyi'idū-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh
Jalālu-l-Haqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-din al-Bukhārī may God sanctify
his soul, came for some important purpose into the house of
Malik Marwān Daulat; food was served, and Malik Suleimān
brought the ewer and bason to Makhdūm intending to pour water
over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of
Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is
derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that
day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted
Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good
qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the
character of Masnad-i-'Āli Saiyyid Kbiż Khān.

Verse.

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested
The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Āli the accepted.
The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān
Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Firūz Shāh,
and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of
that district devolved upon his son Malik Shāikh, shortly after
whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimān. He also
bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of
Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Kbiż
Khān on behalf of Sultān Firūz Shāh, up to the date when the
aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sultānate by the Amirs.
He however would not assume the title of King; but received the
title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala. 1

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sultān
Maḥmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public
largeesse and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and
territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year
of his accession he conferred upon Malik Naḥv 2 (Tuḥfa) the title

1 See Thomas, Puthān Kings, p. 329, and footnote.
2 MS. (A) Ṭāxi Tuḥfa.
of Tāju-l-Mulk, and appointed him with a considerable following to the command of the eastern districts of Hindūstān; he accordingly crossed the river Ganges at the ford of Pirāhā, and entered the country of Kaithar. Rāi Har Singh and the rebels of that district sought refuge in the forests of that country and lay hid there. Then he gave over Kaithar to rapine and plunder, whereupon Mahābat Khān Hākim of Badāon also came in and had an interview with him, and Rāi Har Singh being reduced to extremities submitted to him, agreeing to the conditions imposed of the payment of tribute and of a yearly offering. Tāju-l-Mulk and Mahābat Khān seized the banks of the river Rahab, and on arriving at the ford of Sargdawārī crossed the Ganges, chastised the infidels of Kahwar (which is now known by the name of Shamsābād) Kanpila and Baitālī, and passing by the towns of Sakina and Pādhām came to Rāparī; and Hasan Khān and Malik Hamra his brother, who held the government of Rāparī, and Rāi Sar the governor of Chandawār, together with the infidels of Gwāliār all came and joined hands with him, agreeing to pay tribute, and voluntarily assuming the yoke of obedience. From thence Malik Tāju-l-Mulk came to the township of Jālesar, which he wrested from the grasp of the infidels of Chandawār, and restored as of old to the control of the Muslims who had held it in days of yore, and gave fresh currency to the Muḥammadan religion. Then having appointed his own agents and

1 MS. (A)

2 MS. (A)

3 Shamsābād. Town in Farukhābād district, N.-W. P. situated on the South bank of the Buri Ganga river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh town (Hunter, Gaz. Ind., XII, 375).

4 Sakina. For this we should perhaps read Sakita (MS. (A) lends countenance to this view).

Sakīt lies in the direct route indicated between Kanpila and Rāparī, 12 miles South-East of Etah town. It was here that Bahool Lodi died on his return to Dihli from an expedition against Gwāliār (Āin-i-Akbarī).

5 Rāparī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mainpūri town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen (Hunter, Gaz. Ind., XI, 511).

6 On the Doāb plain, 33 miles East of the Jumna, and of Muttra. (Huuter, Gaz. Ind., VII, 103).
having seized the right bank of the Black water, 1 inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etāwah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khizr Khān the younger son 2 of Malik Mubārak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firūzpūr and Sihrind, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khān Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhū Nādir, 3 having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindūstān, was appointed to this office with the rank of Nāib-i-Shahzāda (i.e., vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik 4 Sadhū Nādira and Zirak Khān the Amir of Sāmāna and other Amirs and Malik, 5 set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dihli his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Tāju-I-Mulk 6 with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khān 7 towards Baiāna and Gwāliār; Malik Karimu-I-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khān Auḥadi came and had an interview with him.

Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khān's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhū Nādira, who was holding the district of Sihrind as the Shahzāda's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihrind. Khizr Khān thereupon sent Zirak Khān to put down this rebellion, and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursuit of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties he returned.

1 The Kāli Nādi or Kālindī, or Kālinī, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doāb. The name in the text ab-i-siyāb means Black water, and is a translation of the Hindūstāni kāli naddī.

2 MS. (A) reads wrongly for پسر خورود.

3 MS. (A). The text reads نادر.

4 MS. (A).

5 Omit 6 MS. (A) reads تاج الہادین Tāju-ī-Dīn.

6 MS. (A) reads ملوک.

7 MS. (A) reads علی خضر حنی.
In this year also Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was the ruler of Gujerāt, laid siege to Nāgor,¹ but upon hearing of the march of Khīzr Khān abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khīzr Khān came to Chhāīn,² and Alyās Khān the governor of Chhāin gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwāliār, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Bāiānā where Shams Khān Auḥādī gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A.D.) Tūghān the Raʾīs with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhū revolted. Zirak Khān was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khīzr Khān went up against Kāithār, and Har Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kāithār, and took to the forest of Auvwā, the circumference of which is twenty-four krohs. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kūmāon. Tāju-l-Mulk crossed the river Rahāb and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Bādāon, and taking with him Mahābat Khān, the governor of Bādāon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bājilānā: then having dismissed Mahābat Khān, he himself went on to Itāwa, whence he returned to Dihlī laden with spoil. In this same year, also, Khīzr Khān³ again led an army against Kāithār, and proceeding by way of Kōl arrived at Baitālī, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Bādāon. On this occasion Mahābat

¹ Nāgor. In Brigg's translation of Firishta this appears as Bagore (I. 509). It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputānā 48 miles North-West of Nasirābād and 75 North-East of Jodhpur city.

² The text reads چہان but MS. (A) reads یبین Chhāīn.

³ In Brigg's (I. 509) we find this place called Jalwur, with a footnote: “I have some doubt as to the true name: it is differently written in my various MSS.” In the lithographed edition of Firishta the name is written plainly enough جलور Jalūr (Bombay Edn. I. 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khīzr Khān to advance, Aḥmad withdrew in the direction of Mālwa, and that when Khīzr Khān arrived at Jāmūr, Alyās Khān who was governor of the new city called ‘Arūs-i-Jahān, which was one of the cities built by ‘Alān-d-Din Khaljī, came to pay his homage. Evidently, then, the city mentioned in our text and this “‘Arūs-i-Jahān” are the same.

⁴ MS. (A) reads here بُلدِهْلی َکَم و ِهِمُ دَرْسَتُ مَذَاكِرُ بُلدِهْلی which appears to be a copyist's error.
Khān Badāoni being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khizr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, and certain of the other Mahmūd Shāhi Amirs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khān, meditated treason against Khizr Khān: but Khizr Khān becoming aware of this state of things abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihli. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amirs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwār, falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khān deputed Sulṭān Shāh Lodi to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihrind, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sulṭān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters. In this same year Khizr Khān sent Tāju-I-Mulk to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-I-Mulk. Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kāithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazirship were entrusted to his elder son Malik Sikandar. Tughān Raʾis again raised an insurrection in Sihrind, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

1 MS. (A) reads which is preferable to as found in the text.

2 Firīsha, (I. 295) says near Māchīwārān, and in the Ain-i-Akhbari we find it stated that Māchīwārāh is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II. 310). In Rennell’s Map (Tieff. III.) we find Māchīwārāh figured between Rūpar and Lūdhiāna. It lies 23 miles south of Lūdhiāna, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwār is further north near Hoshiārpur. (Sec. Hunter, Imp. Gov., II. 439).

3 Firīsha adds, “called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind.”

4 This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firīsha tells us that Islām Khān pursued “Sārang Khān” with his own forces and those of certain other Malikis, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

4 MS. (A). Firīsha calls him Rāi Samīr.
And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khān proceeded to Miwāt and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwālīār, from the Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar had gone to hall, and 1 his son had tendered his submission. In this interval a severe illness attacked Khizr Khān which led to his return towards Dihli. Having arrived at that city on the seventeenth of Jumādi-u-l-Awwal in the above year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from the world.

Verse.

Every evening is followed by the morning,
At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months. 3

Sūlṭān Mūbārak Shāh ibn Khizr Khān ibn Malik Sūlimān,

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amīrs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) 4 and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrāt Khūkār 5 the son of Shaikhā Khūkār raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sūlṭān ‘Ali the king of Kāshmir, who had, started with the intention of conquering Tatā 6 and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes, 7 a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom of Dihli, and having crossed the rivers Bīāh and Sutlej with a

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1 MS. (A) ﷺ
2 MS. (A) ﷺ
3 Firīshṭa adds, “He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mūbārak Shāh to the throne.”
4 MS. (A) reads correctly امخصی ﷺ MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.
5 MSS. (A) and (B) omit كپکرب فی. Firīshṭa writes كپکرب Khakar and calls him the brother of Shaikhā Khakar.
6 Thus the text and MS. (B). MS. (A) reads simply ﷺ. Baqasbai Tatā, i.e., for the town of Tatā.
7 MS. (A) ﷺ. The text reads كپکرب.
large army, and assaulted Talaundi which was in the possession of Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn, and Rāi Firūz fled from before him. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rūpar; there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar. Zīrak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zīrak Khān prisoner. Sultān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sihrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā released Zīrak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus when the river became fordable. The Sultān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

1 We must read تلروندي كمال إلدين. This is shown to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firişta which reads (I, p. 297), و تلروندي ك براي كمال تعلق داشت فارت كر "and laid waste Talaundi which belonged to Rāi Kamāl."

2 The text and both MSS. read كدابئة Ḭudāna, but it is evident that we should read لدوبينة Ludhiāna. We find in Firişta (loc. cit.), "Jasrat having come to Lūdhiana." Talaundi I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell’s map, called Tuloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Punjābi) ḫī, would give Tulūmdi or Tulūndi, i.e., the village of Tulūm. Tuloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (see Rennell’s map, Tieff., III), on the opposite bank of the river.

3 Rūpar in Rennell’s map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant; but on modern maps it is shown almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

4 A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājput kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A.D.

   It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of Kuliandrice or Sulandrire, see Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, Gaz. Ind., VII. 91.

5 MS. (A) omits بيد probably correctly as we have seen from Firişta’s account.

6 Firişta tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwal (October, 8th A.D. 1421).
crossed the river Chhināb\(^1\) came to Talhar\(^2\) in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubārak Khān followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhīm\(^3\) the chief of Jammoo offered his services to Mubārak Shāh and guided his army.\(^4\) Mubārak Shāh returned thence to Lāhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Rāvi for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lāhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled;\(^5\) then having left there Malik Mahmūd Hasan who bore the title of Maliku-sh-Sharq, returned to Dihī. Five months later Jasrat Khūkar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikhū-1-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjānī,\(^6\) may God sanctify him; and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object withdrew to Kalānor\(^8\) and fought a battle with Rāi Bhīm, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

Malik Sikander Tuḥfa who had been despatched from Dihī to reinforce Malik\(^9\) Mahmūd Hasan crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Pūhī\(^10\) and encamped at Lāhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces\(^11\) crossed the Chhināb

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1. The Chenāb.
2. In the Kashmir hill tracts.
3. Firishta tells us that Rāi Bhīm offered his services and guided the army to Bisal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.
4. MS. (A) reads رائی سلیم both here and some lines lower down.
5. MS. (A) reads شکمگی ر يستگی حصار.
6. Firishta says نذریک شیخ حسین زنجانی فرد امکم.
7. MS. (A) reads بمقصد خوئن نرسیده (A).
8. Seventeen miles west of Gurdaspur town. Lat. 32° 1’ N. Long. 75° 11’ 30” E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father’s death and ascended the throne (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., VII. 323).
9. MS. (A) omits ملک and reads آگذرپوری in the next line.
10. Firishta لائی. See however note 1 next page.
11. Firishta says that Mahmūd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Kajab, Governor of Depalpur and of Islām Khān Lodi, Governor of Sihrind.
river and proceeded to the hills of Talwāra,¹ and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihli.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābats Khān of Badān who had revolted against Khizr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs ⁵ in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,⁴ and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mubāriz and Žirak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kanpura to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihli.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār ⁶ came with the object of chastising the Rai of Gwāliār and with the intention of

and that Jaarat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Rāvi, and took refuge in the hills.

¹ This is the reading of the text. Talwāra is possibly the same as Talhar mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwāra in the text refers to the village Talwāra on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Bāzī (74° 52' Long, 33° 6' Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Poni with Bāzī and Jammu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), as passing Talwāra. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwāra is designated by that name. Pūlī in the text is probably identical with Poni. The reading of MS. (A) is كنلت رفته went to Kotla.

² Firīştāt tells us that Mahābats Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sultān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

³ The Rāths are a clan of the Rājpūts, and the Panwārs form another of their clans regarding whom Abul-Fażl says “In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstan came from this tribe” Mārwār is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See Ain-i-Akbār (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

⁴ For a full account of the Panwārs see Sherring (Hindū Tribes and Castes), II. p. 93, see also Elliot, (Races of N.-W. P. of India).

⁵ On the south bank of the Buri Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

⁶ The text reads دهلی Dihli with a foot-note variant دار Dhār. MS. (A) reads دار Dhār. Firīştāt says, Sultān Hosḥāng Wāli of Mālwa. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital to the legendary Hindu dynasties of Mālwa. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., IV. 245, Dhār).
subduing that region; Mubārak Shāh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwāliār; when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baisāna, Shams Khān Āhadi 1 the son of Auḥad Khān Auḥadi, Governor of Baisāna, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubārak Khān, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baisāna entrenched himself in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubārak Shāh left that place and marched towards Gwāliār, but Alp Khān proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river would not permit the army of Mubārak Shāh to cross; however the soldiers of Mubārak Shāh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khān, and returned triumphant. This engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khān sent in many presents and returned towards Dihār, while Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Dihili.

And in the year 827 H. (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kumāon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Mīwāt. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindūstān. In the year 829 H. he again proceeded towards Mīwāt and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

1 MS. (A). The text omits the words Shams Khān Auḥadi. Finishta calls him Amir Khān ibn-i-Dāʾūd Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān (see Bombay Edition, p. 299 last line), and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

2 MS. (A) reads مکسس شخ. The text reads مکسس شخ. Shāhāb-ud-Dīn.

3 Finishta writes of this: And Sulṭān Hoshang seized the fords of the Chhanbal river and opposed his progress, but Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly; and certain of the Amirs of the advance guard of the Dihili forces pillaged the camp of the Sulṭān of Mālwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubārak Shāh set them free.

Sulṭān Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings, and withdrew towards Dihār. Mubārak Shāh halted on the banks of the Chhanbal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district, and eventually arrived at Dihār in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna, it rises in Mālwa; about eight or nine miles south-west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali-Sind, Parbati and Bannas, flows past Dholphūr into Etāwah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Etāwah town. The Charmanwati of Sanskrit writers. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., III. 331).
And in the year 830 H. he took Baiāna from Muhammad Khan Aḥradi, and sent the family of Aḥradi to the palace known as Jahān Numā, and assigned it to t i m a residence. He then gave Baiāna to Malik Muqbil Khan one of his retainers, and Sikri to Malik Khairu-d-Din Tuhfa, while he himself led an army against Gwāliar receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihli from Qādir Khan, governor of Kālpī, bringing tidings that Sharqi was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqi; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqi had attacked Bhūngāon and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badaon. Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jartauli, on arrival at the township of Atrauli received intelligence that Mukhtāṣ Khān, the brother of Sharqi had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-sh-Sharq Mahmūd Hasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtāṣ Khān. Mukhtāṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqi who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water, otherwise known as the Kālinī, and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atrauli encamped at the town of

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1 This palace was in Dihli. Firishta writes: "Sent his family and relations to Dihli."
2 Sultan Ibrahim Shāh Sharqi.
3 The text reads بھون گڑھ گھ日下午 MS. (A) reads بھون گڑھ. In Firishta we find فوجا شریفی بھون گڑھ اخیہ, The troops of Sharqi attacked Bhūngāon. Bhūngāon is in the Mainpūrī District, 94 miles east from Mainpūrī at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhim Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the jhil or lake. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. II. 403.)
4 Badaon lies N. of Bhūngāon at a distance of about fifty miles.
5 Firishta writes, جرنولی ز کہ از مشتاقی بھو کارا تخت. Attacked Jartauli, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.
7 Firishta calls him Mukhīṣ Khān.
8 MS. (A). The text reads Kālī Pānī. This is the Kālinī, the Karā Sā of the Molfūzát-i-Timūrī (see note 3 page 360).
Kota, but Sharqi declined battle and withdrew towards Rāpri, and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiāna and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubā rak Shāh pursued him as far as Chandūr; a space of four krohs lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days; at last Sharqi came out in force, and from mid-day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day; on the following day Sharqi turned back towards his own country, and Mubā rak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgāna, and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chanbal river and came down to Baiāna.

Muḥammad Khān Auḥadi, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqi had taken fright, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubā rak Shāh. Mubā rak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dihli.

And in the year 832 H. Malikṣ-ḥ-Sharq Maḥmūd Ḥasan, who had been left in Baiāna by Mubā rak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised those infidels who had made common cause with Muḥammad Kẖār, and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Firoza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādira, governor of Multān died, and Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan received the title of ‘Īmād-ul-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H. (1429 A.D.) Mubā rak Shāh went to Gwāliār by way of Baiāna, and having taken the Rāpri district from the son of Ḥasan Khān gave it to Malik Hamza, and returned 294.

1 Firishta writes مالي كونه Malikota.
2 Took the road to Jaunpūr (Firishta).
3 Went to Gwāliār by way of Halghāṭ. (Firishta). MS. (A)
4 Firishta says "Muḥammad Khān Auḥadi ... for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sharqi, asked for quarter and tendered his submission" and was freely pardoned.
5 And in the year 834 H. (1430 A.D.) Text.
to the city (Dihli). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years, and held the fief of Tabarhinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā‘-u-l-Mulk upon the other. And Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim, and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hansā Bhatī to oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night attack upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable booty fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhinda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubārak Shāh summoned 'Imādu-l-Mulk from Mūltān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with 'Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight. Mubārak Shāh permitted 'Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Mūltān and himself returned to Dihli. The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals with the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money by way of presents to Shaikh 'Ali Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaikh 'Ali accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the slave

1 Firīshtā writes

"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amirs."

2 MS. (A) Text. Firīshtā also adds that the whole of their father’s privileges together with all the immense wealth he had amassed were confirmed to these two sons, but that these favours were not sufficient to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh. Bādāuni’s account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firīshtā does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.

3 Firīshtā’s text reads Malik Yūsuf and Rāi Habālī. (?) MS. (A). The text reads مبلغاً بوجه.

4 مبلغاً بوجه
(Fūlād) together with all his family and relations from Tabarhinda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Biāh came to Lāhor. Maliku-sh-Shārq Malik Sikandar, governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaikh 'Ali, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his attentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaikh 'Ali passing by Lāhor without sacking it made towards Depālpūr, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk came out from Multān to oppose him. Shaikh 'Ali taking the bank of the river Rāvi, proceeded to within a short distance of Tulumba, and turning aside from thence came to Khūtpūr. ('Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh 'Ali but was defeated, and Malik Suleiman Shāh Lodī, who was with the advance guard of the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle; [and Shaikh 'Ali came to Khusrāābād and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk].

And in the year 834 H. (1430 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Fath Khān ibn-i-Sulṭān Muẓaffar Khān of Gujrat to the command of that force. Shaikh 'Ali was not able to stand against them, so changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrenchment which he had thrown up around his position; when they surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhilam, and having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners. Shaikh 'Ali and Amir Muẓaffar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shiwar; all their baggage and property having

1 This appears to be the meaning of the Persian.
2 Tulumba is on the left bank of the Rāvi 52 miles N.E. of Multān. The old fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjāb, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvi. (See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XIII 163, also Cunningham Anc. Geog. of India, 224.)
3 Firishta says خطيبر. The text reads somewhat obscurely here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.
4 Which took place according to Firishta at Khurṣāābād three stages from Multān.
5 The words within brackets are not in MS. (A).
6 MS. (A) نفرانست کورد نیارد. Text گشند.
7 MS. (A) شند Text گشند.
8 MS. (A) or سندور Firishta (text).
been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Munzaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Ali set his face to go to Kabul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihli. Multan was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-Din Khan which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multan.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander, governor of Lahore, set out to quell the rebellion which Jāsrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jāsrat took him unaware and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of Jāsrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jalander. Jāsrat took his prisoner to Lahore and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmu-Din the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr, the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh 'Ali collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multan, and assaulted Khūtpur, taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhilam and its vicinity, and seized Tulumba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners; most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fulād Turkhacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhind and invaded the territory of Rāi Firoz who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fulād sending his head to Tabarhind.

In this year also the Sulṭān again led an army towards Lahore and Multan; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jāsrat withdrew from in front of Lahore towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Ali also retired to his own country. Lahore and Jalander were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Muḥārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed from Lahore to Dihli, whither he himself returned.
And in the year 836 H. (1433 A.D.) Mubarak Shāh once more hastened to Sāmāna to put down the rebellion of Jasrat; when he arrived at Pānipath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Maḥdūma-i-Jahān (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue to Dihli, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Surūr-i-Mulk to proceed to Tabarkhinda to put down the insurrection of Fūlād. Mubarak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Jālandhar from Nuṣrat Khān gave them to Malik Allahdād Kālū Lodī. When he arrived near Jālandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Biāh, had engaged Allahdād Kālū at Bajwārā, and had defeated him. Malik Allahdād had fled to the hill-country.

In this year the Sultan brought an army into Miwāt against Jalāl Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihli). In this same year Shaikh 'Ali coming down into the Panjāb again caused disturbances there. Mubarak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amirs of that district. Shaikh 'Ali invaded the country from Shiwar to the banks of the Biāh, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zirak Khān and the other Amirs who were in Lāhor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yūsuf Surūr-i-Mulk and Malik Ismā'īl under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirak Khān; then sallying from the fort gave battle and were defeated. Shaikh 'Ali pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners. The following day Shaikh 'Ali took Lāhor and put to death great and small, and taking many prisoners

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1 MS. (A) 
2 Frishta says he returned alone.
3 Omit and MS. (A).
4 MS. (A) omits Kālū.
5 Bajwārā. A village 1½ miles E. of Hoshiārpur about 25 miles N. E. of Jālandhar.
6 MS. (A) 
7 MS. (A) supplies the words Az-Husār.
8 M.S. (A) reads the textual reading is probably incorrect.
remained there. And after some days, he came to Debalpūr, which Malik Yūsuf Surūr-1-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imādu-1-Mulk on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhinda to the fort of Debalpūr with orders to hold it. Shaikh 'Ali becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sultān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances. From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pūhi, where he crossed the Biāh and came to Debalpūr. Thence he marched along the banks of the Rāvi, and Shaikh 'Ali crossed the Jhilam and fled, Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shiwar and crossed the Rāvi near Tulumba. Amīr Muẓaffar Khān, brother's son to Shaikh 'Ali, who was holding the fort with Shaikh 'Ali's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaikh 'Ali's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shamsu-1-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shiwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debalpūr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh 'Ali (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debalpūr to Maliku-1-Sharq 'Imādu-1-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiāna from 'Imādu-1-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-din. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihli on the day of the 'Id-i-Qurbān and

1 MS. (A) omits مالک.
2 MS. (A) omits and writes بسامانہ وفساد for بسامانہ.
3 MS. (A) reads incorrectly كناب for كناب.
4 The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read جنشه ورفت. The ر is to be omitted.
5 Besieging the fort Shiwar (Firīghta).
6 The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-1-Hijjah. It is known also as the 'Idu-l-azāhā, see Qur'ān xxii. 33—38. It commemorates the intention of Ibrahim to sacrifice his son Isma'il in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Muḥammadan festivals and is called 'Idu-l-kabīr, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Idu-l-Fitr which is known as 'Idu-y-yaghūr which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramaḍān. (See Hughes Dict. of Islam).
conferred the office of vazir upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk, who was the Military Secretary (Naib-i-Lashkar), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two, inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh: so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngū Khatri and Kajwi Khatri and Mirān Šadr Naib-i-`Arz, (who for generations had been protégés of the Mubārak Shāhi family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh. And in the year 837 H. (1433 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna, and gave it the name of Mubārakabād (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharābābād (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhinda reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fūlād Turkbacha. Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhinda and returned thence speedily to Mubārakabād. In this year tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and Alp Khān, governor of Kālpī, who had re-

1 Firishta says Kamālu-d-dīn.
2 MS. (A) omits این.
3 Firishta names as the accomplices Sidāran, son of Kāngū Khatri and Sadpāl, grandson of Kanjū Khatri; with Mirān Šadr Naib-i-`Arz-i-Mamālik, Qārī Abdu-ṣ-ṣadr Hājib-i-Khīss and others (Firishta. Bombay text, I, p. 308).
4 MS. (A) کوین.
5 Briggs in his translation of Firishta (Vol. I, p. 529) assigns 839 H. as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shows that the historian gives 837 H. as the date.
6 The text reads باریا فولولد غلام but a footnote gives a variant میلوار and this reading is confirmed by MS. (A) and also by Firishta.
7 Firishta says he returned direct to Mubārakabād.
ceived the title of Hoshang. 1 Mubarak Shah accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kalpi, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubarak Shah persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers, 2 the infidels under Miran Shad, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him), 3 with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubarak Shah on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pahl, 4 the grandson of the accoupled Kajwi Khatri, put that suspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H. The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

Verse.
Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this. Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the river Dajla 5 Will continue to pass by Baghda, while many Khalifas come and go.

1 Firista throughout calls him Hoshang.
2 On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firista Bombay text p 803).
3 MS. (A) omits وقت.
4 The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firista. MS. (A) reads دقله 5 Dajla or Dagla, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hitdekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) "swift" lit., the swift. The old Persian form is Tigra, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Digilite, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر, which in the Zend becomes Tedjer. See Gesenius Thes: also Smith Dict. G. R. Geog.
5 "The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghda, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghda and transported by camels back to Mosul,"
SULTÂN MUHAMMAD SHAH IBN I FARID KHÂN,

The brother's son of Mubârak Shâh ibn i Khâr Khân, whom Mubârak Shâh had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in succession to Mubârak Shâh in the year 1 837 H. (1433 A.D.) and Sarwaru-l-Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance. Muḥammad Shâh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of Khân-i-Jahân and bestowed a khâtât upon him, he also appointed Mirân Šadr Muʿīnu-l-mulk, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels. Maliku-š-Sharq Kamâlu-l-mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru-l-Mulk in the vazirship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muḥammad Shâh. The second day after the accession Sarwaru-l-Mulk made some pretext for arresting 2 certain of the servants of Mubârak Shâh, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrow of the family of Mubârak Shâh; moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baiâna, and Amroha, and Nârûn, and Kuhârûn, together with certain districts in the Doāb, to Sidh Pâl and Sidhâran Khatri who were the (actual) murderers of Mubârak Shâh. Rânûn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pâl, arrived in Baiâna with a large following, and attempted to enter the fort; but in the meantime Yûsuf Khan Auhâdi arrived from Hindwân, 3 and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Their women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Rânûn the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk and his infidel horde began to commit violence, the Amîr of Khâr Khan and Mubârak Shâh, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places shewed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru-l-Mulk had the self-same object, namely to damage the kingdom. 301. Malik Allahdâd Kâla Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahâr, 4

1 9th Rajab 837.  
2 MS. (A)  
3 The text and both MSS. read Hindwân. Firâsta reads Hindwân. Hindwân lies about 20 miles S. of Baiâna, it is situated in the Jeypore State.  
and Malik Chaman\(^1\) governor\(^2\) of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Amir 'Ali Gujratī, together with some other Amirs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihli. Maliku-sh-Sharq, Kamāl-ull-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim, who had received the title of Khan-i-Ā'zam from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the durbār to proceed against those Amirs, and Malik Yūsuf, the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, together with Šidhāran and Kāngā were ordered to accompany Kamāl-ull-Mulk. The Dihli army crossed by the ford of Kīcha and came to Baran (Būlandshahr). Malik Allahdād and the other noted Amirs having arrived at the township of Ahār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamāl-ull-Mulk was heartily bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwaru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of reinforcing Kamāl-ull-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsuf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Šidhāran the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamāl-ull-Mulk left the army and went to Dihli: and the Amirs of Sambhal and Badāon joined Kamāl-ull-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kīcha. Sarwaru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amirs having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bàgh-i-Jūd\(^3\) while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāhi Amirs encamped near the fort of Siri, and the greater part of the Amirs who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

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\(^1\) MS. (A) writes ملک حمید Malik Hamīn; by Firīštā, and in Elliott's translation of the Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (IV. 82) he is called Malik Chaman.

\(^2\) The word in the original is مقتلي, i.e., holder of a قتل qit'. Firīštā calls him حاكم بادرو. Mākul-i-Badāon.

\(^3\) MS. (A).
died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Shah, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwaru-l-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in unison with his father's Amirs. Sarwaru-l-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Muḥarram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwaru-l-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Miran Ṣadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muhammad Shah became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-l-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muhammad Shah were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwaru-l-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Miran Ṣadr executed them in presence of the darbār. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamālu-l-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amirs, entered the fort by the Darwāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The ruffian Sidd Fāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the jaḥar 1 which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindi language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword, 2 and his impure soul went to hell. 3 Sidhrān Kāŋū and the rest of the Khatri confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the hāzirā 4 (mausoleum)

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1 Jaḥar or Jaḥar जहर is a Hindi word derived from the words जीव jīv, and चाव hari, signifying taking one's own life. The custom of the Rājpūts when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name: as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sultan 'Alā ud-Dīn: "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces." The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

2 MS. omit بیدریغ.

3 The word Jaḥar, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindi word jaḥar used above (Note 1).

4 حظيرة Hāzirā. The literal meaning of this word is an enclosure, here
of Mubarak Shah, and Malik Husayr and Mubarak Kotwal were executed along with them. The following day Kamalu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amirs renewed their allegiance to Muhammad Shah; Kamalu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of vazir and Malik Chaman of Badakhsan received the title of Ghaziul-Mulk, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badakhsan, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allahdadi Lodl would not accept any title, the title of Darya Khan however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muhammad Shah gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 840 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multan, and halted for some days at Mubarakhpur to give time for the Amirs of the various districts to join him. When the Muhammad Shah’s troops were all assembled at Mubarakhpur he marched thence towards Multan, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place came to Dihli. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Samaa he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikh Khakkar. Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned. In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langahs had raised an insurrection in Multan, and in the meantime Sultan Ibrahim Shargi obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihli, and the Rai of Gwaliar and the other Rais refused to pay the customary tribute. Muhammad Shah affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprang up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khanzadas of Miwath, who are the ancestors of Hasan Khun of Miwath, invited Sultan Mahmud Khilji from Malwa to assume the imperial power of Dihli.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud arrived at Dihli, and Muhammad Shah drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid Aliu-d-Din to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Malik Buhul Lodi. Sultan Mahmud also...

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1 MS. (A) omits.
2 MS. (A).
3 MS. (A).
appointed his two sons Ghiāsu-d-Din and Qadr Khān to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sultān Maḥmūd taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mālwa. Malik Bahlūl pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sultān Muḥammad was so pleased at the energy displayed by Bahlūl Lodi that he called him his son, and bestowed upon him the country of Lābor and Detālpūr.

And in the year 845 H. (1441 A.D.) he marched to Sāmāna, and having despatched Bahlūl to chastise Jāsrat Khūkhar, returned to Dihli. Jāsrat concluded a peace with Malik Bahlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sultān of Dihli, till at last Bahlūl began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of parganas, then without any ostensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muḥammad Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihli. He held Sultān Muḥammad for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muḥammad Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder, and the Amīrs who were at a distance of twenty krohs from Dihli revolted against him, and sending for his son, Alān-d-Din who held a jālegīr in Badāūn, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him heir-apparent. And in the year 847 H. he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen years and some months, or thereabouts.

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1 The text reads Qādān Khān. Fīrishta says Qadr Khān. So also Tabagāt-i-Akbāri.

2 MS. (A) reads See Elliott IV 85.

3 Fīrishta says: Incited him to aspire to the kingdom of Dihli. MS. (A).

4 Inclusive of days.

5 Fīrishta says: Those of Sambā Shāh, becoming day by day weaker.

6 Fīrishta says that he died in 849 H. which is probably correct, see n. 7.

7 As he came to the throne in 837 he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MSS. (A) and (B) however read.

The Tabagāt-i-Akbāri according to Elliott IV, 86, says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, Puthān Kings, p. 336 and note 1.
Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning. For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

305. SULTÂN ‘ALĀN-D-DĪN IBN I MUḤAMMAD SHĀH IBN I MUBĀRĀK SHĀH ¹ IBN I KHIＲ KHAＮ,

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhlûl with the other Amirs gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sultân ‘Alān-d-Dīn was even greater than that of his father, a still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhlûl.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultân ‘Alān-d-Dīn made an excursion towards Bā‘āna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaumpûr was on his way to attack Dihli, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihli. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firîshṭa "makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from '839 to 849' A. H. Briggs, pp. 332—339." This is not Firîshṭa's error but is the fault of his translator. Firîshṭa says clearly that Muḥammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo. text, p. 309) that is, "on the 9th Rajab 837" (Bo. text, p. 308), so that while his date as regards the death of Muḥammad Shāh may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sultân 'Alān-d-Dīn ascended the throne in 847 H. The Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, if Elliott's translation (Elliott, IV, p. 86) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muḥammad Shāh the amirs and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn' and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badā‘i and Firîshṭa as to the date of Muḥammad Shīḥ's death, he says: "Firîshṭa seems correct in making it 849," and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firîshṭa, instead of confirming it from Firîshṭa himself, who gives 17th Jamā‘ī 824 as the date of Khi‘r Khān's death and Mubārak Shāh's accession, and states (Bo. text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H. not to 839 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to show that 'Alān-d-Dīn came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firîshṭa's plain and coincident statement that Muḥammad Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

¹ MS. (A) omits مبازك شا and writes فريد خان Farid Khân. See Thomas, Pathān Kings, 335, footnote.
Badāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for remaining there \(^1\) returned to his capital Dihli.

And in the year 852 H. (1448 A.D.) having made his two brothers-in-law Shāhma-i-Shahr (City Constable) and Mīr-i-Kūs (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihli. Husain Khān who was Umdu-tul-Mulk (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sultān, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sultān in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sultān, and had been deposed from his office. Ḥamīd Khān, Vazīr-i-Samlukat, (vazir of the State) who had fled to Dihli fearing punishment at the hands of the Sultān, and dreading an attempt upon his life, \(^2\) joined with Husain Khān in inviting Malik Buḥlūl and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sultān to proceed to Sirhind \(^3\) and having assumed to himself the title of Sultān read the Khutbah, and coming a second time with \(^4\) his whole army seized upon Dihli. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dībalpūr, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultān ʿAlāʾ-d-Dīn saying, “I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person.”

The Sultān in reply, wrote as follows: “The deceased King, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty; living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihli \(^5\) to you. Sultān Buḥlūl leaving Dībalpūr ascended the throne of Dihli \(^6\)

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\(^1\) MS. (A). The text reads  طرح إقامت إنذخئة having laid the foundations of a palace, but there seems no authority for such a statement.

\(^2\) Firīshṭa gives a full account of this, and says that the Sultān was instigated to this attempt by Qub Khān and Rāī Pertāb, the latter of whom had a blood-feud against Ḥamīd Khān (see Firīshṭa, Bombay text I. p. 315).

\(^3\) MS. (A).

\(^4\) His eldest son Khwāja Bāyazīd. At this time, according to Firīshṭa, the Khutbah used to be read in the joint names of Sultān ʿAlāʾ-d-Dīn and Sultān Buḥlūl, who upon first marching against Dihli had written to ʿAlāʾ-d-Dīn alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Ḥamīd Khān.

\(^5\) MS. (A). 

\(^6\) MS. (A).
without fighting or opposition; and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din by the orders of Sultān Buhālūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badān and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khutbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world. The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verse.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct. It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULTĀN BUHŪLUL [IBN I KĀLĀ] LODI,

Who in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamīd Khān Vazir (who, after the execution of Ḥusāin Khān at the hands of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din in Dihlī, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sultān Buhūlūl) ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamīd Khān, and in the same year proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amir of the party of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihlī,

1 According to Firīghṭa 'Alāu-d-Din died in Badān in the year 883 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badān some twenty-eight years. Badānī's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firīghṭa, 'Alāu-d-Din retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihlī to Buhūlūl Lodi, and reigned in Badān for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 316.) See n. 4 page 405.

2 MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

3 MS. (A) writes خطاب خانی بن ولیہ برو.

4 A long account of the way in which Ḥamīd Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firīghṭa.

5 Firīghṭa gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Buhūlūl Lodi, telling us that the mother of Buhūlūl Lodi, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Caesarean operation and the child removed; as it shewed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 317).
and after severe fighting gained possession of it,¹ and Fath Khān Ḥarawi² who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd was killed. Sulṭān Maḥmūd³ not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpūr; and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpūr to Itāwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihli as was under the sway of Mubārak Shāh should belong to Sulṭān Buhlūl, while that portion which was under the rule of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqi should revert to Sulṭān Maḥmūd;⁴ and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsābād to Sulṭān Buhlūl,⁵ which was held by Jūnā Khān as the deputy of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, each of them went to his own country.

Sulṭān Buhlūl at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsābād, took possession of it, and gave it to Rāi Kiran, ruler of Bhānganw. Sulṭān Maḥmūd being displeased at this, proceeded again⁶ to the borders of Shamsābād and fought with Sulṭān Buhlūl.⁷ In the meantime Sulṭān Maḥmūd quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpūr in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Sulṭān⁸

¹ MS. (A) has here a different reading (note 7) إفتداؤن. The text seems right agreeing with MS. (B).
² حروي Ḥarawi, of Herat.
³ MS. (A) reads here إفتداؤن نجم خان حروي و كشته شدن او سلطان. Sulṭān Maḥmūd was not able to bear the fall of Fath Khān and his being killed.
⁴ MS. (A) مجمد. Muḥammad. Firīghta says that another term of the agreement was that Buhlūl was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khān, and should receive Shamsābād in place of Jūnā Khān (Bo. text p. 322).
⁵ MS. (A) omita ی. Firīghta tells us that Jūnā Khān refused to quit Shamsābād when called upon to do so by Buhlūl Lodī, who consequently marched against him and drove him out, giving Shamsābād into the charge of Rāi Kiran, and conquering all that country. (Bo. text p. 322).
⁶ MS. (A) در آمد. In this engagement Qutb Khān Lodī was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him, and was sent by Maḥmūd to Jaunpūr where he was imprisoned.
⁷ Firīghta says that Bibi Rāchī, the mother of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqi
Buhlul proceeded to Jaunpur, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khan, the cousin of Sultan Buhlul had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shahr, Sultan Buhlul, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muhammad Shahr, who also leaving Jaunpur came to Shamsabad and took it from the Hindus by force, and on the borders of Rapri confronted Sultan Buhlul. Muhammad Shahr was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sultan Buhlul pursued him. And in the aforesaid year Sultan Husain Sharqi, ibn-i-Sultan Mahmud revolted against his brother Muhammad Shahr, and seized the throne of Jaunpur with the assistance of the Amirs, and detailed a large army to proceed against Muhammad Shahr, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Raj Gar. Sultan Husain made peace with Sultan Buhlul, and sending for Qutb Khan Lodi who was still in prison, from Jaunpur, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultan Buhlul and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpur.

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muhammad Shahr should retain his father’s kingdom, while Buhlul should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held. 1 See preceding page n. 4.

2 There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishtha (Bo. text p. 323) who writes: “When Sultan Buhlul arrived near Dibhi Shams Khantum, the sister of Qutb Khan Lodi sent him a message, saying, “So long as Qutb Khan remains in the prison of Muhammad Shahr Sharqi food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King.” Accordingly Buhlul broke the trace, and came to Dibhi, whence he returned towards Jaunpur. On his arrival at Shamsabad he took it out of the hands of Raja Kiran, and gave it to Junan Khan who had arrived before him, and Muhammad Shahr Sharqi also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsuti facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late.” From this it appears that Shamsabad was taken by Buhlul from Raja Kiran, whereas Badani makes it seem as though Muhammad’s forces re-conquered it. Firishtha’s account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

5 MS. (A) A ع ل لن ك ر ن. تئاقلإ وأ ك ر ن. 6 MS. (A) أ نامزد ك ر ن.

The account of the circumstances given by Firishtha show that Husain Khan started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlul but changed direction to Qanauj. When Buhlul heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amirs to meet Husain Khan, and himself took prisoner Jalal Khan, brother of Husain Khan who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khan, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text. p 332).

Sultan Buhlu also despatched Jalal Khan, the brother of Husain Khan, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Qutb Khan, to Sultan Husain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years Sultan Husain coming to the borders of Chandwar, fought a battle with Sultan Buhlu, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Ahmad Khan Jilwani, the ruler of Baiana read the Khatibah in the name of Hussain Khan; and Sultan Husain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihli with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhatwara, and Sultan Husain having agreed to peace encamped at Itawa. Sultan Buhlu came to Dihli. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

Verse.

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords!
Who has ever seen the thrones of two Jamshids in one place!

And in this year Sultan 'Alau-d-Din, whose daughter [Malika-i-Jahân] was married to Sultan Husain, passed away in Badāon, as has been already related, and left his kingdom to Sultan Buhlu and Sultan Husain.

Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou desirest,
Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss?
Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed?

And Sultan Husain came from Itawa to Badāon to perform the

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1 A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (Firishta).
2 Both MSS. (A) (B) omit.
3 The name is omitted in MS. (A).
4 See note 1 page 402. 'Alau-d-Din really died in 883 H. according to Firishta. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H., but here he corrects the mistake.
duties of mourning for him, and having taken those districts from the sons of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din, took possession of them himself, and thence went to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tattar Khan, the Governor of that place, sent him to Saran, and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihli in the month of Zu Hijjah, in the year 880 H. and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kichha. Sultan Buhul coming from Sihirind summoned Husain Khan, the son of Khan-i-Jahan from the vicinity of Mirah, and despatched him to oppose Sultan Husain, while he himself held Dihli against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Qutb Khan, Sultan Husain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges; then relinquishing this side of the river to Sultan Buhul he returned. Sultan Buhul seized his opportunity, and when Sultan Husain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property which Sultan Husain, relying upon the trace, had left on the camping-ground: a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sultan Buhul, and as many as forty noted Amirs of Sultan Husain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qazi Samau'd-Din entitled Qultugh Khan the Vazir, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

1 MS. (A) reads باطزیبات اور which agrees with the words of Firishhta (Bo. text, p. 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) باطزیبات اور, i.e., on his account.
2 MS. (A) رفت. Firishhta calls him Mubarak Khan.
3 There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firishhta says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.
4 MS. (A) reads گذر گنجیا Gusr-i-Ganjia, but the text is right. Firishhta reads کچہ kachha.
5 MSS. (A) and (B) omit طبیدة.
6 MSS. (A) and (B) read for جنب (Text).
7 Firishhta says بسیط میرک, to take Mirak.
8 MS. (A) reads گنده. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.
9 MS. (A) omits رد. 11 MS. (A) گشتی گاکی. MS. (B) اشیا ای را گاکی.
10 Firishhta says "thirty or forty."
Sultān Buhlūl made over Qutluq Khān in chains to Qutb Khān Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād in the Dūḥb, which was held by Sultān Ḥusain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners of his own over that country; this occurrence took place in the year 884 H. (1479 A.D.) the chronogram for that year was Nawid-i-Kharābī (Tidings of ruin).

And Sultān Ḥusain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāpri, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sultān Ḥusain remained at Rāpri, and Sultān Buhlūl at a place called Dhopāmau; and after a time Sultān Ḥusain again collecting an army came up against Sultān Buhlūl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sūnhār. Sultān Ḥusain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodi party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultān Buhlūl left Dhopāmau for Dīhli to mourn for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dīhli, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sultān Ḥusain, and reaching Rāpri fought a battle in which he gained a victory]; and when Sultān Ḥusain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

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1 Firāha enumerates Khanpāl (Kanpila?) Baitālī, Shamsābād, Sākit Māhrāna and Jālesar, as the townships seized on this occasion by Buhlūl.

2 Shiqqārān. Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces.

3 Our author here shows that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 884. Thus 50 + 6 + 10 + 4 + 600 + 200 + 1 + 2 + 10 = 883.

4 This passage is differently worded in the text. In both MSS. (A) and (B) it runs thus:

5 The text reads incorrectly instead of بفعزيت MS. (A).

6 MS. (A) omits the portion in brackets.
children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultan Husain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt, who are a clan of the Bhadauris, attacked his camp; Rāi Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sultan offering his services, and having presented him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sultan as far as Kālpī; Sultan Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings met in the neighbourhood of Kālpī and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tīlūk Chand, the Governor of the country of Baksar, came and offered his services to Sultan Husain, and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sultan Husain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta, and the Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several laks of tankaḥs in cash, and other valuables, together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sultan Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

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1 MS. (A) omits the word Munirdan leaving a hiatus, and writes Ḥatkānt which is correct, see n. 2.
2 Hatkānt is said by Abūl Faṣl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district S. E. of Āgra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadauriais. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 488. Elliot. Races of N. W. P., vol. I, p. 25.
3 We should probably read here مشايع而非 مشايع Mutabi'at, see Firishta.
4 MS. (A) reads میان.
5 Both MSS. Also Firishta who calls him Rāi Tīlok Chand, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr.)
6 Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unso town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter Imp. Gaz., I, 450) MS. (A) reads یکسار YaBSar.
7 Firishta says بخدمت سلطان بہلو بہوک. Offered his services to Sultan Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultan Buhlūl, and not Sultan Husain.
8 MS. (A) جنس.
Sultān Ḥusain leaving Jaunpūr went by way of Banračh towards Qanauj, and engaged 1 Sultān Buhlūl for some time on the banks of the Rahab, and met with the defeat which had become a second nature to him. On this occasion his whole retinue and regalia fell into the hands of the Lodis, while his chief wife Malika-i-Jahār, Bibi Khūnza, 2 who was the daughter of Sultān 'Alā-'ud-Dīn, and the grand daughter of Khizr Khān, was taken prisoner; 3 Sultān Buhlūl treated that lady with the utmost respect and regard, and when he again attempted to conquer Jaunpūr, Bibi Khūnza by some artifice effected her escape and joined her husband. Jaunpūr fell into the hands 4 of Sultān Buhlūl. He gave it to Mubārak Khān Lühānī, and himself proceeded to Bādāon. Sultān Ḥusain took the opportunity to march against Jaunpūr in full force: the Amīrs of Sultān Buhlūl evacuated it, and went to Qutb Khān Lodi who was in Mahjauli, 5 and approached Sultān Ḥusain with expressions of fealty, and by pretending to take his part kept him at bay till reinforcements arrived from Sultān Buhlūl. Sultān Buhlūl sent his own son Mubārak Shāh to the assistance of these Amīrs, while he himself also set out 6 for Jaunpūr, following his son; Sultān Ḥusain not being able to stand against him went to Bihār. In the meantime tidings of the death of Qutb Khān reached Sultān Buhlūl at the camp of Haldī, 7 and having performed the requirements of mourning for him, he proceeded to Jaunpūr, and after placing his son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqī dynasty, 8 returned, and came to the Kālpī country, which he gave to Aẓam Humāyūn, another nephew, who had the

1 MS. (B) reads مقبالة muqābala, i.e., met him.
2 MS. (A) reads خوئرا Khuṭrā. MS. (B) Khuṭrā. Firishta reads خوئزا Khūnza.
3 MS. (A) reads قوفتار گشبت. 4 Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit در.
4 MS. (A) reads مجاولي Majhali. Firishta reads مجاولي Majhali. A village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gandak. There are two villages forming one: Majhali, which is Hindū, on the north bank, and Sālimpur, which is Muḥammadan, on the South. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. IX. 213.
5 MS. (A) and (B) read روانه شد.
6 Firishta says: When Sultān Buhlūl arrived at the township of Haldī, he heard of the death of Qutb Khān.
7 Firishta says: "expelled Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī, again conquered Jaunpūr, and placed his own son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqī Kings."

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name of Bâyazîd,¹ and having arrived at Dholpûr ² levied several mans of gold as tribute from the Râi of that place; then passing by Bârî went to Ilâhpûr,³ one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rûntauabhûr, and having laid waste that country came to Dîhli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to HINGâR Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dîhli. Once more he went to Gwâliîr, where Râjâ Mân the Governor of Gwâliîr sent an offering of eighty laks of tankas of that period; accordingly Buhîlî confirmed him at Gwâliîr, and proceeded to Itâwa, and was making his way back to Dîhli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakît.⁴ And in the year 894 H. (1488 A. D.) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,⁵ eight months and eight days.⁶

Verse.

Whether it be Afrâsiyâb or his son Zál,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.
To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed
It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may strive.

¹ MS. (A) writes نپنپ دیگر Psdr Dîgcr another son. Firishta says his grandson Khâja A'zâm Humâyûn son of Khwâja Bâyazîd. (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bâyazîd was the eldest son of Buhîlî.
² Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit دو. ²
³ The text and MS. (B) read Pâlhânpûr. MS. (A) reads ba Îlhânpûr: Firishta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) ba jânhîb-i-Îlhânpûr. Briggs (p. 560) says Ruttanpoor!
⁴ Text and MS. (B) have Sâkîb. MS. (A) reads Sâkîpo. In Firishta we read (Bo. Text 327) that "Buhîlî took Itâwa from Sakît Singh and set out to return to Dîhli but fell ill on the way." Later on we read that "he died near Bhdâliî one of the dependencies of Sakît." Sakît is in the Etâh District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (Imp. G. 11. 146), that Buhîlî Lodî died. Abûl Fâzîl states (Ain-i-Akbari text 1. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhadâwah in the Sârkâr of Sâhâr in the Agra Sûbah, while he places Saketh in the Sârkâr of Qânuj (see Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) (II. 309 n. 3), Sakît was probably the head-quarters of the Sakît Singh whom Firishta mentions.
⁵ MS. (A) reads &dquo;seven days.&dquo;
Whether it be a king or a khas-seller.  
Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death.  
The date of his death.  
In eight hundred and ninety and four 
The world conquering Khedive, Buhliul left the world; 
With his sword he seized provinces, but for all his bright 
sword and burnished dagger,  
He was not able to repel death.

SULTAN SIKANDAR IBN I SULTAN BUBLUL,

Who was known by the name of Nizam Khan, upon hearing the tidings of his father's deceso from Dihli to the township of Jalali, entered the camp and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihli. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sultan Firez, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khaun-i-Jahan ibn i Khan-i-Jahan, and Khan-i-Khanan Farmali, and all the Amiris, and was addressed by the title of Sultan Sikandar. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihli, he went to Shaikh Samau-d-Din Kanbu, the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamali, who was one of the greatest among the Ulama Shaikhs of his time, on pretence of taking an
omen, for this reason that he feared lest the Shaikh might favour the claims of the other brothers, so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression As'adak Allah from the Shaikh.

314. When he answered, It means may God Most High make you fortunate, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaikh did so, then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

1 تفَارِل taf'aril: Taking a نال fāl or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the Sortes Virgiliæ, or the oracle of Prænesta. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'an, or the works of Hâfiz in this way. The word نال fāl properly means a good omen, as opposed to طريقه a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muhammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (Mishkât-ı-Masâbîh Mathew ii. 381) see also Lane s. v. جل; also Lane's Modern Egyptians 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the Za'irîyah is given.

2 MS. (B) reads بّدادر دیگر another brother. Firishta gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodi Amirs favoured A'zam Humayûn, and before Buhli's death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihli, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umar Khan Shirwâni who was a friend of Sikandar, and he consequently agreed with the mother of Sikandar, who was in the camp at the time, to warn Sikandar of his danger. Sikandar accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that Buhli died. The Amirs then held a consultation, most of them favouring Bârbak Shâh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to A'zam Humayûn: Zebâ, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Isâ Khân a cousin of Buhli, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king." Thereupon Khân-i-Khânân Farmali rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khân-i-Khânân took his party of Amirs with him, and removed Buhli's corpse to Ja/ilî, summoning Sikandar from Dihli where they placed him on the throne in the palace of Suljan Firûz on the banks of the Bîbâ, as Sultan Sikandar. He then sending his father's body to Dihli, marched against 'Isâ Khân and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firishta Bo. text 338-339).

3 سعدک الله Asadak allâh, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads مسرح هوای ساخته عمی. و بعد

4 MS. (A) omits the words سب ور and reads بعد.
he besought the Shaikh to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established, he left Dihli, and marched towards Rápri and Itáwa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'il Khán Lúhání with overtures of peace to King Bárbak Sháh at Jaunpúr, while he proceeded in person against Isá Khán Governor of Patiáli; and Isá Khán confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rái Ganesh, the Rája of Patiáli who was friendly to Bárbak Sháh, came in and had an interview with the Sultán who confirmed him in the Government of Patiáli. Bárbak Sháh coming from Jaunpúr to Qanaúj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them. Mubáarak Khán Luhání, who was with the army of Bárbak Sháh, was taken prisoner in this battle, Bárbak Sháh fled to Badaún, Sultán Sikandar besieged that fortress, and Bárbak Sháh being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultán, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpúr, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Shári kings, except that he divided certain puryanas of these territories among his own Amírs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bár-

1 MS. (B) wrongly استقراء.  
2 جانب.  
3 The text and MS. (B) read نوحناني, MS. (A) read نوحناني.  
4 MS. (A) در جوزبور.  
5 MS. (A) برعسي خان (1).  
6 MS. (B)  
7 MS. (A) omit.  
8 MS. (B) reads راى كشى Rái Kishán. MS. (A) reads راى كنپس Rái Ganes. Firísha reads راى كنپس Rái Ganes. Firísha reads  
9 MS. (A) omits مسترگشت و دروجة وor ساطان reading.  
10 MS. (B) باتيالي.  
11 MS. (A) reads طرفن را instead of نوحناني.  
12 Text.  
13 Firísha (Bo. text 331) says that it was Káli Bhär (Shaikh Muhammed Farmatí, nephew of Sultán Buhlál and cousin of Sikandar and Bárbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Bárbak Sháh, who lost heart and fled to Badaún.  
14 MS. (A) كر.  
15 In Bihá (Firísha).
Then he took Kalpi from Ā' zam Khān Humāyūn the son of Khwāja Bayazid. From thence he came to Jahtara, and from that place to Gwāliār, sending Khwāja Muḥammad Farmali with a special robe of honour on an embassy to Rāja Mān, who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Sultān and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sultān as far as Bāīāna. Sultān Sharq, the Governor of Bāīāna, the son of Sultān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort to the agents of the Sultān; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Bāīāna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sultān proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sultān Sharf, fortified himself in the fort of Agra. The Sultān left certain of his Amirās in Agra and proceeded to Bāīāna and in the year 897 H. (1191 A. D.) Sultān Sharq fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Bāīāna to the Sultān; that province was then conferred upon Khān-i Khānān Farmali. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis in the Jaunpūr territory had assembled to the number

1 Firishaṭa says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service, though Badāoni’s words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh’s actions. MS. (A) omits before and and after خلا خان.  
2 MS. (A) omits خلا خان giving it to Ṣaḥmūd Lodī (Firishaṭa).  
3 Briggs (p. 508) says Bhurayee, but the original text of Firishaṭa says Jahtara. I fail to locate this.  
4 MS. (A) نزد.  
5 Governor of Gwāliār (Firishaṭa).  
6 Firishaṭa reads شرف Sultān Sharf. Badāoni (text and both MSS.) reads شرف Sharq.  
7 MS. (B) شرف reads قلعہ instead of شرف.  
8 The text reads شرف Sultānu-ḥ-Sharq. MSS. (A) (B) read شرف Sultān Sharq.  
9 MSS. (A) (B) شرف مغوص شد.  
10 MSS. (A) (B) شرف گماشت و.  
11 Where he besieged Sultān Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firishaṭa 331).  
12 شرف Sharq (text and MSS.).  
13 A tribe of Rājputs said to be descended from the Mainpūri Chaulāns
of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, and were raising a disturbance. The Sultan proceeded thither and Barbak Shah came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jaunpur, and arrived at the fortress of Janhâr, and engaged in battle with the Amir of Sultan Husain Sharqi who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna; and having come to Aril, which is near Ilâhâbâd (otherwise called Prayâg), laid waste that district, and proceeding by way of Karra and Mânikpur hastened to Dalmau, and from thence came to Shâmsâbâd, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shâmsâbâd].

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H. (1494 A. D.) he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken; from thence he proceeded to Jaunpur. In this expedition very many

notorious for their turbulence, originally Muhâmmadans, see Elliot, Races of N. W. P., I. 47.

1 MSS. (A) (B) 2  جنایر جنایر MS. (A) reads جنایر جنایر. 

2 Firâštâ says, came to Katauba (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna. MS. (A) reads خاتم.

3 A footnote variant is given in the text بارکل ba Arkal.

Firâštâ reads Aril (or Aryal); he says جنایر Aril.

Aril is mentioned by Abûl Faql (Ar-Râhîl) (B) I. 425.) "he held Jhosi and Aril (Jalâlâbâd) as jâgir."

4 The text reads پیاک پیاک. MS. (A) reads پیاک. Bayân, MS. (B) Bayân. Regarding the derivation of Prayâg the ancient name of Allahabad, see Cunningham (A. G. I. 391.)

5 خراب کرده روئت MS. (B).

6 Dalmau lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges. see Rennell's Map; see also, Ar-Râhîl, (J.) II. 167 = 2. Firâštâ (Bo. text) reads Dalpur, p. 332.

7 SEE MS. (B).

8 Not in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy. They are however in exact accord with Firâštâ's statement, and are probably copied from his work.

10 MS. (A) 2. 13 2.
horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;¹ the zemindârs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultan Husain Sharqi of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultan Sikandar’s army, and invited him (to advance). Sultan Husain collected an army, and marched from Belâr with a hundred elephants against Sultan² Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit³ and came to Chenâr⁴ and from thence to Banâras. Sultan Husain had arrived within seventeen kroh of Banâras when Sultan Sikandar marched against him rapidly.⁵ In the midst of his march Sâlbâhan the Râja of Patna, who was a trusty semindâr, left Sultan Husain and joined Sultan Sikandar. Sultan Husain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.⁶ Sultan Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him⁷ with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sultan Husain had gone to Bihâr. After nine days Sultan Sikandar arrived,⁸ and joining his camp set out for Bihâr. Sultan Husain, leaving his deputy⁹ in Bihâr, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gânw one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, and Bihâr fell into the hands of Sikandar’s troops.¹⁰ Thence the Sultan proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khân-i-Jahân Lodi died, and Ahmad Khân his eldest son¹¹ was styled A‘zam Khân Humâyûn. The Sultan returned from Tirhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutbû-1-MasâhiKhâ-1-Izâm,¹² Shaikh Sharfu’d-Din Munirî,¹³ may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to

¹ MS. (A) نمادن.
² MSS. (A) and (B).
³ The text and MS. (B) read مکدرگنت mukaddar gaht, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is bagur-i-Kantit. MS. (A) or بگذرگنت bagur-i-Kantit (Firigha). Kantat is on the S. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 89: 158.
⁴ Text جنھار.
⁵ Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit جنھار.
⁶ MS. (A) reads پنہ Patna. Text reads پتہ. MS. (B) reads نوی پنہ.
⁷ MS. (B) reads امید و در رہ.
⁸ MS. (B) omits امید.
⁹ Malik Kandhî (Firigha).
¹⁰ MS. (A) امید.
¹¹ MS. (A) reads احمد پر اقتدار اعظم همازی عظیم شد.
¹² MSS. (A) (B) in Bihâr (Firigha).
¹³ He was the son of Yahya-b-Isrâ’il the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shâkku. His burial place is in Bihâr, see Ain-i-Akbari (J.) III. 370.
Darveshpur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultân ʿAlau-d-Din king of Bangâla, and in the vicinity of Bihâr, the son of Sultân ʿAlau-d-Din, whose name was Dânîlî, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultân (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sultân; orders were promulgated remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Sâran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity, and came by way of Maḥligâr to Jaunpûr, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna. And in the year 904 H. (1498 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Panna, as far as Bândhûgarh which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jaunpûr where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amirs during a game of chaugân, and at last it ended in an open fight, and the Sultân

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1 MS. (A) بر و را يات.
2 MS. (A) تقسيم نموده مقرر كرد.
3 MS. (B) تقسيم كرده مقرر نمود.
4 Firishta reads Machlîgarh.
5 MS. (A) Panna; text and MS. (B) Patna. Firishta text. Patna. Briggs in his translation say Panna (p. 573), and this must be correct to judge from what follows.
6 MS. (A) Wilayat-i-Panna.
7 MS. (A) reads Mâdâhûgarh but Bândhûgarh is the right reading. Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Faṣl states (Āin-i-Akbari (J.) II, 157) that Bândhû lies south of Allahabad. The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however, lies to the west and not to the south of Allahabad. Bândhûgarh was one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bândhû (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Rewâ) distant about 60 miles, and S. S. E. from Panna, distant about 90 miles (Keith Johnson). In Rennell's Map (Tieff III.) it is very plainly marked, though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above, see Rennell's Map N. p. Nq. The other fortress lay south of Bândhûgarh and was called Mandla Garh.
8 Chaugân. Called in Arabic ساولون. The modern name of this game is Polo. For a full account of the game, see Āin-i-Akbari (B.) I. 297-298.
9 Firishta gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within
becoming suspicious of the Amirs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amirs urged Fath Khan the son of Sultan Buhlul to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Tahir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sultan, at the same time giving them a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amirs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sultan Sikandar, who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amirs who had shewn partiality for the Prince Fath Khan.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.) he proceeded to Sambal, and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State, and used to spend his time either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) Asghar the Governor of Dihli began to commit malpractices. The Sultan accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawass Khan the Governor of Machhiwara, to seize Asghar and send him (into his presence); but Asghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment; and Khawass Khan received the Governorship of Dihli. In this year also Khan-i-Khana Farmal the Governor of Baiana died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Ahmad and Suleiman the two sons (grandsons) of Khan-i-Khanan. After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sultan began to believe it was due to some preconcerted plan against his own person.

1 MSS. (A) (B) نموده و مرح. 2 Both MSS. (A) (B) omit. 3 M.S. (A) (B) نامد. 4 M.S. (A) (B). 5 M.S. (A) (B) omit, and reads سکندر. 6 M.S. (A) (B) پیام. 7 M.S. (B) reads پیام. 8 Both MSS. omit. 9 M.S. (A) reads ماجرب و و. 10 M.S. (B) در سال. 11 The text here reads برهم ولسلطان پسران خاندان با حمد ولسليمان پسران پسر خاندان both MSS. have this same reading but Firishta reads.
entered the Sultān’s service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Bāiānā) was made over to Khawāsš Khān, while Sāfdar Khān was appointed to the charge of Āgra, which was one of the dependencies of Bāiānā. Khawāsš Khān with the assistance of ‘Ālam Khān, Governor of Miwāt, and Khānī Khānān Lūhānī, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpūr. The Rāi of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultān leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpūr, and Rāi Manik Deo, Rāja of Dholpūr, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwāliār. They plundered and pillaged the district around Dholpūr. The Sultān having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwāliār, and leaving Ādam Lodi there crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendaki.

By reason of the badness of the climate of that place sickness broke out among the population and a pestilence arose. The Rāja of Gwāliār also came and made overtures of peace, and delivered up Saʿīd Khān, and Bābū Khān, and Rāi Ganesh, who had deserted from the army of the Sultān and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son to do homage to the

1 Briggs calls him Sudr Khān, but the original reads Sāfdar Khān.
2 MS. (A) reads خان عالم Khān-i-ʿAlam.
3 Native State in Rājputānā. The town of Dholpūr, capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Āgra and 37 miles north-west of Gwāliār, see Hunter Imp. Gaz., IV. 273.
4 Firehta calls him بنا يك ديو Binayek Deo.
5 MS. (B) reads نيب for here and in several other places.
6 Firehta calls this river “the Asi otherwise known as Medaki,” and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Mendaki means, frog-haunted.

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river, but the Asun in Keith Johnson (India) E. f. flowing west of Gwāliār, would answer to the Asi in position. Rennell’s Map gives no name to this river.

7 MS. (A) omits and also
8 MS. (B) reads دمیران.
9 MS. (B) reads مسallah (armed) for بصل بائی.
10 Supply ہی MS. (A).
11 Vikramājit (Firehta).
Sultān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpur¹ also to Bināyik Deo,² and having spent³ the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus⁴ in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,⁵ which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches⁶ of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt anew the fortress of Dholpur, then came to Agra and gave his Amirs permission to proceed to their several jaqīra.⁷

[And in this year Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur,⁸ may God sanctify his holy resting place, who was one of the chief of the great walis and had even laid claim to be the Mahdi, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered, Here am I, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah⁹ where he was buried. Qāzi Ḥusain Zargar of Qandahār, God’s mercy be on him, whom, as well as the Mir himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram:

1 MS. (B) omits سلطان and reads باز for بائِز.
2 MS. (B) reads بن بک دیو and دراپور قلمه.⁶
3 MSS. (A) (B) گنگرا نید و.
4 In the month of Ramāzān (Firīṣṭa).
5 Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel’s map, but Tieffenthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of Mandalayer or Madrael, and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Caroli (Kerauli) see Keith Johnston’s Atlas, India E. F. Mandler, see also Šin-i-Abbari (J) II. 190, Mandśner.
6 So also Firīṣṭa.
7 The portion in square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS. (B).
8 Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad was the son of Mir Saiyyid Khan of Jaunpur, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdi, alleged to have been promised by the prophet Muḥammad. He gained many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdi, among them was Sultan Mahmūd I. at whose request it was that he proceeded on the pilgrimage to Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, see Šin-i-Abbari (Bl) I. Biog. p. V.

The Shi‘ahs believe that the Mahdi has already appeared, the Sunnis still look for his appearance. Hughes, Dict of Islam.
He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh. Shaikh Mubarak also invented a chronogram in the words Mazā Mahdi. The Mahdi has departed. On the third of the month of Safar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole of Hindūstān that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared, while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived. We learn from the Waqī'at-i-Bābarī, and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word Qāzi, was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

Rubā'ī.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes.
And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.¹

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Untgarh,² and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of jūhar with their wives and children. He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque.

In the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar.³ Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodi,⁴ whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,⁵ and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar⁶; he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated. And in the year 914 H. (1508 A.D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

¹ Firista gives this rubā‘i with slight variation omitting chān in the second line.
² Firista reads اورون نگر Uditnagar. MS. (A) Adwntgar. MS. (B) Anjār Untgarh. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) I, 380 n. 1. Firista states that the Sulṭān regarded Uditnagar as the key to Gwālīār which he wished to reduce (p. 338).
³ Firista Bo. text, p. 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H. in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the various operations it is doubtful if he can be correct. Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firista). It lay about half way between Gwālīār and Dhār. see Ticeff. I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress: see also Ain-i-Akbari (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwālīār city, see Hunter Imp. Gas. X. 227.
⁴ Who upon the death of his father Māhmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.
⁵ Firista says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.
⁶ Firista says Hanwantgarh.
a hundred and twenty horses and fifteen elephants, with a robe of honour and a sum of money upon Prince Jalal Khan, allowed him, together with Na‘mat Khâtûn, wife of Quṭb Khân Lodi, who had come to have an interview with the Sultan, to proceed to Kalpi, and gave that district as a jâegir to Prince Jalal Khân. And in the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.) he marched from Lahâyār, and came to Hatkântî, established posts in different places and proceeded to his capital Agra. The date of this was (fixed by the following words) Lahu alhukmu wa ilaihi tarjâ’un. That is to say, His is the decree and to him do ye return.

Muhammad Khan, the grandson of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din of Malwa, fearing his grandfather, came for safety to the Sultan, and was allotted the jâegir of Chanderi, while Prince Jalal Khan was directed to give him every assistance as an ally; and in this year orders were issued for the erection of palaces and rest-houses, and for the laying out of gardens at intervals along the whole route from Agra to Dholpur, so that when he came back from his hunting expeditions he might rest and refresh himself there. In this year Muhammad Khan of Nâgor, influenced by the fact that certain of his relations had sought and obtained an interview with the Sultan, evinced great respect for the Sultan, reading the Khûtbah in Nâgor in his name without raising any objection, so that in this way a new territory came into the possession of the Sultan.

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1 MS. (A) راسته اسمی MS. (B) کردن. MS. (A) راسته اسمی MS. (B) کردن. MS. (A) کردن MS. (B) کردن.
2 The wife of Quṭb Khân Lodi, foster mother of Jalâl Khân (Firîshṭâ). Koth. MS. (B) کرچ کرچ MS. (B) کرچ.
3 Text and MS. (A) کرچ MS. (B) کرچ. MS. (B) کرچ. MS. (B) کرچ.
4 Gwâliâr (Firîshṭâ). Lahâr is placed in Rennell’s map about 50 miles S.E. of Gwâliâr, see Hunter Imp. Gaz. VIII. 400.
5 See p 408 n. 1. MS. (A) هنکیات MS. (B) هنکیات. MS. (A) هنکیات MS. (B) هنکیات. MS. (A) هنکیات.
6 The text has ولع MS. (A) (B) have which is correct. The date is 915 H.
7 MS. (A) omit. MS. (A) omitted. MS. (B) پنای باگ. MS. (B) پنای باگ.
8 Firîshṭâ explains this: he says that certain relations of Muhammad Khan, namely, ‘Ali Khân and Abu Bakr who had conspired to kill him, had been overcome by him, and took refuge in the court of Sultan Sikandar and that Muhammad Khan fearing the consequences adopted the means described in order to conciliate the Sultan.
9 Text. MS. (A) بی جنگ و جدل MS. (A) بی جنگ و جدل. MS. (B) بی جنگ و جدل. MS. (B) بی جنگ و جدل.
10 MS. (B) omits. MS. (B) omits. MS. (B) omits. MS. (B) omits. MS. (A) (B) امدم.
In this year also Suleimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmali, was dismissed from the service of the Sultān, on the grounds that he had been appointed to perform a service at Untghar, and in the direction of Sāpar, and had refused: the pargana of Indri Karnāl was given him as Madad-i-ma‘āsh (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderi to Sultān Sikandar on account of the weakness of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and read the Khātbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din of Mālwa, was taken prisoner, and Chanderi was (nominally) placed under his authority, but Amirs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer his jāegir, then the Sultān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Bāīāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working, especially Saiyyid N’amatu-llāh and Shaikh ‘Abdullāh Ḥusaini, who was

1 MS. (A) reads

2 Firīshṭa says Hanwantgārh, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Suleimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by daybreak, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (غرات عام دندن).

3 Firīshṭa says Bāṛerī. MS. (B) reads بندربی. For the meaning of madad-i-ma‘āsh called also sāyūrgāhī, see Din-i-Akbārī (Bl) p. 268 سویرغال Sāyūrgāhī is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Pavet de Courteille).

4 MS. (B) reads درس بند سال

5 MS. (A) omits ضعف

Firīshṭa reads: Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderi, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sultāns of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sultān Sikandar, and agreed to the Khātbah being read in his name in Chanderi, see Briggs, p. 583, and Bo. text, p 341.

6 MS. (A) omits ملا öff Xān. MS. (B) writes ملا öff Xān Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firīshṭa. The text reads ملا محصول Xān Maḥmūd Khān.

7 Firīshṭa reads در جایگیر

8 MS. (A) omits زمگرا. MS. (B) reads در جایگیر

9 See Lane s. v. خوارج العادة. Also Hughes, Dict. of Islām art. Miracles. The full expression is خوارج العادة Khaṣārīqū-l-‘ādat.

10 MSS. (A) (B) خلیف عک

11 MSS. (A) (B).
one of those famous for revelations and miracle-working, with whom he used to consort frequently. Shāḥzāda Daulat Khān, Governor of the fortress of Rantambhūr, in the service of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of ‘Ali Khān of Nāgor, who was in charge of the province of Siwī Siyūpūr, came and had an interview with the Sultān, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so chanced that the ‘Ali Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisie, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sultān pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thānkār, and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Bārlī, he returned thence to Agra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the next world on Sunday the seventeenth of Zul Q’adah 923 H. (Jan. 1518 A.D.). The words Jannāt-ū-l-Firdaws wasalā. (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

Verse.

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not. No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not continue.

Sultān Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

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1 MSS. (A) (B) read كَذَّبْ ائْلَ اهْلَ هِكَفْ وَكِرَامَتٍ بَود and this reading is preferable to that of the text.

2 The text reads سَوَى سَوَارِ سُلَيْمَانِ with a footnote variant سُوَيْرُ سُوَارِ سُلَيْمَانِ. Firigha reads سَوَارِ سُلَيْمَانِ. (Sibly) see Aīn-i-Akbari (J.) II. 328 n. 1.

3 Firigha writes تَهْنَاكْر. Thānkār.

4 In the Sarkār of Agra. See Tief I. 166.

5 MSS. (A) reads بِعَيْنَاتٍ كَفِرَت.

6 Firigha says, Sunday, the seventh of Zul Qa’dah, and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. See Bo. text 343, and Briggs I. 595.

7 MSS. (B) reads دَمَتُ الْفَرَكَوْسِ and omits تَارِخُ حَدِيد. The letters جَنَّاتُ الْفَرَكَوْسِ make up the total 923.
verses after the ancient Hindustani models, under the pseudonym of Gulrukh, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamāl. The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sultan, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

*Ode.*

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides.
What profits the Khstani musk? all the kingdoms of Chin
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.
In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.
Could Gulrukh essay to discover the charms of her teeth,
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of speech.

One of the poets of the reign of Sultan Sikandar was the Brahman [Dünkar⁴] who, they say,⁶ in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science.⁷ The following *maftu*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *maftu*⁵] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled to-day;
Had not thy look been the serpent⁹ I never had lost my way.
Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultan Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Tulumi¹⁰ in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azizu-llah Tulumi¹¹ in Sambhāl, both of whom came

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¹ MS. (A) (B) هندوستانیہ
² MS. (B) (A) جمال الادینه Text جمال الادین
³ MS. (A) (B) ایمات غزل Text غزل
⁴ The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read and MS. (A) reads گُرِّخ چو کنند or تَا ہِئُک تَا ہِئُک Text دْنُکَر؟
⁵ MS. (A) (B) میکوئیند.
⁶ MS. (A) و مطلع مسعود کتب علمی Text و مطلع مسعود کتب علمی.
⁷ MS. (A) (B) السمی Text سمی.
⁸ MS. (A) ابتقر Text ابتقر.
⁹ MS. (B) omits بِنگر.
¹⁰ MS. (B) طلابی.
¹¹ MS. (A) و بُردہ انہد.
to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Multān, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before their time, with the exception of the Sharḥ-i-Shamsiyah, and the Sharḥ-i-Ṣahāfī† there were no books current in Hindustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,‡ that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of Shaikh ‘Abdu-llāh, for example, Miyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Dihli, Miyān Shaikh of Gwāliār,§ Mirān Saiyyid Jalāl of Badān, and others. They say also that Ṣultān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shaikh ‘Abdu-llāh, used to come and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of Salām ‘alaihukum ‡ and mix freely with each other.

And Shaikh ‘Azizu-llāh of Tulumba, who was a man of great probity and rectitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection,§ that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading, he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it; and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned Shaikh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

† The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qutbu-d-Dīn Mahmūd bin Muhammad Rāzī, on the Shamsiyah, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmud-Dīn `Umar bin ‘Ali Qazwī, who died A. H. 693 (1293 A. D.), see Háji Khalīfah No. 7667. El-Sahāfī fi el-kalīm, folia de metaphysica. The Sharḥ-i-Ṣahāfī must be the commentary mentioned by Háji Khalīfah and by him ascribed to Samarqandi. There was another commentary by Bihishti See H. K. 7718.

‡ MS. (A) (B) مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ مَيْ آَمَدَ MSS. (A) (B).

§ Recollection does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is استحسان. Iṣṭihlār, this means literally, making present, summoning. It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impression. It is not memory, or rather retentiveness, but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS. (A) (B) read استحسان غريب داشته.
One of his pupils was 1 Miyān Ḥātim Saḥbālī, who is commonly said to have read the Commentary on the Miṣṭāḥ 2 more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the Muṭawwaqal 3 more than forty times, from the first letter of the Bismillāh to the last of the word Tammat. 4

Another is Shaikhlu-l-Hadiyah Jaunpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the Hedāyah-i-Fiqh, 5 while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the Kāfiyāh: 6 in addition to these he wrote notes upon the Tafsir-i-

1 MSS. (A) (B) برهنة.
2 The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS. (A) reads شرحين مفتاح which may possibly stand for Sharḥain-i-miṣṭāḥ, the two commentaries on the Miṣṭāḥ.
3 Miṣṭāhu-l-ulūm (clavis doctrinarum), see Hājī Khalīfah 12578. This book was written by Sirjū-d-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb Yūnūs bin Abī Muḥammād bin Abī Sīkkākī, who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)
4 The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (عليمي المعاني والبيان) 'Ilmau-l-mašā'ī wal bayān. (Regarding 'Ilm u-l-bayān, etc., see Garcin de Tassy Rhetorique des langues de l’orient Musulman, pp. 1-5.)
5 A commentary on all three parts was written by Muḥāfiz ʿAbdu-d-Dīn al Muwaggānī, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hājī Khalīfah mentions three as worthy of special notice.
6 Muṭawwaqal (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Saʿdu-d-Dīn at-Taftasānī (who died 792 A.H.) on the book called Taḥkīqu-l-Miṣṭāḥ. It was called by the name of Muṭawwaqal or long commentary because after its completion in A.H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of Muḥkātār or shorter commentary. (See H. K. II. p. 404).
7 All works written by Muslims commence with Bismillāh. In the name of God. The wordTammat, stands for tammat-il kitāb, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word 'Finis.' MSS. (A) and (B) write only بسم.
8 Hedāyah-i-Fiqh. (see Hājī Khalīfah 14366.)
9 Kāfiyāh. The famous grammar known by this name is Al-Kāfiyāt fi-Insāb (liber sufficiens) whose author was Shaikh Jamālā-d-Dīn abī Ṭūmar Uṣūmān bin Ṭūmar, commonly known as Ibn-i-Kāfiyāh. (ob: 646 A.H.). For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.
Madārik and other works, which are read up to the present day. Sultan Sikandar also collected together learned men from all parts of the country to instruct him, placing on one side Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, and Shaikh 'Azizu-llah, and on the other Shaikhu-l-Nadiyah and his son Shaikh Bhakari to discuss difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah occurred in the year 922 H.; the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it: Ulâika lahun ut-darajatu-l-ulâ.

And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the aforesaid Shaikh Jamali Kanbawi of Dihli, to whom Sultan Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jami, may God sanctify his resting place, and had gained many advantages from him and won his approbation, and was moreover in the habit of submitting his poems to that revered master: The following verses are by him:

**Verse.**

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And that too rent to the skirt with my tears.

**Verse.**

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words,
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close.

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1 Tafsir-i-Madārik Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law. See Lane s. v.
2 MS. (A) omits شیخ.
3 MSS. (A) (B) write علماء.
4 MS. (A) در درس خروش.
5 Both MSS. (A) (B) write شیخ.
6 The text reads wrongly here لئی درجات اعلی. MSS. (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Qur'an (XX. 77). The value of the letters is 922.
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit دعا و
8 MS. (A) omit ذ.
9 MSS. (A) (B) در برافته.
10 MSS. (A) (B) در ملاحتم.
11 MS. (B) omit ذ.
12 MS. (A) omits this complet.
The following ode also, which he translated and set to music in his native Hindi, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
Oh thou that art long absent from my sight;
By day and night the thought of thee alone
My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a Tahā'īrāh (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān, called the Siyāru-l-Ārifīn (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the venerable Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Ajmīrī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaikh Samāū-d-Dīn Kanbawi of Dihli, in addition to which it contains other matter both prose and poetry. His dīwān is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

Sultān Ibrāhīm bin Sultān Sikandar Lodī,

Ascended the throne in Agra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amirs, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khān ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultān, while Khān-i-Jalān Lūhānī governor of Rāpūr came to Agra] and blamed the Amirs greatly for associating (Jalāl Khān) in the government of the kingdom; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness of this procedure orders were issued to the Amirs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpī and collected a large following, and after establishing the Khutbah and sikkah in his own name, assumed the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn. A'zām Hūmāyūn Shīrwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Sultān Ibrāhīm

1 (A) omits اورهم.
2 MS. (A) omits حضرت.
3 MS. (A) جبر.
4 MS. (A) دار.
5 From this point there is a very long omission in MS. (B).
6 The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).
7 MS. (A) نوحانی.
8 MS. (A) reads بامر.
9 MS. (A) نم.
sent to the fortress of Hānsī certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhīzāda Ismā'īl Khān, and Ḥusain Khān, and others, and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gāuw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawās came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amīrs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra. Malik Ādam Kākar was sent by the Sultān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amīrs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sultān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kalpī district as a jāegir. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, etcetera to Malik Ādam with instructions to convey them to the Sultān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

1 It will be remembered that Aẓam Humāyūn was the eldest son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, Ismā'īl and Ḥusain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

2 Text reads ماوراء دو دو MS. (A) more correctly reads دو دو.

3 MS. (A) بسمير.

4 The text reads here: ـا ماءشرا ماءشرا ماءشرا while MS. (A) reads ماءس for ماءشرا. Neither reading is intelligible.

Firīshṭā reads here:

جیچہ کے زمانہ چترلوں میں تراب پرگھنے کے کرل کے نے موس مسیح بود با عمر خان پسر سکندر خان سر جنگ کرھے اور با شہادت رسائید بنابر اپنے ملک قاسم حاکم سنہری بر سر سرخ رنگہ اک مفسد را بغل کر دو را آئے فتنہ ناگانی را تکسین دادے در قازوں نے جہر را پادشاہ رسید رہے جیا چھند، زمیندار چترلی، a dependency of the pargana of Kol which was better known as Mawās, had fought against 'Umār Khān the son of Sikander Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsun Hākim of Sanbhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qanauj.

On the strength of Firīshṭā's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read مفسد را.
The Sultan would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalal Khan, who fled in consternation and took refuge with the Raja of Gwaliar, and the Amirs of Sikandar’s party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owned allegiance to the Sultan. The Sultan experienced a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyan Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amirs of Sikandar, and had been his vazir and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Adam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyan Bhoh died in prison, and Azam Humayun Shirwani, the Governor of Karra, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwaliar. Jalal Khan fled from Gwaliar and went to Malwa to Sultan Mahmud of Malwa. After the arrival of the Sultan’s troops Rai Vikramjit, the son of Rai Man Singh, who, after the decease of his father, held the government of Gwaliar, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Badalgarh, which lies below the fortress of Gwaliar, a very lofty structure, was taken from Rai Man Singh and fell into the hands of the Muslims, and a brazen animal, which was worshipped by the Hindus also fell into their

1 MS. (A) omits.
2 MS. (A) Pidan Shadé Firista calls him Bhora.
3 The text reads Sī sad three hundred. MS. (A) reads Sī mud Sīmud Sī sad thirty hundred. Firista (Bo. text p. 349) reads also Sī sad.
4 MS. (A) Man Sankhe.
5 MS. (A) Drgan违章 Firista says he died.
6 MS. (B) continues here.
7 This fortress of Badalgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see Ain-i-Akbari, I. (B) p. 380 n. 1. Firista says it had been built by Man Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).
8 MS. (A) (B) omit.
9 MS. (A) omits.
10 The text reads Surate raw in a brazen image; but both MSS. (A) (B) read Surate raw in a brazen animal. So also Firista, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghad gate of Delhi, and goes on to say that “that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar” (p. 350).
hands, and was sent by them to Agra, whence it was sent by Sultan Ibrahim to Lodi, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Raipur in the year 992 H., ten years before the composition of this history, where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds.

In those days Sultan Ibrahim becoming distrustful of the old Amirs, imprisoned the greater number of them, and expelled (others) in different directions; and as much as Jalal Khan could not get on with Sultan Mahmud of Malwa, he fled from Malwa and came to the country of Kara Kanka, where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds, who took him prisoner and sent him as a present to the Sultan who ordered him to be taken to Hansi and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet
That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren;
Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of
kingdom,
For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for thee.

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sultan Ibrahim, A'zam Humayun Shirwani, together with his son Fatu Khan, abandoned the siege of Gwaliar Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Agra, where both were made prisoners. Islam Khan the son of A'zam [Khan] Humayun, gathered together a following in Karra by means of his father's
wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that
district, fought a battle with Ahmad Khan¹ the governor of
Karra, and defeated him. Sultan Ibrahim accordingly despatched
Ahmad Khan, the brother of A'zam Humayun Lodi, in command
of a vast army,² to oppose the Amirs who had fled from his
camp and had joined Islam Khan. With him also he sent ³ other
Khans of eminence, such as Khan-i-Khanan Farmali, and others
of similar rank. Near the township of Bangarmau, in the neighbour-
hood of Qanaug,⁴ Iqbal Khan, the chief cavalry commander
under A'zam Humayun, with five thousand cavalry and some
splendid elephants, broke out of ambush and attacked the
forces of the Sultan, and after throwing them all into confusion⁵
withdrew (into ambush). The Sultan by way of precaution
despatched ⁶ a further force to their assistance, but the enemy,
who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five
hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Nasir
Khan Luhani with other generals arrived from the direction of
Bihar and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict
ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles descrip-
tion, and after a severe struggle⁷ the rebels were defeated.
Islam Khan was killed and Sa'id Khan Lodi was taken prisoner,
thus the rebellion was quenched.

Verse.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous
friend,
Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and
rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.⁸
As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit
and custom,
Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return
for one drop of its rain.

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet
was not the heart of the Sultan favourably disposed towards the

¹ MS. (A) omits تام.
² MS. (A) reads سودار لشكر اجزاء كرده.
³ MS. (A) مسخته.
⁴ MS. (A) wrongly inserts و before إقبال.
⁵ Firishta says, "after killing some and wounding many."
⁶ MS. (A) قوساند. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) كشش ر كوشش.
⁸ This couplet is also given by Firishta.
Amirs: and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amirs of royal descent, as for example Ā'żam Humâyûn Shîrwâni, and Miyân Bhoj, the Vazîr of Sultân Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison-house.\(^1\)

This is that same journeying place, this interminable desert
In which the army of Salm and Tûr was lost; \(^2\)
This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin
Which witnessed the palace of Afrâsiyâb. \(^3\)

Miyân Ḥusain \(^4\) Farmali was assassinated in Chandери, at the instigation of the Sultân, by certain ruffianly Shaikh Zâdas of that place, and Daryâ Khân Lûhâni, governor of Bihâr, and Khân-i-Jahân Lodi being alarmed, \(^5\) became disaffected. After a short time Daryâ Khân died, and his son Bahâdûr Khân turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amirs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihâr, and gained possession of that country, \(^6\) assuming the title of Sultân Muhammâd, \(^7\) establishing the Khûtbah and sîkka in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal, and brought it within the area of their control. \(^8\) The Khûtbah was read in his name in Bihâr and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khân Lodi, whose name was Khân-i-Khânnâ \(^9\) came from Lâhor to Ágra to visit the Sultân, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court, and went to his father. Daulat Khân, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sultân, sent that same son of his \(^10\) to Kâbul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahiru-

\(^1\) MS. (A) reads در فید.
\(^2\) MS. (A) reads مرحلت. MS. (B) مرحله. For the story of Salm and Tûr two of the sons of Faridân, see Shahnâma (Atkinson) page 49 et seqq., also Shahnâma (Turner Macan) pp. 58 to 83.
\(^3\) MS. (A) reads کہ دیدی است.
\(^4\) MS. (A) موسی. MS. (B) موسان.
\(^5\) MS. (A) omits ب. Firâshta adds as far as Sambal.
\(^6\) Footnote variant موحی. Firâshta reads Muḥammad.
\(^7\) MS. (A) reads ضبط و تصصیر و نصیر وضیف. MS. (B) ضبط و تصصیر و نصیر وضیف. Text.
\(^8\) Firâshta says غازی خان. MS. (B) خان خوئد را.
d-Din Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint against his father before the supreme King Bābār, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it. Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sultān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amīrs on all sides rebelled against Sultān Ibrāhim, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom. The pillars of the empire began to totter, and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān his son, together with the other noble Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhim, sent 'Alam Khān Lodi to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahiru-d-Din Bābar Pādisbāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādisbāh appointed a number of his own Amīrs to accompany 'Alam Khān, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Siālkot and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following qītāh was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Verse.
Zahiru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahram,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,
The date of this was Fatḥ bādaulaṭ.5 (Victory by fortune).
Bābar Pādisbāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar's Amīrs at

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1 MS. (B) writes after شکایت instead of before it as in the text.
2 MS. (A) reads معاذب for شکایت.
3 MSS. (A) (B) Qandād.
4 نعم بدولت Fatḥ bādaulat. These letters give the date 930 H.
5 MSS. (A) (B) omit مود کاری.
6 MS. (B) omits سوار.
Lahor, while Amir Khusru, who had strengthened the fortress of Siulkot, evacuated it as soon as Ghazi Khan arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Babar arrived at Siulkot where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Siulkot founded Dholpur.] 1 'Alam Khan proceeded to Dihli by order of Babar, and encountering Sultan Ibrahim, made a night attack upon the army of the Sultan; and Jalal Khan with certain other Amirs arrived in the course of that night and joined 'Alam Khan. Sultan Ibrahim did not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers of 'Alam Khan, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained 4 with 'Alam Khan. Sultan Ibrahim, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand his attack. The faithless 'Alam Khan passing through the Doab came to Sihrind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gunguna, 7 one of the dependencies of Malot, 8 at the foot of the hills. Dilawar Khan Luhani separated from him, and joined the service of Babar Padishah, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Alam Khan also after some time came and had an interview with Babar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour; and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalanur, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and other Amirs 9 came from Lahor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghazi Khan [and Daulat Khan were, and besieged it, and Ghazi Khan and Khan-i-Khanan] 10 determined upon flight

1 Not in either MS. (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS. only.

2 MSS. (A) (B) أور ".

3 The text reads rightly عالم خان. MS. A reads عالم خان.

4 MS. (A) ماندن.

5 MS. (B) بای ثابت.

6 MS. (B) omits کشته.

7 The text and both MSS. read Gunguna. See Erskine's Babar, p. 300. The fort of Kinkitayeh.

8 In Pind Dadan Khan tahsil Jhilam, District Panjab, see Hunter Imp. Gaz., IX. 263.

9 MSS. (A) (B) دیگر سرما (A).

10 Not in text. cf. MSS. (A) (B) which read MS. (A)

ودولتخان درک بودندر رفتگه معاصرو نمود
and left the fort. Daulāt Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in that (humiliation) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated gave him a place near himself.

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery, and the fortress of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādīshāh. Some few days after this occurrence Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison and Bābar proceeded to the Siwalik hills in pursuit of Ghāzi Khān, and encamped at the foot of the Dūn, which is a very high hill, Ghāzi Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Şihrind, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar; thence he came to the borders of Şāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amir Kittah Beg to proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Ālam Khān, had stood fast near Dihli.

MS. (B) goes on

1 MS. (A) reads گناهانئ ار نشستن فرمود و. جایی دادند. MS. (B) نشستن فرمود و (B) جایی دادند.
2 Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, see Elliot IV. 246, Firīshṭa's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author.
3 In MS. (A) the word قسمت بسیاران precedes in the text it follows it.
4 Firīshṭa does not mention the death of Daulat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzi Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.
5 MS. (A) نژول فرمود.
6 The text reads دامس دور دان, with a footnote variant دامس دور دان. MSS. (A) (B) read دامس دور دان, see Tāsak-i-Bābāri, Elliot IV. 247. “Marching thence and passing the small hills of ʿAbkand by Milwāt we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Jūlga (or dale) Dūn.”
7 MS. (A) در. 8 MSS. (A) (B) حضرت در منسکت بود.
8 MS. (A) کهکر. 9 MSS. (A) (B) حضرت در منسکت بود.
10 MS. (A) omits گک. 11 MSS. (A) (B) منسکت بود.
and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Baban the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar). From this camp also Shāhzhāda Muhammad Humāyūn Mirzā, together with Khwāja Kalān Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Ḥamid Khān the Khāss-i-Khul (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who was advancing at the head of a force from Ḥisār Firoza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Ḥamid Khān was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners. The sarkār of Ḥisār Firoza with a revenue of two creoses, was given as a reward to the Shāhzhāda, and Bābar Pādīshāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhābād, and detailed Khwāja Muhammad Sultān Mirzā, and Sultān Junaid Mirzā Birlās to oppose Dā’ūd Khān and a body of Amirs of the army of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghāns a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre, King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun-carriages had been prepared in one day. Ustād ‘Alī Quli the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun-carriages with chains and raw-hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip-lash. And in the interval between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven shelter parapets were placed, so that on the day of
the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined to march, and encamp with the city of Pāni path in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops, while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack, and in case of necessity, should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages. Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumādu l-Ākhir 6 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pāni path, at a distance of six krohs from the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādishāh 7 comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate. The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afghān army, bringing in several heads; in spite of which Sultān Ibrāhīm and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time. At last one night Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and certain other Āmirs, with five or six thousand men made a night attack upon Sultān Ibrāhīm's army, and after killing a large

tūra, with the meaning palisades or abattis, see Pavet de Courteille Dict. Turk. oriental s. v. تورا تعرة pièces de bois et défer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaines et des crochets, et derriere lesquelles s'abritent les soldats. See also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 n. 2. See also Pera: Lat Lexicon s. v. نروا تعرة تعرة having been written by our author in mistake for the word تعرة having been subsequently added. Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

1 MS. (B) قرآرو 2 MS. (A) بيش سبابة. 3 MS. (B) بشر و تعرة. 4 The text reads بسندتغ و وماجره with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS. (A) gives this verbal noun مدععه. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

6 MS. (B) omits دععه and writes بشر و تعرة. 6 April 12, 1526. 7 MS. (B) دراه. 8 MS. (B) جراحني غازرنشد. 9 MS. (A) writes ظاهر for وضع. MS. (B) writes wrongly for جراني.

10 MSS. (A) (B) شهم. 11 MS. (A) شهم.
number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard, and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month Rajab in the aforesaid year, Sultan Ibrahim with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of Sikandar, clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Babar Padishah also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and shewing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amir Qara Qurchi and Amir Shaikh ‘Ali, with certain other Amirs, and from the right wing, Wali Qizil and Baba Qushqah, with the whole force of Mughuls, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the Amirs of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops, Amir Muhammed Gokultash, and Amir Yusus ‘Ali, and Amir Shâh Mansur Birlas, with other famous Amirs, should lead the front attack: and since the Afghans [were specially observant of the right wing, Amir ‘Abdu-l-‘aziz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Babar to reinforce the right wing], and when he got within bow shots of the enemy, the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others were clipped by the shears of the two edged sword.

Verse.

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field
That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flood;
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart’s blood.
The slain lay in heaps, while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens. A period of two

1 MS. (A) writes پرکنگ شد. MS. (B) agrees with the text.
2 Al-murajjâb. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, see Lane s.v. رجيم.
3 MS. (A) omits فوم. اسکندر.
4 MS. (B) Omitted from MS (B).
5 Omitted from MS (B).
6 The text is wrong here: we should read در شیبه تیر dar shaiba-t-tir on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).
7 MS (B) supplies بعضي بر بالد after پرکنگ شد.
8 We should read و از کشتن پیشه شد.
qarns has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this Muntakhab, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D.) the writer of these pages was proceeding one day at early morning from the city of Lāḥor towards Fathpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head was brought into the presence of Bābār Pādīshāh, and about five or six thousand who formed Sulṭān Ibrāhīm’s retinue were put to death in the one spot.

Verse.

It is plainly evident to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,
Thou knowest now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.
That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water
He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.
Bābār Pādīshāh after gaining this signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihlī on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the Khubṭāh to be read in his name, despatching Shāhzbāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amirs to Ágra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure belonging to Ibrāhīm, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.

1 The qarn is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.
2 MS. (A) (B) ارائی را و.
3 MS. (A) (B) و. خریج را و.
4 MS. (A) (B) ریز شیب.
5 MS. (A) (B) supply حیرتی.
6 MS. (B) reads نا پینا.
7 MS. (B) reads پای پینا.
8 Read here نا پینا. A footnote to the text states that is the reading of all three MSS.
9 MS. (A) (B) پی دہلی. 10 MS. (B) پنہم.
11 MS. (B) omits پنہم.
12 MS. (A) (B) خریدہ, and omit کہ.
13 MS. (A) (B) نمودند.
Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.
However brave-hearted a man may be
He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.¹

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A.D.), and the
Hindūs invented this date Shahid shudan-i-Ibrāhim² (the martyr-
dom of Ibrāhim) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodi family, and rested on the descendants of Amir Timūr Sāhibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim was nine years.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Muhammad Bābar Pādishāh Ghāzi.

After this ascended he the throne of sovereignty, and by his
justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, Irāq, Khurāsān and Kāshgār. He also despatched offerings to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medinah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakh-
šān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amirs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages, and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates, while Qāsim Sanbāl in Sambal, and Nizām Khān in Baiāna, and Hasan Khān Miwātī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān⁸ in Gwāłīār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwā was held by Quṭb Khān, and Kalpī by ‘Ālam Khān, while Qanauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim also, had refused to own his sway,¹⁰ and having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave him the title of Sultān Muhammad; his empire extended as far as

¹ MS. (B) reads بی مرن. ² Shahīd shudān ³ Ibrāhim. ³ MSS. (A) (B) نذور (سری). ⁴ MS. (B) سن. ⁵ MS. (A) (B) متوحش. ⁶ MS. (A) (B) بود. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) after. ⁸ MS. (A) ملک خان. ⁹ MS. (A) (B) supply. ¹⁰ MS. (A) نا. ¹¹ MS. (A) (B) ملک خان.
Bihār, and Naṣīr Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmāli and other powerful Amirs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty krohs from Agra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādīshāh to conquer these countries, and Firoz Khān, and Sārang Khān, and Shaikh Bāyazīd, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmāli, with other Afghan coming and tendering their submission, were given jāqīrīs. Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustāni Amirs, and also one of their most accomplished men, being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a jāqīr upon Shāhzhāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā. The Amirs seized Qāsim Sanbali and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Bāiāna, and had besieged Niẓām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār, which is in the vicinity of Rantambhūr, from Ḥasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzhāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā, with a party of Amirs who had been appointed to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdi Khwaja, and Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa, joined the retinue of the Shāhzhāda, who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Ḥasan Khān Miwāti raised to the throne one of the sons of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, named Sultān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādīshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast army.

1 Mss. (A) (B) خانی.
2 Mss. (A) (B) جاجیگیرها.
3 Mss. (A) (B) متعمی.
4 Mss. (A) (B) کندار.
5 Mss. (A) (B) را.
6 Mss. (A) (B) معین.
7 Ms. (B) writes إماة for إماة.
8 Mss. (A) writes شاه Shāh.
9 Ms. (A) API. ببیپان.
Marching by way of Basāwar they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fatḥpūr, otherwise known as Sikri. Nizām Khān, the Governor of Baiāna made representations to the Court of Bābār and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafi‘u-d-Dīn Šafwī, who was one of the most powerful Saiyyids of Balkh, and the chief of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, had been given the title of Ḥaẓrat-i-Muqaddas (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultān and tendered his service. Tātār Khān Sārang Khānī also, after that Rānā Sānkā seized the fortress of Khandhār, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Bābār) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwāliār; but when Khwāja Raḥīm Dād and Šaikh Khūran and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Šaikh Muḥammad Ghānū, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of da‘watu-l-asma, entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tātār Khān whether he would or no, and sent him into the presence of Bābār Pādīshāh. In just this same way also Muḥammad Zaitūn the Afghān gave up the fort of Dhulpūr to the Amīrs of Bābār, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sānkā had arrived on the confines of Baiāna and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fatḥpūr; Bābār Pādīshāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him, left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote a despatch to summon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humayūn Mirzā, ordering him to leave Jaunpūr in charge of certain eminent Amīrs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war; the victorious Prince, having taken the country, of Harānd and

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1 MS. (A) 2 See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., IV. 433.
3 MSS. (A) (B) 4 Abk. 5 MS. (A) 6 MS. (B) 7 Lit.: calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muḥammaddans. For a full account of it, see Hughes (Dict. of Islām) article Da‘wah, p. 72. 8 MS. (B) reads 9 The text has a misprint for 10 Footnote variant to the text reads 11 Harid.
Bihār from Nasīr Khān, and having appointed Khwāja Amir, Shāh Hasan and Amir Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpur, proceeded by way of Kalpi, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over Alam Khān the governor of that place, and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king's service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandi arrived from Kābul, and the Amīrs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a jihād, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fathpur and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.

**Verse.**

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,
This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least depart with honour.

The end of the world is this, and nothing more
That after a man's death, his name should remain.

The Amīrs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur'ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed, and the promulgation of the

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1 A footnote variant Nuṣrat Khān. So also MS. (B).
2 MS. (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākim-i-Bukhārā.
3 The text reads قدوة الأعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that is correct.
4 MS. (A) كلمت والأ نبمة
5 The text Kālinah. “There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God,” see Qur'ān xlvii. 21 and xlviii 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art: Kālinah.
glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly, and doing full justice to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islam floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Hasan Khan Miwati, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah; they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Miwati, a jagi in form and appearance, in the year 960 H., after the death of Salim Shah Afghan Sur, raised a rebellion in Miwati, and called himself Hasan Khan, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Miwatis, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this Muntakhab (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.) saw him in Agra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features, and the late Khān-i-Khānān Bairam Khan used to say, that Hasan Khan Miwati was a man who commanded a large following, and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known; but this mannikin resembled an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive. God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khan.

After some time certain of the Khānzadas of Miwati moved by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.).

The Date of the Death of Shah Bahar.

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven. The words Shash-i-Shawwal also form the date of his decease,
while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muharram,

The year of his birth also is Shash-i-Muharram.

The duration of his reign in Mawaranaunahr, Badakhshan, Kabul, and Kashghar, as well as in Hindustan, was thirty-eight years.

He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwaja Kalan Beg wrote this couplet in his funeral ode:

Alas! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas! and Alas! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khani, who translated in most elegant style, the Waji'at-i-Babar, which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him:

Verses.

342.

Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me.

What have I done? or what hast thou heard or seen from me?

There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize my heart.

I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

Verse.

So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips of thine

Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its earthly shrine.

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1 The text reads correctly تاریخ سال اور فوت tāriḵ-i-ftūt, the date of his death.

The letters of the words دین جوانست دین جوانست give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

2 MS. (A) omits برو.

3 MS. (A) reads دین جوانست.

4 Waji'at-i-Babar. This, called also Tazak-i-Babar is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well-known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Turk here referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 et seqq., also Erskine's Babar (Introduction).

Footnote variant فرمیع

5 MS. (A) reads راپه.
My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational and traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Maulānā Baqā’i who wrote a Mašnavī in the metre of the Maghzān-i-Asrār. At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his.

Another is Maulānā Shihābū-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and at the time when Darmash Khān was appointed by Shāh Isma’il Ṣafawī Husainī to the Governorship of Khurāsān, that prince of traditionists, Mir Jamālū-d-Dīn, the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and that true Ḥadīṣ (tradition) that He created the world in seven days explained it in two ways; Maulānā Shihābū-d-Dīn refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent arguments, and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the learned divines of that time subscribed their signatures. The writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines of prose and poetry, from which the following rubā‘i is selected;

**Quatrain.**

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic, Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water.

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1 MSS. (A) (B) read معقول.
2 MS. (A) supplies إسرار. See A‘īn-i-Akbarī (B) I, p. 595 n 2, also Beale, p. 67.
3 MSS. (A) (B) وديگری. See Beale, p. 243. Shihābū-d-Dīn died in the reign of Humāyūn 942 A. H. See next page.
4 MS. (A) در زمانی که.
5 MS. (A) درمیش خان. Darmash Khān.
6 MSS. (A) (B) منصب شد.
7 Qur’ān VII. 52 X. 3.
8 See Miṣḥāb xxiv. I. 3. “God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills on it on Sunday, and the trees on Monday, and unpleasant things on Tuesday, and he created the light on Wednesday, and scattered the beasts of the earth on Thursday, and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday, the last of the creation.”
9 MS. (B) writes Shihāb only.
10 MSS. (A) (B) write بیت کوہہ ازند.
11 The text reads لازم جملة فقیر است فقر. MS. (A) omits the word فقیر and MS. (B) reads نقَّل possibly for نقَّل.
It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,\(^1\)
In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck
dumb.

The following enigma on the name Kāshīf is also by him.

_Duāl._

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment\(^2\)
displaying coquetry.

Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet
And then displayed her moon-bright face from\(^3\) one corner.\(^4\)

The death of the Maulāvī took place at the time of the return
of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise,
from his expedition to Gujrat in the year 942 H., and Mir Khond\(^5\)
Amir the historian invented the chronogram _Shihābu-d-saği̇b._
And one of the wonderful\(^6\) inventions of that Emperor, whose
shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khaṭṭ-i Bābār (the Bābār
script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qurān, and sent
it to the sacred city of Makka; his anthology of Persian and
Türkī poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the
Hanifite Theology called _Mubāiyīyīn,\(^7_\) and Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn\(^8_\)
wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled _Mubīn._ His treatises\(^9_\)
on Prosody are also in common use.

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\(^1\) _Shihābu-d-Dīn_ was called _Shihābu-d-saği̇b_ (the brilliant star); these words
also give the date of his death, _see_ post.

\(^2\) MS. (A) reads ʿār for ḫār.

\(^3\) MS. (A) reads ʿar dar for ʿar ẓar.

\(^4\) The following is the explanation of this _Maʿemma_ which is contained in
the two last lines of the _Ruhāni._ 语文 _Gāl_ گل _Kūn_ رَقَم ān _sár zulaf._
That is to say, she took the word گل and removed from it the _dāira_ or curved
portion of the ی _lām_ thus leaving گا; to this she added ān _sár zulaf,
zhulaf_ that is to say the last letter of the word _żulaf_, the letter _f_, thus
having گا. To this she added _rukh-i mah_ the first letter of the
word گا, which is in Arabic _shir._ This will give the whole word
_kašīf._

\(^5\) MS. (A), _see_ Beale, p. 150.

\(^6\) MSS. (A) (B) omit _surūb._

\(^7\) The text reads: مبین نام پطیع با مینا مینا. _Mubāiyīyīn._

\(^8\) MS. (A), _see_ Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, _et seq._

\(^9\) MS. (B) reads _wul_ for _rūshīl_ _see_ Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.
Verse.
The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood;
It gives not to the tulip the crown of royalty without laying low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned monarch.


Marching by forced marches from Saiunah in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.), with the concurrence of Amir Khalifa who was the agent and prime minister of the Government, ascended the throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the date.

Verse.
Muḥammad Humayūn Shāh of auspicious fortune
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne
Was distinguished by the words "Khairul-Mulāk."\(^1\)

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he made present of trays filled with gold, another chronogram was invented in the words Kishīti-i-Zar (Tray of gold). After disposing of all matters of importance he led an army against the fortress of Kalinjar,\(^4\) and,\(^5\) after quelling the insurrection of Sūltān 'Alam ibn-i-Sūltān Sīkandar Lodi, who had raised a revolt in Jaunpūr, returned to Agra and made a great feast, at which entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the bestowal of robes of honour.

Verse.
A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented;
But if he withholds their just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword.

In those days,\(^6\) Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā ibn-i-Badi'u-z-Zamān Mirzā\(^7\) ibn-i-Sūltān Ḥusain Mirzā, who had hostile intentions

\(^1\) MS. (A).
\(^2\) The text reads "وزیرسلطنت وکیل و وزیر مطلق". MS. (A) reads "وزیرسلطنت وکیل و وزیر مطلق".
\(^3\) Khairu-l-Mulāk. Best of Kings. The letters of the words give the date 937 H., as do also the letters of the words kishīti-i-zar in the next line.
\(^4\) MS. (B) writes "Kalichor and كشیده بود.".
\(^5\) MSS. (A) (B) supply "مرزا". Dr. A. (A). 7 MS. (B).
was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrat. It is said that at the time when Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā joined Sultān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was seized with a pain at the heart,¹ for the cure of which the physicians declared gulqand (confection of roses) ² to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā begged Sultān Bahādur to send him a piece of this gulqand. He accordingly summoned his šarbātīlār (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much gulqand there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā,³ and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the gulqand used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were ⁴ so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, proceeded to Qanaaj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultān Bahādur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, Sultān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply; ⁶ he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrat. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sāṅkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tāṭār Khān Lodi being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

¹ MSS. (A) (B) درد دلی ।

² غلغند Gulqand. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see Makhzan-i-adwiyah s.v. ورد.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ بالاخر । بودی بود MS. (A) reads بود for بودی in the text.

⁵ For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstances, under which it was written, see Bayley's History of Gujerat, pp. 377 to 380.
conflict with Mirzā Handāl, in which he attacked with three thousand men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sultan Bahādur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh moved against him from Āgra; and in this same year Mirzā Kāmrān, proceeding by forced marches from Lāhor to Qandahār, defeated Sām Mirzā, the brother of Shāh Tahmāsp, who was besieging Khwāja Kalān Bāg, and the following hemistich gives the date.

Zudā Pādshāh Kāmrān Sām rā.

(King Kāmrān defeated Sām)

Maulānā Bekasi also writes the following

Verse.

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight,
When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the flagon and the chasing of the cup,
I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our midst the gold-scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?
She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this encounter, has cast down the golden crown, in consequence of the defeat of the army of Sām.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sultan Bahādur and engage his attention

1 MS. (A) 2 The text reads Si Sad 3000. MS. (B) reads Shikārv Sad 600.
2 MS. (A) writes میرزا. 3 MS. (A) omits شاه. 4 MS. (A) 5 MS. (A) داد ر د. 6 These letters form the date 942. II.
7 Footnote variant شیکبی. 8 The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way.

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus:

Hast cast away the crown of gold (Tāj-i-Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sām (Shikasta-i-Sipāh-i-Sām). By Tāj-i-Zar is meant the letter ي, the first letter of the word يي, the value of which is 7; this being cast out from the value of Shikasta-i-Sipāh-i-Sām gives 940 - 7 = 942.
while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor, halted at Sārangpūr. Sultān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, man and beast died from starvation, and Bahādur with five of his most trusty Āmirs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr. The following verse commemorates the date of this event:

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzi, who has thousands of slaves in his palace like Jamshīd,
When he came victorious towards Gujrat, returned in triumph
the glory of the sons of Timūr.
Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,
The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahādur."

Mughāmad Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep, and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrat. Sultān ʿAlam Lodi, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Aḥmadābād. Bahādur leaving Aḥmadābād went to Kāubahāyat, and from there to the port of Dip, and at that time the fortress

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1 See Bayley, History of Gujrat, p. 382. 2 MSS. (A) (B) supply معدو here.
3 MS. (A) reads معدو, so also footnote variant to text.
4 Zull-i-Bahādur. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read Zill-i-Bahādur, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahādur."
5 MS. (B) reads گزنة یافته which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.
6 Cambay. The name Khānbat is said to be derived from Khambha or Stambhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., III. 271. See also Tieffenthaler I. 370 et seqq.
7 Tieff I. 395, writes Dip, appelée Dip dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu’ île de Soreuth où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l’un à l’autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour Mosambique. Dip est à 80 milles portugais de Surate vers l’Ouest."

See also Ain-i-Akbār I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, Hist. of Gujrat, 319 n.
of Jānpānīr 1 was also taken after a battle by the Pādshāh, and
treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the
following verse:

Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn
and discovered this,

"It was the ninth of the month of Ṣafar." 2

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamindars of the country 3
of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Aḥmadābād.
Mirzā Askari who, after the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh towards
the East, 4 remained at Aḥmadābād with the intention of having
the Khvāḥābād read in his own name, in which project he had the
support of Amir Hindū Beg; however, he could not carry out his
plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānīr, the governor of
which place, Tardi Beg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to
the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mirzā ‘Askari. But
at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra
Mirzā ‘Askari met him on the road and gave in his submission,
and Bahādur took Jānpānīr from Tardi Beg without the necessity
of fighting. 5 [And in this year Shaikh 6 Jamāli Kanbawi of
Dihli left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A
chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words
Khusrū-i-Hind bādā (he was the Khusrū of Hindustan)]. 7 In
this year also Shāh Ṭahmāsp came up against Qandahār from
‘Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mirzā, 3 and 9 Khwāja Kalān
Beg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānkhāna (Hall

1 Or Chāmpānīr. See Bayley's History of Gujrat, pp. 390 et seqq.
2 نه شهر سقرا بود. These words give the date 942 H.
3 MS. (A) omits ولایت. 4 A footnote variant reads بہرائچ پور. Burhānpūr.
5 The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS. (A) in this place.
6 MS (B).
7 حسرو هند بند. The letters of these words give the date 942 H.
There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in
the dates of the chronograms, and asserting that "دیل پاہاند" represents 932 and
not 942. This is a mistake.
8 MS. (A) here inserts the date 943 (942) in figures.
9 MS. (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shaikh
Jamāli, supra n 6.
of audience) looked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Tahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared resting place, which he did, and gave Khwaja Kalān Beg great praise for his conduct, saying, that is a good servant whom Kāmrān Mirzā possesses. Shāh Tahmāsp left Qandahār in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amirs, and returned to Ira'āq. Mirzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lābor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence of Mirzā Kāmrān to invest Lābor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humayūn Pādshāh to Gujrat, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession of Humayūn Pādshāh in Agra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humayūn, collected a large force, and took possession of the country of Gour, Bilār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humayūn Pādshāh encamped before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Safar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalal Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sulṭān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma:—

\[
\text{\textit{Haif bāshad nām i ān sag bar zabān,}} \\
\text{\textit{Mīkh dar jānāsh nīk o nānāsh bikhuān}}}\]

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips
Place a stake (mīkh) in his life (jān) and read his name.

1 MSS. (A) (B) tebirniz 2 MS. (A) supplies ممن 3 MS. (B) omits استقرار. 4 MSS. (A) (B) read منصرف شد (A) مصكر ساخته. 5 MS. (A) ممکنا or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, رومی خان Rūmikhān, contain as will be seen the word رومی mīkh between the syllables را...ان. These form the word روایان Rāvān, one meaning of which is life, for which the synonym in Persian is جان jān. So the writer says: Place the word mīkh in his life (روایان ra'wān) and you have his name رومی خان. Rūmī mīkh ān, i.e., Rūmī Khān.
he reduced that fortress, but Jalāl Khān escaped by means of a boat, and joined Shir Khān who was engaged in conflict with Naṣīb Shāh Governor of Bangāla. Humāyūn Pādshāh arrived, after that the Governor of Bangāla had been wounded in battle with Shir Khān. Naṣīb Shāh submitted himself to Humāyūn, and acted as his escort. Having entrusted the Government of Jaunpūr to Mir Hindū Bēg, with the rank of Amīru-l-ʿUmarā, and a golden throne, he proceeded by way of Garhi, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, which Quṭb Khān the son of Shir Khān and Khawājas Khān, the well-known servant of Shir Khān, had fortified, and came into Bangāla. Shir Khān not being able to withstand him, left by way of Chahār Khānūd to the fortress of Rohtās, and fell upon the rear of Humāyūn’s army, and gained possession of the fortress of Rohtās by crafty means, in the following manner. He alleged as a pretext that he had a large number of families with him, and having placed two thousand armed Afghāns in closed litters sent them towards the fort. The Rāja of Rohtās being fired with avaricious designs upon the wealth and families of the Afghāns threw open the gates of the fort. Then the Afghān soldiers who were concealed in the litters leapt out, and entering the fort, put them all to the sword.

1 MSS. (A) (B) Fūrūmūlā. The text reads wrongly muḥāraba. muḥāśara.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read ʿaṣva. The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning.
3 Dele ج. MSS. (A) (B).
4 The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning.
5 MSS. (A) (B) K̲h̲r̲f̲i, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 367 n. 2.
6 The text reads Bāsāi Khudra drāna Bāsī and Bāsī. The meaning is not clear, but from the Tūrīkh-i-Shīr Shāhī this appears to be what is meant. See Elliott and Dowson IV. 357.

A still better reading however suggests itself namely: Bāsāi Khudra drāna Bāsī. We should then translate: “And inasmuch as he had very many families with him obtained possession of the fort in the following manner.”

7 The مَحِیف is, as its name implies, a litter so closed in that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane s. v. حف.
8 MS. (A) reads درامد و برامد.
9 Regarding the truth, etc. (See MS. Copy).
The climate of Bangāla proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jannatābād (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or) 1 three months returned. In the meanwhile Shīr Khaun’s affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, ‘all these Afgāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted jāeqīr, 2 if the king will think about a jāeqīr for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword. For the rest whatever the king says is law.’

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by, 3 and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency 4 of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures. Mirzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongir, was despatched to Āgra to put down the rebellion 5 of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Shāh Mirzā, who had fled and had done great mischief in the Dihli country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, after that Sultān Bahādur was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangis, 6 could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit دو.
2 MS. (A) omissions.
3 بعد Az خرائط بنصر.
4 Ba’d az kharābī-i-Baṣra. After the ruin of Baṣra.
A proverbial expression equivalent to the English “shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen.” For the story from which the proverb arises see Shahr-i-Nahju-I-Balāgha by ‘Abdu-l-Ḥamid bin Abi-l-Ḥadiḍ al Muṭtazili. When Ali ibn Muḥammad Shāhebun-z-Zanj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Aḥmad Abūl-Abbās, son of Al-Muwaqqaf b-illusion came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. See Arabum Proverbia. Freytag III, p. 129, No. 774.
5 MSS. (A) reads مس. (B) مس. (B).
6 MS. (A) omissions.
7 His happened at Din on the 3rd Ramaṣān A.H. 943. See Bayley, History of Gujrat, pp. 396, 397.
And in the year 945 H. Mirzâ Hindâl, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators, put to death Shaikh Buhûl, the elder brother of Shaikh Muhammad Ghâng of Gwâliâr, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation, and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humâyûn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram Faqad māta Shahidân. Verily he died a martyr’s death.

Mirzâ Hindâl in this year read the Khutbah in his own name in Agra. Humâyûn despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahângîr Bâg the Mughul, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khutbah should occasion arise, set out for Agra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausâ, which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Jaunpûr and Chinsâr came in and offered to tender their services. Shîr Khân seized the head of the road, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal, which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

1 MS. (A) reads متîyân.

2 MS. (A) reads دعوت إسم الله الوسخ " the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic." Da’wah is said in the Javâhiru l-Khamas to be used for several purposes, establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease, for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle.

By إسم الله Asmâ means the names or attributes of the Deity; they are of two categories, the Asmâ’-l-jâlûliyeh or “terrible attributes” and the Asmâ’-l-jamâliyeh, “amiable attributes.” For a full account, see Hughes, Dict. of Islam articles Da’wah and Magic.

3 Faqad māta Shahidân. These words give the date 945 H.

4 Footnote variant جرسة Jausah.

5 The text reads râmâbic, which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given زاهبي zahâbic, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS. (B). MS. (A) reads رهابي rağâbic. We should read رهابي rağâbic, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV. 370a.
other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muḥammad 'Aziz, who was an old friend of Shīr Khān, as an ambassador. Shīr Khān was at that moment with his sleeves rolled up, and with a spade in his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muḥammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a shāmiāna to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say: 'You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war, but my army does: for the rest the decision is the King's.'" Then he sent Shaikh Khalil, one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar, may God sanctify his soul, who was the spiritual guide of Shīr Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangālā, and would have the Khunbāh and sikka established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Shīr Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across: but Shīr Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

Verse.

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world, because out of craft,
In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in armour.
I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth, Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

1 MS. (A) reads محمد برگیری. Muḥammad Yarqārī. MS. (B) reads محمد پر مزیر. محمد پر 'Aziz.
2 Read ایلیاکی گیتی for ایلی اچی گیتی. MSS. (A) (B).
3 Omit زا. MSS. (A) (B).
4 شامیا, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.
5 MSS. (A) (B) omit جنگ. See Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and note.
arriving first at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning them in the ocean of destruction. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Humāyūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Agra. Shīr Khān wrote

this verse upon that event:

Thou givest sovereignty to Farid the son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fishes
Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]—
One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty,
Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes.

This event occurred in the year 946 H, and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written:

Salāmat bawad Fādehāh kase.

And Shīr Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bangāla, and after fighting several engagements put to death Jahāngīr Quli Bāgh with all his following. In that country he read the Khugbaḥ in his own name, and assumed the title of Shīr Shāh, and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

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1. pishṭa (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read bishṭar, in great numbers.
2. MSS. (A) (B) سماستند
3. Named Niẓām according to Firiqta, who says that as a reward Humāyūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II. 87.
4. MSS. (A) (B) كفته كه
5. Shīr Shāh was originally called Farid Khān, and his father's name was Hasan Khān.
6. MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is
7. No authority exists for such a reading.
8. The verses in question are by Firdausi.
9. Here the reading of MS. (A) is followed which reads
10. MS. (B) adds the date in figures (946).
11. MSS. (A) (B) omit بشاكل. See Kliiot and Dowson, IV, pp. 376–378.
12. 'Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of Ḥarrat-i-'Alī.
intending to capture Agra. Kāmrān Mirzā, prior to the affair of Jausā, after hearing of the victory of Shir Khān and the rebellion of Mirzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Agra, which he reached in the year 946 H. Mirzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mirzā Kāmrān, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihli, in which Mir Fakhr ‘Ali and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mirzā Kāmrān. Mir Fakhr ‘Ali also came in and had an interview with him, but Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mirzā Hindāl separating from Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent, till that eventful defeat took place; after the defeat at Jausā he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mirzā Kāmrān in Agra. The Mirzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears. Afterwards Hindāl Mirzā and Muhammad Sultan Mirzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mirzā Kāmrān ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shir Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mirzā put forward a claim to proceed to the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded to all his requests, saving only his return; and Ḫwāja Kalān Bag was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mirzā Kāmrān to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled. In the meantime Mirzā Kāmrān was taken ill with a complication

1 MSS. (A) (B)
2 MS. (B)
3 Text
4 MS. (A)
5 MSS. (A) (B)
6 MSS. (A) (B)
7 Omit the words

داورگیر
of severe diseases, and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers to entertain suspicion against Humayun, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lahore, and in breach of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at Agra in the service of the king, took the whole of it with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar. Mirza Haider the Mughul and Dughlat Kashmiri also remained at Agra, and were kindly treated. Shir Khan waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a force under his son Qutb Khan, sent him across the Ganges against Kalpi and Itawa. Qasim Husain Sultan Usbek, in concert with Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Iskandar Sultan, after a fight in the vicinity of Kalpi, put to death the son of Shir Khan with a large number of his following, sending their heads to Agra.

Humayun started to oppose Shir Khan with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of Qanaj encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of Shir Khan did not comprise in all more than five thousand cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of Mirza Kamaran also took flight to Lahore, and the Mughuls of the King's army were scattered in

1 إراضي متساددة Amrāz-i-mutasaddah. Lit.: Diseases of opposite tendencies, i.e., those diseases, the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other.
2 بغلة های غرفگردنیان MSS. (A) (B).
3 MS (B) reads wrongly for MSS. (A) (B).
4 نامی ساختند. MSS. (A) (B) omit.
5 جمع كثير. 
6 MS. (A) says پنجاه هزار panjāh hazār, fifty thousand.
all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humâyûn’s army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time Shir Khân drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the ‘Ashûra, the 10th of Muḥarram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words Kharûbi-i-mulk-i-Dilli. The greater number of the Mughul soldiers refused to fight and took to their heels, while a small body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle, but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Din Muḥammad of Ghazni (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince’s most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindûstân with the title of A’zam Khân), escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that the enemy’s army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there, so made his way to the Panjâb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabi‘u-l-awwal of this year all the Sulṭâns and Amirs of the Chaghatai tribe assembled for conference in Lâhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sulṭân and his sons fled from Lâhor to Multân, while Mirzâ Hindâl and Mirzâ Yâdgâr Nasîr thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mirzâ Kâmrân

1 MSS. (A) (B) در همين حين (B)

2 خرائي ملك دولي These letters give the date 947 H.

3 Jang nā karda. MS. (A) omits ترتيب.

4 MS. (B) reads مرديه وار كوشش و كوشش دادند.

5 Shamsu-d-Din Muḥammad Atka Khân, son of Mir Yâr Muḥammad of Ghazni. See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).

The word Atka, Atîkâ, or Atkâ is a Turki word, signifying precepteur instituteur, père de lait (Pavet de Courteilles).

The wife of Shamsu-d-Din was appointed saukât or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amber.

6 MS. (A) omits جون 7 MSS. (A) (B) read آقا قرار ناونستند كریکت.

8 For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, see Ney and Elias Târiḵâ-i-Rashidî, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes جنگه.
prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kābul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mirzā Ḥaidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmir, to that district. It was agreed that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mirzā Ḥaidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmir.

When Mirzā Ḥaidar arrived at Naushahra² which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmiris and conquered it: and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Siālkoṭ. When tidings reached the king that Shīr Khān had crossed the river at Sultānpūr and had arrived within thirty krohs of Lāhor, Humāyūn, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirzā Kāmrān, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahīra, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Siālkoṭ, and joined Humāyūn’s camp. Mirzā Kāmrān together with Mirzā ’Askari, separating from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān Bēg towards Kābul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind. Mirzā Hindāl, and Mirzā Yāḍgār Nāṣir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of Amir Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humāyūn, that one sir⁵ of the smaller millet⁶ could sometimes not be bought even for an aškāfašfī.⁷ The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmar,⁸ and the country of Mārwār, where strange⁹ incidents

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¹ MSS. (A) (B)
² Nowshera.
³ لازم.
⁴ MS. (B) reads بی سکب، in company with.
⁵ About two pounds.
⁶ غلظ، جواری Ghalūl-i-Jauarī. This is the Hindustāni, or rather, the Panjābi name. In Persian it is called azraān araam.
⁷ The proper average price of this grain being six ḍām per mānu of forty sirs, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1:6,000.
⁸ MS. (A).
⁹ Omit Māwī.
occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Tahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

SHĪR KHĀN IBN I ḤASAN SUR

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shīr Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The chronogram Kharābi-i-Mulk-i-Dilli 1 was invented 2 to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bāg 3 to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Ḥasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name, 4 in the time of Sultān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from Roh, by which is meant Afghānīstān, entered the service of Sultān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissār Firūza and Nārnūl. After his death (his son) Ḥasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the jāegir of the pargana of Sahsarrām and Khawāspūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās. 6 He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers, 7 of whom there were seven, he left his

1 These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.
2 MSS. (A) (B) with یائتنده, for یائتنده as in the text.
3 The text reads ژیکیکی MS. (B) ژیکیکی MS. (A).
4 The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.
5 Omit ۵ک MSS. (A) (B).
6 The text and both MSS. read رواداران آویلی رداح it should be رواداران رداح. See Firizhta Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.
7 The text reads ِبرادران اخوئی اخوئی با ِاراداران آویلی. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads ِاغیفی، brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Bādīni means all the sons of Ḥasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), see E and D IV, 310.
home and giving up the service of Jamāl Khān spent some time in Jaunpūr in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself in knowledge, until he had read the Ḧāfiyāh with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the Gulistān, Būstān, Sikandārnāma and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and Shaikhs of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his jāqīrs. This he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check. Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farīd and his father, and going to Āgra with his own brother, he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khān, one of the chief commanders of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers before the Sultān. The Sultān however, was displeased at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him. Upon the death of Ḥasan, Daulat Khān made a representation to the Sultān, and obtained his desire in securing those parganas for Shīr Khān. There he remained for some time, and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihār Khān, the son of Daryā Khān Luḥānī, who had read the Khutbah and issued the sikka in his own name in Bihār, and had assumed the title of

1 There is a little variation in the reading here: M.S. (B) reads

2 Al-Kāfiyāh fi'l nāhwa. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shaikh Jamālud-Dīn (Ibu-l-Ḥājib); for an account of this work and its commentary, see H. K. No. 9707.

3 MS. (A) also reads fażīl, excellencies.

4 MS. (A) reads fażīl, excellencies.

5 MS. (A) reads fażīl, excellencies.

6 MS. (A) reads fażīl, excellencies.

7 MS. (A) reads fażīl, excellencies.

8 MS. (A) reads fażīl, excellencies.

9 MS. (A) reads fażīl, excellencies.

10 Read here MS. (B).

11 Read here MS. (B).

12 Read here MS. (B).
Sultan Muhammad. This was at the time when Sultan Ibrahim had taken the field at Panipath, and Babar Padshah had conquered Hindustan and planted the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultan Muhammad, the title of Shir Khan was bestowed upon him by the Sultan, who also appointed him to be tutor to his son Jalal Khan. After some time Muhammad Khan Sur, governor of the country of Chaud, made an attempt to turn Sultan Muhammad against Shir Khan, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultan Muhammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the parganas, sent Suleiman, son of Hasan Sur who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shadi to Khawaspur, and Bhaka the servant of Shir Khan who was known as the father of Khawas Khan engaged in battle with Suleiman and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shir Khan at Sahsararam. Shir Khan had no longer the power to cope with Muhammad Khan, nor the inclination to serve Sultan Muhammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and jageer, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultan Junaid Birlas, who was holding the Government of Karra and Manikpur on behalf of Babar Padshah. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultan Junaid, and fought with Muhammad Khan, wrested from him the parganas of Chaud and other parganas, and took possession of them. Muhammad Khan fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtas. Shir Khan, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muhammad Khan, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over the parganas he held as jageer to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Niqam his full brother in charge

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1 MS. (A) reads اکتشند for اکتشند.
2 Ataugh, this word is Turkî. In its Arabicized it becomes Ataugh, but the other is the correct orthography. Ataugh literally signifies the relationship of an atah or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité: nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestan et le Khurasan, chef de tribu, qui élève une personne."

3 MS. (A) writes جذشنة. MS. (B) omits جذشنة.
of the jaegir, went again to Sultan Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Babar Padshah. Taking Shir Khan with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Babar on the expedition to Chanderi. In accordance with Mughal habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass. One day Babar, on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure, and demanded the punishment of Shir Khan. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double-dealings. Shir Khan accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his parganas, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sultan Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return, that since Muhammad Khan was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultan Muhammad to send an army against Shir Khan's parganas because of his being in service with the Mughuls, and as he could not easily and quickly obtain leave of absence from Babar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultan. Thence he proceeded to Sultan Muhammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalal Khan, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultan Muhammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihar and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdum Alam, the governor of Hajipur, one of the Amirs of the Wali

1 MS. (A) supply.  
2 MSS. (A) (B) supply after.  
3 MS. (A) reads for text.  
4 MS. (A) bas with no dots.  
5 Omit before MSS. (A) (B).  
6 MS. (A) (B). The text is correct.
of Bangāla, who despatched an Amir named Quṭb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm ‘Ālam. Shir Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm ‘Ālam, and after a fierce battle put Quṭb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lāhānis, in spite of Shir Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shir Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālis in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Quṭb Khān above mentioned, against Shir Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shir Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālis received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shir Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālis with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sultān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khān]. Tāj Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendancy over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amirs of the Afghān Lodi faction summoned from Chitor Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, who, after raising Hasan Khān Miwātī and Rānā Sānkā to royal power, had induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna. He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wrestling it from Shir Khān took possession of it. Shir Khān was perforce compelled to

1 MS. (A) supplies the text. 2 MSS. (A) (B) and is correct. 3 MS. (B) reads the text, but the textual reading is correct. 4 MS. (A) 5 MS. (B) Sārahāni. 6 Not in MS. (A). 7 MS. (A) omits the text. 8 MS. (A) omissions.
submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsaraṁ. Sultān Maḥmūd passing by Sahsaraṁ, after writing and making over to Shir Khān an agreement relating to Bihār, thereupon raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhnāu into his own power. The Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh could not stand against (Shir Khān), and proceeding to Kalinjar gave in their allegiance to him. Humāyūn marched to oppose Sultān Maḥmūd, and Baban and Bāyazid, who were with him. When the two armies met Shir Khān, who had stood aloof from Sultān Maḥmūd for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mir Hindū Bēg Qūchān, Commander-in-chief of the Mughul army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side. You and the Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultān Maḥmūd and Baban and Bāyazid.

Verse.

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear.

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultān Maḥmūd and Baban being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H. (1542 A. D.) in the country of Orissa he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non-existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humāyūn Pādshāh [after this victory] sent Mir Hindū Bēg as his agent to Shir Khān with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chinār. He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amirs to precede him

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1 This agreement was to the effect that should Shir Khān render effectual assistance to Sultān Muḥammad Lodi in recovering Jaunpūr, the country of Bihār should be restored to him as a reward for his services. (Firīshaṭa).
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit خون.
3 MSS. (B) omit خون.
4 MSS. (A) (B) read ویسن و بای بزید. Firīshaṭa says Baban and Bāyazid.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read کہ هم را اور برونن مٹن جا گشتند. The text is incorrect.
6 MS. (A) پن و.
7 MS. (A).
8 The text reads wrongly پن و.
9 Not in MSS. (A) (B) which write also میر هندیر بیگ.
and lay siege to that fortress, himself also preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shir Khan wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bâyazid. This petition he sent by the hand of Qutb Khan, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humayûn Pâdshâh. He sent also with Qutb Khan, 'Isâ Khân Hajjâb, who was his vakil with the powers of a vâzîr, and he fleeing from Gujraît joined his father in Bangâla. When Humayûn Pâdshâh altered his course towards Gujraît, Shir Khân himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humayûn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shir Shâh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qânnauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shîrgâr. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsâbâd and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rusûlpûr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihli, which was founded by Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dinpanâb, which Muhammad Humayûn Pâdshâh constructed, and Firozâbâd, an extensive city, and built round that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three krohs. On his arrival at Sultanpur by continuous marches, the brothers of Humayûn Pâdshâh and the Chaghatai Amirs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Shir Shâh himself, not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangâla as far as western Rohtâs, which is a four months' journey, and also from Agra to Mandû, at every kroh a sarâi (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a Muazzin and an Imâm. A Musulmân

1 MS. (A) reads خوهد هم. 2 MS. (A) supplies ر. 3 MS. (A) reads here و دوران قلمه را. 4 MS. (A) supplies خوهد. 5 MSS. (A) (B) مندز. 6 The officer whose duty it is to call the Azân or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, Azân. 7 The priest who leads the prayers.
and a Hindū were also appointed to superintend the supply
of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked
for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of
the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so
that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of
these still remain in most places up to the present time, though
fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was
so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden
tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined,
no thief or ruffian would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this Muntakhab was born
in the reign of so just a king; to use the words of the Prophet,
may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, I was born in the
reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabī‘u-l-ṣānī in
the year 947 H. (1540 A.D.) but, in spite of this, would that the
name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chroni-
cles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave
the private chamber of non-existence, where I dwelt with the
inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my
foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer a few
scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the
stamp, He loses this world and the next, the context is well-known.

Verse.

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid
My hopes for this world and the next are ended.

Rubā‘i.

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing,
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret;
Better had been non-existence than this vain superfluity.

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes
aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the
prophetic office, upon him and his family may the peace and bless-
ing of God rest, says: "Would that the Lord of Muhammad had not

1 MSS. (A) (B).
2 21st August, 1540.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read نبايد كشید for َباؤي كشید.
4 MSS. (A) (B) omit مي writing simple َرمايد. 60
created Muḥammad," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter
Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me.¹

After that Shīr Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālnāt. He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khawāṣṣ Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khizr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sultān. Shīr Shāh² accordingly bent his course thither, and Khizr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shīr Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of jāegir upon several of his Amīrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,³ Qāzī Faḍilat the Qāzī of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Faḍilat.⁴

In the year 948 H. he came⁵ to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwāliār with the intention of conquering Mālwa.⁶ Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

¹ Cf. Isaiah xlv. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyām

² MS. (A).
³ Omit MS. (A).
⁴ Faḍilat means excellence. Faḍilat means ignominy.
⁵ MSS. (A) (B) ना। आपके पास आया।
⁶ Omit MSS (A) (B).
with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultāns, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shir Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shir Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he tore his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shir Khān wrote the following:

Verse.

You see how the chicken-hearted slave Mallū has treated me
It is a saying of Muṣṭafā "There can be no good in a slave."

Shir Khān then nominated Ḥājī Khān Sultāni to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sazāwal Khān to administer the affairs of the district of Sawās; Mallū Khān fought with Ḥājī Khān and Sazāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī, who was the permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthanbūr, yielded up that fortress to Shir Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time:

Quatrain.

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou hast borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shir Shāh led an army against the fortress of Rāi Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhādi, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

1 Supply 甘肃省 (A) (B)  2 MS. (A) supplies 甘肃
3 MSS. (A) (B)  4 MS. (A) 甘肃省
5 Omit 甘肃省 before حاكم 甘肃省 (A) (B)  6 MS. (A).
is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own ʿharīm. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege:

Qiyām-i-bārgōh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate. 2

After prolonging the siege for some time Shīr Shāh entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūranmāl 3 by the intervention of Shāhzādā ʿAdil Khān and Quṭb Khān Nāīb, 4 and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of Mir Saiyyid Rafiʿu-d-Din Ṣafawī of Ij, 5 which was given the title of Muqaddasa (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodi, broke his word, and caused Pūranmāl together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindūs, who were near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either 6 became food for the edge (jauhar) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called jūhar, a well-known word in the Hindi language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, may God be merciful to its author. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and 7 after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of Mārwār, and led a vast 8 army against Rāī Maldeo 9

1 MS. (A) omits در.
2 The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.
3 MS. (A) reads Deorimal and omits Ḥarīm.
4 MSS. (A) (B) omit ʿAṭāʾīn.
5 Died at Agra in 954 or 957, see Ain-i-Akbari (B). I, 523.

The text reads erroneously ʿIlāhī. MS. (A) reads Ḥarīm, and MS. (B) reads ʿIlāhī. We should read ʿIlāhī, in the sense given in the translation. ʿIlāhī is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ʿIlāk (Muʿjamu-l Buldān, I, p. 415).
6 MSS. (A) (B) ي।.
7 MSS. (A) (B) و.
8 Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.
9 MS. (B) omits ʿAṭāʾī.
the leader of the Rāis of Hindāstān who held sway over the
country of Nāgor and Jaunpūr, and was a powerful opponent of
the Muslims; and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shīr Shāh,
from which he never departed,1 was to throw up an entrenched
position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might
be, as soon as Māldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ājmir with
fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war,
itent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shīr Shāh,
he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because
of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced
and veteran Amīrs. No one of them however could devise a
way to effect that object. Suddenly Māhmūd Khān, the son of
ʿĀdil Khān,2 who was grandson to Shīr Shāh, notwithstanding his
youth said, “Let Shīr Shāh ʿĀlam order the baufāras (grain sellers)
of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round3 the
army.” This idea4 highly commended itself to Shīr Shāh, and
he immediately placed his turban upon the lad’s head, and
bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories.

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islām Shāh5
after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very
first of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted
out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying
Al mulku ‘uqīm6 (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment
which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to
his posterity.

Verse.

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity,
For the nature of things brings about requital.

In short Shīr Shāh, who7 would not give the head of one of
his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghāns were8 far
dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve

1 MS. (A) omits خلاف.
2 MS. (A) reads پسر عادل خان MS. (B) بدر و رگدر.
3 MS. (A) reads for بسیر من این را اور omitting.
4 MS. (A) reads البطل عقیم.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read سلیم شاہ.
6 MS. (A) omits جوین.
7 MS. (A) reads بود MS. (A) (B) read بود.
his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar-natured, currish Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Māldeo’s army, to himself, couched in enigmatical language, the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Māldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Māldeo’s hands, with the result that Māldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals, and, in the dead of night fled alone without looking behind him; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct, and that this was all the handiwork of Shir Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Māldeo’s mind. Kanhaiyā, who was his minister and agent, abused Māldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shir Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear. After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shir Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shir Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

1 सिकार with a footnote variant found in MS. (B) अब्राय खौशी MSS. (A) (B).
2 MS. (B) omits नोकारी MSS. (A) (B).
3 MS. (A) (B) read रायन जी मल नावान मच जीवान मल (Text).
4 Lit. to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read रायन जी मल नावान मच जीवान मल (Text).
5 MS. (A) omits नोकारी MSS. (A) (B).
6 This name is given on the authority of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read गोया which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigge’s II, p. 122, calls him Koonaha. Kanhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.
7 Firishta merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy’s camp in daylight. (Bo. text, loc cit).
mutual assistance, binding their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghans with their short spears, which they call Barwa, and with their swords. Shir Shāh had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.* A poet of Basāwar, whose takhallus is Faīzī, wrote this verse on that subject.

Suddenly check to the king happened to Māldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
Kanyā protected him as 'Irā.  

It is said— that after this victory Shir Shāh on several occasions used to say, “I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindūstān for a handful of millet.” Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantabhr to his son 'Ādil Khān, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition Mir Saiyyid Rafl‘u-d-Din, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shir Shāh, “All my ancestors were authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

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1 The text reads فوطة در فوطة باثبتن but we should read bafta.
2 Barcha. A Hindi word meaning a small spear.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read پایمال کردند
4 MS. (B) writes needlessly بک کس ضاع نش.
5 See Ŧin-i-Akhari (B) I 490, for a full account of the poet Faīzī.
6 I read here for گوریا, see n. 7, page 478.
7 For بریز نفری for MSS. (A) (B) یری. ‘Irā is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a Rook to protect the king from check by the Rook, see J. R. S. A. xiii p. 49, (Bland, on the Persian game of chess).
8 MS. (A) supplies ی
9 MS. (A) بوده اند ر.
cities.\(^1\) I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindustān I am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me,

My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted many parchments.\(^2\)

Shir Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, He is blessed and exalted,\(^3\) to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindustān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims\(^5\) to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muḥammad, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him,\(^6\) and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sultān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, may God increase their dignity. Then I coming up from one direction [and the Khurandgār\(^7\) from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because\(^8\) as soon as the Sultān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

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1 Makkah and Madinah.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read با Dafāṭir.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read بعوون ایزدی تیارک و تعالی.
4 MSS. (A) (B) read با.
5 MS. (B) reads ججج و ججور. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes Dict. of Islam, art. Hajj.
6 A footnote variant لعلما انزلاء البقعد المقرب بالقيامه is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.
7 MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.
8 MS. (A) جب.
again return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround
him from both directions with this army and the large following
we have in Hindustan, together with that powerful force and its
artillery, his resisting power will be nil; and on carefully con-
sidering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted
to carry this message than yourself, and simply in view of the
attainment of this object I cannot entertain the idea of your
leave.

It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable
that this same good intention may be the cause of the salva-
tion of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although
he fell into the fire, in the Day of Reckoning, for the
Almighty, may He be glorified and exalted, is satisfied with little
and very bountiful, and the story of 'Amr ibn Lais [who
for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-
eminence over all kings of Iraq, in the four quarters of the
globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at
the slaughter of Imam Husain, may God Most High be pleased with
him, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the followers
of Yazid, and of his having a vision in which he was walking in
the gardens of Paradise] is well known, say, every man acts after
his own manner, that is after his own desire.

Verse.

My brother thou art all desire, naught else;
All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre.
If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
If a furnace is thy desire, thou art its fuel.10

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1. MS. (A).
2. We should probably read here معلوم for مصدر.
3. MS. (A) reads أiad for غرض.
4. MS. (A) reads غرض.
5. See next page for the account of Shir Shâh's accident at the siege of
Kâlinjar.
7. MSS. (A) (B) omit پیامد.
8. Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyah, the second Khalifah of the house of
Ummayyah. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Husain
who was killed at Karbalâ A.H. 61, see Hughes, Dict. of Islam.
9. See Qur'an XVII, 86.
10. MS. (A) reads حب for حبة. MS. (B) reads حبة.
And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shīr Shāh invested the fortress of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions; 1 and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shīr Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shīr Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched, 2 and Shaikh Khalil the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Maulānā Nāgīmudd-Dīn 3 also were fellow-sufferers with Shīr Shāh in this explosion, 4 Shīr Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness, 5 took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion, 6 where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little 7 he shouted to his men encouraging them 8 to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signed to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amīrs 9 in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

1 The text reads here مورچلا with a footnote variant مورچلا. MS. (B) reads مورچلا. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading مورچلا for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS. (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مورچلا, MS. (A) مورچلا, and the text مورچلا. See note 6.

2 MS. (A) reads مورچلا. مورچلا. مورچلا

3 MS. (B) reads مورچلا. مورچلا. مورچلا

4 Both MSS. (A) (B) read فریاد زده مورچلا. را از. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

5 The text reads مورچلا. MS. (A) مورچلا. MS. (B) مورچلا, see ante n. 1.

6 MS. (A) مورچلا. مورچلا. مورچلا

7 MS. (B) reads مورچلا. مورچلا. مورچلا.
behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,¹ I saw, said he, a soldier armed cap-a-pie, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume² of the same colour upon his head,³ and urging and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.⁴ The men in the other trenches also gave the same account, saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who, kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished:

Verse.

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven itself would have girt its loins,
If thou hadst⁵ been on the side of the faith, the Gemini would have ungirt their sword.

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Musliims. And Shír Sháh suffering and distressed as he was, from time to time enquired for tidings of victory. The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose-water, it was utterly useless⁶ to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

¹ The text reads علامات وصورتها از بک دیگر صفتان زند. MS. (A) reads for سورت - صورتیا. The reading of the text is adopted.
² Fazlu-Iláh Khán gives a word word yaláh in the meaning of علم alam, a standard or ensign.
³ MSS. (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant بلبلان ونگ. omitting the words ملبوس و عامة found in the text.
⁴ MS. (A).
⁵ In the first line MSS. (A) (B) read نز for (Text). In the second line MS. (A) reads نز for (Text).
⁶ The text reads نام انفجار اصل نداشت. MS. (B) reads for but the correct reading appears to be اصل نداشت MS. (A).
A breast which is consumed by the fire of separation
Sandal ¹ can afford it no relief.

At the very moment of hearing the good tidings of victory he
yielded up his life ² to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver
of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of
his death:

Shir Shāh, he in dread of whom
The lion and the goat drank at the same source
Left the world; the wise sage pronounced
The date of his death. Zi ʿulāsh murd ³ (he died from the
effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sāhsarām where was the burial-place
of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military
command was fifteen years, and of his Sultānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a
mirror, he exclaimed, "Alas! that I obtained my kingdom at the
time of evening prayer." ⁴

1 سندل Santalum album. Useful in headache, Southeimer II, 138. There
are three kinds according to the Maḥẓanu-l-adwiya. The white sandal
called in Hindi Chandan; the yellow sandal called in Hindi Mālāgīr; the red
sandal called in Hindi Rakat Chandan. This latter is the wood of Pterocarpus
santalinus (Red sanders). It is generally called Debi Chandan, it is used,
not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Kāli is used to
mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both Chandan and
Mālāgīr (so called because it comes from Mālālam or Malabar) are used
as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure
for headache. They are also used in pājā or worship by the Hindūs, who have
a saying

Chandan, dhūp, dip, mālāyāgīr
Prem sahit Thākur nahalwān.

With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lamps, and mālāyāgīr
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

² Omit ³ عاربتي MS. (A).
⁴ These letters give the date 952 H. This date is given in
² Z ʿulāsh ³ مرس ⁴ دریغ که پادشاهی انگال figures in both MSS. (A) (B).
⁵ That is to say so late in life. Firishta says: Whenever he looked in the
glass and saw his white beard, he used to say, "It was near evening before
I attained to empire."

MSS. (A) (B) writes دیرغ که پادشاهی انگال.
Verses.

My heart! like Khizr¹ take and drink the water of life,
Like Sikandar come and conquer land and sea.
If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,
Take the cup of Kausar ² from the hand of the Hūri³ and drink.
The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty
Has reached the Koh-i-qāf, go thither and hear its tale.
If thou art sitting, for instance, on the throne of Solomon,
One day like the ant creep into the recess of a cave and hide there;
Two or three days like the spider, spin in the deserted corner
of the world the strands of desire and take thy place there.
Every beautiful-faced one,⁴ whose beauty is unapproachable;
With that one, to thy heart's content,⁵ take thy delight.
This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,
Do thou at last see this dream and take it.
Thy life, O Qādiri, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,
Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment.
When the hand of Death tears⁶ the sleeve of thy existence
Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God).

İSLEM ŞAH İBNI ŞİİR ŞAH ŞÜR,⁷

Who is Islam Khān, on the fifteenth of the month Rabi‘u-l-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amir⁸ of Bhatta came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna,⁹ and by the co-operation of 'İsā Khān Hajjāb and the other men of influence and power,¹⁰ succeeded to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islam

¹ Al-Khizr. See Hughes, Dict. of Islām, p. 272.
³ The women of Paradise. Qur‘ān lv. 56–78.
⁴ MS. (A) reads ‘هر خویور برف خویور بر’. (Text). MS. (A: MS. (B) reads ‘بَرَائِی دل’.
⁵ بوکریه دل. MS. (B).
⁶ دهد. (Text) MS. (A: MS. (B) reads ‘بِنَهْ’.)
⁷ MS. (A) omits ‘سور’. (Text)
⁸ A footnote variant ‘بَرَائِی’. MS. (B). (Text)
⁹ MS. (A) ‘بِنَهْ Bhatta’. (Text)
¹⁰ Mss. (A: B) read گشت (Text).
Shâh, and the son of Mulla Ahmad Junaid, who is well known, found this verse of the sacred word: "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'" to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Adil Khân and sent it to him in Ranthanbûr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kâlinjar he made for Agra and in the vicinity of the township of Kûra Khâtampûr, Khawâq Khân arrived from Sihrinkh which was his jâegîr, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Adil Khân as compared with Islem Shâh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shâh reached 'Adil Khân, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent: Qutb Khân Nâib, 'Isâ Khân Niyâzi, Khawâq Khân, and Jalâl Khân Jilwâni, all of whom were great Amîrs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shâh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Adil Khân to depart to his jâegîr after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindûstan which he might select. 'Adil Khân acting upon the advice of these Amîrs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthanbûr to Fathpûr.

1 MSS. (A) (B) جند Jund. 2 MS. (B) omits مشبور.
3 Supply by MS. (A). See Qur'ân xxi, 105.
4 Psalm xxxvii, 29. 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'

The date is given by the words من بعد الذكر i.e., that which follows الذكر. The value of الذكر being 951, that which follows is 952 H.

6 MSS. (A) (B) عازم کورگر شد.

1 MSS. (A) (B) جلال Jalâ.
otherwise called Sikri, and Islem Shāh left Āgra and came to Shikārpūr, where the royal palace is at present, to receive him; and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Āgra. Islem Shāh had plotted treachery against 'Ādil Khān, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Ādil Khān. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him; accordingly Islem Shāh was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Ādil Khān with extraordinary fawning and flattery, saying "I have taken care of these unruly Afghans so far by artful means, now I make them over to you."

Verse.

Subject the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance
of the cup-bearer.

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy. Although 'Ādil Khān was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well-known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease, and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem Shāh and his ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet, and seating Islem Shāh on the throne again with all honour and ceremony, swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings and oblations. Islem Shāh, in accordance with the compact which had been made, sent 'Isa Khān and Khwās Khān to accompany 'Ādil Khān, and having confirmed Baiāna to him as a jāegīr, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghāzi Mahallī, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Ādil Khān.

1 Omit أ م S. (B).
2 MS. (A) Sankāpūr.
3 MS. (A) reads ما سر خشیم.
4 MS. (A) بی سر.
6 MS. (A) supplies اور.
7 MS. (A) reads بد رسیمabelleم.
8 MS. (B) supplies اور.
9 Read برهن مس سریم (MSS. (A) (B)).
10 MS. (A) برهن.
11 MS. (B) omits بود.
'Adil Khân, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiâna taking refuge with Khawâs Khân in Miwât. Khawâs Khân then summoned Ghâzi Maḥâlli, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Adil Khân. and having gained over to his side all the Amirs, set out for Agra with a large army. Qât Khân and 'Isâ Khân also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State, with whose concurrence the compact had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islam Shâh, and with great management summoned 'Adil Khân at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the Shab-i-barât, so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Adil Khân and Khawâs Khân, having arrived at Sikri on the Shab-i-barât, spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salim Chishti, in voluntary prayers and benedictions, so that their departure for Agra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time when they reached the outskirts of Agra. Islam Shâh who was alarmed, spoke very courteously to Qât Khân and the rest of the Amirs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Adil Khân. His object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read عامه امرا.
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit امرا و.
3 MS. (A) (B) read بضرورة التقرب instead of باطولة الع.
4 The fifteenth day of Sha'bân. A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadans. Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, Dict. of Islam.
5 Briggs in his translation of Firishta says, "as it was the night of the Kooban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says و جوان شب براة بود (Bo. Text, p. 431) and same much at it was the Shab-i-barât.
6 MS. (A) in error شب بركب.
7 Nawâfîl wa ad'iyah. Nawâfîl are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from Farz which are prayers enjoined by God, and from Sunnah, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet.
8 See Hughes, Dict. of Islam, art. Prayer.
9 MS. (A) (B) مطلب کشته.
10 Insert اما after ما، MSS. (A) (B) instead of as in the text.
for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. Īsā Khān Hajjāb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amirs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amirs whom he had sent, saying "I am by no means confident that Ādīl Khān will not deal treacherously with you; you had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between him and me can only be settled by the sword."

Verse.

In this case messengers and despatches can avail nothing,
The two-edged sword will make this matter clear. 4

The Amirs, however, who were friendly to Ādīl Khān, on seeing Islem Shāh take the field, refused 5 to return to his side and entered the ranks of the more powerful army; a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and Ādīl Khān was defeated 6 and fled alone toward Bhatta. 7 Khawās Khān and Īsā Khān Niyāzī, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwāt and the township of Fīrāzpūr, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it; but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shāh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindūstān, which 8 are called (the) Kumāon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājās of that district. Qutb Khān Nāib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shāh proceeded to Chunār, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwāliār, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kūrah Khātampūr, while engaged in playing changān with Jalāl Khān Jilwānī, 9 who was one of the married Amirs of the Afghāns, and had been 10 an adherent

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1 MS. (A) 2 Omit فرسان و MS. (B). 3 MS. (B) omits میان.
4 This order of the hemistiches is given in MS. (A).
5 MS. (A) 6 Mss. (A) (B) 7 MSS. (A) (B) omit رخت و 8 MS. (A) omits گان را.
9 MSS. (A) (B) 10 MS. (A) 11 پون.
of 'Adil Khan, and a great object of suspicion to Islam Shah, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudadad, making them over to an Afghan who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloak of vengeance, proceeded to Agra, [and from thence to Gwaliar which he had made his capital],¹ and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Adil Khan, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draights or chess. Qutb Khan also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumaon hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khan, to whom Shir Shah had given the title of A'zam Humayun. Haibat Khan in obedience to a summons from ² Islam Shah, sent Qutb Khan in chains to him. Islam Shah sent him together with Shabaz Khan Luhani,³ who was brother-in-law to Shir Shah,⁴ and Barmazid Kor who was the Dajjal ⁵ of that sect, and the Hajjaj ⁶ of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amirs ⁷ and Amirs' sons, to the fortress of Gwaliar, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.⁸

[Among them was Mahmud Khan, son of 'Adil Khan, who in his seventh year had counselled Shir Shah to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shir Shah had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related. Another was Kawal Khan Ghakkar who will be mentioned shortly].⁹

And in this year Salim Shah summoned A'zam Humayun from

¹ Not in MSS. (A) (B).
² برامج طلب
³ مير حساب
⁴ Firishta says قمة شرهار سليم شاه بون وبر موزرد كور وحنك ديدر who was sister's husband to Salim Shah, with Barmazid Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 433.
⁵ دجال
⁶ Dajjal. The Masihu-d-dajjal or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muhammad.
⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit نامي.
⁸ The text reads بدابر نتفئ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.
⁹ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.
Lābor, but he advanced some excuse for not coming in person, and sent Sa‘īd Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment.1 Islam Shāh received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him; at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amirs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khān Niyāzī and the others, saying: Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized. Previously to this he had thrown the abovementioned Amirs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwāliār, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghakkār, who remained under the protection of the Ail-cherisher safe in a corner of the room.2 [It is said that the following was the reason of his escaping; the sister of Kawāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islam Shāh, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying: This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder. She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water. Kawāl Khān poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt. In the morning Islam Shāh came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khān alive said: It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you].3 Then Islam Shāh having made him take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjāb to conquer the country of the Ghakkārs [where he arrived with all honour].4 In short Sa‘īd Khān, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

1 MS. (A) (B) reads 2 MS. (B) reads
3 MS. (A) omits 4 MS. (A) omits
5 MSS. (A) (B) read simply 6 This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit 8 Not in MSS. (A) (B):
to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyāzī faction, and Ā'gam Humāyūn read the Khutbah in his own name in Lāhor. Islam Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb. Sazāwal Khān came from Mālwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islam Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dihli and ordering his army, set out for Lāhor. 1 Ā'gam Humāyūn and Khawās Khān, and 'Īsā Khān 2 Niyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjāb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islam Shāh. In the early part of the 3 winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of 4 the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'gam Khān had asked Khawās Khān: After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Ādil Khān who is the eldest son of Shīr Shāh 5 and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyāzī faction said, 6 The kingdom is not by inheritance, but He who conquers, takes the booty. 7 It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others.

Khawās Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shīr Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight, 8 and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī. The Niyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre 9 of Islam Shāh's

1 MS. (A) reads .

2 MSS. (A) (B) omit a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS.

3 MSS. (A) (B) read only . In the winter time.

4 MS. (A) supplies .

5 MS. (A) supplies .

6 The text reads but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be as in MS. (A) (B).

7 MS. (A) omits .

8 The text reads .

9 MS. (A) omits .
army, but in the end pluck told, and their efforts were of no avail.

Verse.

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips.

And Sa'id Khan, the elder brother of Azam Humayun, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islem Shah, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Padshah that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory. An elephant driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islem Shah recognised the voice of Sa'id Khan, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was, and foiled in his purpose made his escape; the Nyai faction fled and came to Dhankot, which is near Roh, and the remainder were plundered by the Kawars, while some were drowned in the nullahs of Ambala. Islem Shah pursued as far as Western Rohtas, and despatched Khwaja Wais Sirwani with a large army to oppose the Nyai, and returned towards Agra. Leaving Agra he went to Gwalior, and made it his capital. When Khawas Khan and Isaw Khan Nyai, who had made common cause, left the battle field, Isaw Khan went to the hill country; while Khawas Khan with five or six hundred cavalry fled to Lahore; and Islâm Khan appointed Shams Khan

1 MS. (B) reads كخر for خيش.
2 The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian نمک which means literally salt, and secondarily spirit, courage.
   It may also mean however that Islem Shah's men were 'true to their Salt.'
3 The text reads which quite loses the sense. Read اور MS. (B).
6 Omit حلقة نهال. MSS. (A) (B).
7 MS. (A) رداه. Aravi.
8 MS. (A) زه. MSS. (B) زه. (A) زه. (B).
9 We should follow the text here. MS. (A) omits the words خان بدایه omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.
11 MS. (B) کس. MS. (A) اسلام شاہ.
Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking to a distance of thirty krohs from Lāhor, Khwāṣ Khān, with three or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped in the grove of Kāmrān Mirza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khwāṣ Khān, having cut down the lofty trees of Safidār and Chinār of that grove, had set about making Sātūr and ladders, when his cavalry brought news that Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī and other Amirs of Salīm Shāh’s party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khwāṣ Khān, after a conference with ‘Īsā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six krohs to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Ḥusain said to his men, leave the way open so that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly he made a breach in the line of Salīm Shāh’s army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion. At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a charpoy.

1 MS. (A) میسی
2 MS. (A) سردار
3 MS. (A) صیصد
4 MS. (A) فروند کامند
5 MS. (A) درختهای
6 The Safidār is the white Poplar or Abele. The Chinār has been already mentioned.
7 MS. (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turki ساطور Sātūr, which means the roof of a house (P. de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman Vinea, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.
8 MS. (A) که سواران
9 MS. (A) reads از میان بدر
10 MS. (A) reads رود
11 I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The chahār pāi is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting
Rāi Ḥusain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāṣṣ Khān went off in safety towards Nagarkot] but whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumāon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly in its own place if God, He is exalted, so will it. The Niyāzī faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmiris were enticed into byways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, He is exalted, so will it.

And in the year 954 H. (1547 A.D.) an Afgān named Ugmān, whose hand Sazāwal Khān had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Āgra, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazāwal Khān and wounded him. Sazāwal Khān went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salīm Shāh, he then took his way to Mālwa. Islēm Shāh pursued him as far as Bānswāla, but seeing that Sazāwal Khān was hidden among the Zamīndārs of Sarūr, Salīm Shāh left ‘Īsā Khān Sūr with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign Islēm Shāh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief sarīkār of Hindūstān. Among them Mubāriz Khān, the son of Nizām Khān Sūr, who was the cousin and wife’s brother of Islēm Shāh, and eventually received the title of Muḥammad ‘Adili, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajāwan in the Sarkār of Sanbal, in order that Khawāṣṣ Khān and the other Amirs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pābandh Khāzak. He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign, that between every two resthouses built by Shīr Shāh, which were at intervals of one kroh, another rest-house of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling-place, and a conduit for water, and that a buttery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers, both Hindū and Musulmān, should be

or a broad tape called nisār, in common use as a bedstead, and everywhere known as a chārpoy. See Yule and Burnell, Glossary, s. v.

1 The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS. (B)
2 Footnote variant Sarūd.
3 MS. (A) writes, نظام خان سور.
4 MSS. (A) (B) read Khabrak as in footnote variant. The text reads خبرك.
5 MSS. (A) (B) supply مسافēr.
always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the madad-i-ma’ash and aimah grants of the whole of the protected provinces of Hindūstān which Shīr Shāh had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out, should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the Pāters should be taken by force from those Amirs who kept Aḵāras (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use. Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control, and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the dāḏi system which Shīr Shāh had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash.

A further step was to send written orders to all the Sarkārs containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions, entering into the minutest essential detail, and dealing with all regulations which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not, so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters to the Qāzi or Munīt, nor was it proper to do so.

1 See Aīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively madad-i-ma’ash and aimah.

2 MSS. (A) (B) omit مملک.

3 MSS. (A) (B) ساخنة دونده.

4 Dancing girls, see ante, p. 250 (Text) n. 4.

5 MSS. (A) (B) گرفت. گرفت MS. (A). گرفت MS. (A).

6 MS. (A) کردن.

7 خاصّة خود ساخت MS. (A).

8 See Aīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the dāḏi system every Amir began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (داغ داغ signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

9 MS. (A) omits the words معاملات و ناقب و تقییم ضروری. MS. (B) omits ناقب و تقییم ضروری.

10 Naqir o qitwir-i-zavari. Naqir means the small groove on the date stone, qitwir is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

11 MS. (A) خواه معاویتی الله. 12 MS. (A) البیات. 13 MS. (A) کردن.
Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles, and bring the shoes of Salim Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the sardār, in front of the throne; and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the Munṣif, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (Amīn) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amir acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amir would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this Munktāḥab, in the year 955 H. (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bajwārā, one of the dependencies of Baiāna, with the army of Farid Tāran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, on him be the mercy of God, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H. or in 955 H., God knows which, Khwāja Wais Sirwānī, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'zam Humāyūn, [fought a battle with the Niyāzīs in the

1 This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سرگشا in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turkic word. There is a word in the Turki language سرگشا سرگشها سرگشم سرگشما meaning pillar colonne (P de C) and it is quite possible that in copying the word چ has been written for چ and the چ omitted by oversight. We should then have سرگشا as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable: eight-poled ahāmiānas being very commonly used.

2 MS. (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads بر کششی که بسردار داده بود upon a tray which he had given to the Sardār, instead of با ترکشی که بسرداران داده بود.

3 MS. (B) omits the words from همایون to نامزد, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'zam Humāyūn.

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vicinity of Dhankot, and was defeated. A‘zam Humayun having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrind. Islam Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the Niyażis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwāliār. Islam Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyażis who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa‘id Khān, and another A‘zam Humayun, and a third Shahbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors at the time of the naubat, and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs and used to say Sag-i-falakam. This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islam Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Niyażi, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Niyażis and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion. God knows the truth. And A‘zam Humayun, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niyażi party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkaras in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmir territory their asylum. Islam Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjab took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five forts: viz., Māṅkoṭ and Rashidkot and the others. For a space of

1 MS. (A) Dhankob. 2 MSS. (A) (B) omit Khan.
3 Naubah. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 51.
4 طبّل عالَاء. Tabl-i-ulā (nawākhtan). To beat the drum of self-concoit.
5 سقّ الفاكل. Sag-i-Falakam. “I am the dog of the sky,” a parodied expression taken from the astronomical Shir-i-falak, the constellation Leo.
6 On the occasion of their first defeat.
two years he kept the Afghāns employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin by way of recompense. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour, he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them.

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of Ād, daily fought with the Afghāns, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghāns dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of Ruswāl (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islam Shāh till last one day Shāh Muḥammad Farmali, who was one of the most noted Amirs for wit and good-humour in Hindūstān, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindū daftari, and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islam Shāh was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwālīār he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse.

Attend to my wants to-day for that draught is of no avail.
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyażis came to this, that when 388.

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit.
2 MS. (A).
3 MS. (A) Yak false o jītal na dād. The text reads fulāls. The jītal is an imaginary division of the dām, used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. *Āin-i-Akbari* (B) I. 31.
4 Read Nāmaz Korda. The text is wrong.
5 MS. (A).
6 MSS. (A) (B). The text is wrong.
7 MS A.
8 MS. (A).
9 A scribe, clerk.
their strength was broken, and they came into Kashmir, the Kashmiris, who are born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Niyâzis from Râjûrî after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray brought the tribes of Kashmir to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shâh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyâzis in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Â'zam Humâyûn), and fighting with the Kashmiris were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shir Shâh a body of the Afghâns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Niyâzis to Dhankôt under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shir Shâh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them, and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salim Shâh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the Târîkh-i-Kashmîr, the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shâh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jânoba party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Mângarh; and Kâmrân Mirzâ, after fighting many battles with Muhammad Humâyûn Padshâh, fled from Kâbul and took refuge with Salim Shâh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kâbul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return to its source. When Islem Shâh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humûn Baqqâl, who in those

1 Footnote variant صورت.  
2 MS. (A) (B).  
3 MSS. (A) (B).  
4 Omit  
5 MS. (A) (B).  
6 The same broth was in their cup.  
7 Târîkh-i-Kashmîr, see p. 8, n. 3.  
8 Text  
9 MS. (A).  
10 MS. (A) omits  
11 Footnote variant Haimûn. The text reads Haimûs.
days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been prom-
toted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and
sent him with another body of Afghāns to the neighbourhood of
Rohtās to meet Mīrzā, and although Islem Shāh in his own mind
thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mīrzā, being led
to this by the want of confidence he had in the Afghāns as a
tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humūn, still Mīrzā
himself made light of this, and recognizing that there were
dregs in the very first draught of the cup was unwilling to come
in person.

Verse.

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee
nothing.

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mīrzā still believed that possibly
Islem Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with
honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on
the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assur-
ance, and sitting on the seat of a Fara‘ūn or a Shaddād, gave
orders to Sarmast Khān the Afghān, a Dā‘ūd Za‘ī, who held the
office of Bārbak, in accordance with which he directed Mīrzā to
perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordi-
nary public. He accordingly performed the Kornish, and those
diabolical men out of sheer inhumanity seized Mīrzā roughly
by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying,
Your Majesty! Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmrān
the Muqaddam-zāda of Kābul invokes blessings. Islem Shāh
after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty
glance in the direction of Mīrzā, and uttered a hypocritical
"Welcome." He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

1 Footnote variant and MS. (A)...
2 MS. (A)...
3 Shaddād the son of ‘Ād, see ante, p. 261 n. 6.
4 MS. (A) omits خان.
5 MS. (A) omits داروئد زلی.
6 Bārbak. The chief attendant of the darbār or public audience.
7 Kornish. A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right
hand is placed on the forehead, and the head bowed. It signifies that
the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind)
into the hand of humility. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 158.
8 MS. (A)...
9 MS. (A)...
10 MS. (A) (B).
for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mirzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes at him in the Hindī tongue, and when he appeared in darbūr used to say Moro mī āyad (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by Moro?" He answered, "It is the name they give to a man of great dignity." The Mirzā replied, "At that rate Salim Shāh is a first rate Moro and Shir Shāh was a still finer." Salim Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again, nor to indulge in pleasantry at the Mirzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mirzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzā recited this matla' off hand:

Gardish-i-gardān-i-gardān gardanānrā gard kard
Bar sar-i-ṣāhib-tamizān nāqisān rā mard kard.7

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzā under open arrest. The Mirzā, however, by the help of the samāndārs, made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

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1 MS. (A) (B) مل. 2 MS. (A) مل. 3 MS. (A) مل. 4 MS. (A) مل. 5 MS. (B) مل. 6 MS. (B) مل. 7 Read اهل تمهيدان for مل. MSS. (A) (B). 8 MS. (B) مل.
horses along the banks of the river Chināb. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's chādar ¹ drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his ḫarīm and offered no interference.

The Mirzā crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rājā. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a burqa' ² and taking a jilāudār ³ with him, was escorted ⁴ by some of the Rājas' subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Ghari Khū, ⁵ on the bank of the river Behat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near Sultānpūr the residence of Sultān Ādam Ghakkar, at a distance of three krohs from the fortress of Rohtās, some one went to Sultān Ādam and informed him that a Mughal woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one jilāudār and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. Sultān Ādam sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded ⁶ in person, and had an interview with the Mirzā, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge. Sultān Ādam accordingly wrote a letter to Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the Mirzā's life. ⁷

The Pādshāh wrote an order in accordance with this request ⁸ of his, and sent it to him; but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mirzā, and ⁹ after blinding him with a lancet

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¹ chādar. A garment worn by women over the head and body.
² burqa'. Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely, and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth, and similar openings for the eyes, worn by Afghān women when out of doors. See Lane, Modern Egyptians, for a description of the burqa' proper, which is a kind of veil.
³ jilāudār. An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. Abul-Fażil says some of them will run from 50 to 100 kroh (100 to 200 miles!) a day. See A'in-i-Akbari (B) I. 138.
⁴ Text بدررب. With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads بدررب. ¹⁰
⁵ Kārs. (A) (B) reads Ghari Jū ¹. ⁶ MSS. (A) (B) reads مسول ¹. ⁷ Read with MS (A) for میرزا (Text). ⁸ MSS. (A) (B) reads میرزا ¹. ⁹ MS. (A) supplies ¹.
(nishtar) sent him to the holy city of Makkah. The word nishtar records the date of this occurrence. The incidents have only been briefly alluded to here, because they are related fully in the Akbar Nâma and the (Târikh-i-)Nizâmi. Among the events which took place during the reign of Islam Shâh was the affair of Shâh Muḥammad of Dihli, of which the following is a brief account. Shâh Muḥammad, in the reign of Shir Shah, had come from the country of ‘Irâq to Hindûstân, and had given himself out to be a Saiyyid. There was some hesitation among the people as to this claim; however, he used to live in accordance with the customs of the Shaikhs and holy men, and was acquainted with the science of invocation of the mighty names, and was not without an admixture of deceit.

Verse

What is expected of Shaikhs is the performance of miracles and prayer-stations.

Whereas what we really see in them are ecstatic and incoherent ravings.

In spite of all, Shir Shâh gave him credit for being a wâli, and Islam Shâh also had reposed great confidence in him from the time he was a prince, and used to go and do reverence to him, and as is the custom of kings, used to take omens concerning (his accession to) the kingdom, and from the excessively high opinion he had of him used to lift (the Saiyyid’s) shoes. The story goes that one day they had brought a basket of melons as a present to Shâh Muḥammad and just then Islem Shâh arrived. The Saiyyid pointed to Islem Shâh and said, I present

1 The letters of this word nishtar give the date 960 H.
2 See Elliot and Dowson V. 147 and 235.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read مسيftere.
4 MSS. (A) (B).
5 ميغفت we should read ميغفت.
6 The text reads wrongly برده مس. (A) (B) read برده.
7 See ante, p. 445 n. 6.
8 خالی وزشیدی نبود.
9 MS. (A) reads صفتیات, superficialities.
10 MS. (A) supplies و MS. (B) reads نقل.
11 tafâ’ul MS. (B) reads نقل.
12 MS. (B) reads MS. (B) reads ابن saiyyid for sabd.
13 MSS. (A) (B) درهمان إنا.
you with this basket confident in its being as a royal umbrella to you,¹ rise, and place it on your head and be gone. Islem Shāh without hesitation lifted the basket accepted it as a lucky omen and took his departure.

How good it is to take a lucky omen,
Not to strike one’s cheek (in grief) but to give mate with the rook.²

But eventually this matter became a source of annoyance to him³ as is generally the case. At all events, when Islem Shāh succeeded to the kingdom, during his reign two Saiyyids of good birth, men of ascetic habit, clean-living, dignified, and agreeable, one of whom was named Amir Abū⁴ Ṭālib who was the inferior, and the other named Mir Shamsu-d-Din who was his superior and brother’s son to him, arrived from the country of Irāq at the camp of Islem Shāh in the Panjāb, and came to Dihlī, where they took up their abode in one of the quarters of the city, and were resorted to by all classes. Amir Abū Ṭālib was so marvellously skilled in the abstruse science of medicine, that the majority of the sick who came under his treatment obtained cures, and used to bring him presents and offerings in return, to say nothing of perquisites.⁵ A report was spread that he was in possession of the ring of ‘Ali,⁶ may God be satisfied with him, one of the properties of which was that no one who was suspected (of being of bastard origin) could stand in presence of that ring, and retain the power of seeing it. God knows the truth. Relying upon his former intimacy with Shāh Muḥammad, he desired to give his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Mir Abū Ṭālib, but he was by no means inclined to agree to this

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¹ MS. (A) supplies تر. ² اينعمين. ³ ⁴ MS. (A) (B). ⁵ فنرخت. ⁶ MS. (B) readsupa. The ring of Solomon which was given to ‘Ali by Muḥammad, was possessed of magical properties.
proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night’s devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihli Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā ‘Abdullāh of Sultānpūr, who was Shaikh al-Islām and Ṣadru-d-ṣudūr, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief ‘Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Ḥātim Sanbali, Miyān Jamāl Khān Mufti, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad. This result was reported to Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflictions, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain.

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but a dog.
Thou turnest upside down the storehouse of falsehood
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly.

1 MS. (A) omits ام. 2 See Āin-i-Akbari (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.
3 MS. (B) reads مہربان. 4 MS. (B) محسن شاد.
This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaikh 'Alāi Mahdi of Baiāna, which closely resembles the affair of Sidi Maula, which took place during the reign of Sulţān Jalāl-d-Din Firūz Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow*, is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair: The father of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Alāi was called Hasan, and was one of the great Shaikhs of the country of Bangāla, and on his arrival from Bangāla on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makka with his younger brother Shaikh Naṣr-llah, who was one of the most eminent of the Ulama, came from there to Hindūstān and took up his abode in the province of Baiāna. The words Jā‘a nasrul-lahī wal fathī were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to irshād and hidāyat, and the younger to fatwa and instruction in religious knowledge.

Shaikh 'Alāi, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaikh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, *may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him*, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character, disposition, and behaviour, and in a short time having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction.

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1 See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, Biography V, seqq.
2 See Beale (Oriental Biog. Dict.), p. 240.
3 They also say حذو القدة بالقدة, *i.e.*, one feather of the arrow is like another. See Freytag *Prov. Arab* I. 345. As we say “As like as two peas.”

The letters give the date 935 H. The words mean, 

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.

5 Iرشاد, Orthodoxy. هدایت, Guidance, direction.
6 MSS. (A) (B) both omit خیرون but the text seems probably correct.
7 تفتیض. Religions or judicial rulings.
8 MSS. (A) omits the words دین. معلوم. 9 MSS. (A) (B) فرم.
Verse.
Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,
Always by day argument and by night repetition.
Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,
Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain.

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction and instruction\(^1\) of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, "The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory,"\(^2\) seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other Shaikh in that city should share his dignity; this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy\(^3\) and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative\(^4\) and ascetic\(^5\) Shaikhs of the Sufi party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity. He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of Shaikhdom. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.\(^6\)

In the meanwhile Miyān 'Abdu-'llah, a Niyāzi Afghan, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,\(^7\) may God sanctify his holy resting-place, who had claimed to be the promised Mahdi, and adopting the manners of a Mahdi, on his return from the Hijāz took up his

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1 MSS. (A) (B) write تلقين و ارشاد.
2 "That last infirmity of noble minds."
3 Badānī here uses غيظ in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.
4 MS. (A) reads مترسم for مترسم in the text.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read متخصص for متخصص in the text.
6 MSS. (A) (B) read ميكرود. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I, v.
7 See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I, iv.
abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head; and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,1 with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins2 and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly3 to escape him.

When Shaikh 'Alā‘i saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,4 and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Miyan 'Abdu-llah Niyazi has, whereas the path in which we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity.5

So long as a hair’s breadth of existence remains to thee6
The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee:
Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my Zunnär, I am free,
This idol however, thy slavery to self-conceit, remains to thee.

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self-mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly7 vexed, and abandoning his madad-i-ma‘āsh8 and his alms-house and monastery,9 entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed10 all his worldly possessions

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit
2 MS. (A)
3 Concerning this it is said: "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty-seven degrees." See Mishkātū-l-Masābih (Mathew) xxiv. 1.
4 MS. (B)
5 بسیار خوش گردم B. جزیت پرستی و زننارادی نیست. The term Zunnär [Gk. ζωάρα (Gollus) or ζώάρας (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread: and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel.
6 MS. (A) reads
7 MS. (A)
8 Landa given for benevolent purposes, see Aīn-i-Akbari (B) 1, 270.
9 MSS. (A) (B) omit
10 MS. (A) (B) read
even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,1 "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way."

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.6

397.

There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,

Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyân 'Abdu-llah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of Zikr* in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur'ān, and the delicate points and minutiae and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,6 comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,"6 even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

1 MS. (A) reads جليلة. 3 MSS. (A) (B). The text reads wrongly.
2 This line is omitted from MS. (B).
3 Zikr. The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqirs. See Hughes, Dict. of Islam, art. Zikr.
5 I read here و إلا ... MSS. (A) (B).
6 Qur'ān xxiv. 37. 6 رجلًا لا تبيع نبأ ولا يبيع عن ذكر الله.
service of Almighty God. Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'ān. Shaikh 'Alāi had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'ān almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his land from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly, abandoning his family and relations and children; enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains; and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice.

A short account of this sect is given in the *Najātu-r-rashīd* which should be consulted.

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the truth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy; *The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty.* And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force, and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it; they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles in carrying out his

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1 MSS. (A) (B) insert ل after مصوب.
2 *Najātu-r-rashīd.* A MS. of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. E. 204. Its author is Badāoni.
3 MS. (A) reads داد.
4 MS. (A) reads بار.
5 Qur'ān ii, 274.
6 MSS. (A) reads خزيمه for خزيمة.
7 MS. (A) reads در إمام له مه كرشيد.
measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could [stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband] and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdi, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Miyān ‘Abdu-’llah when he saw that Shaikh ‘Alā’i had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot away with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocyth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Hījāz.

Verse.

Alas! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
Alas! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.
The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,
Alas! for him if he abandons that also.

Shaikh ‘Alā’i, retaining that selfsame habit and conduct which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrāt in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters. At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiana, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāspur which is near Jodhpūr, Khwās Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents: but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes, whereas now every Thursday night Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh ‘Alā’i forbade music and other prohibited pastimes, and enjoined that which

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1 MS. (A) (B) The words in brackets are omitted in MS. (B).
2 MS. (A) omits عاليلي.
3 MS. (B) omits حالت.
4 MS. (A) reads wrongly بايثان.
5 Insert in the text 1 after دربار MSS. (A) (B).
6 MSS. (A) (B) Inamī and Mālaqī, Maqāid Būd. 7 MSS. (A) (B) Inamī and Mālaqī.
8 MS. (B) reads wrongly for أوامر.
was lawful and opposed that which was forbidden by law, accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery: The saying—

Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend

is a well known proverb. Shaikh 'Ala'i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiâna, and at the time when Islem Shâh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Ágra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh 'Ala'i reached his ears, he sent for Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Din the traditionist, and Miyân Abul-fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Ágra, and summoned Shaikh 'Ala'i from Baiâna, at the instigation of Makhdûmu-I-mulk Maulâna 'Abdu-llah of Sultânpur. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies, greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islâm. Islem Shâh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased him and his courtiers.

Makhdûmu-I-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shâh that Shaikh 'Ala'i was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdi, and that the Mahdi himself would be king of the whole world; consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. 'Isâ Khân 7 Hajjâb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amir, when they saw Shaikh 'Ala'i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes, said to Islem Shâh: "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us, doe he imagine that we Afghâns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh 'Ala'i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a
few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,\(^1\) that it had the most profound effect\(^2\) upon Islem Shāh and the Amirs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions.\(^3\) The Shaikh, however, refused to touch\(^4\) the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered\(^5\) he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: “Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates\(^6\) of the law of Islām.” Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,\(^7\) and the decision of that contention to the ‘ulamā.

Shaikh ‘Alā’i vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension, and whenever Mr Saiyyid Rafīn-d-Din (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged\(^8\) in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdi, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh ‘Alā’i used to say, “you are a Shafi‘ite by religion\(^9\) and we\(^10\) are Hanifites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of our’s;” How can we accept\(^11\) your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare\(^12\) even Mulla ‘Abdu-llah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, “you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so many

\(^1\) MS. (A) خططيات
\(^2\) MS. (A) وسير مؤثر افتراض
\(^3\) MS. (B) تزلزل كرد.
\(^4\) MS. (A) ونال كرد هناغم در احمد.
\(^5\) MS. (A) (B) اقتال حكم شرع.
\(^6\) MS. (A) (B) ان سبب.
\(^7\) MS. (A) (B) علامات ان وارد شده شغي.
\(^8\) MS. (B) (B) لومه.
\(^9\) MS. (B) (B) مذهب.
\(^10\) MS. (B) (B) ريا.
\(^11\) MS. (B) تديل داريم.
\(^12\) MS. (B) ميداکش.
illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, upon him be peace and blessing, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door.

Verse.

Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief.

In accordance with these premisses he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his arguments examples from the Qur'ān and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu-llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened that the learned Mulla Jalāl Bhim of Āgra, having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdi, read as follows, Ajallu-l-jabhaḥ, on the form of the af'alu meaning greatness, (see Blochman Āin-i-Akbarī I, iii.)

The text here runs:

 совета

MS. (A) reads more correctly - سأجَل

Ajallu-l-jabhaḥ would have no accurate meaning. Jalāl meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God. Al-Ajallu.

The form "af'alu" is called the form of superiority, i.e., the comparative, or, combined with the article, the superlative.

Subḥān-Allah: (lit.) Praise be to God! A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment.
and subtleties and minutiae of the science of tradition. The real reading is Ajlāu-l-jabḥah which is the form Aṣa'alu-t-tafrīl from jālā, not from jālā which is your own name.

He was abashed and said not another word. They likewise relate concerning Shaikh Mubarak that he was an ally of Shaikh 'Alā'i in this assembly, and from that day he became known as Mahdawi, and Islam Shāh being deceived by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qurān," he also gave a message to the Shaikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdi, and renounce this pretension secretly in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulama of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbeted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islam Shāh, cared nought for

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit حديث.

2 اجلی النبیة Ajlāu-l-jabḥah. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed jālā, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane. Lex. s. v. اجلی.

3 و دیگر مردم ندر Ms. (A) reads incorrectly and before the word شیخ.

4 MSS. (A) (B) have مومید. The text has محمد Muham-

5 MS. (A) (B) omit reading روز بادز.

6 MSS. (A) (B) مشهور شد.

7 MSS. (A) (B) omit بیان read بیانه.

8 MSS. (A) (B) before گذشتہ before بادز آئی.

9 MS. (A) reads for یہ نہ ہو.

10 MS. (B) reads بود بید for بود بیدیم.

11 MS. (B) reads for بود بیدیم.
any ruler and addressed him in these words, "why should I change my own belief at your bidding."

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right
If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake.

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shâh daily "To-day such and such an Afghân general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations."

The following day Bahmân and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shâh to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shâh gave orders for his expulsion, and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan. Shaikh 'Alâ'i who had for years desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Mahdawi ideas were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited the text Verily God's earth is wide. Then he arose and started without delay for that country.

Qâsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way,
Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcass to the vultures.

On his arrival at Handiya, which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihâr Khân, who was entitled Â'zam Humâyûn Sirwâni, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half his army, nay more than half, sided with him; this news was brought to Islem Shâh by runners, and roused his indignation. Makhdûmu-1-Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shâh so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Alâ'i. Just at this

1 Omit ٓعحي MS. (A).
2 MS. (A) تُقَفِّرِ مـِي، د‍ِهِم.  3 MS. (A) نُسِلِمْ.
4 MS. (A) إِلْحَانَ.  5 MS. (B) إِخْرَاجِ اَوْ كَرْدَةَ.
6 MS. (B) omissions.  7 MS. (A) ۚخَوَاتِمَ وَ.  8 MS. (A) يَقَالُوا إِنَّ الْلَّهُ أَرْضِهَا وَسَعَتَهَا فَتَهَاجِرُوا فِيهَا. They said
9 Qur'ân iv. 99. was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?
10 MS. (B) ۚهَدُورْهِ.
juncture Islam Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Niyāzī faction; when he arrived opposite to Bāiānā at the halting-place of Bahrūr, Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islam Shāh "we have earned a few days respite from the lesser evil" by which he meant Shaikh 'Alā'ī, "but the great evil, that is Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, who is the instructor of Shaikh 'Alā'ī and the spiritual guide of the Niyāzī faction, and always remains in the hill country of Bāiānā accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the anger of Islam Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Niyāzīs, was fanned into flame by this breath of suggestion, and he ordered Miyān Bahwa Lūhānī the Governor of Bāiānā, who was one of the special adherents of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaikh. Miyān Bahwa went to the Shaikh and said: It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying "one should avoid misfortune" and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again, and you will have met the emergency, while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it and you.

Shaikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion of his, and said, "this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance; for this reason, seeing that he is only ten krohs distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass."

*Man proposes and God disposes.*

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1 MS. (B) omits پنجاب.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read خلاف ایقتیام.
3 MS. (B) reads نفیش.
4 MS. (A) (B) read گرویدگان.
5 MS. (A) (B) reads کند.
6 MS. (B) reads for حروف.
7 MS. (B) reads باشند.
8 MS. (A) reads خشن.
Verse.

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to advisability,

Yield the reins into the hands of Fate, this is the advisable course.

Accordingly he set out by night from Bāïāna, and had an interview with Islem Shāh in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with ‘Peace be to you.’ On the instant Mīyān Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying: 1 “My friend the Shaikh this is the way they salute kings.” The Shaikh looked savagely in his direction and replied: “The salutation which is in accordance with the sunnat, and which is that which the friends of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to make, and which he, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to give them in response, is this very form of salutation, I know no other.” Islem Shāh, with evident aversion asked: 6 Is this the master of Shaikh ‘Alā’i? Mulla ‘Abdu-llah who was lying in wait for him said: The very man. By order of Islem Shāh he was at once seized and most unmercifully beaten with sticks, and kicked and cuffed; the Shaikh as long as he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred word “Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs; and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk!” 7 Islem Shāh enquired what he was saying Mulla ‘Abdu-llah said: He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers; Islem Shāh becoming exceeding wroth waxed still fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him, and kept his retinue standing an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left his body—

1 MS. (B) omits and after كرغنة.
2 MS. (A) لسلم میگفتند.
3 MSS. (A) (B) بپاین.
4 The sunnat is the traditional law of Muhammad.
5 MS. (A) omits كرده و MSS. (B) reads كردنده.
6 MSS. (A) (B) insert خفه.
7 Qur’ān iii. 141. See Palmer’s Translation.
8 MS. (B) omits ملا.
9 MSS. (A) (B) read تعذيب و عقوبت.
10 MSS. (A) (B) omit ابسته از را MSS. (B) reads سواری.
11 MS. (A) منقطع شد.
One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),
That mediator also rose and departed.
he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Bajâna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghanistan (Rûh), and some time among the Afghans of Pattan in the Panjâb, on the confines of Bajwâra between Ambér and Amritsar, and was in the habit of saying: This was the fruit of consortin with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,
But ye masters of discussion. I'll have none of you.

Finally, he came to Sirhind, and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawi party (moreover he turned all the Maldawi party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islam according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaikh 'Abdu'llâh and granted him a portion of madad-i-maâsh land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout.

Rubâ'i.

If the courser of the sky give the reins into your hand,
And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet
If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Afâqân,
These are all as nought, at last you must die.

After that Islem Shâh had overcome the Niyâzi faction, and had

1 MS. (A) omits Maândâ.
2 MS. (A) Pânîn ëbîj bâi dî bûroh. Pâk Pattan or Ajâdhan.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read here Maââdîn nûbîr qâbèrub. MS. (A) adds Tabîn before qabèrub.
4 MS. (B) qâbèrub. MS. (A) adds Mâbîn bî qâbèrub.
5 MS. (B) bûroh nûmâd. MS. (A) (B).
6 Plato.
returned to Ágra, Mulla ʿAbdu-l-lāh set about inciting him,\textsuperscript{1} and
giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications,
again induced him to summon Shaikh ʿAlāʾi from Hindiya, and
to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no
pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh ʿAlāʾi
had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khān
had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had
shewn their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations
had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there
was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly
Islem Shāh summoned Shaikh ʿAlāʾi thence, and used still more
strenuous exertions than before\textsuperscript{2} to bring matters to a satisfactory
settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh
ʿAlāʾi, and recognising that there was no other man among the
learned men\textsuperscript{3} of Dehli and Ágra capable of settling this dispute,
he therefore directed Shaikh ʿAlāʾi to be sent to Bihār to Shaikh
Budh\textsuperscript{4} the learned physician, in whom Sher Khān had the very
utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative
commentary which he wrote upon the Irshad-i-Qāṭī,\textsuperscript{5} and bade him act
in accordance with his directions.\textsuperscript{6} When Shaikh ʿAlāʾi went
thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments pro-
ceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh the physician,
and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to
the natural feelings and \textsuperscript{7} to religious law \textsuperscript{8} also, the very mention
of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin \textsuperscript{9} what was
lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Budh
was very infirm\textsuperscript{10} and aged, and was not strong enough to
speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and
observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of

\textsuperscript{1} MSS. (A) (B) خور. Omit خور. MS. (A).
\textsuperscript{2} MSS. (B) omits \textit{da} after \textit{قَرَأ} and inserts it after \textit{شَيْخ}.
\textsuperscript{3} MS. (A) reads \textit{شَيْخ} Shaikh Hadah (?)
\textsuperscript{4} See Hāji Khalifah, 522. Irshād.
\textsuperscript{5} MS. (A) reads عمل مي نماند. MS. (B) reads عمل مي نماند.
\textsuperscript{6} MS. (B) reads دیدند. MS. (B) reads دیدند.
\textsuperscript{7} MS. (A) reads امر معرور و نپی مکرته کرد which is the exact opposite
of the reading in the text.
\textsuperscript{8} MS. (B) omits فت and reads for مدل and for مدل.
\textsuperscript{9} 66
such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual 1 would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity. 2 Shaikh ‘Alā’i said that this is an iniquitous conjecture, 3 as is proved by the fact that, whenever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference 4 with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāh, 5 why should one regret 6 the fact of their not being Muslims? 7 for it is said, That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all. 7 That class therefore stand condemned. Shaikh Budh the physician however, 3 having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising 9 Shaikh ‘Alā’i and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, 4 "Seeing that the Mahdawi question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as 10 to the veritable signs by which the Mahdi is to be distin-

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1. The text varies from the MSS. (A) and (B) which read بیانن while MS. (B) omit بیانن.
2. We should read به حال در نجوبی فرقه شاپه از نجوبی کفر بری کمتر باشد MSS. (A) (B).
3. MS. (A) reads قیاس فاسد تغییر تعییب for تغییر تعییب.
4. MS. (B) reads wrongly for نکا
5. Nikāh. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qurān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, see Hughes, Dict. of Islām, art. Marriage.
6. MS. (B) reads خوردن کردن for خوردن.
7. باب در مقام انصاف و امام افتاد.
8. MS. (B) reads کرده for نموده.
9. MS. (B) reads پاب for پاب.
guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh ¹ 'Alā'i of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books ² are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many ⁵ books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter."

The sons of the Shaikh impressed upon him that Makhdūmu-l-Mulk ⁴ was the Šadr-i-šūdār, ⁵ and said, "This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned. At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it." They accordingly cancelled his first letter ⁶ and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter ⁷ as if from Shaikh Budh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu-llah, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjāb Shaikh 'Alā'i arrived at the camp of Bin Bāu; when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Budh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Alā'i to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only ⁸ say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will ² and do as you please." Shaikh 'Alā'i however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him; Islem Shāh in despair ¹⁰ said to Mulla 'Abdu-llāh, I leave him in your hands.¹¹ This he said, and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence.¹² Shaikh 'Alā'i

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¹ MS. (B) omits ² MS. (A) reads ³ MS. (B) reads ⁴ MS. (B) omits ⁵ The Šadr-i-šūdār is the chief judge of all religious questions among Muhammadans. He was also known as Šadr-i-kul or Šadr-i-jahān. See Aīn-i-Akbari (B) I. 271.
⁶ MS. (A) reads ⁷ Insert after MS. (B).
⁸ MS. (A) reads ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) insert ¹⁰ MS. (B) reads ¹¹ Lit. You know and this fellow, i.e., the matter is one between you and him.
¹² MS. (B) inserts after ⁰ ¹ ⁰ ⁰, not as in the text.
himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people. This wound had to be kept open by a tent, in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words “In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king” and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said “Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man.” And after his death they tied his delicate body to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse, and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived, and great lamentation and mourning was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two

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1 MS. (A) اكتر خاليق. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.
2 قنبله MS. (A) reads قنبله.
3 قرآن livir. 55. The full quotation is
4 Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.
5 MS. (B) reads جابر باهر.
6 MS. (B) reads تقيا مقيمات.
7 MSS. (A) (B) read غلله ومعالم.
8 MS. (B) omits منقرب.
9 MS. (A) omits قصة دولت اسلام شاهی الأخ.
10 A footnote to the text reads وبعد ازبن دولت اسلام شاهی.

The textual reading ازب to be wrong.
years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultan Jalāl-ud-Din Firoz Shāh Khilji after the execution of Sidi Maula, save that the decay of the kingdom of Salim Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalāl-ud-Din. People considered Mulla 'Abdāllāh, who was always vexatious to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burning, and this was really the case.

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is Zākiru-llāh, the second Sāqāhum rabbuhum ẓarāban.²

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islem Shāh was the murder of Khawāṣṣ Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāṣṣ Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzis fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bāū, that they were to induce Khāwāṣṣ Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāṣṣ Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety.³ He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly had him put to death and sent his head to Salim Shāh at the township of Bin (Bāū), and after burying his body at the township of Sarastu, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihli. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

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1 MS. (A) reads

2 MSS. (A) (B) insert

3 MS. (B) omits

4 MS. (A) (B) insert

5 MS. (A) (B)

6 MS. (A) (B)

7 MS. (B) omits and reads

8 MS. (A) (B)

9 MS. (A)
graphical record they invented the words *Musibat ba‘alām shud,* that is to say, A calamity for the world.

One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival at Kalpi in the company of Shir Shāh he gave two lakhs of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rautanbhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shir Shāh died, and Salim Shāh appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury.

In this same year Shaikh ‘Abdu-l-ḥaiyy, the son of Shaikh Jamāli Kanbawi of Dihli, who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry, and was a devout man, and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of Islem Shāh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shāh Mir of Agra invented the following chronogram:

He said—

**My name in itself would furnish the tārikh**

At such time as ‘abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it.

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at Bin was the following. One day in the

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1 A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 989 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be *Musibat ba‘alām shud,* which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS. (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

2 MS. (A) (B) روز بروز.

3 MS. (B) omits and reads ار after رضية instead of ار as in the text.

4 MS. (A) دهلي.  

5 MS. (A) reads for شعراي شعراي.  

6 MS. (B) reads ماحب ماحب. MS. (B) reads ماحب ماحب a generous man.

7 The lines run thus:  

If we take the name **شیخ عبد احمد** and remove from it the centre word **عبد** which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.
interval between two times of prayer Islam Shāh was sitting at ease upon his roadster, and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Man Garh, which lies at a distance of five or six krohs or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprang up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial Taabatu Sharran, under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed a blow at him. Salim Shāh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salim Shāh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Datlat Khān Ajyāra, the son of Sażāwal Khān, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islam Shāh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salim Shāh did not approve of this and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbal Khān. This Iqbal Khān was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustān who had rendered Shīr Shāh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured, mean-looking, and oafish in appearance that they used to call him Raḥmatu-llāhi, which in Hindustān is the term

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1 Read راذدار for رازدار.
2 MSS. (A) (B)
3 Ταύτα ο Σαρασούρ Αχμένιος The surname of Šābit-bin-Jābor bin Safyān al-Fahmi, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm-pit a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm-pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s. v. شارب. According to the account in the Aghāni, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, Lauadd taabatu sharran; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."
4 MSS. (A) (B) Αβίσυς βεργάκοντας
5 MSS. (A) (B)
6 MS. (B) omits بسیار and MS. (A) omits مارد inserting it after مارد.
applied to a weaver.\textsuperscript{1} Islam Shāh himself\textsuperscript{2} had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amirs,\textsuperscript{3} and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that \textsuperscript{4} he made him an example\textsuperscript{5} of the saying: *Everything returns to its original state*; but in spite of the incitation of the Amirs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training."\textsuperscript{6}

*Verse.*

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why?  
It is ashamed\textsuperscript{7} to destroy that which it has reared.

Islam Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,\textsuperscript{3} and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,\textsuperscript{9} and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever\textsuperscript{10} set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him:

*Verse.*

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,  
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou hast laid!

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\textsuperscript{1} MS. (A) reads جوالیحا. Either reading may be accepted.

\textsuperscript{2} If we read جوالیسا as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted.

\textsuperscript{3} MS. (A) inserts خود here. MS. (A) omits خود. 4 MS. (A) reads جرجرة.

\textsuperscript{4} MS. (B) (B) reads تریبدت for شربت.

\textsuperscript{5} MS. (B) omit ز.

\textsuperscript{6} MS. (A) inserts نیشین for شرمش.

\textsuperscript{7} MS. (A) inserts تراب for سراب.

\textsuperscript{8} MS. (A) inserts مازدایا. The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

\textsuperscript{9} MS. (B) بیشترای بیشتر.
After these events Islam Şah returned towards Gwāliār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihli when tidings arrived that Muhammad Humâyûn Pâdshâh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustân. Islam Şah just at the very moment when this tidings arrived, had applied a leech to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head, and binding up his throat with linen rags ordered his army to proceed, and the first day covering three krohs, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazirs who were well-disposed to him represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islam Şah replied that if he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory, when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity, and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islam Şah that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks for the gun-carriages had been left at Gwāliār, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible use are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

1 MS. (A) omits here and inserts it after in the next line.
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit . MSS. (A) (B) read
3 Read . MSS. (A) (B).
4 Zul-o Bur-go-gâşi Nâde Bûd or . MS. (A) reads Zibor probably a copyist's error for Zibor or.
5 Omit MS. (A).
6 MS. (B) insert before not after it as in the text.
7 Insert . MS. (A) (B).
8 MS. (A) insert before .
9 MS. (A) reads (?)
10 MS. (B) omit .
11 MS. (B) read for . MSS. (A) (B) read for .
12 Text . MS. (A) reads . MS. (B) reads .
the work of bullocks, and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following:—

Verse.

These whom you see are not all human beings,
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.

Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one. At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humayun Padshah in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Bānbhar, at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmir frontier, and then returned towards Kabul. A short résumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it.

Islem Shâh also upon hearing this tidings fled with all haste from Lâbor to Gwâllâr. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberi, he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruffians, at the instigation of certain of the Amirs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islem Shâh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road, and after putting to death a number of men, among whom were Bahau-d-Din and Mahmûd and Madâ, who were the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

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1 Omit دختر. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads اعتبار کرد.
2 The text reads که هر گدام را هزار هزار کس دو هزار کس که چند روز. MS. (A) inserts after کس and omit the second کس replacing it by و.
3 At the foot of the Alidek range. See Rennell’s map, Tieff., Vol. III.
4 Behbûr. MSS. (A) (B) read بنهر Bânhar. The text reads بنهر Bânhar.
5 MS. (B) reads ب لاتک to Kâbul.
6 MS. (A) omits از حد کشیدر. MS. (B) reads between خود and خود.
7 MS. (A) omits خبر.
8 MS. (A) reads نار.
9 This is the reading of the text: but MSS. (A) (B) read Antarî.
10 Text MS. (B) reads لوزاند. MS. (A) reads برآمی دیگر.
11 MS. (A) (B) رسانید. رسانید.
12 MS. (B) omits these last names and reads others.
13 MS. (A) (B) for بویدن.
mutineers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,¹ and sent written despatches to the Amir of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him.²

Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack-saddle,
He found a pack-saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had made off with the ass.³

⁴ Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer.

He was beside himself with pain and ⁵ had himself bled, but without relief. Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,' ⁶ and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khan to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on his face alone.⁷

Verse.

Mahmūd gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)
Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz.

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and then open his eyes, and these words would

¹ MS. (B) سیاهیان
² A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing یاد کے after سیاہ aqal instead of before those words. This is the reading found in MS. (A) and is obviously correct.
³ A proverbial saying of this kind is—
جب چہ کی نیم تہ دانت نہ تہ چہ دانت موڑ چہ تہ چہ نہ
When I had peas I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no peas.
⁴ Omit ہے and MS. (A).
⁵ Insert ہے.
⁶ MSS. (A) (B).
⁷ MS. (B) omits در جبان before جبان. MS. (A) reads جبان for جبان.
come to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.'

They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am

Stay! before thou seest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a lak of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked, but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him.

Verse.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,

For what can man do against the Eternal decree.

When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement,

1 MS. (B) ميكذبت

2 Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read حيارة Ajyāra, but the text reads حيارة (٥) Haiyāra with a note of interrogation. Ajyāra is the right reading.

3 For MS. (A) read جائزة. جائز م. (B) read حكم كومة بود for ث لى برسبد.

4 MSS. (A) (B) read نا برسبد for ث لى برسبد.

5 Qurān II, iii.

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

6 The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadidi thus: (1) ماسك or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels, (2)
The foot of Aflaṭūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,
The Qānūn ⁴ of BūʿAli lies useless in the hand.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies. The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Sahsarām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H., ¹ and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self-same) year ² Sultan Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, who had adorned the throne with justice ³ and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Būrḥān. ⁵ Nizām-u-Mulk Bahri, ⁶ the king of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non-existence, and Mir Saiyyid Naʿmatu-llāh, whose poetical name was Rusūli, ⁷ who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islem Shāh, wrote this chronogram:

Verse.

At one time came the decline of three emperors,
Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety:

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¹ مغبار variable, such as age, sex, sleeping or waking; exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations. The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the heat, and for dispelling vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers. See Sadīdī, p. 54, et. seqq.

² قانون في الطب Qānūn-i-BūʿAli. This is the famous canon medicine, by the celebrated Shaikh AbūʿAli Hussain bin 'Abdu-llāh commonly known as Ibn Sīna (Avicenna). See Häji Khalīfah, No. 9354.

Abū Sīna was a famous Muhammadan physician who was born in Bakhārā, and died at Hamadān in July 1037 A.D., 427 A.H. (H.K. says 428 A.H.). See Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 20.

³ MSS. (A) (B) both write ریک نه می شد omitting which is added in the text.

⁴ بی‌دومت تک سال. MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The text reads لا برداشته لا a panning comment on the servant's name, which will not admit of translation.

⁶ See Beale, O. B. D. for an account of the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) the text reads روشٹی Rishwati.
One was Maḥmūd the Emperor of Gujerāt,
Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;
The second was Islām Shāh, that mine of beneficence,
Whose beloved son 1 was Sher Khān;
The third was Nizām-u-Mulk Bahārī
Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.
If you ask of me a tārīkh for the death of these three 3
Emperors?
I answer Zawāl-i-khusrūān. 4

Islām Shāh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had
416. many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used
constantly to practise the art of versification with Amīr Saiyyid
Naʿmat Rusūlī, 4 and used to compose many elegant verses and to
enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet. Moreover he was
highly esteemed by the learned and religious men 5 of his time.
They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjāb,
he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-l-lāh of Sultānpur 6 who
was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his at-
tendants he said: “Have you any idea who this is who is ap-
proaching.” They replied: “Who is it, please inform us.”? He said:
“Bābar Padshāh had five sons, of whom four 8 left Hindustān and
one remained.” They said “and who is that one?” He replied: “This,
Mulla who is approaching.” Sarmast Khān said: “What is the use of
keeping up connection with such a vicious person?” 9 He replied 10
“What can I do, when I can find 11 no better than he?” And when
Mulla 'Abdu-l-lāh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own
throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at
twenty thousand rupees, 12 which had at that moment arrived as

1 MS. (A) reads "عَزِيزِيَّ.
2 MS. (A) reads "ابن هرمسه" (A).
3 Zawāl-i-khusrūān. The decline of the Emperors. The letters of Zawāl-i-khusrūān give the date 961 H. See note 2 supra.
4 MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads Rishwati.
5 MS. (A) omits "وِلَدِيَ.
6 MS. (A) omits "رًا.
7 MSS. (A) (B). No change.
8 MSS. (A) (B). جَهَارُ (B).
9 Text reads "مفتئ." MS. (A) reads "مفتئ." MS. (B) reads "مفتئ." parasite.
10 MSS. (A) (B). كَلَّفَ.
11 MSS. (A) (B). "نَمَيْ يَأْمُ.
12 Omit "بَه" before "بَه." MSS. (A) (B).
a present from some place. He never missed the public prayers, and never touched any intoxicants \(^1\) not even \(jauz\), \(^3\) [and Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpūr and Ḥāfīz Nizām of Badāon were both of them his imāms]. \(^3\)

**Firūz Shāh ibn-i-Islem Shāh,**

Who was called Firūz Khān, was raised to the throne in succession to his father at the age of twelve \(^6\) with the title of Pādshāh. \(^6\) The affairs of the kingdom did not prosper in his hands, and Mubāriz Khān the son of Nizām Khān \(^6\) Sūr, who was brother's son to Islem Shāh, \(^7\) after three days attempted the life of that innocent one, and although Bibi Bā'ī, who was the sister of Mubāriz Khān, \(^8\) and the wife of Islem Shāh, fell at his feet and besought him piteously saying: “Ah my brother, spare the life of this poor harmless boy, and let me take my own way and bear him away \(^9\) to some place where no one will have a trace of him, and where he will have nothing to do with sovereignty, nay, will not even mention the name of kingship.” \(^10\) That pitiless tyrant would not heed her, but entered the palace and cut \(^11\) off the boy's head under the very eyes of his mother. At this day his issue is cut off just as the line of Islem Shāh; and it is said that Islem Shāh

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\(^1\) MS. (A) reads `Wazīrgīyi μενόλιον Γροζήμ`. A variant given in a footnote to the text reads `μενόλιον Γροζήμ. On the whole the textual reading seems the best adding μενόλιον as in the two readings given.

\(^2\) `Jauz māgil. Datura, sp. alba. D. fastuosa N.O. Solanaceae called in Hindustāni धतुरा dhaturā, and in Sanskrit धतुर from धुर elegant, and जुर injurious. (Wilson). Used as a narcotic and intoxicant. According to the Mahābhārata-adviya a wine is made from the juice of the leaves. An overdose is said to produce symptoms resembling delirium e potu, the patient raving and chasing imaginary animals along the walls of the room.

\(^3\) These words are not in the text but both MSS. (A) (B) read

\(^4\) MSS. (A) (B) read thus `दवजी. The text reads दवजी ten.

\(^5\) MSS. (A) (B) read `मुरूजु मोश. شد. `Mawāriz Khan bin Nizām Sur Shīrshāh and Umasīd and Burādž Zān Islem Shāh Dōd.

\(^6\) MS. (B) reads `Kā Burādž Zān Zārshāh and Umasīd and Burādž Zān Islem Shāh Dōd.

\(^7\) MS. (A) reads `Kā Burādž Zān Zārshāh and Umasīd and Burādž Zān Islem Shāh Dōd.

\(^8\) Who was brother's son to Sher Shāh, and uncle's son and wife's brother to Islem Shāh.

\(^9\) MS. (A)  

\(^10\) MS. (A) omits.

\(^11\) MS. (A)
had made several attempts upon the life of Mubāriz Khān, and
used to say to his wife, "if you value your child keep clear of
your brother, and if you wish to preserve the one, take away all
hope of life from the other." She used to say in a deprecatory
way, "My brother spends all his time in amusing himself, and
the robe of royalty is in no way suitable to his standard of
ambition; give up the idea of destroying him." Islem Shāh how-
ever, whenever he saw Mubāriz Khān used to say to his wife in a
reproachful way, "In the end you will regret this at a time when
regret will avail nothing." And at last the prophecy of Islem Shāh,
which he had made by his judgment of physiognomy, was con-
firmed to the letter.

Verse.

Whatever the young man sees the mirror,
The old man sees that same in the unbaked brick.

SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD ‘ĀDIL COMMONLY KNOWN AS ‘ĀDILĪ.

Who was the son of Nizām Khān Sūr, and went by the name
of Mubāriz Khān, ascended the throne with the concurrence of
the principal Amirs and Vazirs, and caused himself to be ad-
dressed by the above title. The general public however used to
call him ‘Adilī, and that name even they perverted to Andhī
which has the commonly accepted signification of "blind." At
the commencement of his reign, having heard of the conduct of
Muḥammad ‘Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh, he used to imitate him in
lavishing money, and having opened the doors of his treasury he

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit خود.
2 Omit و لما و. MSS. (A) (B).
3 MS. (B) omits او.
4 In MS. (A) these words precede the verse, and read: و عاقبت الأمر هم جنده شد الف.
5 MS. (A) reads تیر در خشت چنده که بیادد چنده (baked). A footnote variant reads که (old) for که (baked). I follow the reading of the text, taking the meaning to be that the aged can see the tendency of the young as clearly as the young can see the reflection in a mirror.
6 See Aja-i-Akbarī II, (J.) 221 a. 3.
7 MS. (A) reads إن نظام خان سورکه. MSS. (B) omitting and.
8 MS. (B) مختلف و کردن.
9 MS. (A) omits نیز.
10 "blind woman."
11 MS. (A) reads سلطان حسین تغلق را.
aimed at securing the goodwill of great and small; and he had made arrows tipped with gold of a money value of five hundred tankahs and used to throw them. Whatever poor person’s house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the kaliba-bash, this fitful habit however quickly came to an end after a few days.

Verse.

Inorganic matter is one thing: spontaneous growth is another.

Verse.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,
True weeping is easily distinguished from false.

The rank of Vazir and Vakil was bestowed upon one Shamscher Khan, a slave who was the younger brother of Khwaja Khan and Daulat Khan, the “new-Muslim,” a protegé of the Luhani faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to Himun the greengrocer, of the township of Rewari in Miwät, whom Islam Shah had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bazars and conformer of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant. He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as ‘Adli had originally been accustomed to the profession of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration; superadded to this was the murder of Firuz Khan and his unbounded confidence in Himun. Accordingly these Amir who were of true Afgan descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

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1 MS. (A)  ١ مدخت.
2 Text کنیپناش باش گنها باش ما. MS. (A) کنیپناش باش گنها باش ما. MS. (B) کنیپناش باش گنها باش ما.
3 The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read ‘in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firishta’s reading is quite clear he says
4 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
5 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
6 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
7 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
8 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
9 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
9 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
9 MS. (A) reads ُبِلَّانْهُ مَرْتُورِبِي.
shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoke from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islam Shāh snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme:

Verse.

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship snaps,

When a flaw appears in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amirs to the durbar hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adli was engaged in distributing jāgīrz, he ordered that the Sarkar of Qanaanj should be transferred from Shāh Muḥammad Farmali, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbani, [Shāh Muḥammad was ill], whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well-built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this jāgīr. Shāh Muḥammad however admonished him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islam Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design; thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said: "Now our affairs have come to such a pass that this dog-seller is to enjoy our jāgīr." Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said: "My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things," Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those hell-dogs so heavy of head

1 MS. (A) reads وشا گریبد بیماری داشت.
2 MS. (A) adds the words in brackets نصبت معنید.
3 MS. (A) reads ابی بیزمن.
4 MS. (A) omits ی.
5 MS. (A) reads بچه بنوید.
6 MS. (A) reads از این سگ فریش (A) دور چنان.
7 Text درزوخیان. Mss. (A) (B) read دو این چنان.
and sleep-stricken\(^1\) that they will never wake\(^2\) till the morn of
the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated
that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it.\(^3\)

Verse.

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another.

It was currently reported that from the time when\(^4\) the
dagger was first invented in Hindustán no person can have ever
used it in the way that Sikandar Khán did. A tumult arose
among the people, and 'Adli fled and entered the women's quarters
and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had
killed some and wounded\(^5\) others, at last made towards 'Adli
and\(^6\) aimed a blow at him with a sword, which however struck a
plank of the door: had he attacked him in the first instance he
would have despatched him. The Amirs of 'Adli's party shewed
themselves in their true colours that day, as most of them cast
away their swords\(^7\) and took to flight, and were going about
distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief
as salt in the yeast,\(^8\) they attacked him simultaneously from all
sides. This contest went on for three or four hours, when\(^9\) Sikandar
fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrāhîm Khán\(^10\) Sûr, sister's
husband to 'Adli, and Shâh Muḥammad was struck down by the
sword of Danlat Khán Lûhâni,\(^11\) both of them taking their way to
the city of non-existence. It so happened that on that day
before the assembly of that meeting Tâj Khán Karrâni, the

\(^1\) MS. (A) گرگان و خویاب آلوده. MS. (B) گرگ گردان

\(^2\) MS. (A) گرگ گردان و خویاب آلوده.

\(^3\) MS. (A) گرگ گردان و خویاب آلوده.

\(^4\) Read here بعضا دیگر شیرگیر مانده. This is the reading of MSS. (A) (B)
and is far preferable to the reading in the text.

\(^5\) MS. (A) از ان زمان که. MS. (A) می‌خوریم ساخت

\(^6\) MS. (A) (B) نمود و

\(^7\) MS. (B) از سردیوار های خودخوا اندکه. Most of them
threw themselves from the walls. This is also the reading given in a foot-
note variant to the text.

\(^8\) The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers.

\(^9\) MSS. (A) (B) خان.

\(^10\) MS. (A) خان.

\(^11\) MS. (A) نوحتی.
brother of 'Amād and Suleimān, who eventually became the autocratic\(^1\) ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title\(^2\) of Ḥaḍrat Ā'īslāh, having left the audience hall of 'Adli was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muḥammad Farmali. They asked\(^3\) after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,\(^4\) and am going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,\(^5\) for the scale has turned.

Verse.

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,  
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muḥammad and was dragging him to the grave,\(^6\) he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adli.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him; Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwāliār towards Bengāl and 'Adli sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and\(^7\) himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramān\(^8\) in the district of Qanaūj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adli, and his army

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\(^1\) MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب استقالة and MS. (A) reads بیگانه. 
\(^2\) MSS. (A) (B) should be omitted. 
\(^3\) MSS. (A) (B) read پرسند which is better than the textual reading پرسناید. 
\(^4\) MSS. (A) (B) read لزین داواره یدش نهاده پورون (ميروم) (A). 
\(^5\) MS. (A) reads wrongly بیکن for مکن. 
\(^6\) MS. (A) reads شاہ محمد را and MSS. (A) (B) read کشان کشان. 
\(^7\) MSS. (A) (B) reads خریغ نیکز. 
\(^8\) MS. (B) reads جدیرا میر. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads جدیرا میر. Chherāman.
was victorious, and Tāj Khān turning in flight made the best of his way to Chhinār, wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adli he made prisoners of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Suleimān and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held sway over certain parganas on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adli arrived at Chunār, and the Karrānis on the banks of the river came out to fight with him. Himūn asked for a halka of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adli while in Chunār intended to seize Ibrahim Khān, the son of Ghāzi Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adli, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage from the fort. Ibrahim Khān made his way towards Bāiana and Hindūn which was his father's jāyir: 'Adli despatched 'Isā Khān Niyāzi after Ibrahim Khān, and they fought a battle in the vicinity of Kalpi, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrahim Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign. 'Adli thereupon disengaged himself from the Karrānis, and came against Ibrahim Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrahim Khān made overtures, and sent a message saying: “If Raī Husain Jilwâni, and Bihār Khān Sarwâni, to whom Islem Shâh gave the title of Āzam Humâyûn, with some others of the Amirs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me, then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

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1 The textual reading is wrong, omit reading with MSS. (A) (B) 
2 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
3 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
4 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
5 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
6 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
7 MS. (A) reads اورا بصرب مچھوپی از بالاً قلعہ which is better than the text. 
8 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
9 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
10 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
11 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
12 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
13 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
14 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar. 
15 MS. (A) čutar. MS. (B) čutar.
submission to you." 'Adli accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Kān, giving him the title of Sultan Ibrāhīm, and thus putting a different complexion upon the dispute, raised the standard of insurrection against 'Adli.

The Khutbah was read in the name of Ibrāhīm Kān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adli, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār taking with him large amounts of treasure, many elephants and a large following.

After the death of Islam Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose, Ahmad Kān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adli, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with the Amirs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adli and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār Kān Kāsī, Ḥabīb Kān, and Naṣīr Kān Tughūji, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh, declared open war against 'Adli, and assuming the title of Sultan Sikanār and reading the Khutbah, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power proceeded to Dīlī and Āgra.

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm having collected a large army confronted Sikanār at Farah, which is situated at a distance of ten krohs from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amirs, such as Ḥāji Kān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāi Ḥussain Jilwānī and Mas'ūd Kān and Ḥusain Kān Ghilzāī were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal
tents and standards, and ensigns and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag-staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a jāyār. In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him; and on the day when Hażi Khan came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he showed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with saqīrlāt of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Hażi Khan magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale: accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy among the Amirs of pure Afgān blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhīm as being more numerous than his own, shilly-shallied and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dillī to the eastern extremity of Hindustān as far as could be arranged, should belong to Ibrāhīm Khan, and that the country of the Panjāb and Multān, as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughuls came to Hindustān. The Afgāns of both

1 The text here reads طريقة. MS. (A) however reads نوع. The true reading should evidently be نوع which according to M. Pavet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the (qūfās or Tibetan yak) fixed to a pole.

2 MSS. (A) (B) و جایگزین.

3 MS. (B) reads سقرلا. Doxy, however, gives no such form of the word and the word is probably سقرلا, meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold. See Doxy s. v. See also Yule and Burnet's Glossary s. v. Suchāt also, Skeat Etym: Dict. s. v. Scarlet.

4 Another instance of Badāoni's use of غطسة in this unusual sense.

5 We should apparently read here گرنا که تو نوند بشور MS. (B) omits the words altogether. MS. (A) agrees with the text, which however does not seem satisfactory.

6 MS. (A) omits خان.
armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhrār the brother of Sikandar, and the Amirs of the Panj Bhaiya which means "the five brothers," who were with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (Khān) gets possession of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good, but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition, and the majority of the Amirs of Ibrāhīm (Khān) impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily:

Verse.

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,
The arm of riot is long (and) a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ūd Khān and Ḥussain Khān Ghilz'ai with some of the new Amirs said: "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide the matter at once, and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession of weakness on our part, and an admission of the bravery of our enemies." Upon 'Adli

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1 MSS. (A) (B) so also Firāhta. The text reads Kālā Pahār.
2 MS. (A) reads بود. Khān.
3 MS. (B) adds خان.
4 MS. (B) reads بست گزرد which seems better than the text.
5 MS. (A) omits پیشتر.
6 MS. (B) reads معنی رازی for معنی.
7 MS. (B) omits ابراهیم خان.
8 MS. (B) omits قبول.
9 MSS. (A) (B) read که بیسابثلحی ما در آید.
10 MSS. (A) (B) omit ر. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.
11 MS. (A) reads بررسیم but the textual is better.
12 MS. (B) reads قضیه را بیفاضل تیصل.
13 MS. (B) omits دای.
14 MS. (B) reads دیا می شورد.
also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded." Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyān Yahya Turan, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyān Yahya in the year 961 H. during the disturbances, gave battle in Badāon to twenty of 'Adli's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them; he then fought a great battle on the plain ¹ of the township of Kandarkhi with Rāja Matar Sen Kahtariya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this Muntakhb, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age,² and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram: Chi bas khūb karda and ³ (How well have they done) ! Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,⁴ the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,⁵ the master of masters, the Miyān Ḥātim of Sanbhal, this ⁶ tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the Kanz-i-Fīqḥ, he said, "Count the letters of this tāriḵh which I have spoken without forethought, Fathḥā-i-āsmānī shud."⁷ I replied nine hundred and sixty, which ⁸ is one unit short. He answered,⁹ I said it with the hamza of iṣafat, that is to say, Fathḥā-i-āsmānī, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters: and in this way it is correct.¹⁰ He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

¹ MS. (B) reads در موضع. ² MS. (B) reads درسنه and تتعلق. ³ Chi bas khūb karda and. A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H. whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H. ⁴ Read مدرس. MS. (B). ⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read مقدراي جهانپه instead of مقدراي جهانپه. ⁶ MS. (A) ابن خبر. ⁷ Fathḥā-i-āsmānī shud. They were heaven-given victories. Read with hamza this gives 961 H. ⁸ MS. (A) reads ك for ر. MS. (B) reads ك. ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read مفرق موردن ك. ¹⁰ MS. (A) reads wrongly دست. According to this the value of hamza is 1 and it is taken as equivalent to Alif. The hamza of iṣafat is said to be
a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had written containing the instruction of the Qāḍī, gave them to me as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyān Shaikh Abūl Fath, the son of Shaikh-allahdiyah\(^1\) of Khairābad, *may God be merciful to him*, who is now seated on the throne of instruction and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Miyān Yahya after taking forcible possession of\(^2\) the country of Kānt\(^3\)-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badaon had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār,\(^4\) and had gone towards Ibrāhim Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed, *may he rest in peace*, to Amroha,\(^5\) and was thus separated from that army;\(^6\) and being introduced to the presence of the late Mir Saiyyid\(^7\) Muhammad Mir 'Adl, *may God have mercy on him*, with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Miyān Yahya joined Ibrāhim Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhim Khān had drawn up his army and placed Miyān Yahya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hāji Khān to the command of the left division, and Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī with the Ghilz'ais to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated 

\(^1\) MS. (A) reads *بَلْدِ شَيْخُ الْبَدْيُ. See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.*

\(^2\) MS. (B) reads *بِضْعَةٍ عُرْوَة.*


\(^5\) Amrohā. Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., *see Hunter, I G. i. 266.*

\(^6\) MS. (A) reads *آؤِزْن لِشَكْرِ جَدًا شَهْدًا وَبَا مَرْحَوَةٍ وَقَنَّة.*

\(^7\) *See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 126,* and *Ain-i-Akbari, (B), I. p 268.* The Mir 'Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāḍī, *see Ain-i-Akbari, III. (J.) 41.*

\(^8\) MS. (A) reads *رَجْعَةٌ لِلَّهِ عَلَيْهِ.*
also drew up his forces and came out from his camp. The right wing of Sikandar's forces (the Panj Bhaiya), carried away the left of Ibrahim's army by sheer weight, and after sacking the camp went on to Agra and pillaging the city issued a proclamation on behalf of Sikandar.

The right of Ibrahim Khan's army, however, carried away the left of Sikandar's forces, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal and Palwal, shouting, Prosperity to Ibrahim Khan. Haji Khan at the instant the two opposing ranks closed, passing by the side of his tent, and seeing it had been torn to shreds by the pillaging party, in pretended ignorance of what had occurred hastened to Alwar. A slight engagement ensued with Miyān Yahya Paran who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Miyān Yahya and two of his fingers were cut off. He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrahim Khan took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred men, and with his front facing down-hill awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars passed over the heads of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrahim saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like motes in a sun beam, he realised that Sikandar himself was present with the opposing army, so yielding to necessity he proceeded to Itawa. His canopy and all his regalia were taken. Sikandar pursued him as far as Itawa, where he heard that Jannat Aghiyani had reached Hindustan:

1 MS. (B) بدرکاپ. 2 MS. (B) reads نپین کریم. 3 MS. (B) reads پهپرد. 4 MS. (A) reads Bhalal. 5 For Hodal and Palwal, see Hunter, I. G. v. 437 and xi. 21. 6 MS. (A) omits خان. 7 MS. (A). 8 MS. (A) omits غارت گروان. 9 MS. (A) (B) دری از اکشتنا اور دی. 10 Read with MSS. (A) (B). 11 Supplyصد from MSS (A) (B). 12 I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this passage. 13 The text and both MSS. seem to be incorrect: we should read I think. 14 Qur'an, xxv. 25. MS. (A) reads wrongly here سایر مبنا. 15 MS. (B) شد. 16 MSS. (A) (B) صبر و ضرورت ماد و. 17 MS. (A) (B) از ذهاب او آثاره رسید. 18 MS. (B) کاپ.
retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihridin, he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrâhîm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three thousand sowârs by the ford of Kistî, and (?) made towards Kalpi in order that having collected a fresh army, he might fight 'Adli again. At this juncture 'Adli had appointed Himûn the grocer, who was his vazir and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhâr with certain eminent Amirs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Ágra and Dilhi.

Himûn, regarding Ibrâhîm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him; Ibrâhîm came out to oppose him ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before. But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty he was not successful. He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings. He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined, daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given, and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his fate to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success met with a defeat. God preserve us from failure after success.

1 MSS. (A) (B) تا عاقبت.
2 MSS. (A) (B) و معزز.
3 MS. (A) (B) كنی (?) kanî (?), MS. (B) gisi (?) gîsî (?).
4 MS. (B) جمع عتی.
5 MS. (A) reads راقع for دنع. MS. (B) reads در مقابلہ بمقاتلہ.
6 MS. (B) reads نبایتیش for هبان قدر.
7 MS. (A) reads برؤاید for برواید.
8 A footnote to the text says that the word ب ب is superfluous, MS. (A) omits ب.
9 MS. (B) reads wrongly for متوجع متعلق for متوجع متعلق.
10 MS. (A) (B) مصون for نفع for متوجع متعلق.
11 MS. (B) supplies فورات for نفع.
12 MS. (B) reads again "بحضرة عدد" for صلح.
13 MS. (A) supplies عووز با لله من الحور بعد إكءور.
A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundance. See Lane s, v. حوریہ.
Ibrahim Khân after this defeat, leaving Kalpi made straight for Baiâna with all speed, and Himûn pursuing him arrived at Baiâna. Ibrahim Khân taking a body of the Nuhâni and Afghân cultivators and landholders of Baiâna, again went out to meet Himûn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khânwah, ten krohs distant from Baiâna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Himûn said 'It is easy to smite a stricken foe' and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortress of Baiâna, which is a sort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Himûn thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment; Ghâzi Khân the father of Ibrahim Khân kept the fort provided with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiâna. Himûn kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiâna on all sides, pillaging and destroying. Nearly all the books which my late father possessed in Bashâwar were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern portion of Hindustân, especially in Agra, Baiâna, and Dihli. It was so severe a famine that one ser of jawâri grain had reached two half-tankahs, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price). Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave nor shroud. The Hindu also were in the same

1 MS. (A) بین.
2 We should read here یک اندلز yak andâz MS. (A).
3 MSS. (A) (B).
4 MSS. (A) (B). The text reads ارفسون which has no meaning.
5 MS. (A) باری.
6 MS. (A) تا بالضرغه.
7 MS. (A) میفرستاد.
8 MS. (A) خان.
9 MS. (B) reads بساور.
10 MS. (A) omit شریت.
11 MS. (A) (B) غارت می نمود.
12 MS. (B) omit ود مرحم.
13 MSS. (A) (B).
14 The ser is approximately two pounds. Jawâri is the Hindustani name for the small variety of millet also known as chhota juwâr. (Andropogon soryhum).
15 MS. (A) reads in error مذکر for مه گور.
plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the 
Mughailān thorn, and on wild herbs, also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled and they died. As a date for that year the phrase Khashm-i-Izād (Divine wrath) was invented. The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain, and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and tumult, and two years continual anarchy and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Agra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra was emptied of the troops of ādli, one of the Amirs of Ghāzī Khān Sūr entered the fort of Agra and took up his abode there, to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies; while he was engaged in inspecting the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms, and was going round carrying an open lamp, a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

1 Mughailān for Ummu-ghallān. According to the Makhdanu-l-Adviya. This is the tree called in Hindi Khar or babūl. (Acacia Arabica) see also Ibn Baiṭār (South) I. 82, according to whom it is Spina aegyptiaca. Mimos a gummosfera. See also Drury, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food for sheep when grain is scarce.

2 MS (B) adds. 3 MS. (B) (A) reading. 4 Khashm-i-Izād. Gives the date 962 H.

5 MS. (B) reads. 6 MS. (B) omits. 7 MS. (B) omits. 8 MS. (A) omits. 9 MSS. (A) (B) (A) reading. 10 MS. (B) omits. 11 MS. (B) reads. 12 MS. (A) reads. 13 MS. (A) (B) (A) (B) reading. 14 MSS. (A) (B) (A) (B) reading. 15 MS. (A) (B) (A) (B) reading. 16 MS. (A) (B) (A) (B) reading. 17 'ṣūrāghā is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.
gun powder. In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred, and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment-day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of Tauhid (Declaration of Unity), and Tauba (Repentance), and Istighfar (seeking for pardon). Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled through the air to a distance of several krohs across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed, in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six krohs. As the name of the citadel of Agra was originally Badal Garh, the words Atash-i-Badal garh made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Himun blockaded the fortress of Baiina God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives; a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of Himun's army, which numbered five-hundred, were fed solely upon rice, and oil, and sugar; the senses were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time:

Verse.

We cherish enemies, we also destroy friends,
What mortal has the power to question our decrees.

On one occasion Himun was one day presiding at a public banquet, and summoning the Afgha Amirs into his presence,
to the head of the table urged them to partake of food, saying: "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was, he would address him in terms of the foulest abuse saying: "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghān power was near at hand, they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope, this had become a regular practice with them.

**Verse.**

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot!

In the meanwhile news reached Himūn that Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Din, and was marching with an army like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for Kālpī and Āgra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons arrived from 'Adli to Himūn in these words: "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Himūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Mandāgarh, which is distant six krohs from Āgra, Ibrāhīm (Khān) like a hungry hawk which leaves its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

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1 MS. (B) omits سر.
2 MS. (B) omits مَرَكَة مَي بَوَد.
3 MS. (A) reads بَرَأ أَبُو (Text).
4 MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.
5 I read here جَهَل دَسْتَبَرَ. Jahr-i-dastbūrd instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads which making allowance for conversion of 5 into 3 in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.
6 MSS. (A) (B) دَخَانِمُ أَرَز. 7 MS. A omits إِمَید.
8 MS. (B) omits سُلطَان.
9 MS. (A) omits عَظِيم.
10 MS. (A) شَدَّة.
11 Omit نَد. MS. (A).
12 MS. (A) reads مَانِدَكَار. MS. (B) مَانِدَكاَرَ. Maudāgarh.
13 MSS. (A) (B) omit خَات.
14 MS. (B) reads بَرِیدَة.
battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining reinforcement from Hāji Khān Alwari, he again set about accomplishing his own objects, and Himūn detailed his brother’s son named Thar Yāl with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yāl marching with restless haste pursued Ibrāhīm for two stages, and joined Himūn; Hāji Khān was not pleased at Ibrāhīm’s coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrāhīm being disheartened turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood-relations, left them in Hindūn, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghāzi Khān a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Haidar Khān Chaghta in Baiāna, relying upon assurances, and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place, if God Most High so will it; and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

Magnavī.

The world is a juggler decrepit and bowed,
It brings to pass one thing but promises another;
It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour;
All its dealings are invariably of this nature.
If it calls you know not whither it calls you,
If it drives you forth you know not whither it drives you.
All of us, old and young, are destined to death,
No one can remain in the world for ever.

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrāhīm Khān who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him, in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought with the army of Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, but was

1 MS. (A) reads Korkum. 2 MS. (B) omits alwari. 3 MS. (A) reads Yāl. 4 MS. (B) reads Nahar pāl. 5 MS. (B) reads Nahar pāl. 6 Read here Ṣamād. MS. (A) reads Ṣamād (?) . MS. (B) reads Ṣamād. 7 MS. (A) reads بقوج. MS. (A), for بقوج. 8 Read Bcog. MS. (A), for Bcog.
forced to flee and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chand, in accordance with the customs of landholders, made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect, and in a personal interview presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhīm Khān spent some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the Khuṣbah in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhīm Khān and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwati the ruler of the country of Kara Katanka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up to assist Ibrāhīm, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhīm. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhīm, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the samindārā. Suleimān Karrānī, when he took possession (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhīm with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,
Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.
The tent of life which thou placedst at first,
Death will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.
Himûn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined ‘Adli.\(^1\)

‘Adli and Muḥammad Khān Gauria were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappar Khatta, fifteen krohs from Kalpi.\(^3\)

Gauria, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of ‘Adli, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment\(^2\) expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Himûn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,\(^5\) than he swooped down upon the army of Gauria, taking them unawares as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand.

They were in such utter confusion\(^4\) that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amīrs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight. The wretched Gauria was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that retinue and paraphernalia of royalty\(^6\) and grandeur became “like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,”\(^6\) and became in a moment the portion of the enemy. The kingdom is God’s, the greatness is God’s.

**Verse.**

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,\(^7\)
The condition of the world becomes altered.

After this heaven-given victory and unforeseen triumph, ‘Adli proceeded to Chinhār and appointed Himûn,\(^8\) who who was the commander-in-chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army

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\(^1\) MS. (A) در ميدان دمدم. MSS. (A) (B) read. The text reads.

\(^2\) MS. (A) omits

\(^3\) Literally: Crying, where shall I put the cup, where shall I put the case?

\(^4\) MS. (A) omits

\(^5\) Qur’ān II. 4.

\(^6\) MSS. (A) (B) read لحظة بيد. MS. (B) reads

\(^7\) MS. (A) (B) read لحظة بيد لحظة بيد دم. MS. (B) reads

\(^8\) MS. (A) را.
and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khizr Khān, the son of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor, issuing the currency and reading the Khutbah in his own name, with the style and title of Sultān (Muḥammad) Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against 'Adli, who notwithstanding his distress fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adli was killed, and joined Muḥammad Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and Gauria bikuṣht was its chronogram.

Verse.

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to thy heart's desire;
Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like Nūḥ.
Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize and take for thine own.
Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as made for thee;
Every fruit which grows in the world do thou taste and take.
In the final round which brings the end of thy life,
A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth and gnaw it (in despair).

1 MS. (B) reads for 2.
2 MS. (A) omits 3.
4 The text reads 7.
5 MSS. (A) (B) omit . The meaning is not very clear.
6 Gauria bikuṣht. A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (Pathān Kings, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adli's death.
7 A footnote variant gives 7.
8 MSS. (A) (B) read for 8.
'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Tāusīn, the well-known kalān-wat who is a past master in this art used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adli.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God He is exalted and glorified, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhan brought into his assembly an instrument called pakhāwaj, which is in length equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all the performers of the kingdom of Dihli were unable to play it; 'Adli, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an Amir, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a jāegir, a Bhagat boy handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play. 'Adli was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Mujāhid Khān. When he attained to kingly power

1 See Aīn-i-Akbarī I, (B) 612, note 1. Kalān-wat or Kalāwānt is a Hindi word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads Kalān-wat.

2 Badāonī uses the word wādī a valley or desert, apparently to show his disapproval of the art.

3 A large kind of drum. See Aīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 255.

4 MS. (B) reads for Rāzī. MS. (A) reads Rūsīd.

5 MS. (A) omits محمد.

6 MS. (A) omits می.

7 MS. (A) reads here Ajāwān. MS. (B) reads Ajāwān. So also footnote variant to text.

8 The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276.

9 بہکت پسی. MSS. (A) (B) بہکت کور.

10 MSS. (A) خان.
he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badāou he said, "I am hungry." Ghāzi Khān Sūr whose tent was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." ‘Adli, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver. No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose he would first grow red, then pale and livid, and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly performed; he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.

**Verse.**

Oh ye lords of wealth beware! beware!

And you, ye lords of state, beware! beware!

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afghāns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

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1 The text reads باقیتی with a footnote variant باقیتی. MSS. (A) (B) read باقیتی.

2 MS. (B) omits مکتب. The text reads مکتب باقیتی meaning scraps of meat.

3 MS. (A). The text reads گشایان گشایان. MS. (A) reads گشایان. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

4 MS. (A). The text reads گشایان گشایان. MS. (A) reads گشایان. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

5 MS. (A). The text reads گشایان گشایان. MS. (A) reads گشایان. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

6 MS. (A). The text reads گشایان گشایان. MS. (A) reads گشایان. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

7 MS. (A). The text reads گشایان گشایان. MS. (A) reads گشایان. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'
Returning from Kābul, a second time fought a fierce battle with Sikandar, and being favoured by fortune\(^1\) with victory and conquest, restored to the imperial throne fresh lustre, glory and fortune. The following is an epitome of these events: After that the kingdom of Hindāstan slipped from the grasp of that Pādshāh glorious as Jamshīd, like the ring from the hand of Suleimān,\(^2\) and the opposition and strife between his brothers was not changed to amity and concord,\(^3\) and each one took his own way and sought his own asylum, considering his own interests by consultation with advisers, as has already been briefly related,\(^4\) Humāyūn crossed from the Panjāb and attempted to seize Bakkar,\(^5\) making his camp at the township of Lohri,\(^6\) which is near to Bakkar. Mirzā Hindāl having left Sind proceeded to the township of Pāntar,\(^7\) which is fifty krohs distant from Bakkar, on account of the abundance and cheapness of grain. Humāyūn sent a robe of honour and a horse with a message to Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, governor of Tatta, saying, "I have arrived here driven by necessity and have fully determined upon the conquest of Gujrat,\(^8\) and this undertaking is dependent upon your advice and guidance." Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain spent five or six months\(^9\) in temporising, and brought Humāyūn by specious pretexts from the Bakkar territory to the neighbourhood of Tatta, with the intention of doing whatever might be advisable later on.

\(^1\) A footnote says that one copy gives مسند. MS. (B) has this reading.

\(^2\) See ante p. 205, note 3.

\(^3\) Read ایتلاف for ایتلاف, MSS. (A) (B).

\(^4\) MS. (A) omits در.


\(^7\) MSS. (A) (B) read پاتار. I can find no mention of any place of this name.

\(^8\) MS. (B) reads فلخ گیرات مصیم و این مرقوت الف. Firishta says "asked for assistance in the conquest of Gujrat," Bombay text, p. 409.

\(^9\) Omit و, read پنچ شش. MSS. (A) (B).
In this year, 948 H.,1 Humāyūn married Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, and coming to Pāntar returned to Lohri. Mirzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,2 the governor of that district, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā, who had encamped at a distance of ten krohs from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mir Abūl-Baqā,3 who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mir Saiyyid Sharīf, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose, 4 At the time of crossing the river a party sailed out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mir was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned 5 in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram Surūr-i-kāināt 6 was invented to commemorate it.

Mirzā Yadgār Nāṣir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mirzā (Yādgār) and spent their days 7 in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mirzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Siyāhwān.8 Mirzā Shāh Ḫusain kept sending 9 reinforcements

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1 The text reads 947 H. with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another 947-948. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

2 MSS. (A) (B) read Surūr. Firishta, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

3 MSS. (A) (B) read Surūr-i-kāināt. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

4 MS. (A) (B) read Surūr. Firishta says Semwān. Siwān or Sehwān is in the Karāchi district of Sind, lat 26° 26' N. long 67° 54' E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Sehwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII. 305; but Tiefenthaler (I. 123) attributes it to Husain, son of Shāh Beg Arghān.

5 MSS. (A) (B) add 7 Surūr-i-kāināt.
and supplies to the garrison, and embarking on a boat, and coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humayun). The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of grain and want of salt.

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse.

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh.

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mirza Yadgar Nasir, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirza Shahr Husain and gain possession of the fort. He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service, and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar. Mirza Shahr Husain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the Khutbah read and the currency issued in his name; he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

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1 MS. (B)
2 This is the statement of one author, but Firuzhta says "The siege lasted for seven months. Mirza Shahr Husain Arghun also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals." Bombay text, 409.

Footnote variant

7 MS. (A) omits

8 Text reads "مجرزَا". MS. (B) reads "ماجرزَا" most of them.

9 MS. (B) omits

10 MSS. (A) (B) read

11 Footnote variant Bakkar.
opposing Humâyûn.  

He further took possession of all the boats belonging to Humâyûn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason, seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, “Retreat is the wisest course,” turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two zamindârs recovered two boats which Mirzâ had sunk, and reached Bakkar. Mirzâ, as a means of covering the shame he felt, before he came to pay his respects, marched by forced marches against Mirzâ Shâh Husain, and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats, did a good deal to repair his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humâyûn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mirzâ Shâh Husain, prepared for war. Mum'im Khân who eventually became Khân-i-Khânân also meditated flight. Both of them, however, became aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humâyûn’s force were day by day going over to the side of Mirzâ Yàdgàr Nàshir. In the meantime Maldeo, Râja of the kingdom of Mârwâr, who was distinguished above all the zamindârs of Hindûstân on account of the strength of his following and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humâyûn not thinking it advisable to remain any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmir towards Mârwâr. The Râja of

1 MS. (A) reads با پادشاه مسالف سخت سخت.
2 MS. (A) omits بٹم.
3 Thus the text: MS. (A) reads کے کدام علیا مستقل بر ازبرای وبرائی لشکر.
4 MS. (A) برسقلعہ.
5 MS. (B) رسید دفع.
6 MS. (A) (B) دفع.
7 Footnote variant دفع.
8 MS. (B) از کشتی پیدر امکان برون دید.
9 MS. (B) reads تلخی.
10 MS. (B) از کشتی پیدر امکان برون دید.
11 MS. (B) مطلع شد.
12 MS. (B) جانبل.
13 MS. (B) ملک.
14 Omit read قبل جمعیت مس. (A) (B).
15 MS. (A) omits خون بعد.
16
Jaisalmir blocked the road by which his army was to pass, and fought a battle in which he was defeated. In that waterless desert Humayun’s army suffered terrible distress, so much so that 1 around the wells blood was spilled in place of water among his followers, and most of them 2 from the violence of their thirst cast themselves into the well as though they had been buckets, till it became choked.

In this state of affairs Humayun quoted the following *matla* 3, whoever is the author of it:—

*Verse.*

So many rents did the heavens make in the garments of the afflicted ones,

That neither could the hand find its sleeve, nor could the head find its opening.

From Jaisalmir proceeding by forced marches to Marwar he sent Atka Khan to Maldeo, and halted for several days in the vicinity 4 of Jodhpur, awaiting his arrival. Inasmuch as in those 6 days, Nagor had fallen into the hands of Sher Shah, and 6 had inspired Maldeo with the utmost awe of the majesty and power of Humayun; accordingly Maldeo, fearing the wrath of Sher Shah, 7 was afraid to obey that summons, and detaining Atka Khan by some trick, sent a large force under the pretence of welcoming him, with the intention of treacherously attacking Humayun and taking him prisoner. 8 Atka Khan [becoming

1 MS. (A)

2 A footnote reads: To such a height (did their sufferings rise) that the thirsty-lipped ones from excess of hunger (cast) themselves (into the wells). MS. (B) has this reading omitting the word بان.

3 MSS. (A) (B) نرج. 4 MS. (B) omits نرج.

5 MS. (A) omits writing در ایام. 6 MS. (A) و نرج.

7 A footnote variant to the text, agreeing with MS. (B) runs thus:

*از خوف غضب شیر شاه مالحظه نموده ازین طلب*

This is the reading adopted: it seems preferable.

8 This is according to the text. A footnote variant (and MS. (B)) reads

*بپسند غدر و مکرم کمر وکاد حکم بسته بطل باد عاده فیستاد, Sent...with treacherous design, and girding the loins of rebellion.*
aware of their treachery from its outset] 1 returned without asking permission, and informed Humâyûn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Mâldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humâyûn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger, 2 and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed 3 a large number of living things, 4 men, women and horses, whatever came in their way. 5 Among the number was Humâyûn's charger: Humâyûn thereupon asked Tardi Beg for a few horses and camels, 6 he however behaved meanly, and Humâyûn mounted a camel. After a while 7 Nadim, his foster-brother, 8 gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat. 9 His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road 10 which was so terribly difficult, amid constant 11 alarms of the attack of Mâldeo, [and with intense labour and distress. 12 In the middle of the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hindús of Mâldeo's army] 13 pursuing them through the night, missed their

1 The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).
2 Read گارد یکی و خنجر دیگری کشیده. MS. (A).
3 Changes inextensible and textual. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.
4 Read معاندنی جانداران for معدنی جانداران. MSS. (A) (B).
5 Read اید شیر چپش می‌کشد. MS. (B). MS. (A).
6 This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads جند است شیر (sic).
7 Text می‌گشت. MS. (A) omits. Firisha writes گشت whereupon.
8 Firisha writes ندید کوکه خون.
9 Firisha gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadim himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo. text loc cit).
10 MS. (A) گرفت. MS. (B) reads گرفت.
11 MSS. (A) (B) omit گرفت. MS. (A) گرفت. MS. (A).
12 Omit روز after مشقت. MS. (A).
13 All this passage from گذر 4 (sic) to گذر 10 is omitted in MS. (B).
way, and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rear-guard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mun'im Khân and Roshan Beg Koka, and another party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindûs went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing. Marching from thence and being without water, after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth a drum had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were. For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

1 According to our author's account it seems as though Maldeo's men lost their way, but Firigha's account is as follows: "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humâyûn ordered certain of his officers who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty-five; when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction; towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humâyûn's) orders Shaikh 'Ali and the rest who were in all not more than twenty-five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled. The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels. Humâyûn returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

2 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

3 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

4 MS. (A) reads خوشش قتطی, is the reading of the text and both MSS. (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firigha who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely unprocurable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read از آب برداشتہ. Putting up with the want of water.

5 MS. (A) omits آب.

6 The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drum was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop. MS. (A) reads بن میاں بہاری، also for دلیلی.

7 MS. (B) omits غایبت.
drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth, died from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage, was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route towards Amarkot, which lies at a distance of a hundred krohs from Tatta. The governor of Amarkot, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived, he borrowed from Tardi Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them. He also made presents of money, and sword-belts to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn, collected a large force from the surrounding country, entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in Amarkot under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begam, he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkark.

On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H. the auspicious birth of the Khalifah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkot. Tardi Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name, proceeded

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1 MS. (A) reads خالق گشتند. 2 MS. (A) reads میراح.
3 The calamity-stricken of the army.
4 I can see no other meaning for this expression.
5 MS. (A) reads حساب مقدر. MS. (B) reads حساب المقدر.
6 MS. (A) (B) reads اغش فرمودند. 7 MS. (A) reads که نرسید.
8 کمر خنیجر. 9 MS. (A) (B) omit.
10 MS. (B). The text is correct.
11 MS. (A) (B) reads دیر. 12 MS. (A) (B) omit
13 پابندش. 14 It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firishta, before Humayun left for Bakkark. See Bo. text, p. 411. Briggs, II. 95; but from our author's text it appears that Humayun had left Amarkot before his son was born, and only saw him at Chaul.
15 The text and both MSS. (A) (B) read which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read خاندیا instead of خاندیه.
with all haste towards Bakkar. At the camp of Chaul he sent for the Prince of auspicious mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son. His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'îm Khân, deserting. At this time Bairâm Khân came from Gujrât and tendered his allegiance. Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country Humâyûn determined to make for Qandahâr. Mirzâ Shâh Husain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and Humâyûn crossed the river Indus. At that time Mirzâ Kâmrân had taken Qandahâr from Mirzâ Hindál and had left it in charge of Mirzâ 'Askari, and having given Ghaznin to Mirzâ Hindál had read the Khutbah in his own name. After some time, however, he changed that also. Mirzâ Hindál having given up all royal dignity in Kâbul used to live like a darvâzeh, and Mirzâ Kâmrân yielding to the instigation of Mirzâ Shâh Husain wrote to Mirzâ 'Askari saying, "Seize the road by which the Pâdshâh will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive." Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shâl Mastáng, Mirzâ 'Askari marched by forced marches from

1 Chaul or Chore, a village situated on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmir, eight miles north-east of the former place. See Thornton's Gazetteer, I. p. 143, and map. Lat. 25° 25' Long. 69° 51'. See also Keith Johnston's Atlas.

2 MSS. (A) (B) omits. So also Firishtha who says "But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished, Mun'îm Khân also fled, &c."

3 See Ain-i-Akbari, I. (B) 315, No. 10.

4 MS. (B) omits حسب.

5 MS. (B) omits میرزا کامران.

6 MS. (A) omits ی.

7 MS. (A) reads اگر نیز تغییر نموده. MS. (B) reads اگر نیز تغییر نموده.

8 The text reads شاه مشاکی Shâl Mastáng, but both MSS. (A) (B) read سال مستان منزيل اثرودیت Sâl Mastán munzil-i-Urduh-bâd. Firishtha Bo. text, p. 411, line 10 reads سال و هناشن Sâl Wahsanân, which is probably a copyist's error for شال و هستان Shâl-o-Mastân. We should therefore read Shâl-o-Mastáng, understanding by it Mustang which lies S. S. W. of Quetta or Shâl, at a distance of about 25 miles. See Thornton's Gazetteer, II. pp. 65 and 183. The distance from Qandahâr to Shâl is about 150 miles.

9 A footnote variant reads میرزا هندی Mirzâ Hindál Not in MS. (A) or (B).
Qandahār and sent Chūli Bahādur Uzbaki to reconnoitre. He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula of separation, took the road to ʿIrāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Muʿazzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardi Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again brandishing himself with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge of Atkah Khān on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort with him and journeyed by way of Sīstān.

Mirzā ʿAskari just then arrived at the royal camp, and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardi Beg in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

1 Footnote variant جوکی Jākī.
2 MSS. (A) (B) ʿAbdraḥma. MS. (B) omits ʿAmmara.
3 MS. (A) omits ʿĀdil. See Qurʿān xviii. 77.
4 MS. (B) reads ʿAtabak for ʿAbdābāg.
5 ʿAtbāgī ʿAtabakī. The word ʿAbdābāg or ʿAtbāk is a Turki word signifying “grand-père, precepteur, instituteur du fils des Sultāns.” (Pavot de Courteille).
6 Shamsu-d-Din Muḥammad Atgah Khān. See Aīn-i-Akbarī I. (Bl.) 321. No. 15, where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (anāgah) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Ji Ji Anāgah.”

The word ʿAbdābāg means a mother in Turki, while ʿAbdākāh or ʿAbdākā means a nurse, as ʿAbdā means a father; the word ʿAbdākā ʿAbdākā would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Din Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

7 MSS. (B) omits ʿAbduʾl-ʿAzīz. MS. (A) (B) read ʿAbduʾl-ʿImām for ʿAbduʾllāh.
8 Dīnān Khāna-i-ʿAlī.
9 The words بحکم do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read بحکم be-kilm.
Prince to Qandahār, and handed him over to Sulṭān Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection. In that journey important events took place, which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original, do not admit of relation in this place; and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 950 H. (1543 A.D.). In short, leaving Sistān and journeying to the city of Khurāsān, he had an interview with Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā, the elder son of Shāh Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage of Muḥammad Khān Taklū, and receiving all the necessaries of royalty, and requisites for his journey, with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Meshed); and at each successive stage, by order of the Shāh, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and shewing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairām Khān proceeded to do homage to the Shāh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humāyūn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulāq-Sūriq and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

In the course of conversation the Shāh asked what had led to his defeat; Humāyūn incautiously replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahram Mirzā, the brother of the Shāh, who was

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit ۱.
2 Omit ۲ MSS. (A) (B).
3 ۳ MS. (A).
4 MSS. (A) (B) ۴ در نسبت إصل. That is to say, in the Tubaqāt-i-Akbāri. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 217, et seqq.
5 ۵ تائيشي. The termination liq, līg, līn, or līgh, indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in چروغ qalqālqā, abundance; or possession. See Paret de Courteille s. v.

The word patronage would more etymologically represent atāligi, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

6 Called by Niẓāmu-d-Din, Aḥmad Muḥammad Khān Sharfu-d-Din Ughtūl Taklū (E. and D., v. 217). The word Taklū means "eau qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne; lieux humides et verdoyants" (P. de C.).

7 MS. (B) reads دیده و ما بحاج سلطان گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text.

8 The text has ۸ نلیاق سویرتی (Sic) (؟) ایلاقي (Sic) Itāq Sūrtāq, but both MSS. (A) (B) read نلالق سویرتی Pulāq Sūriq.

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit the article, reading خالی ذه.
present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humâyûn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [nay more to overthrow Humâyûn himself as well], and impressed upon Shâh Tahmasp, saying, “This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbâsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Òzbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive.” This was a reference to that affair in which Bâbar Pâdshâh took Najm-i-Awwal from Shâh Isma’il with seventeen thousand Qizilbâsh cavalry, and led them as an auxiliary force against the Òzbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhshab, otherwise known as Kash, (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shâh to turn the Òzbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met he withdrew to one side, and the Qizilbâsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultân Begam the sister of the Shâh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

1 MSS. (A) (B) read ازAnne Rezzâz فیلم جستامن ناکذاب.
2 MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads cf. Tabaqât-i-Akbari, Elliot, v. 218.
3 MSS. (A) (B). زندو بدر نیامد.
4 The text is correct لکم تامیغ. MS. (A) reads بلغ.
5 In the Memoirs of Bâber, (Erskine, p. 243), he is called Nijim Sani Isfahâni. (Najm-î-Sâni Isfahânî).
6 MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار.
7 For an account of this see Erskine (Memoirs of Bâber), pp. 242, 243.
8 MS. (A) reads جس کش (?).
9 Nakhshab. "In Mawarân-u-nahr between the Jaibân and Samarqand, but not lying on the road to Bokhârâ, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhârâ to Samarqand, also called Nasaf, situated three stages from Samarqand." See Yâqût, r. u. r. and Nâfis. In Bokhârâ, see Kesh (Keith Johnston’s Atlas), or Shêhr-i-Sâbzh.
10 MSS. (A) (B) قضم. Text reads قتمہ.
11 MS. (A) reads سلطانام سلطانام. So also Tabaqât-i-Akbari.
promised Mahdi, (who in the belief of the Shi'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Sámirah, otherwise known by the name of Surra-man-raā, and when necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs of State were bound up, dissuaded him from that mistaken step, and by the use of rational argument brought him back to an attitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and assist. His Majesty (Hamāyūn) wrote a rubā'ī (quatrain) of which the following is the last verse.

Verse.

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā. Behold! the Humā has sought thy shadow.

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān, and sent it to the Shāh.

1 The promised Mahdi, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection. See Mīshkāt-u-Maṣūbīh, xxii. also Hughes' Dict. of Islam, 305.

Its name was changed by Al Mu'taṣim for the sake of good augury into Surra-man-raā meaning "Who sees it rejoices." Sāmarrā was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Bağhdād, remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shi'a Muslims, for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdi, Al-Qā'im is to appear. See J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 36, for the article from which this note is abridged, a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr. Le Strange.

3 MS. (A) خُمْصَاتٍ. MS. (B) omits بورد. 4 MS. (B) omits كَبِيَانَة. 5 Text لَا زَانِ وَلَا غُرْنَادَة. MS. (A) reads كَبِيَانَةٍ (?). 6 MS. (A) کُرْواَن. 7 MS. (A) (B) مست بَيْنَ كُلِّي. 8 Humā, see p. 57 of this work, and note 2.

There is an allusion here to the name Hamāyūn in its etymological sense of relation to the Humā or bird of royal augury.

9 Read قَطَعَةُ سَلَامٍ رَأ. MS. (A). Salmān Sāwaji. Jamāl-d-Dīn, a native of Sāwah. Shāikh 'Alāu-d-Daulah of Sāmān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salmān or the pomegranates of Sāmān." He died in the year 669 H. Majma'u-l-Fuṣḥā, II. 19. See Beote O. B. D., p. 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 779 A.H. See also H. K. 8916 Fīrāqūmā. The date of his death given in the Majma'u-l-Fuṣḥā must be incorrect, as Salmān was the panegyrist of Amīr Shāikh Ĥasan and of his son Sultan Awaś Jalāyēr the latter of whom died in 776 A.H. See A'in-i-Akbarī, I. (B) 100 n. 6.
Verse.

I hope that the Shâh will out of kindness treat me,  
As 'Ali treated Salmân in the desert of Arzhan.¹

The Shâh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,² arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humâyûn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shi'ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muḥammad, may God be pleased with them, and Humâyûn after ³ much ado said "Bring them written upon a sheet of paper." Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humâyûn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence⁴ in the Khutbah, after the custom of Irâq, to the recital of the twelve Imâms.⁵ Shâh Murâd, the son of the Shâh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand ⁶ cavalry under the command ⁷ of Bîdâgh Khân Qizilbâsh Afshâr,⁸ was nominated ⁹ to reinforce Humâyûn, and it was determined that the Qizilbâsh should march

¹ One day Salmân was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushire and Shîrâz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon 'Ali for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the Muqâm-i-Salmân. He is buried at Madâm. See Isâbah, II. p. 224. Salmân Abû 'Abdî-llah al Fârsî, called in Persian Rûzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

² MS. (B) reads بقیع خان نام. MS. (A) reads

³ Omit and read بعد إبنها و ابن نام. MS. (A).

⁴ Read here for نقل نامندگان. MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The Shi'ahs apply the term Imâm to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imâms. They are on this account called the Imâmiyah and the Ignâ 'Ashariyah. See Hughes’ Dict. of Islâm, 203 and 572.

⁶ MS. (B) reads ¹2,000.  

⁷ Bîdâgh Khân was according to Tabâqât-i-Akbarî the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

⁸ See Târîkh-i-Raghi (Elias and Ross), p. 214 n. Afshâr is the name of one of the seven Turki tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shâh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbâsh derive their name.

⁹ MS. (A) reads
by one route and Humâyûn by another, and that Humâyûn
should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahâr to Shâh
Murâd. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Ardabil and
Tabriz, (Humâyûn) again went to Mashhad the holy city, and
succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain-head of light.

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred
enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice to his fellow,
"This is not Humâyûn Pâdshâh." The other replied "Yes it is."
Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humâyûn "So! you are
again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to
the circumstance that Humâyûn used generally in Bangâla to
cast a veil over his crown, and when he removed it the people
used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in
the river and said "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?"
When he arrived at Agra he imposed upon the populace a new
self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the
ground (before him). At last Mîr Abûl Baqâ with the Amirs
and Vazirs paid the due respects, and the Amirs of the Qizilbash
coming (by another road) arrived at Garmsir and took possession
of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view of
Qandahâr, when after five days Humâyûn arrived, and Mîrzâ
'Askârî was besieged, and for three months continuously fighting
was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides.
Thereupon Bâirâm Khân was sent to Kâbul as an ambassador to

— MS. (A) reads گذاردن.
The text is settled that Humâyûn should hand over Qandahâr to Shâh Murâd.

MS. (A) omits صرداد.

3 MS. (A) inserts مقدس.

5 At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of 'Ali, son of Mûsâ ar-Rezâ. See Meynard Dict. de la Perse, p. 306 s. v. طورخ. See also A'in-i-Akbarî, (J.) III. 86. Firishta reads (Bo. Text, p. 212).

4 Insert after وکیل

5 MS. (A) reads instead of after زایران

7 MS. (A) (B) برگی داشتهند MSS. (A) (B) می انداختند.

8 Supply که. MSS. (A) (B) نزاردگیر. MS. (A).

10 MS. (B) reads and در ظاهر

11 Omit دریابن اینا MSS. (A).

12 Insert پیاپی after ماسه مارد. MSS. (A) (B).
Mirzā [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā `Askari was fighting and Mirzā Hīndal and Mirzā] Suleimān Badakhshī and Mirzā Yaḍgār Nāsir who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plight; and [since] the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him and would all come in. This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mirzā `Askari, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country. It so happened that just at that very time certain Amirs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān, namely, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Ḥusayn Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Muʿyad Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of Qandahār, escaped from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā `Askari in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined the ranks of Humāyūn’s followers; his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

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1 The words within brackets occur in both MSS. (A) (B) which read میرزا کامران کہ میرزا عسكری از جانب او ساوارہ میرزا فرستادند و میرزا هندال و میرزا سلیمان اگئے

This also tallies with the Tabaqat-i-Akbari. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 219.

2 MS. (A) reads یہ but it seems to be in error.

3 Omit فرستادن in this place, MS (A).

4 MS. (A) omits جوہن.

5 Ibl Šāhīn - چئقلیہ ایل خواہند شد Il ḡudan. To become submissive. See Paret de Courteille, s. v. ائل.

6 Read here. برہہ خواہند در کم MMS. (A) (B). The word seems unnecessary and tautological; possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ائل il, taking it in its ordinary sense of “tribe.”

Regarding the Chaghatai, see Tāriḵ-i-Rashidi, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

7 MS. (A) کُنیر.

8 MS. (A) omits سے before خواہند and reads کہ بدیار خرد مراجعت نمایند.

9 The text reads پایان امید having come down. The Tabaqat-i-Akbari says “managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope.” E. and D. loc. cit.

10 MS. (A) شدہ.
Verse.

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge.

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbash that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaughta tribe,1 and the inhabitants of the city, so as2 to allow of their all coming out; and although Humâyūn had no territory in his possession, yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidadh Khān and Mirzā Murād into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them.

Verse.

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise
That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of him.

With the exception of Bidadh Khān and two or three other Amirs,3 no one remained in the service of Mirzā Murād, while the remaining Amirs of the auxiliaries, all returned to Irāq.

Humâyūn was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidadh Khān to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers.4 On this account some of the Chaughtai Amirs began 5 to take to flight towards Kābul; among them was Mirzā ‘Askari, who was seized in the way and brought to Humâyūn, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events6 happened in those days, which 7 led to the delivery of Qandahār from the hands of the Qizilbash. First among these was this, that the Chaughtai Amirs urged upon Humâyūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

1 Ulūs-i-Chaughtā. The word Ulūs is a Turk'ash word; it is not found in Redhouse's dictionary. In Fazlullāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as qabila-i-buzury, a large tribe.

2 The title of Ulūsbeği "chief of the tribe" was a very old one among the Mughals. See Tarīkh-i-Rashīdi (Elias and Ross), p. 132 a. 1.

3 MS. (A) reads wrongly یا for ی.

4 MS. (B) reads نادر یزقوئیا قعماي جند. The text is correct.

5 MS. (A) reads بعسی. Omit
that after the conquest of Kābal and Badakhšān he ought\(^1\) to bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizībāsh as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mirzā Murād on that very day,\(^2\) by a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizībāsh caïnaille on\(^3\) the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the Chaghātai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever.\(^4\)

Forthly, this incident, that a fierce\(^5\) Tabarrā, in accordance with

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\(^1\) MSS. (A) (B) omit بايد "but it seems to be necessary."

\(^2\) MS. (A) inserts "the very day of the agreement."

\(^3\) Omit مطلقًا MS. (B).

\(^4\) MS. (B) omits مطلقا.

\(^5\) MS. (A) reads تبراي نتدي. The word here seems to mean one who is anathema, i. e., a Sunnī.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word Tabarrā. This word means enmity (as opposed to توارث, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shi'āts. In defining تباررā a distinction is to be made between معاشیف opposition, and عدوارت 'adāwat enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter, for instance two men may be in opposition (muḥādatat) on worldly matters, and yet be in thorough amity (maḥabbat) in matters of faith, or may be opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in religious questions. Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not necessarily imply enmity. And yet it is held that ماخصت maḥabbat, affection, and عدوارت 'adāwat enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that عدوارت 'adāwat is of two kinds, religious, as for instance the 'adāwat of Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the fundamental differences in their faith: and, worldly, as the 'adāwat between one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly interests. Thus it is conceivable that 'adāwat and maḥabbat may co-exist. Or again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim quâ Muslim, but entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a kāfīr (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c., while he hates him as an Infidel: his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with religion.

The co-existence of 'adāwat and maḥabbat in one person due to one consideration is however impossible.

Again, the 'adāwat which true believers entertain against each other on account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of 'adāwat in religious matters is kufr (infidelity), therefore one must consider every kāfīr as an enemy: thus although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (maḥabbat) between a
Muslim and a Kāfir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and ‘adāwat must be based upon their kufr. Again religious affection is centred in īmān (faith of Islām), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Maḥabbat and ‘adāwat between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kāfir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees..... The highest is that for the Prophet Muḥammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties: First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members; secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members; thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (īmān), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'ān become worthy of ‘adāwat (Rājīb al-Ahdār) they are excepted (from the rights of maḥabbat) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith..... Inasmuch as īmān (faith) does not necessarily exclude inām (immorality) it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display tabarrā against him, but rather to pray for his pardon; as long as he retains īmān it is lawful to entertain maḥabbat for him, and ‘adāwat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as tabarrā and sabb (reviling) are only justifiable when maḥabbat for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Shi'ah divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilāfat of 'Ali as kufr, according to the words of Khwāja Naṣīr Tūsī ‘Muḥalifahu fasāqah wa muhāribihū kafirah.’ “Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels.”

Accordingly a section who have contended themselves with opposition are not deserving of tabarrā, because their extreme fault is fasq (immorality) and the fāsiq (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the Tuhfa-i-Iṣnā ʿaṣhariyah of Shāh Ṭabdūl-Lāh Ḥāfiz ʿAziz of Dihlī.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that Tabarrā is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the ardēṣṣa of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of tabarrā which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of īmān (Imān) and hence to render the reviler liable to tabarrā provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirzā Yādgār Naṣīr he is called tabarrā as accursed.
their notoriously brutal manner, in the presence of Yādgār Nāšir Mirzā [who had fled in concert with Hindāl Mirzā from Kāmrān Mirzā] and come thither, uttered foul and improper abuse against the companions of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, and may God be pleased with them; Mirzā Yādgār Nāšir could not endure this, and struck him such a blow with an arrow which he had in his hand that the arrow penetrated his chest up to the wing, and passing through him struck the ground. Häjī Muḥammad Khān Kūki with two servants first of all entered the fortress of Qandahār together with a train of camels laden (with supplies), and put the guards to the sword; a second party following him, came up, Mirzā Ulugh Beg and Báirām Khān were of that number. The Qızılbaşh were astounded, and utterly confounded, and the proverb was exemplified, “Qāzī, I am an old woman,” and if you don’t believe me, I can scream just like one, listen!” Their haughtiness was humbled, and Humāyūn entering the fort allowed Bidāgh Khān, who had come to him in trepidation and anxiety, to proceed towards Irāq. Notwithstanding this, all the inhabitants of the city, who were heartily sick of them, killed the Qızılbaşh in every street. After he had settled Qandahār to his satisfaction, he made over charge of that district to Báirām Khān and determined to attempt the conquest of Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān also came out to meet him with the intention of fighting. Every day one or two of his noted Amīrs deserted and joined the army of Humāyūn. In very truth the greater

1 MS. (B) omits the portion in brackets.
2 MS. (A) omits ي فاحش
3 MSS. (A) (B) omit الله
4 MS. (A) reads زار بزمن رسيد MS. (B) reads إثر جامعه
5 MSS. (A) (B) read إثر جامعه
6 Omit ِ MSS. (A) (B).
7 Literally, lost their hands and feet.
8 MSS. (A) (B).
9 The text reads قورتغا The latter is the reading of MS. (A). I read قورتغا qūrtaga, the word qūrtaga, which is Turki for 'an old woman.' See Pavet de Courteille.
10 MS. (A) omits
11 MS. (B) insert ديد کد کد ديد کد after
12 MS. (A) omits خطر
13 MS. (B) omits
14 MS. (B) بعزيمته جنگ باستقبال درکامده
15 MS. (A) يك دواز
part of the inhabitants of the world\(^1\) are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.\(^2\) Mirzâ Kâmân, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the Shaikh\(s\) and Ulama to sue for pardon. Humâyûn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mirzâ, in accordance with the saying "The traitor is a coward,"\(^5\) would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kâbul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznîn. The whole of his army\(^4\) came over to the camp of Humâyûn, who appointed Mirzâ Hindâl to pursue him, and came himself to Kâbul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'an for thee will restore thee to thy returning place"\(^6\) was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazân the blessed,\(^6\) in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),\(^7\) and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:—

\[ Be jang girift mulk-i-Kâbul az wai.\]

"He took the kingdom of Kâbul from him without fighting." And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this Muntaktab has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,\(^9\)

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\(^1\) MS. (A) مردم عالم; MS. (B) omits عالم حكم

\(^2\) MS. (B) می گرندند

\(^3\) Al-khâînî Al-khâîf. MS. (B) reads سباهیاتش

\(^4\) MS. (A) reads the mabârez

\(^5\) Qur'an xxviii. 85.

\(^6\) MS. (A) omits الباز

\(^7\) The Tabaqât-i-Akbarî (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says: "The victory was accomplished off the 10th Ramazân, 963 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952: but God knows the truth." A footnote (I, page 223) states that the Akbar-nâma (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazân, 952.

\(^8\) بی چندگ گرخت مالک گابل اوری. These words give 952 H. Firisaht also gives this same hemistich. (Bo, text, p. 448).

\(^9\) Text کے طناب اطلاع اور کوشیدہ دار. Lit. to draw tight the tent cords prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit ات; MS. (B) reads سکین for اسکین.
the thread of his discourse has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*

To make a long story short when Mirzâ Kâmrân proceeded to Ghaznpin and was unable to enter it, he departed towards Bakkar, and Mirzâ Shâh Husain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

Humâyûn put to death Mirzâ Yâdgâr Nâsîr who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshân. Suleimân Mirzâ gave him battle, and was defeated, and 450. Kâmrân Mirzâ coming up in Humâyûn's absence took possession of Kâbul, placing guards over the ladies of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humâyûn, after relieving Mirzâ Hindâl of the government of Badakhshân, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mirzâ Suleimân, and making over the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kâbul. Mirzâ Kâmrân, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kâbul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Prince to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Mâham Anka made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity.

*Verse.*

If the sword of the world leaps from its sheath,
It can sever no vessel till God permits.

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1 MS. (A) omits بی اعتیار. MS. (B) omits رسننی الشنی.

The proverb is Al-ḥadîs zu-thujûn, and is used to express one story reminding the narrator of another, see *Arabic Proverbs*, Freytag, I. p. 350, n. 29.

The text reads wrongly isolated and a footnote calls attention to the correct reading. MS. (B) reads اکبات لیہ.

2 MS. (A) kama Bar hażarât-i-ʻaliyât-i-Begamân.

3 MS. (B) reads for تفروض نبوذه سرود. شجر.

4 Mâham Anka (or Anagah) was one of Akbar's nurses and attended on Akbar from his cradle to his accession. *See Aîn-i-Akbari,* I. (B) p. 323.

Anâkâ or Anaka in Turki signifies nurse (P. de C.) Fazlul-lâh Khân gives Anagah in the meaning of foster-mother *shîr mādar.* Read the account given by Nigâmû-d-Din. (Elliott, v. p. 227).
The Sardārs and Amirs, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy, and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last, Mirzā, having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise, and when Häji Muḥammad Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mirzā, Mirzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Bābā Qasqa?" Häji Muḥammad Khān, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Hūmāyūn safe and sound, and the part returned to the whole.

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years beside,

For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages.

And Mirzā Kāmrān took refuge with Pir Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Balkh, and asking his assistance seized certain of the provinces of Badakhshān without a struggle from Suleimān Mirzā and his son Ibrāhim Mirzā, and took possession of them; and Qurāča Khān, who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping Amirs, entertained extravagant expectations from Hūmāyūn, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised betook themselves to Badakhshān and Kābul.

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer says with reference to this:

1 MS. (A) omits را; i.e., to make feints.
2 Read تا خمرزًا MS. (A).
3 Mirzā Kāmrān.
4 Text بسورية ناشُنَا سان MSS. (A) (B) read بسورية ناشُنَا سان.
5 MS. (A) ببیرزا وسید.
6 Text reads جزء به کل رجوع نموده. MS. (A) has the better reading جزء به کل رجوع نموده.
7 A footnote variant reads هزار معنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS. (A).
8 Text معد خواسنه. MSS. (A) (B) معد طلبیده جوان.
9 MS. (A) reads بانمودن و افراش.
10 MS. (A) reads خام طبع شده نمودن و افراش.
11 Text و ظریفی دران پاب کفته. This admits of translation also "a certain
The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kāmran came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him, and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān, and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khān and ‘Abu-l-‘Aziz Khān, the son of ‘Abdu-llah Khān, the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amirs, who were treacherous hypocrites, and in alarm about Mirzā Kāmran, he turned back and came to Kābul. Mirzā Kāmran once more broke his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way, and he had to fight numerous battles, he eventually sought

Zarif.” There was a poet of that name, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasār of Ḥṣaheh. See Majnā’u-l-Faṣāḥ, II. 345.

1 Kiosen. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.

2 See ante p. 352 n. 1.

3 See Elliot, v. 229, 230.

4 MS. (A) reads ‘Ubaidu-llah Khān.


6 MS. (A) reads Murājī Sanāqī.

7 The account given by our author is explained by that of the Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mirzā Kāmran had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Darra Gaz taking up a strong position: then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Oabaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but cut his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. See Elliot, v. p. 231.

8 MS. (A) omits Kāmran.

9 MS. (A).

10 Read and for MS. (A).
aid from Islam Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment, and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sultan Ādam Ghakkar at Pashāla. Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but the jewel of sight was taken from him, (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makka. He had the good fortune to make the Hajj four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and there delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him.

Verse.

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise, Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark. The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment which it has not afterwards torn from him. The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed. The Time has never played any piece without practising deception with it. Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun, That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn. Khāqānī! cast dust into the eyes of the world, For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee no remedy.

1 MS. (B) reads از إسلام مابرس گشتہ.
2 Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v. 232 to 234. MS. (A) reads پرمالا Yarkâla.
3 Mirzā Kāmrān was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, see Elliot, v. 146 and 235 in the year 960 H. Firishta gives the tāriḵ written to commemorate it چشم پرشید زبیداد سپهر Chashm poshid si bedād-i-ziādir. He closed his eyes to the injustice of heaven. It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother’s eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatai leaders clamouring for his death. Firishta also says that he made the pilgrimage (Hajj: three times, dying on the 11th of Zu’l Hijjah 964 H. (Bo. Text, p. 455), October, 1557 A. D.
4 Khāqānī, whose name was Afzalu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Ali an-Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abūl-‘Alā Ganjawi; he took the name Haqāqi, as his taḥallus and entered the service of Shīrwān Shāh the great Khāqān Manuchir, from whom he received the title of Khāqānī. Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shādarwān, where he wrote many poems. After his release he hastened to Makka and wrote the Tuhfatū-l-‘Irāqān while on the way. He
Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī wrote this tārīkh.

Verse.

Kāmrān, than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,
Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul to God, and his body to the dust.
Kāhī spake this as a tārīkh to commemorate his death,
Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.

And the poet Waisī wrote:

Verse.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.
Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.
After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Surkhāb in Tabriz in the year 582 H.

Majīn'ū-l-Fusāha, 1, p. 200. See also Beale, O.B.D. s. v. Khāqānī.

1 MS. (B) reads مورا. MS. (A) reads مورا قاسم کاتبی.
2 This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.
3 Pādshāh Kāmrān baka'bah bimurūd. The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 964 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Miyān Kāli Kābulī. Our author (see vol. III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author. He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badāoni laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The Atash-Kada (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistāna Saiyyids; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Timūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Turkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. See Khīn-i-Akbarī (B) 1, 566 n. 1; also Beale, O.B.D., p. 144.

4 MS. (B) reads دابسی for وسی Waisī (Text).
One night as Waisl was holden with sleep,
He visited him and called him towards himself,
And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka.""

Mirzā Kāmrān was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and
good-natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used
always to associate with the Ulamā and learned doctors. His
poems are well-known. At one time he held such strong views
of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his
kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was
not ashamed of the after effects of debauch; eventually he left
the world penitent and devout. All's well that ends well.

This event took place in the year 964 H.

Mirzā 'Askari, after Qarrācha Khān was slain in the last battle
before Kābul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's
soldiery, and Khwāja Jalālūn-d-Dīn Mahmūd Diwān conveyed
him to Budakhsān and made him over to Mirzā Suleimān. He
was kept in confinement for some time, and then was released,
and Mirzā Suleimān despatched him to Balkh, by which route he
purposed journeying to the two sacred cities. When he reached
a valley which lies between Shām and the sacred city of Makka,
without accomplishing his object he hastened from that desert
to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The
following is the tārikh of that event:

'Askari pādshāh-i-daryādil.

Verse.

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?
For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison.

1 Shāh-i-marhām dar Makka mānād. This line gives the date 964 H.
2 الأئمہ بالعوْقب. Al umūru bil 'awāqib. Lit. Events are according to
their terminations.
3 MS. (A) omits साल. 4 MSS. (A) (B).
5 MS. (A) بودة.
7 Syria. Nīgānu-d-Dīn Aḥmad says: "in the country of Rām," Elliot
v. 234.
8 MS. (A) reads راز.
9 i.e. 'Askari the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.
10 In the Mīghāt (xxi. Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by
Muḥammad. "A man came to his majesty and said: 'Verily my brother has a
The end of Mirzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mirzā Kamrān had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Hāji Muḥammad Khān 1 Kūki was executed 2 on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirzā Kamrān made a night attack upon the camp. 3 By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place 4 in the year 958 H. and Shabkhān was found to give the date. 5

Purging: And his highness said: 'Give him honey to drink' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said: 'I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging,' then his majesty said to him thrice: 'Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said: 'It increases the purging.' And his highness said: 'Give him honey.' Then the man said: 'I have and it increases the purging.' Then his highness said: 'God has said truly, there is a cure for man in honey, and your brother's belly lies, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well.'

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known; for instance, we find in the Maḥzānū-l-Adwiyya that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Ḍabsatīn (Absinthium) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of Heraclea, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authenticated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, Kalmia latifolia some Rhododendrons Azalea pontica and certain other plants of the N. O. Ericaceae, have poisonous properties which are communicated to the honey of bees lighting on them. It is said that the Azalea pontica was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison andromedotoxin has been found in many Ericaceae. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, purging, acute gastric and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See Ind. Med. Gaz., January, 1897, p. 27. See also Med. and Surg. Rep. September, 1896.

1 MS. (A) omits خان. 2 MSS. (A) (B) omit پاکش. 3 Read شجاع. 4 MS. (A) نور. 5 Shabkhān. Night assualt. The letters of this word give the date 968 H. The Tabqātī-‘Albari gives another tārikh. See Elliot, v. 234, which however gives 959 H.
Verse.

When Fate made such a night attack\(^1\) with the forces of the world
That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
Hindâl the world-conqueror left the world,
And abandoned the world to Shâh Humâyûn;
The young plant-like stature of that shapely palm-tree
Was like a lamp to the sleeping-apartment of the sky.
Wisdom sought for a târikh of his death,\(^2\) I said,
Alas! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a night attack.

Mîrzâ Amâni also wrote\(^3\) the following:—
Shâh Hindâl the cypress of the rose-garden of beauty,
When he left this garden for that of Paradise,\(^4\)
The wailing ring-dove uttered this târikh,
"A cypress has gone from the garden of glory."\(^5\)

And Maulânâ Hasan 'Ali Kharâs\(^6\) wrote:

Verse.

Hindâl Muhammad Shâh of auspicious title
Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night;
Since a night assault (shâbkân) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the târikh of his martyrdom in shâbkân.

Humâyûn bestowed the horses and retinue of Mîrzâ Hindâl
upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznin with its dependencies as Iqṭā' grants.\(^7\)

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1 MSS. (A) (B) read شابشري.  
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit .  
3 MS. (A) reads مانی for Amâni (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read for (Text).  
4 Read for MSS. (A) (B).  
5 Sarve as bâstân-i-daulat raft.  
6 To arrive at this târikh we take the value of the words Bâstân-i-daulat which is 959, and then take from this the value of the sarve (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value, 1, thus we obtain 958 H.  
7 MS. (A) reads .  
8 See Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 115.
The Afghāns could no longer protect Mirzā Kamrān, and it so happened that Mirzā went to Islam Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islam Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān. In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahār. Bairām Khān came out in person to receive Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Bairām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Wallis, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shiakhs of the Naqshbandi sect, Maulānā Zainu-d-Din Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavi was from Bahdā, which is a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān, and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shiakhs, may God sanctify their spirits, especially Maulavi Maḥdī ‘Arif Jāmī, and Maulavi ‘Abdu-l-Ghafūr Lārī, may God He is exalted sanctify their spirits, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

1 MS. (A) reads سالم شاه Salim Shāh. 2 MS. (A) (A) reads هندورستان.
3 MS. (A) reads باستقبال برآمد. 4 The Naqshbandi Shiakhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahdān-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. See Ain-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 n. 2 where the meaning of Naqshband is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave Kamāls adorned with figures (naqsh). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Ain-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 358, et seqq.
5 Footnote variant بیداری Bahdāyan 6 MS. (A) reads قندمر Qandahār. 7 MS. (B) omits تعلیم.
“Oh, Bairām what is your wish! You yourself are as Yusuf and Zulaikha in the world.” And Humāyūn having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, *may the blessing and peace of God be upon him*, invited the Ākhānī, and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairām Khān took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands; seeing this the Ākhānī indicated Mir Ḥabīb-Illāh, the grandson of Mir Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the traditionist, and said, “Do you not know who that person is?” Humāyūn thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mir, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the Ākhānī without scruple washed his hands, to their heart’s content. At this time Humāyūn enquired, “How much water is enjoined by the *Su‘nna* to be poured over the hands?” They replied, “so much as is necessary to clean the hands;” then first Bairām Khān poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khān the relation of the Mahdī, son of Qāsim Khān. At last the food was eaten, and Humāyūn found very great delight in their society, and was much benefitted thereby. Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairām Khān, saying, “This is a present.” Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, “Presents must be given on both sides.”

The story goes that one day Bairām Khān caused a garment to be made of handsome Kashmir *shāls,* and brought it to him. He took it in his hand and praised it saying, “What a valuable thing this is!” Bairām Khān said, “As it is a suitable garment for a dervesh, I have brought it as an offering for you.” He thereupon made a sign with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more
deserving of it than I. Many miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'inu-d-Din, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wāiz, who by the order of the Khalifah of the time was for some time Qāżi of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchiwāra, when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Ali Quli Khān Sistānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhwānd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhwānd. At last one day, as one of them was saying “He has risen from his bed,” the Ākhwānd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, “Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection.” Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of their's that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep of death he is superior to the archangels.  

1 MS. (A) reads خیالی منقرفل است.  
2 MS. (B) reads ورزش و روز.  
3 Read روشن for روش. MSS. (A) (B).  
4 MSS. (A) (B) read مچی واره هم شکست.  
6 At page 315 of Blochmann's Xin-i-Akbari (J.), we read “The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchīwāra and received Sambhal as jāgīr.”  
7 MS. (A) omits میثاق. The hint given by the Ākhwānd was in true Oriental fashion.  
8 MS. (B) reads پر از فرسته خواهند بود. MS. (A) reads میثاق and omits پر.
Verse.
I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day
I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take him
And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking
For such an evil liver death were preferable.

Humāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Mun‘im Khān. Mun‘im Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on the tapis a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed to Bairām Khān, and Zamindāwar to Bahādūr Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zā Ḥijjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān. And the following qiṭa‘h was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qiṭa‘h.
Khusrū Ghāzi Naṣiru-d-Din Humāyūn Shāh
Who without question excelled all former kings,
Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;
The date of his advance is nuḥ ẓad wa ḍhast wa yake.5

At the halting-place of Parshāwar Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus and Bairām Khān and Khizr Khwāja Khān, with Tardi Beg Khān and

1 MS. (A) مقرر ماند
2 MSS. (A) (B) عالم هند گشتند
3 هصد و سیصد و ریکی
4 Nine hundred and sixty-one. The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this qiṭa‘h gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says that it is both in form and in literal value.
5 The text reads پر شادر Parshādar, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read پر شادر
6 MS. (A) omits پر. 6 MS. (B) omits سنن.
Iskandar¹ Sultan Osbak forming the advance party, went forward² and Tātār KHAN Kāsī, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort³ and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.⁴

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard⁵ started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesar]⁶ Jalandhar⁷ and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbaz Khān and Naṣīr Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dipālpūr with Shāh⁸ Abū·l·Ma‘ālí and ‘Ali Quli Shābānī, who was eventually Khān·i·zmān,⁹ and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands¹⁰ upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhori), and never looked behind them. Before Humayūn’s army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrahim Sūr, and having conquered him¹¹ formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack ‘Adli. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humayūn had crossed

¹ MS. (B) adds خان.
² MS. (A) reads پیش می آمدند MS. (B) reads پیش می کردن.
³ Read قتله omitting the hamza.
⁴ The Tabaqat·i·Naṣirī says “Adam Ghakkar although he owed service, did not join the army.” Elliot, v. 237.
⁵ الی امری منقلی Umarā·i·Manqalā. MS. (A) reads Umarā·i·mutafarrīq.
⁶ The text is correct. منقلی manqalāi منغالفی mangalāi or منغالفی mangalāi is a Turki word signifying forehead (front) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de C. s. v. so also Faiżullāh Khān who gives only the meaning پیشانی forehead.
⁷ These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the Tabaqat·i· Akbarī which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor.
⁸ MS. (B) omits جلندھر Jalandhar.
⁹ MS. (A) reads شاہدور شاہ افغانی in error.
¹⁰ ‘Ali Quli Khān was the son of Ḥaidar Sultan Osbak·i·Shābānī, who had been made an Amir in the Jam war with the Qizilbash.

It was in the early days of Akbar’s reign that he obtained the title of Khān·i·Zamān. See Bāsāoni, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe’s Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Himān near Pānipat. See Ḍūn·i·Akbarī, I, (B), p. 319.
¹¹ MS. (A) reads هزار هزار MS. (A).
the Indus, and the Afghāns, wherever they were, set about planning how to save their wives and children; however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shāh who could successfully contend against the Mughuls, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first appointed Tātār Khān Kāśi with Ḥabīb Khān and Naṣib Khān Taghūchi with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humāyūn which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghātai Amīrs crossed the river Sutlej, and the Afghāns followed them; at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued. The Mughuls set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they freed from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghāns, whose weapons of offence ran short, took refuge in a ruined village; and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops they set fire to the roofs. The result, however, was the very reverse of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghāns remained in the light, while the Mughuls were in the darkness and riddled the Afghāns with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of Flee! Flee! rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughuls were

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1 MS. (B) omits أمل.
2 MS. (A) omits حصار.
3 MS. (A) emir G chcątay. So also Tabaqāt-i-Akbari. Text reads واقع شه.
4 MS. (B) omits آب.
5 MS. (A) كه لوتاة سلام بودند.
6 Ki kotāh silāh būdand. A footnote variant reads Salāh which would mean "who were ill-advised" this is the reading of MS. (B) but the other is preferable.
7 Text در ام. MS. (A) در.
8 Read دننظر. MSS. (A) (B) for نظر.
9 The true reading is a little uncertain here. The text reads جنبها which may be taken in the meaning of a roof; MS. (A) reads جیر (?), while MS. (B) reads جنبها (?), chambarhā.

The account given in the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari (Elliot, v 237–238) differs, and makes it appear as though the Mughal troops used fire-arms or fire-arrows. Our author's account appears more reasonable.

10 Omit ری. MSS. (A) (B).
11 MS. (B) omits الغرار.

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slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn’s troops. The news of this victory reached 1 Humāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjāb and Sirhind and Hissār Firūza was entirely 2 subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihli, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp 3 after the custom 4 of Shir Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amīrs of Humāyūn’s army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed 5 marched and came to Sirhind, 6 and every day fierce contests 7 took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides.Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the world; 8 seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one 9 side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Kān, Sikandar Kān, ‘Abdu-llāh Kān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma‘āli, ‘Ali Qūlī Kān and Bahādur Kān made mainy onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able, 10 behaved with due bravery and valour, 11 but could not contend 12 against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled. 13 The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands; then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column.

1 Supply اباد شاه after رسید. MSS. (A) (B). 2 MS. (A).
3 MS. (B) reads لشكر for ممکن. 4 MS. (B) reads بطأ for بدستور.
5 MSS. (A) (B) omit نام.
6 The Tabaqāt-i-Akbari states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.
7 MSS. (A) (B) read مقاله for مقالة. Text.
8 MSS. (A) (B) read جهانیان. 9 MS. (A) omits یک.
10 MS. (A) (B) read حسب إمكان. 11 MS. (B) reads دادنده.
12 MS. (B) reads بسی برناو. 13 MSS. (A) (B) read بوری بقرار نهاد و.
to which Bairam Khan gave the name of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day; Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.

Verse.

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleiman brought thither by the wind.

Another says:

Verse.

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Faridun or a Kaisqo'd.

The words Shamshir-i-Humayun were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this Rubai'i.

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,
He sought for the writing of speech from his well-balanced nature;
When he came to record the conquest of Hindustan,
He sought the date in the words Shamshir-i-Humayun.

Sikanadar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills, while Sikan- 

dar Khan Osbak turned towards Dihli, and the royal camp went 

by way of Samana to the direction of the capital of Hindustan, 

and a party of the Afghans who were in Dihli, fled hot-foot for 

their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst a stone has fallen, and every one was saying to himself, "He who escapes with his head, verily he is fortunate;" and the hidden meaning of the words "the day

1 MS. (A) adds ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١๑

2 MS. (A) adds to the text recites the reading of MS. (B). ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١

3 A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS. (B). ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢

4 MS. (A) reads ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢

5 MS. (B) reads ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣

6 MS. (B) reads ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣

7 Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay

8 May stop a hole to keep the wind away.

9 These letters give the date ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢

10 A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS. (B). ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣

11 Read ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣

12 MS. (B) inserts ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣

13 Supply ٥٣٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩٠١٢٣.
when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons" ¹ became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli was detailed ² to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramażān the blessed, in the year 962 H, the city of Dihli became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the khutbah and sikkah of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time, ³ after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories ⁴ among his faithful adherents, and vowed the pargana of Mustafaābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty laks of tankas, as a votive ⁵ offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy on him and on his family be blessings without end. He also gave Hissār Firūza as a reward ⁶ to the Prince, just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward, ⁷ upon Muhammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afghān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma'āli having reached high rank ⁸ was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass ⁹ that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious

¹ Qur'ān lxxx, 34-35. ² MSS. (A) (B) نامزد گشته. ³ The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads. ⁴ متبرک سلطنت رسته A footnote variant reads. ⁵ ولايات را نهاد. ⁶ Text NASHE. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) نصرت. ⁸ Faizullah Khān gives this word as جلدود in the sense of Inām. In the Farhang-i-Anandrāj the word is given as jildā or jildā in the same sense. Pavet de Courteilles does not give the word. ⁹ MS. (B) جلدود.
intentions, as will shortly be described, if God He is exalted so will it. And since Abū-l-Maʿālī had treated badly the Amirs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally) interfered in their Aghtāʾs, and not only in these but even in the public treasury and in the government lands, the Amirs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Bairām Khān was appointed to the office of tutor (Atāʾīq) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shāh Abū-l-Maʿālī was appointed to Hisār Firūza, but had not yet started when Qabā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgra, ʿAli Quli Khān to Miraṭh and Sambal, and Qambar Diwānā to Badāon, and Haider Muḥammad Khān Ākha Begī to Baiāna. Haider Muḥammad Khān kept Ghāzi Khān Sūrī, the father of Ibrahim Sūrī, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna. And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rantambhor and thence to Gujrāt, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse.

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will.

Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The zamindārs of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Haider Muḥammad Khān, binding themselves by oaths to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzi Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp, and the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures, put all the
inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,\footnote{MS. (B) reads همکی را تا اطفال شیر خواره. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.} sending\footnote{MS. (B) reads فراستادند.} the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;\footnote{MS. (B) reads ابن معنی پسن دیامد.} accordingly\footnote{MS. (A) omits پن养 reading ر.} he despatched Mir Shihâbû-d-Din\footnote{MS. (B) reads میر شیب.} Nişâpûri Bakhshâh, who received the title of Shihâbû-d-Din Aḥmad Khân, to Baîânâ to verify the wealth of Ghâzi Khân. Ḥaidar Muḥammad\footnote{MS. (B) omits یا reading.} concealed the valuable jewels and showed only ordinary\footnote{MS. (A) omits ب.} things. Qambar Diwâna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sanbal, while 'Ali Quli Khân has a lien on the revenue of Sanbal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'\footnote{Read here سبل و کنترچه. MSS. (A) (B).} The reading in the text has no meaning.

And before that 'Ali Quli Khân could go to Sanbal Qambar Diwâna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kânt o Gola\footnote{Shâbjahânpûr. MS. (B) omits کانہ.} he fought with Rûkân Khân Afghân, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malûn?,\footnote{The text reads مالانو (؟) MS. (B) reads ظور (؟) Malânah. MS. (B) reads مالانو Malânah. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malûn (See Hunter. Imp. Gaz. ix. 237) is a hill fort in the Panjâb lat. 31° 12' N. long 76° 52' E. Firishta makes no mention of this.} but was subsequently defeated by the Afghâns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort\footnote{MS. (A) reads چا. MS. (B) omits گس.} arrived at Badâon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Ali Quli Khân sent to summon him,\footnote{MS. (B) omits نزد خو. MS. (A) reads غلیبه.} he refused to yield to him and said, "My relations with the Pâdehâr are more intimate than yours,\footnote{MS. (B) reads زیادة از آنست.} this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown." 'Ali Quli Khân upon his arrival besieged Badâon, and that madman
(Diwāna) who knew no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another; and in consequence of his want of trust in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot, and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going on from there a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post; suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my ears, dig up the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine which 'Ali Quli Khān had laid from outside the fortress. The people who saw those mines said that from the side of the fort in whatever direction they struck into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of sāl wood arranged under its foundations, bound together for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qambar been vigilant, the men under 'Ali Quli Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Ali Quli Khān was

1. The word دوائری. Diwāna means a madman.
2. MS. (B) reads اعتباً. The text reads اعتباً, an incorrect form by imāla.
3. MSS. (A) (B) read خون بيشها before omitting خون بيشها after.
4. This appears to be the meaning, though the word خون بيشها is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS. and in two others.
5. Both MSS. (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct.
6. A footnote variant reads بقال خالی. The text is correct.
7. MS. (B) omits نفتم. Text. MS. (A) reads نفتم.
8. MS. (B) reads بكارند. بكارند.
9. MS. (B) omits ای. ای.
10. MS. (B) reads نمودند. نمودند. Text. MS. (A) reads نمودند.
11. Text. MS. (B) reads طرف كردن. Text. MS. (A) reads كردن for نمودند.
12. MS. (A) reads شروع در ائه نمودند. Shروع در ائه نمودند.
13. جنبه سال Chāhā-i-sāl.
astonished at this degree of vigilance, and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Ali Quli Khan saying, “On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders.” Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Ali Quli Khan, Shaikh Habib Badâoni, who was one of the most notable men of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes, who were the relations of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpûr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate, came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Ali Quli Khan spoke gently to him, saying “Bow thy head, that I may spare thy life,” that madman, fed on dog’s brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badâon. He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) “Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Diwâna is the cook of God.”

When the despatch from 'Ali Quli Khan reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabi‘un-l-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when Humâyûn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Diwanâ in Delhi, as he was coming down, the mu‘azzin uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

1 MS. (B) omits ار.
2 MS. (A) reads حملة for حمله.
3 Text از مشاهیر. MS. (A) reads شیخزاده.
4 MS. (A) reads بارومیث گفت.
5 MS. (A) reads بارومیث گفت.
6 Text reads که از گلیم نشته وی نشانه بود گلیم, but it seems as though we should read گلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بود.
7 Text فرود آورد. MS. (A) reads فرود آورد.
8 Supply که مس. (A) (B).
9 معاذ. The crier whose duty it is to utter the azān or summons to prayer. The Agân was instituted at first when the Muslims came from Makka to Madinâ; some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and
respect for the Azānu; and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps to the ground. When he recovered a little, Nagār Shaikh Jūli was sent to the Panjāb to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth of the same month (Humāyūn) bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity; and this tāriḵh was written to commemorate the event.

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Rizwān

Bihšišt āmad maqām-i-pāk-i-ū gives the date.

and Maulānā Qāsim Kāhi wrote as follows:—

Humāyūn, Pādshāh of the kingdom of reality,
No one remembers such an Emperor as he;
Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace,
And from that fall his precious life was lost.
Kāhi made a calculation for the tāriḵh of that event,

Humāyūn Pādshāh az bām uṣlād.

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billāl was ordered to repeat Allāhu Akbar twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The forefingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the Azān to strengthen the voice; probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The Azān has special virtues attached to it, for those who uttered it. Thus it is said "The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection," and again "Whoever acts as Mu'aggīn seven years to please God, will be redeemed from hell-fire." See also Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s.v.v., see Mīshkāt iv. Chapter 5, 6.

1 MS. (B) omit يَا. 2 Firīghta says that he was taken up unconscious.

3 Footnote variant Juma'āl. 4 MS. (A) (A).

5 Firīghta says the eleventh. (Bo: Text. 459).

6 MSS. (A) (B) omit يَا غفار. 7 MSS. (A) (B) داريفغا.

8 These words give the date 963 H. The meaning is, Paradise became his pure resting-place.

9 The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is, Humāyūn Pādshāh fell from the roof.
The following was also found to give the date: ¹

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!

Humayun kujah raft wa iqbal-i-ū.²

The following tārikh was also found:

Ai! Ah! Pādshāh-i-mun az bām ustād.³

Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,
And that Nile of whose bounty thou hearest has become a mirage,
The sky gave the head of Muhammad Yaḥya to ruin,
And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.
The fourth heaven became a house of mourning
The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign⁴ was twenty-five years and a fraction. He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.⁵ He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the wuzū',⁷ nor did he ever

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¹ MS. (A) reads here إِيْضاً
² همَايُون كُوْمِ رَفَتٍ و اَقْبَالٌ وَ. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is “What has become of Humayun and his good fortune.”
³ MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding tārikh. Its value is also 963 H. and its meaning is ‘Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.’
⁴ We must read ُاَوْقَتَانَ as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has بُنَانَ.
⁵ MSS. (A) (B) سَلاَفَنُشْ. MS. (B) reads وَدِيْكَرْ فَنْون غَرْبِيَّ.
⁶ MS. (A) omits ُ.
⁷ Wuzū'. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muḥammad “Wuzū’ is half the prayers,” and another “When a Muslim uses Wuzū’ it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed; and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults
take the name of God nor of the prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, without Tilār; and if it chanced that the necessity arose for mentioning a name compounded of this word `Abd, or one of the Asmā'ul-ḥasna such as 'Abdu-llāh or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word `Abd (servant), for example he would call 'Abdu-l-Ḥaiyy, 'Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word "huwa" when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side towards which they may have carried him; so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablution." Again "The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablution." The prophet also said "Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuzū'.

For a full account of Wuzū' and the acts requiring its performance, see Muḥakkātul-Musābāh II. 34, also see Hughes' Dict. of Islam, art. Wuzū'.

1 MS. (A) ﷺ بحسب إتفاقٌ
2 ﷺ طهارةٌ Tilār. This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muḥammadan law.
See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, art. Purifications.
3 MS. (A) ﷺ بس زبان براندي
4 The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS. 'A).
They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text:

¢طغة¢

إعتمادي درست دار چناک - اعتمادات بدات نگردند ست
بندی را بی چی از عذاب خدامی - نرهاند جز اعتماد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.
MS. (B) reads

نا می اعتمادي درست دار چناکه - اعتمادات بدات نگردند ست هرگز

5 Asmā'ul-ḥasna. The best of names. See Muḥakkāt, xxii. 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are 'Abdu-llāh (the servant of God) or 'Abdu-r-Rahmān (the servant of the Merciful One).
6 ﷺ هو Huwa. The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, He alone is God. It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the Ismā'ul-azam or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. See Qur'ān III, 1. La Allāhu ʾilla Huwa. There is no God but He.
thus (11), whose letters thus arranged have the same value as those of the word "Huwa." [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].

He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His vakils, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention the name of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shāikh Ḥamid, the commentator of Sanbal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfīzī (heretics)."

Humāyūn replied, "Shaikh, why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind." I find they are all Yār 'Ali (Friend of 'Ali), or Kafsh 'Ali (Shoe of 'Ali), or Ḥaidar 'Ali (Lion of 'Ali), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil upon the ground in anger, said "The

1 The value of 5 being 5 and of 6 being 6, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (11) also stand for eleven.

2 MS. (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

3 MS. (A) omits نیاردیدی and reads نم.

4 MS. (B) omits رافی.

5 Rāfīzī. This term was originally applied to the Shi'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī Khalifahs: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shi'ahs. MS. (B) alone reads رافی.

6 MSS. (A) (B) read إیین مرتبه omitting در.

Qalam-i-tahri. Text and MS. (A) MS. (B) has takhrīr writing, instead of taswīr (drawing), so also a footnote variant.
name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikh\(^1\) and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the haram and returning, with great gentleness and kindliness informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith.\(^2\)

**Verse.**

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,

Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting-place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary. Countless\(^3\) poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign.\(^4\) Among these, in Badakhshān was Maulānā Junūnī\(^5\) Badakhshi the enigmatist, who composed a *qasidah* made up of thirty-eight couplets in honour of that\(^6\) monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a Mirzā; and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qasidah* which Mir Saiyyid Zīl-fiqār Shirwānī composed in honour of Khwāja Rashīd Vazīr, and the *qasidah* of Salmān Sāwaji which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghiās Vazīr, this poet\(^7\) seized, for example the *mu'amma*,\(^8\) and *Ighār-i-muzmar*,\(^9\) and the *tārīkh*.\(^10\) and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *karna* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it:

\(^{1}\) 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā, second son of Timūr, was the father of Bābar. See *Āin-i-Akbāri* (B) 1. 299.

\(^{2}\) MS. (A) reads باليت ورفق شيخ را برحس عقيد ؛ خويش إطلاع داند. So also MS. (B) except that ل is omitted.

\(^{3}\) MSS. (A) (B) read ببشر. لزنام درات او مَل. MS. (A) reads جنونی جنونی Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads جنونی Junūnī.

\(^{4}\) MS. (B) omits آن اور. MS. (B) omits اور.

\(^{5}\) *Mu'amma*, Enigma. A saying of which the meaning is hidden. See Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie*, p. 165.

\(^{6}\) See Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

\(^{10}\) *tārīkh*, chronogram. Several examples have been given, see page 601, n. 8.
Verse.

Shahanshāhā rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrin lab-i-tū jān
Hami binam lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin shuda khandān
Nami guyam khatt-i-tū sabza o raihān khad-i-tū gul
Shavad zāhir qadd-i-tū fīna-i-daurān dam-i-jaulān.

And by taking all the verses of this qasīda after the manner
of an acrostic, the following opening couplet is formed:—

Shahanshāh-i-dīn pādishāh-i-zamān
Zī bakhsh-Humāyūn shuda kāmrān.

While again, if the ḥashw of the two first couplets are written
in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be
read in three different metres.

1 MS. (A) qasīda.

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the
original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon
the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.
As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile
I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume, thy cheek is the rose
Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait.

2 Tausīh. The initial letters of each verse when taken together
from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are
season from forming Shahanshāh. See Garcin de Tassy, op. cit., p. 164.

The complete when translated, reads:

Emperor of the faith, Pādīshāh of the age,
From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kāmrān will be observed.

4 The first foot of the first misrā (hemistic) is called ṣadr, while the last
foot of the same hemistic is called ‘urūz; similarly the first foot of the
second hemistic is called ištiddā, while the last foot of this hemistic is called
zard. All the feet intervening between the ṣadr and the ‘urūz, or between the
ištiddā and zard, are called ḥashw which means literally the stuffing of a pillow
 Ağīn-i-bālīgh). In the above the ḥashw of the verses is printed in red ink.
The scansion is as follows:—

Shahanshāhā rukh-i-tū lā la- o- nasrin labītā jān
Mafā‘ī lun Mafā‘ī lun Mafā‘ī lun Mafā‘ī lun

The metre is thus Hazaj-i-Musammān.

5 The three metres in which these lines may be read are—
(i) Hazaj-i-Musammān. See note 4 above.
Rukh-i-tū läla o nasrin khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān
Lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān.  

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres, and with a change of qaṣīya and radīf in the following manner. —

Khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān, rukh-i-tū läla o nasrin
Qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān, lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin.

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained. Other tours de force also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal-i-muṣṭaman makhbūn, and the scansion is:

رخ تولا
مها ونسرین
فعلاتن
قلاتن

(iii) Muṭtas-i-muṣṭaman makhbūn: and the scansion is:

رخی تلا
مها ونسرین
مفاعال
فاعلاتن
قلاتن

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Rahming) pp. 49, 67, 90.
1 M.S. (B) reads سنا in place of دوران so also footnote variant.
2 The three metres are those given in note 5, on the preceding page.
3 Qaṣīya. This signifies the rhyme, of which the essential letter is called the ك، which may have also other letters preceding it and four following.
4 Radīf. Radīf is the name given to a quiescent alif following a fatha, a wāw quiescent following a zaamma or a ye quiescent following a kasra, in other words it is one of the letters †, ‡, ‡, ‡ placed as a letter of prolongation before the raʾū. It is more accurately called ردیف.

Thus in the lines now cited the Radīf is the letter ye in the words rangeen, and nasrīn, whereas in the former verses the Radīf was alif, as in the words raiḥān and dauran. M.S. (A) omits دردیف. See also Garcin de Tassy, op. cit., p. 370.

5 M.S. (B) omits باین طریق.
6 MSS. (A) (B) read بستان.
7 For example, we can read

Shahanshāh lab-i-tū jān
Hami binam shuda khandān,
Nāmī guyām khād-i-tū gul
Shavad gāhar dam-i-jaulān

King of kings thy lip is life
As I look it wreathes in smiles;
I say not thy cheek’s a rose
Blooming as thou passest by.
And from the four \(^1\) couplets of a *qasidah*\(^2\) some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qita’ah*\(^3\) containing the conquest of Badakhshan may be obtained, and the *qita’ah* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qasidahs*.\(^4\)

**Qita’ah.**

Tū-i Shāh-i-Shāhān-i-daurān ki shud
Hamisha turā kār fath o zafar.
Girifti Badakhshān o tārīkh shud.
*Muhammad Humayūn Shah-i-bahr o bar.*\(^5\)

*Rubā’i.*\(^6\)

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved,
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him.

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\(^1\) MS. (A) reads چهار.

\(^2\) MS. (A) قصیده.

\(^3\) The ۃبیغ qīta’ah. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse.

The قصیده qasidah. In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty-five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also Garin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*.

\(^4\) The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read این دور for این دور لنده. The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS, but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

\(^5\) MS. (A) adds مغرفر. These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is:

*Thou art king of the kings of the age,*
*Whose continual object is conquest and victory.*
*Then didst seize Badakhshan, and its tārīkh was*
*Muhammad Humayūn king of sea and land,*

\(^6\) MS. (A) adds *مغفر*.
Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith. And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor. Death, this qaṣīdah, together with all the qaṣīdahs and such useful information as I have written down in a separate note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the Najāts-r-Raṣḥid which I am anxiously longing to complete, should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it.

Another poet is Wafāʿi, by which takhlīṣ Šaykh Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī is commonly known, who was Sadr-i-mustaqīl (Judge-plenipotentiary) during the reign of Bābar Pādishāh. There

1 گوشواره. Lit., earring. The first line of a ghazal or qaṣīda, following immediately upon another. Gōr Khobar Fathīn Shē Dīn Ma (A) following variant reads. MS. A footnote variant reads. 2 The following is the correct reading. Immediately after the gūshwārah 3 is a line of verse, غربم منلقافي اجل سيله يانم صديه مع ساير قصائده. 4 فوايد كه درمدة أيام سياحي در يانم عليه ينرسب الشد. 5 MS. (A). 6 چئات الوشید 8. Najāts-r-Raṣḥid. There is a MS. of this work of Bādilī, belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. E 204. (See J. A. S. B. xxxviii. p. 136). The title of the work gives the tānik of its composition on the second and last pages. The "second daftar" here mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work.

4 MS. (A) reads دیگروناوتی کہ.

5 One Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī, was a famous saint. His life is given in the Najāts-r-Uns, Calcutta edition, p. 569; but the one meant in this passage is the Šaykh Zain who read the Muḥb in Dīhīl in Babār's name after the battle of Pānīpat, see Firāqta, Bo. Text, p. 381 and Erakine, Memoirs of Babār, p. 308.

Khāfī or Khawāfī means 'coming from Khawāf' which is a district and town in Khurāsān. Our maps have Khāf or Khāfī due west of Herāt. See Gin-i-Akbāri (B) I. p. 445 and footnote, also p. 592 and footnote.

6 مصرف مستقل. Sadr-i-mustaqīl. The Sadr was an officer of justice whose power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to legalise the accession of a new king.
is a mosque in Agra to his memory, and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiae of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age? Without premeditation he answered, Ḍabī azīn ba panj sāl chīl sāla būdam, wa hālān chīhal sāla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar chīhal tamām mi shavād.

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this Muntakhab saying: Pīsh azīn ba yak sāl panjah sūla būdam, wa hālān panjah sūla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dāh sāl panjah sūla mi shavām.

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sulṭānul-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Din Auliya may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about “Al Hidāya muḥtārak wa tanhā khushṭārak” repeated this qīṭ'ah on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the Qāzi and the Mir 'Adl. See Dīn-i-Akbar, (B) I. 268–270.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read ists instead of (Text).

2 That is to say “Five years ago I was chīl (چل) years of age and now I am chīhal (چهل) years of age, and two years hence my chīhal (forty) years will be complete.

3 (Punjah) stands for 60: thus apparently we should read (Punjah) which would give 61.

4 That is, A year ago I was fifty (panjah) years of age, now I am fifty-one (panjah with the addition of Alif) years of age, ten years hence I shall be (Punjah) years of age.
Oh our Shaikh! may there come to thee from God gifts without ceasing,
What am I that I should say "Al Hidayā mushtarak"
Thou sayest "Tanhā khuśtarak" as thou didst say before
Make it "Mushtarak" if thou dost not say
"Tanhā khuśtarak."

Verse.

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head in my sleeve?
Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot within my skirt?
Ah! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn to rags,
Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my foot within my skirt without thee? 1

He wrote a tārikh dealing with the circumstances 2 of the conquest of Hindūstān, and explaining its wonders, in which he did full justice to the claims of erudition.

His death occurred near Chinhār in the year 940 H. and he was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had founded.

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nādirī-i-Samarqandi, who was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compendium of perfection. 3 He had a strong attachment for a beautiful youth named Nizām, and the following well-known solution of an enigmatical meaning, was composed for him:

Verse.

I the broken-hearted tell the praises of Nizām the famous,

Din Auliya. Amir Khusrū exclaimed "Al hidayā mushtarak." "The gifts are in common;" whereupon Nizamu-d-Din Auliya replied.
"Al hidayā mushtarak lākin tanhā khuśtarak."
"The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy them alone."

1 MS. (A) transposes the last two lines.
2 MS. (A) omits احوال.
3 MS. (A) reads و nastal جامع بور. See Din-i-Akbar, (B) L. 605 n.
For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered and enfeebled.

Rubā'ī.

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,
Without the rubies of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;
I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

Gūshwārā.

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.
And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

Ghazal.

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.
Nādiri! go towards the wineshop
And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

Verse.

Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah towards which I turned.
A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

1 نائمي Nizāme, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.
2 غزل German. The ghazal or ode must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.
3 سجدة Sajdah, commonly pronounced Sijdah, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground; as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands
All were accepted there but I was rejected;
Why do you ask Nadiri, what is thy condition in that road,
At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy there.
He also wrote this Qaṣīdah in honour of the deceased Emperor.

Qaṣīdah.

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind
Intimate friends sat together in pleasure;
The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in
the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the
absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.
It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been
stripped naked by Autumn,
So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred
petals of the rose.
The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in
one place,
See! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinue and
troops.
The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly
grandeur
On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their
pulpits.
The glorious Khāqān, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshīd,
Humāyūn,
Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree
of the Almighty
From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,
From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute
vision.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the
Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the
Ka'bah. Mīghātu-l-Musabīh, Cap. xv. part i.
See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, art. Ka'bah.

1 MS. (A) خوش‌زاده.
2 The text reads معاصر, contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاصر, intimate.
3 MS. (A) reads يك جانب. * Text مرتبة. MS. (B) reads مرنبة.
Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion, He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine sanction.

There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the army of Islam,
The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his troops,
Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune, May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally.
Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have their being,¹
By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both accidental and essential² obtain permanence.
In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this revolving sphere,
Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,
Pure passages³ will be revealed in thy glory.
Every subtility of science which thy ruby lip pronounces Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted tradition.⁴
It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine on the discovery of circles.
How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge?
None but a stubborn disputant⁵ will deny self-evident truths.

¹ قوم qawām is the stay or support of anything, that in virtue of which it subsists.
² عرْنَشْ عَرْنَشْ أَرْضِ رَحْمَتى A‘rāx o jawāhīr. By عرْنَشْ Araa‘n, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جوهر jauhar, "an essential," see Lane, s. v.
³ Also keyshif, s. v. v. عرْنَشْ عرْنَشْ and جوهر جوهر.
⁴ MS. (A) reads preferably for آيات طواعي for آيات طواعي.⁵ These two lines commencing فَرَنَكُنَّ حَكْمَتًا occur in MS. (A) before the line commencing در روز لز as well as in this place.
⁶ مانيي مانيي. Founded on certainty, equivalent to مسلم.
⁷ مكابر mukābir. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.
I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast become perfectly skilled;
When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good fortune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common material objects.
Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of bestowing
Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the mind.
This enigma upon the name of Kibār is also by him:

Verse.

That face is the Qur'ān, and that down on the cheek is the sign of tyranny and oppression;
The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of the mole of fidelity.

1 Read for إحساس. MS. (A).
2 MS. (A) reads  كيا. MS. (B) reads  كيا.
3 The text reads  أثر with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads  أبرو.
4 The text reads  أث, MS. (B) reads  أث.
5 The verse in the original runs thus:

The word  مسحوف here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages  مسحوف, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur'ān, (2) affected by ташиф, which is a technical expression for so altering a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its component letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word  أثر the letter  و is first dropped leaving أثر  أثر then  ر is changed into  ب giving أثر ب, by transposing these letters we get بار بار.

The word  لحاف has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny and oppression." Now  كاف, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represented by its root,  كاف, which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable  بار بار above found gives the word  كبار, thus completing the  mu'amma or enigma.
The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H., and Mir Amānī Kābulī wrote the following Ḩawīk̡ of the event.

Verse.

Alas! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtleties Nādirī has departed,
That rare poet 2 who did full justice to eloquence in the world;
I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma,
Wisdom answered one has gone from among the masters of speech. 3

Another is Shaikh Abul Wāḥid 4 Fārighi, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a darvīsh and was 5 renowned for his sweet singing; the following is taken from his poems:

Verse.

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny
That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.
And in his impassioned style he says:

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-conditioned sot,
Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every road,
Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip with every man,
Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

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1 MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.
2 This we may read Ān Nādirī ki. That Nādirī who: or, Ān Nādīre ki.
3 رفت بکی از خسوس وران. If from sukīn warān the value of which is 967, we remove بکی that is one, we have left 966.
4 Footnote to text says that the Nafā‘is-ul-Ma‘ṣir reads Abūl Wājīd
5 MS. (B) reads Abūl Wajd.
6 Footnote to text says that the Nafā‘is-ul-Ma‘ṣir reads Abūl Wajd.
The following is also by him.

Verse.

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companion-ship,
It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed;
In short, the whole of my life’s reckoning had passed in separation from thee,
Who can count the joy of meeting! what a store of happiness it was!
Strangers last night were near you, while Fārighī at an immense distance was burning like rue upon the fire of disappointment.

This is also his:

Verse.

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union
In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart.

And again he writes:

Verse.

When thou drawest out thine arrow from my breast leave its point there,
Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully.

His death occurred in the year 940 H., and he was buried in the monastery of Shaikh Zainu-d-Din at Agra, and in consequence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when these two eminent men went to Hindūstān, owing to their excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old postin between them. Shaikh Zainu-d-Din said to Shaikh Abūl-Wajd, "I will take this to the bāzār of Kābul upon the condition that you won’t come and indulge in any pleasantry." He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

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1 Sipadd. Rue is said in the Ghiazu-Iughāt to be burned to avert the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in exorcism.
2 Omit پیش. MSS. (A) (B) 3 MS. (A). 4 A sheepskin coat.
6 MS. (A). 6 MS. (B). MS. (A) reads إبراهیم.
was ready to give five shahrūkhs but Shaikh Zain kept demanding more. At last Shaikh Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said, Ah! you cheat! why this door mat itself contains five shahrūkhs worth of fleas and lice! so the bargain was at an end, and Shaikh Zain was annoyed and said, “What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you’re going to pay for it!” Shaikh Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāhī Yatmān, who was from Bukhārā, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kābul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustān obtained great favours from Humāyūn, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū was left in Kābul as revenue commissioner, he treated the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant tarkib

1 The shahrūkh was a coin equivalent to 16 dams, or 2½ to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughal Sultan of Persia, A. H. 807–850. Thomas, Pathan kings, p. 381. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the postin. The postin is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk. It is worn like Brian O’Linn’s breeches “with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in.” They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery.

2 Text reads بثبل. In the text this word is followed by a (?) MS (A) has what may be پتل patal, in which case the meaning would be “a mat,” and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy postin seems the true reading.

3 MS. (B) omits پاش. 4 MSS. (A) (B) إدای شما ابن است.

5 MS. (A) reads ودیگری حامی نبیان Jāhī-i-yatmān. MS. (B) reads جامی پتیمیان. A footnote to the text gives Naṣāʾī writes “Jāhī Yatmān was from Bukhārā, his father Yatmān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name.”

6 MS. (A) reads سند Sind.

7 MSS. (A) (B) read سالو Shāhpūr, but in a footnote gives نصر و نصیر نصر نصیر نصیر نصیر نصیر نصیر نصیر.

8 Ja-jihāt-i-sasāvali.

9 MS. (B) reads for نصارو نصارو.
band lampooning Sālū, and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sālū in his service, he made an exception in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humāyūn was also incensed against that ass who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read in Sālū's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a large sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows:

"I am the poet of Shāh Humāyūn and the dust of his threshold, The retinue of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness into shade. My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry and soldiery, I experienced oppression from a fool, without any fault or crime of mine. If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings, If my meditations turn towards satirizing him, The object is that that these idiotic asses May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class. Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets, Whoever contends with me contends against calamity."

The Emperor interfered at this verse saying, "Why do you not word it thus: "Whoever contends with me contends with God."
The following verses are also by him:

1 MSS. (A) (B).
2 MSS. (A) (B).
3 MSS. (A) (B) مستثنی ساخته.
4 The Text reads خر but M.S. (A). reads خسر خسر, father-in-law.
5 MSS. (A) (B) استماع فرموده.
6 MSS. (A) (B) read بشر در. The text reads قصد زنی قصد زنی. Whoremaster.
7 Text بر with a footnote زد for بر.
Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have incurred ignominy,
Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.
This is also his:

Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,
Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,
Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,
Say truly, why are ye all thus false?
Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.
 Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,
How often will ye ask what is your object in the world?
I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.
Jāhī cannot save his life from your hands
For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.
The following is also by him:

Verse.

Last night the moon of the ‘Id appeared in the form of a *miṣqal* ¹
Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart was clouded.
Was this the new moon? or by reason of the leanness of their bodies,
Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring ones appear?
Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle ² for the camel of Lailī?
Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale and wan through grief?
The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

¹ *miṣqal* or *miṣqalat*, called also *Murasat*, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., Tāju-l-Ārūs.

² MS. (B) reads *musqal* which suits neither metre nor sense.
And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it. Moreover thy messenger has bound on his bells, and has placed the feather of distinction on his head; he is going from Rûm to bear tidings from Zanzibâr.

It must be borne in mind that this verse 5 *Khwâsh râ dar sulk-i-khuddâmi tâ mikhwâhad falak.* (The very heaven wishes to enroll itself among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the *gâsidah* of Nîzâm Astarâbâdî, which runs thus,—

**Shâh mujâm az majmâ'î-nardum nîshân âwardâ and Waz mah i nau tâza harfe darmiyân âwarda and** At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of the new moon; The Shâh of Zangbâr has taken his seat upon the throne of Empire And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him.

**Rubâ'î.**

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction, Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress, That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing, All these charms are the cause of my distraction.

The following is also his:

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pastime. The sun as the golden gourd; and the crescent-moon as the hook. 6

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1 (Text). MS. (A) reads بَهِرَة لَدآر. MS. (B) reads بَهِرَة مَدآر.  

2 بَسْتَه زَنْگ.  

3 بَسْتَه زَنْگ سَانِگ. The dâk-runners in the East carry a cluster of globular bells called *Zang* or *rang*, tied to one end of the staff carried over their shoulders, to the other end of which the mail-bag is attached, as a signal to clear the way. *Zang-bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring importance. MSS. (A) (B) read زَنْگ رَنْگ for زَنْگ سَانِگ.  

4 MS. (A) reads اِین پَدَه رَا کَه.  

5 قَبَاق بَازِی. Qabaq signifies in Türkî a gourd; in ancient times the Turkomans used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd.  

6 کَجَک. The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of *qabaq audâz.* (Qiṣâṣ-i-lughât.)
Bairâm Khân has a well-known qaṣīdah with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening couplet:

Verse.

Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the qabaq ¹ from its hook,
Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Pleiades.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a qaṣīdah by the celebrated Nişārī Tūnī. The death of Mullā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Ḥaidar Tūnīā'i, a man of parts and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the Maliku-l-munajjimin ² of the time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām, ³ accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure ⁴ Fāṭimah, upon them be peace, ⁵ is read during the ‘Āshūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain. ⁶

¹ The text reads كابك kabak and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with کاف-i-kaliman (k). MS (A) however has qabaq. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (مادكة).
² Prince of Astrologers.
³ Husain, the second son of ‘Ali by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥam mad, was slain at Karbālā, A. H. 61. See Hughes' Dict. of Islām.
⁴ علیهم السلام ‘alaihimas-salam. MS. (A) The text reads علية السلام, with a footnote variant دم إله عنة رضي إله عنة, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.
⁵ معارك m’ārik lit., battle fields.
Verse.

The month of Muḥarram has come and our eyes are constrained to weep,  
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Ḥusain’s parched lips.¹

Rubā‘i.

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,  
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones.  
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,  
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord.

The following is also by him:—

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,  
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him.

And this:—

Every moment my heart’s desire has some fresh allurement,  
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that? it is her life.

How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,  
The bud is tightly pursed it is true, but is dumb and silent.

The son of this man Ḥaḍar Tūnī was an arrant coward and spiritless;² accordingly in the months³ of the year 985 Ḥ. he had entered the service of Humāyūn; one day he was describing the circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour.⁴ I asked saying, May be you regret having gone on the Ḥajj?⁵ and I repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals said to the poet Qudai.⁶

¹ The pathetic story of the death of Husain slain in his attempts to quench his thirst, forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram. See Hughes’ Dict. of Islām, artt. Muḥarram, and Al-Ḥusain, where a full account of Husain’s death is given.
² MS. (A) reads مبتلع. MS. (A) (B) omit مبتلع.
³ MS. (A) omits شجر.
⁴ Text ダンし MS. (A) (B) دانش.  
⁵ Hajj or greater pilgrimage.
⁶ Mir Ḥusain Qudai of Karbalā, see ʿAin-i-Akbari (B) I. 602.
From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns,\(^1\)
Of the coming to the Ka‘bah you are probably repentant.

He replied instantly, “Yea! verily.” The king said, why should
he repent of having visited the Ka‘bah, though he may indeed
repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathin\(^2\) Khān,
the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from
the king, made himself up\(^3\) to represent a mad man bitten by a
dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Ḥaidar,\(^4\) and dragged
him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another.
He began running in all directions,\(^5\) till at last he rolled on the
ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he
learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king at-
ttempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave
Hindustān. Another is Shāh Tāhir Khwāndi\(^6\) Dakkani, the
younger brother of Shāh Ja‘far; the ‘Ulamā‘ of ‘Irāq, however
ridicule his pretensions to descent from Khwāndi stock, and have
prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both
his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures,\(^7\) as is
mentioned in the Kāmilu-t-tawārikh of Ibn Aṣir Jazārī,\(^8\) and also
in the Lubbu-t-tawārikh\(^9\) of Qāẓī Yahya Qazwīnī, and other works.
He claimed to be intimately connected with Shāh Tahmasp, but

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\(^1\) خارمغيلان Khār-i-mughilān. See ante, p. 550 n. 1.
\(^2\) MSS. (A) (B) متنبي. Mathī.  
\(^3\) MS. (B) reads ساخنة.
\(^4\) MS. (A) reads ابن حيدر ر.  
\(^5\) MS. (A) omits فرس.
\(^6\) MS. (A) reads خوندي. Shāh Tāhir Junaidī, See Beale Dict. Or.

Biol., p. 250. See also Briggs Fīrīghta, vol. iii. reign of Būrān-Niğm Shāh.

\(^7\) MSS. (A) (B) خوا نودن. The text reads نماد. MS. (B) reads نما.

\(^8\) The author of this celebrated history which is also called Al Kāmil fi-t-
tārikh (the perfect history) or more commonly Al-Kāmil, was Shaikh Abū-l-
Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn Abī-l-Karan Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdu-l-Karim
ibn ‘Abdu-l-Wāḥid ash-Sharbānī commonly known as Ibnu-l-Asīr.

He is called Al-Jazari (the islaner) from his birth-place the island of Ibn
‘Umar, Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born
555 H. (1160 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson, H.
244, and Ḥāji Khalīfah, 9733.

\(^9\) لبب الحاورين Lubbu-t-Tawārikh. (Marrow of History). The author of this
work was Yahya ibn ‘Abdu-l-Latīf Qazwīnī (Dimīqḥţ) who died 960 A.H.
(1552 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson IV. 293 and Ḥāji Khalīfah, 11076.
eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,¹ and the excessive annoyance caused him by Mir Jamālud-Dīn Ṣadr Astarābādī, to proceed to the Dākkan, which is famed as the refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable reception from Nizām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was rewarded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest dignities² reached the rank of Jumlatu-l-Mulk (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shi‘ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tāhir.³ Nizām Shāh Bahrī, who was afflicted with an incurable⁴ malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue⁵ of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja‘far, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of Istitute, he attributed to the miraculous powers (karāmāt) of Shāh Ja‘far,⁶ and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

¹ MS. (A) reads نسب. ² MSS. (A) (B) (C) ³ Shāh Tāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son Abūl-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Ughā, who are the three first Khalifas of the Sunnis, from the Khūthahā, and to substitute those of the Imāms, thus proclaiming himself a Shi‘ah. See Fīrūzā, Bo. text, II. 220 et seqq. Briggs, (III. 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story. ⁴ Read لا علاج له. MS. (A). ⁵ بطفل نوسن خولي. Ba‘tasul-l-fusūn khurān. This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read بفضل ba-fazl. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of شرك shirk, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the Miṣḥāq that spells were permitted to be used “to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye; and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side.” They were also directed to be used for jamālī which was held to be an effect of the evil-eye. See Miṣḥāq, XXI. Part II. MS. (B) reads مكتوب عن دار إصدار. ⁶ Istitute. In the Kūfīf this is defined as follows: “A præternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires.” Another definition is also given from the Shāmā’īf l-Muḥammadīyāh. “Istitute is a præternatural occur-
tenets of Sunnat and Jamā′at, which he held as one of the Mahdawiyah, and became a fanatical heretic. What cruel and vengeous treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones inflict upon the Ulamā and Shaikhs of that land! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Tāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Nizām Astarābādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his qasīdahs written in eulogy of Humāyûn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwari.

Verse.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of Ḥamal, The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch;

rence brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers." It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called muʾjība, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called Ḥānat. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called kāramat; that performed by the ordinary believer is called maʾsānat, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called īstidrāj.

Kashf 1. 463.

1 The word Sunnat means literally 'a path' and the Sunnis are known as Ḥal-i-Sunnat "the people of the path." The Sunnis have claim ed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four Khalifahs to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the "six books" of tradition.

2 جماعة jamā′at, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of sunnatun muʾakkadatun an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called Ḥal-i-sunnah wa jamā′ah.

5 For an account of the Mahdawi sect, see Ḍin-i-Akbari (B.) I., pp. iii. iv. mutaraffī′-i-ghālī. The meaning appears to be "became more of a Shiʿah than the Shiʿahs themselves." The form of the word mutaraffī requires some such translation.

6 میشمر Marshal MSS. (A) (B) read مشر. Rofṣ lit. forsaking. The Sunni Muslims call all Shiʿahs Rofṣi or heretics.

7 حمل Ḥamal, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.
Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by Bahman and Dai, ¹
And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal.²

The following Qasidah in praise of the Prophet³ is also his, although the guriz-gah,⁴ nay even the commencement of the Qasidah in its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy Commander (of the Faithful) on him be peace.⁵

Qaṣīdah.

Once more the time has come when in accordance with the summons of the sky
The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the couch of the garden;
The clouds of Naisān, with the keen blood-hued dagger of the lightning
Erases the word "ice"⁶ from the pages of the earth's surface.
The close-eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Ozbaks,⁷
Make a night-attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,
Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a branch!
The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in heaven is the rose.

¹ Bahman-o-Dai. Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh month of the Persian year: they answer to December and January. See Al-Biruni Chronology, p. 52.
² صندل Sandal. Santalum album, N. O. Santalaceae.
The wood ground into powder is much used in India made into a paste with water as an application to the forehead in headaches. The Makān-m-i-Adiyya recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose-water. See Ibn Baitar II, 138. See ante, p. 434 n. 1, also Drury, Useful Plants of India, p. 383.
³ منقبات Mansabat. This word is used to connote eulogy of either the Prophet or holy men (Walis).
⁴ جريزة Guriṣ-gah. Point of departure. This name is given to that portion of a qaṣidah in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant upon the qualities of the person eulogised.
⁵ Ms. (A) omits حضرت also تعالي إسلام and عليه.
⁶ Text حرف بزى harf-i-barf. MS. (B) reads حرف بزى harf-i-barf.
⁷ The Turks are called tang-chashm close-eyed, and the red petals tightly folded in the bud are likened to the "tāj" or red caps of the Qizilbāsh.
And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be without a minstrel,
The nightingale has become the lute-player, the rose-branch with its buds are the lute;
The garment of the rock would have become wet from the moisture distilled from the clouds
Had not the mountain covered its back with the woollen cloak of verdure.
Had not the lightning smitten its goad upon the head of the elephant-like cloud
It would have laid in ruins the stately edifice of the sky.
The garden became the table of 'Isā, and the dew lying on it looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,
In order that the people may not receive base gold from the hand of the jasmine,
The tulipCambist carries hidden under his arm the touchstone.
Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of decay,
Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.
The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had been well
If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it. Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the army of Dāi
Became emboldened to lay waste the garden of roses.
The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of Autumn
Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.
The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned nightingale,
And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

1 Text reads کپانک. MSS. (A) (B) read kapanak, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. Qhirṣu-l-lughāt.
2 Read رازوی شیم. MSS. (A) (B).
3 Text reads مترک but we should read شیرک. MS. (A).
4 MS. (A) reads شیریده for شیریده.
The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden glory.\(^1\)
While the Siparak\(^2\) sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose.
With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai\(^3\) has laid the foundation in the garden,
Everywhere there lie scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,
[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn
The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice.
[Soon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai
The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another].\(^4\)
It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden
Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force.
That garden is the rose-garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity
That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court.
Murtaza\(^5\) the king, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance.
That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's talons,

\(^1\) būstān afrūz. A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-Khurūs (Cockscomb) and Gul-i-Yūsuf. (Burhān-i-Qāṭī') Amaranthus candatus Love-lies-bleeding or Celosia cristata (Cockscomb) N. O. Amaranthaceae.

\(^2\) Siparak a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass). This line may also be translated, Meales has become opponent to the cheek of the rose.

\(^3\) MS. (A) reads گل for دی.

\(^4\) This couplet is in MS. (A), as follows.—

زور باشد که از بیدم کنک شمنه دی
gorozhe reyabai reyabai yek yek

The text reads پیش از اندم instead of پیش از اندم

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjis bears the name Sa'd, and 'Utārid that of Zirak.

The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table, Has brought the Pleiades in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.

The moon has become the censer of his assembly, and the rays of the moon,

Are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,

Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot. [Who else is there whom they can bring into his train, We recognise his other competitors, each one of them. He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers, The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise and glass beads;}

1 Nsrayn-i-falak. The constellations Eagle and Lyra.

2 Birjis. The planet Jupiter, which is one of the Sa'dan, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

3 'Utārid. The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name Zirak, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zirak are commonly given to servants.

4 Suraiyya. The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs An-najm. The constellation, cf. Job. xxxviii. 31. The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

5 MS. (A) reads for .

6 The expression jirm-i-qamar is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word jirm is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane s. v.) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays.

7 The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here In matlī 'ā niz masbūr ast. So MS. (B).

8 To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes. It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it
Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of
Faddak
The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her.]
The following opening couplet of his\(^3\) is also well-known:

**Verse.**
In this grief-populated world joy has departed from my
sorrowful heart,\(^4\)
We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy
been forgotten.

**Verse.**
We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the
devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy;
Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is
between us?
The following is also his:

**Verse.**
Come not out, for you will be the calamity\(^5\) of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.
The following \(qasidah\) also\(^6\) is a very happy production of his:
Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires
In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise;
touches the skin may fall from any height without injury, as the stone attracts
to itself the whole force of the blow. *Mani Maiā I.*, p. 88. It is also sup-
pposed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Turquoise
is commonly worn set in an amulet.

\(^1\) Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muḥammad. After
his death, when his daughter Fāṭimah had assumed possession, the Khalifah
took it from her by force, saying, “I have heard the prophet say 'we
prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death
will be given in charity.'”

\(^2\) The verses in brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

\(^3\) MS. (A) omits اف

\(^4\) Text reads در گم اباد جهان عشقي از دل ناشده رفته. MSS. (A) (B) read
در گم او لدات عشقي از دل ناشده رفته. In grief for her the joy of love has left
my sorrowful heart.

\(^5\) MSS. (A) (B) read فنه for شهر

\(^6\) Insert ۸یزارد after MS. (A).
His death occurred in the year 952 H. in the Dakkan and for the tārikh of his decease the words Tābī‘u ahl-i-l-bait were devised.

Another is Khwāja Aiyūb8 ibn Khwāja Abūl-barakāt,8 who was one of the hereditary grandees of Mawarān-nahr. Both father and son, in spite of their excellencies acquired and inherited, have become proverbial for indifference, the one in ‘Irāq and Khurāsān, and the other in Kābul and Hindūstān. This Mun-takhab has no room to relate their circumstances in detail, but they are related in many other places, and are well-known. It is said that Khwāja Abūl-barakāt read the following maqāla6 of one of his own poems on the learned men of the age.7

Verse.

The field of my hope became parched, and a famine of faithfulness followed.8

Either this was from the fire of our heart, or that in the cloud of our eye there remained no rain.

By way of fault-finding some one said to him that the yā (يا) in the last hemistich was meaningless, and in its place he should have written tā (ت). The Khwāja repeated the following qīt‘ah extemporé by way of excuse:

Qīt‘ah,

Whatever comes before men of discrimination, They do not draw lines by way of criticism. They take the dots either above or below (as may be required) Wise men are not bound by simple dots. They read yā (يا) and carefully consider, They do not read yā (يا) but make it tā (ت) in error.9

1 MSS. (A) (B) تابیع اهل البیت Tābī‘u ahl-i-l-bait. Follower of the people of the House. See Qur‘ān, xxxiii. 33. The text omits the article ال before البیت, which is correct, as the date required is 952.
2 Text reads ابو الابرهک Abūl-barakah.
3 MS. (A) reads ابو الابرهک Abūl-barakah.
4 MS. (B) reads مکتسبی مکتسبی for مکتسبی مکتسبی.
5 MS. (A) again reads ابو الابرهک.
6 MS. (A) omits خود here.
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit خود here.
8 MS. (A) reads چست کشت بمDamawand, and in the last but two for Damawand.MS. (A).
9 There is great cleverness of construction in the original qīt‘ah, in the last line we should read bi-kunand for نکونند, and in the last but two for Damawand. MS. (A).
He also wrote a *qasidah* in imitation of Salmān Sāwaji, of which the following is the opening couplet:—

**Verse.**

I burn with the fever of love, and my head is racked with the pain of separation, My soul comes to my lips, but my beloved comes not to me; [Since the fire of my heart burns in my body like the flame in a lamp My skirt has been rent and my garment torn upon my head].

And the following two poems are taken from a *qasidah* which he wrote to satirise the Qāżī of Nishāpūr:—

**Verses.**

A certain theologian wrote contrary to the religious law of the Prophet, There was nothing of that kind written in the books. He wrote that honey is unlawful and wine lawful to be used because (said he) the latter is the juice of the vine and the former the spume of the bee.

To the wife who went to complain of her husband to the Qāżī, saying I get no enjoyment of sense from him, He replied, If he has become enfeebled and weak, It is right that he should employ a hireling in his place.

The Khwāja in his poems sometimes uses the *takhallas* of Ayūb and sometimes that of Firāqī; the following *ghazal* is by him:—

**Verse.**

Lovely rose-branch, whose stature is straight as the cypress, Thou hast twined a line of emerald around thy lips,

The last lines also mean—

Either they read and consider carefully Or they do not read lest they should make mistakes.

1 Salmān Sāwaji, whose surname was Jalālu-d-dīn Mūhammad, was a celebrated poet, a native of Sāwa, and flourished in the reigns of Shāikh Hasan Jalāyer and his son Sulṭān Aweis. He died 779 A. H. (Beale, O. B. D.)

2 Not in MS. (B).

3 MSS. (A) (B) ٧٢٢

4 MSS. (A) (B) read ٧٢٢ for ٧١٢.

5 Poetical name, nom-de-plume.
Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened],
And thine eyebrows are extended like the madda over the Alif.¹
Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou hast drawn the line of refusal;
Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chin,
Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.
Firāqi, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.²

The king, who has now taken refuge in God’s pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the Khwājāh.
Accordingly, so³ desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begams, in the hope⁴ that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the Khwājāh was held so close a prisoner⁵ by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death.

⁴⁹⁰. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindliness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, “My dear Khwāja what sort of manners are these!” The Khwājā sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,⁶ and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

¹ An Alif ﾞ with a curved line written across it horizontally ヴ is called Alif madāda. This cross line was originally the word م, madd which means lengthening or prolonging.
² MS. (B) transposes the two last lines.
³ MS. (A) از بس omitted.
⁴ MS. (A) reads تا شاید کد, Gwendt reads معطوه مبارکه.
⁵ MS. (A) reads معطوه مبارکه, MS. (B) omits مبارکه.
requirements for a sea-voyage, he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what are the advantages of going thither? They replied, "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin." Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sultân Bahâdur of Gujrat in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed him a daily allowance of one ašhrafi for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bâzâr of Ahmadâbâd, seeing the Khwâja in the Tirpaūliya mosque, he reined back and with great kindness and emprise asked "How is the Khwâja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Sultân Bahâdur notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.

Just at that time too Shâh Tâhir Dakkani came to Gujrat with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassage from Nizâm Shâh Dakkani, and having heard such high praise of the Khwâja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other’s verses, and on the next
day, after arranging all the requirements of hospitality, with a khipat, a horse, and a bag of coin and valuable gifts in his own lodging, sent the Khwaja an invitation. In the warmth of their meeting and the enthusiasm of their conversation, suddenly the conversation turned upon religion and sects. The Khwaja enquired of the Shâh, what is the reason that the Shi'ahs among you say such unbecoming things regarding the companions of the Prophet on him be peace? He answered 'Our jurisconsults have decided that cursing (la'n) is an element of faith (Imân).’ The Khwaja rejoined, ‘Curses on a faith of which cursing is an element.’ The Shâh was astounded at this, and their colloquy came to an end, and that urbanity and courtesy which he had thought to shew remained hidden by the curtain of his anger, and was lost. Finally he departed thence in wretchedness and ignominy to the Dakkan, and had an interview with Nizâm Shâh, who likewise sent all that was necessary to his honourable reception, and received him cordially, but neither there could the Khwaja remain, owing to his perverse temper and his want of self-restraint, till by leaving the world he freed himself from the torment of existence.

Verse.

My heart, be patient for that stern-hearted friend,  
Is sitting and grieving sore at his own unhappy fate.

Verse.

Where was the black horse? whither did I wend?  
Who am I, and what words are these? but what can I do, for  
the ruin of my restive, hasty and audacious pen has been  
turned in this direction, and words have leapt forth beyond the  
area of my control. Were it not so, I know that it is no virtue  
to pry into faults, while to carp at the vices of others, shutting  
one’s eyes to one’s own defects is the acme of shortsightedness.

1 MSS. (A) (B) insert در before ممهدب.  
Mujâhidin. Mujtahid (one who strives) is the highest attain  
able title among Muslim divines. See Hughes' Dict. of Islâm, s. v. and Ijmâ'.

2 MS. (A) ملاقات للمجرد.

3 MS. (A) for إنجام.  
MS. (B) reads إنجمام.

4 MS. (A) خرى كشيد.  
MS. (B) reads عري شيند.

5 MS. (A) تويدرو.  
MS. (A) بريدرو.
Verse.

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains. 1

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time 2 the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself 3 to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example.

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies.

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God. 4 Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author.

Qīta'h.

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent;
If I should die, 5 accept this my excuse,
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust.

1 This proverb in one form or another is well-known. The Arabic proverb runs كل إله ينصنع بماله. Every vessel exudes what it contains.
2 MS. (A) درین هنگام (B) اقتصر و اختصار من الله
3 MS. (A) (B) which omit تعالى و تقدیم
4 MS. (A) (B) which omit بمردم

The end.
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Fallon's Hindustani Dictionary, 528 s. 1.

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Fanakati, the Historian, 16 s. 1.

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Yezdibah, the magian ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 n 3.
Yār 'Alī, a common name among the Shiʿah, 604.
Yule and Burnett's Dictionary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, 495 n, 543 n 3.
Yulma, a Turki word meaning 'that which has lost its hair,' 482 n 2.
Yūnas 'Alī, one of the Amirs of Bābar, 441.
Yūsuf, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308.
Yūsuf and Zulaiḥā of Maulānā 'Abdurr-Rahmān Jāmī, 32 n 2, 272 n 1, 588, 589.
Yūsuf and Zuleikha, Griffith's, 272 n 1.
Zābul, a name for the town of Ghaznī, 16 and n 3.
Zahāl, the second degree of the fever called diqq, 319 n 4, 320 n.
Zābul, grandfather of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Iran, 14 n 3.
Zābulī, a name of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 17.
Zābulistān, 14 n 3, 51.
Zafar Khān, one of the Malikṣ of Sultan Firūz Shāh, 337 n 2.
Zafar Khān, Governor of Gujrat under Sultan Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, 333 and n 11, 334.
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Zafar Khān Badr-u-Din, called Zafar Khān ‘Alī, one of the Malikṣ of Sultan Alau-d-Din Khilji, 247 and n 2, 250 and n 5, 254, 258, 261, 311.
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Zafar Khān Fārsī, one of the Malikṣ of Sultan Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, 336 n 6.
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Yūsuf ‘Azdu-d-Daulah, son of Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawi, 29, 45 n 2.
Yūsuf Khān Anḥadī, Malik, one of the Amirṣ of the Saiyid dynasty, 395.
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Yūsuf Surūr-i-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amirṣ of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyid dynasty, 388 and n 3, 391, 392. See also the next.

Yūsuf, son of Sarwār-i-Mulk, Malik, 396. See the above.
Yūsuf Qadr Khān, king of Turkistan, 27.
Yūsuf Šūfī Azibacha, one of the Amirṣ of Sultan Qutb-u-Din Khilji, 291 and n 5.
Yūzbāshī, an Amir of a hundred, 313 and n 3.

Zafar Khān Hisab-u-Din, one of the Malikṣ of Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din Khilji, 247 n 2.
Zafar Khān Khilji, brother of Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din Khilji, 239.
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Zafar Nāmah of Yazdī, an historical work, 347 n 3, 358 n 6.
Zaffur Khān Farsī. See Zafar Khān Fārsī.
Zahab, water oozing from the ground, 459 n 5.
Zahhāk ibn ‘Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn ‘Ad (q. v.), 262 n.
Zahir, nom-de-plume of Zahir-u-Din Tāhir ibn Muḥammad the Poet, 339 and n 4.
Zahir Dihlavi, Qāżī, one of the poets of the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 367 and n 2, 375.
Zahir-u-Din Bābar Pādīshāh, 435, 436. See under Bābar.
Zahiru-d-Din Lāhorī, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughłaq, 338.
Zahiru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh Bābar, 436, 443. See under Bābar.
Zahiru-d-Din Tāhir ibn Muḥammad Fāryābī, a celebrated poet, contemporary of Khāqānī, 339 and n 4.
Zahiru-l-Juyūsh, Inspector of the forces, 302.
Zaid ‘Ali, one of the Imāms of the Shī‘ah, 604 n 5.
Zain Khāfī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 448 and n 3, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.
Zain Khān Niyyāzī, one of the Amirs of Shīr Shāh Sūr, 491.
Zain Khānī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 448 and n 3. See Zain Khāfī.
Zainu-d-Din, author of a commentary on the Mubaiyyin, 450 and n 8.
Zainu-d-Din Kāfī, Khwāja, a famous saint, 609 n 5.
Zainu-d-Din Khāfī, Shaikh, one of the learned men and poets of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.
Zainu-d-Din Maḥmūd Kamāngar, Maulānā, one of the Naqshbandī Shaikhs, contemporary of Humāyūn, 588 and n 4.
Zainu-l-ʿAbidīn bin Najīm, author of al-ʿAwdhāh wa-n-Naḍīr, 5 n 4.
Zaʿīrāh, sortilege by, 412 n 1.
Zakāt or almsgiving, one of the five foundations of practical religion, 175 n 4.

Zakhiratu-l-Qawāṣīn, an historical work, 9 n 2.
Zakham, the plectrum with which the chang was played, 146 n 1.
Zāl, father of Rustam, one of the heroes of the Shāh-Nāma, 178 n 2.
Zāl, the son of Afrasiyāb, king of Tūrīn, 410.
Zamakhshāri, the celebrated author of the Koshkāf, a commentary on the Qurʾān, 28 n 1.
Zamindāwar, country of, 591.
Zandkhan, a fortified town near Sarakhs, 43 n 3.
Zang, a cluster of globular bells carried by dāk-runners, 621 n 2.
Zang-bastan, to acquire importance, 621 n 2.
Zangbār, Shī‘ah of,—the Moon, 621.
Zangi, Abū Mansūr, brother of Abūl-Fāsīl of Bust, contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47 and n 7.
Zangi, Sulṭān Maʿīzzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 65 n 2.
Zanzibār,—the Night, 621.
Zanzibār, Sulṭān of, adopts Saiyyid as his regal title, 303 n 4.
Zaradrus, the river Sutlej, 23 n 3.
Zarb, in Prosody, the last foot of the second hemistich, 606 n 4.
Zard choba, turmeric, 173 n 2.
Zarīf, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Ḩishān; the Poet, 582 n.
Zarīr, a herb used in dyeing clothes, 173 and n 2.
Zebā, mother of Sulṭān Sikandar ibn Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodi, 412 n 2.
Zend, of the Zoroastrians, 394 n 5.
Ziāl Barnī. See under Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī.
Ziā-i-Barnī. See under Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī.
Ziāl, the Persian poet, contemporary and panegyrist of Sultan Malik Shah Saljuqī, 33 and n 4.
Ziān-d-Dīn, a court-servant of Sultan Jalālud-Dīn Khilji, 239.
Ziān-d-Dīn Barani,—or
Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the Tārikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, 184 n 1, 186 n 3, 188 n 1, 4 and 5, 219 n 3, 220 n 2, 221 n 1, 227 n 7, 230 n 1, 247 n and 2 and 4, 248 n 2, 6 and 8, 310 n 1, 311 n 5, 312 n 7, 314 n 1, 2, 315 n 7, 316 n 4, 320 n 5.
Ziān-d-Dīn Khajandi al-Fārsī, the Poet Ziāl, 38 n 4. See under Ziāl.
Ziān-d-Dīn Qāṣī Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultan Qutbudd-Dīn Khilji, 288, 289, 290.
Ziān-d-Dīn Tukīl,—or
Ziān-d-Dīn Tūlakī, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Ghori dynasty, 69 and n 3.
Ziān-i-Mulk Shamsudd-Dīn Abū Rījī, one of the Malik of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, 329 and n 13, 331.

Zikr, a religious ceremony, 510 and n 4.
Zinjānī, Shaikh Hasan, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.
Zirak, a name of ‘Utūrid (the planet Mercury), 630 and n 3.
Zirak Khān, the Amir of Sāmāna, one of the Malik of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378, 379, 382, 384, 391, 396.
Zirqūn, name of a place in Khurāsān 43 and n 3.
Zodiac, signs of the, 75 n 2, 76.
Zorawar Singh, Rāo, also known as Rāpur Sen, founder of the old city of Rāpari, 377 n 5.
Zū-baḥrāin, in prosody a line of two metres, 245 n 2.
Zubaidah Khātūn, wife of Harūnur-Rashid, 236, 237.
Zukhrūf, the planet Venus, 138 n 3.
Zu-l-Faqār,—or
Zu-l-Fiqr, famous sword of ‘Ali ibn Abi Ṭalib, 74 and n 2, 75 n, 106 n 5.
Zu-l-Fiqr Shirwānī, Mir Saiyyid, a famous poet of Persia, 605.
Zu-n-Nūrānī, the bolt or girdle worn by Christians or Magians, also the Brahmanical thread, 509 and n 5.
Zu-n-Nūrān, title of ‘Usmān the third Khalifah, 59 and n 4.