A HISTORY OF INDIA
MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARIKH

By
ABDUL-QADIR IBN-I-MULUK SHAH
Known As
AL-BADAONI
English Translationn
SELECTIONS FROM HISTORIES

By
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Volume I

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The Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh was completed by Abdul Qadir-Ibun-I-Muluk Shah known as Al-Badaoni shortly before his death in A.D. 1615. While composing this book, his sacred mission was to "write correctly" keeping "God" as witness in view. It was written in a spirit of disgust against the eclecticism of emperor Akbar and his two close associates, namely Faizi and Abul Fazl, in particular, for their breach of Islamic orthodoxy, a dissatisfaction having been further heightened in its biting invectives against them by author's growing sense of frustration to get proper dues at the hands of his master in the field of material advancement, happily in the sum-total of its effects acts as a necessary corrective to and a brake against the over-laudatory panegyric of Abul Fazal's Akbar Nama. The work is more of the type of memoirs rather than histories and herein lies the value of Badaoni's work.

The three volumes cover the history of India from Ghaznavides down to the fortieth year of Aakbar's reign. The first volume, translated by George S.A. Ranking, M.D. (cantab), M.R.A.S. and published in A.D. 1898, deals with the history of India from Subuktgin (A.D. 977-97) down to the death of Humayun in January, A.D. 1556.

The second volume, translated by Lowe and published in A.D. 1884, concerns the first forty years of Akbar's rule.

The third and the last volume, translated by Sir Wolseley Haig, R.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.R.G., and published in A.D. 1925 contains the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of letters who were either known to him or were attached to the court of Akbar. A
gives valuable information as an insider and severely castigates Abdul Fazal’s eulogistic work entitled Akbar Nama.

According to Smith, “Al-Badaoni’s interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor’s life-time and could not be published until after Jahangir’s accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni, gives information which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors.”
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting this translation of the first volume of Badawi's "Muntakhabu-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 similarmetrical 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 Badawi'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 encoun-
tered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is pre-
sented 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.

Calcutta:
July 18th, 1898.

GEORGE RANKING.

For a life of Badāoni 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:—

1. The “Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh,” edited by Maulavi
Āḥmad Ali, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and
published in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the Text.

and into Persian,” Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orien-
talists, 1892.
2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mulūk Shāh Badāsonī, 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 Nāẓīm. It bears no date.

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

MULLĀ ABDUL QĀDIR BĀDĀYŪNĪ

(A. D. 1540-1615 )

(a) Badāyūnī's Biography

Mullā Abdul-Qādir Badāyūnī was the son of Šaikh Mulūk Šāh who was the pupil of saint Bēcū of Sambhal and was born at Todā or Tādābhīm on August 21, A.D. 1540. Some days after his birth, he was taken to Vasāwar, 18 miles north-east from Bharatpūr in Rajasthan, where some members of his family had taken their abode. At the age of twelve, he was taken by his father to Šaikh Hātim Sambhalī to receive his education at the feet of the last-named at Sambhal. He went to Agra in A. D. 1558-9 and studied under famous Šaikh

4. Luniya, p. 164; J. N. Sarkar, Supra, p. 188, has, however, wrongly recorded the birth place of Mullā Abdul Qādir at Badāyūn. This is quite evident from the detailed narration on the subject by Luniya. E. & D, V, p. 477, have also erred in recording that Mullā Abdul Qādir was born at Badāyūn.
6. Luniya, p. 164; E & D, V, p. 477, have vaguely recorded the date of birth of Badāyūnī as falling in A. H. 947 or 949.
7. Ibid.
Mubārak Nāgorī along with Faizī and Abul Fażl. As Ābdul Qādir’s father died at Agra in A. D. 1562, he went to Badāyūn, now in Uttar Pradesh. All through this period, he studied different branches of knowledge under the most renowned and pious men of the age and thus attained great but many-sided scholastic attainments in Islamic literature and attained a high water-mark in outshining others in the field of music, history astronomy. He had developed a great passion since his childhood for history and spent his hours in reading and writing history, as he himself wrote. He was very fortunate, indeed, to have flourished in a period which was animated by various influences then at play and he naturally could not escape their aftermath in the unfoldment of his personality. The fate of the Mahdavi leaders was hanging in the balance and hardly any serious aspirant of knowledge could receive his initiation in the holy portals of learning without becoming conscious of and influenced by the deep rift and cleavage that had torn asunder the rank and file of the ulamās, brought about by the teachings and propagations of Sayyad Muhammad of Jaunpur and occasioned by the divergent opinions of various personalities and parties to the conflict in the realm of national values, viz, hugging of wealth, pelf and power, or abjuring them completely. In the world

8. Ibid; Philips, Supra, p. 147; E & D, V, p. 478, wrote that Badūyūn lived for forty years in company with Sāikh Mubārak.
8a. E & D, V, p. 477, recorded the Hijri year of the death of the father of Badūyūn as A. H. 969.
9. Luniya, p 164;
10. Sarkar, Supra, p. 188; E & D, V, p. 477.
11. Ibid; Elliot and Dowson, V, p. 480.
of sufiis and ulamās, the aforesaid two types had their admirers and followers. The struggle for power between the Afghans and the Mughals was another counter to make an inroad in the field of national values, as it had given rise to occasion to evaluate afresh the concept about the nature and value of loyalty itself in the world of thinking, section of the period and this had left an indelible impress of its own.

Finally, by the time Badāyūnī came of age and received the necessary scholastic accomplishments to draw attention and command respect, Akbar’s thirst for the satiety of his intellectual curiosity had led him to go in quest of men, ideas and books. This naturally paved the ground for the two to come close with each other. In A.D. 1574, Badāyūnī came to Agra where he was admitted to the court of emperor Akbar through the instrumentality of Jamāl Khān Quraī and Ḥakīm Āin-ul-Mulk. Akbar appointed Badāyūnī as an imām in A.D. 1575-6 and ultimately gave him 1,000 bighas of land as madad-i-māās at Badāyūn, for he was greatly impressed by Badāyūnī’s extent of theological learning and his capacity to humble the over-bearing attitude and arrogance of the Mūllūs for their

12. Muhammad Mujeeb, Badāyūnī, published in “Historians of Medieval India” and edited by Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 106-7
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid; Luniya, p. 164, has wrongly recorded the name as Jalāl Khān Quraī and perhaps he was led to make this mistake because he uncritically followed E & D, V, p. 478.
15. Sarkar, Supra, p. 188; C. H. Philips, Supra, p. 147; Luniya, Supra, p. 164; E & D, V, p. 478 recorded that on account of his beautiful voice, Badāyūnī was appointed court Imām for Wednesdays.
learning. Šaikh Abdun Nabî was the Šadr and Akbar was smarting under great discomfiture at the overbearing dominance of the former and other ūlamās of his brand.16 "As learning was a merchandise much in demand", wrote Badāyūnī,17 "I had the privilege of being addressed (by His Majesty) as soon as I reached (his threshold). I was included among the members of the assembly and was thrown into discussion with the ūlamās who blew the trumpet of profundity and thought nothing of anybody..........By the grace of God, the power of my mind, the sensitiveness of my intelligence and that boldness which is a natural quality of youth, I often proved myself the superior." He was frequently called upon by emperor Akbar to translate Arabic and Sanskrit works (Mahābhārat) into Persian.18

Abul Fazl also found his way to the imperial court of Akbar at about the time of Badāyūnī’s entry therein.19 Abul Fazl finally proved insurmountable for Badāyūnī to demolish the former’s over-growing hold on emperor Akbar. Badāyūnī found himself ultimately thrown into the background and at bay in the course of encounter with the two brothers, Faizī and Abul Fazl. He was fighting for Šariāt, and any one who differed with him was his enemy, be he Akbar, Faizī, Abul Fazl, the entire world of intellectuals, infidels, accursed Šīās. fanatically extreme Sunnis, and he branded them all as impostors. The final outcome was that Badāyūnī never

18. Sarkar, Supra, p. 188.
forgave Akbar or Abul Fażl for the fact that he failed to get due recognition for his merit which he deserved. The result was the severe castigation of Abul Fażl, his brother Faiżī and emperor Akbar at the hands of Baḍāyūnī in his work "Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh." Baḍāyūnī, having been an orthodox Muslim, not only developed a strong dislike for Akbar's free thought and eclecticism, but became thoroughly disgusted with Akbar's patronage of men of different persuasions to the detriment of the Muslims who alone claimed to have the sole title to government offices and patronage. His aforesaid work was completed shortly before his

20. Luniya, Supra, pp. 164-165; Philips, Supra, pp. 147-8; Sarkar, Supra, p. 188.

21. Luniya, Supra, pp. 166-7, wrote that Baḍāyūnī was a bigoted Sunni Muslim and had nursed a deep grudge and hatred against liberal Muslims and Śtyās. He narrated with interesting details the religious differences between the Sunnis and Śtās during the reign of Humāyūn. He had a passion to partake in the fight against Rānē Pratāp of Cittor and even sought emperor Akbar's permission for it, as he took it to be a jehād (a holy war against the Hindus), and expressed that he would have his beard red with the blood of the Hindus. He, therefore, wrote his Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh with the view of a bigoted Sunni, and as such it contained many hostile but interesting criticism of Akbar. His whole narrative, even when taken from earlier histories, betrays his temperamental predilections and prejudices.

22. Luniya, Supra, p. 167, wrote that Baḍāyūnī began writing Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh shortly after the death of his friend patron Nizāmuddin Aḥmad, and completed it in Feb., A. D. 1596. This date is wrong as Baḍāyūnī in the third volume of Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh trans., vol 111, p. 536, recorded the date of completing this work as Jamādi-us-Ṣānī 23, A. H. 1004, or March 5, A. D. 1595.
death in A.D. 1615 (A. H. 1024) and, according to Khāfir Khan, its publication was suppressed by Jahāngīr.

Badayüni's Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh is a history of India, covering the period from the days of the Ghaznavides down to the fortieth regnal year of Akbar. It contains three parts. The first records the history of India from Subuktgīn (A.D. 977-97) down to the death of Humayūn (on January 24, A.D. 1556). The second is devoted to cover only the first forty years of Akbar's reign. The third and the last part contains the biographical accounts of the saints, poets, and men of letters who were either known to him, or were attached to the court of Akbar. The accounts relate to thirty-eight Sādīhs (religious leaders), sixty-nine scholars, fifteen philosophers, and physicians and sixty-seven poets. Badayūni in this work of his exhibits his thorough and intimate awareness about the history of the Afghans, as his narrations about them are more detailed and wholesome than

13. Luniya, Supra, p. 167, wrote that the Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh was kept concealed for a long time and it appears that it was made known during the reign of Jahāngīr. E & D, V, p. 479, wrote that this book was kept secret, and, according to a statement in the Milli-ul-Ālam, it was made public during the reign of Jahāngīr who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badayūni's children, that they had been unaware of the existence of the book. The Tuzak-i-Jahāngīr says nothing about this circumstance; but Badayūni's work was certainly not known in A. H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, in which year the Māfisir-i-Rahimī was written whose author complains of a want of history besides the Tahāqat-Akbarī.

what one could find in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. He often

gives new information on many subjects, based on his

own personal knowledge, and as such his accounts for

the reign of Akbar, his contemporary, are extremely

valuable, in as much as it corrects, by his censure and

disparagement, the eulogistic narrations of Abul Fazl’s

_Akbarnāma_ about Akbar.

(b) _Badāyūnī’s Works._

An account of _Badāyūnī’s works_, some of which

are extant, is as follows:

(i) _Kitāb-ul-Adhāt_. It is a work on the traditions

of waging holy war, better known as _jihād_. It was

composed in A.D. 1570-1 and was presented to emperor

Akbar in A.D. 1578.

(ii) *Tarjumā-i-Singhāsan Batisī*. A Persian trans-

lation in prose and verse, entitled *Namāh-Khirad-Afzā*,

from the original Sanskrit of the famous collection of

thirty-two stories pertaining to justice, charity and

benevolence. The translation was undertaken at the

behest of emperor Akbar in A.D. 1574 and was revised

in A.D. 1594-5. It is a very popular and interesting

collection of stories in India, pregnant with highly

moral and instructive lessons.

(iii) *Tarjumā-i-Mahābhārat*. A Persian translation

of the famous Hindu epic _Mahābhārat_, made at the

instance of emperor Akbar in A.D. 1582-3 by four

translators, viz., _Abdul-Qādir Badāyūnī_, _Ibn Abdul-Latīf

Husaini_ surnamed _Naqib Kān_, _Muhammad Sultan

Thānesri_ and _Mulla Sīri_. Each of the four had his
respective share in the translation, but it is not possible to determine the exact quantum of the share of each, as conflicting statements are found in the various copies on the subject. According to Elliot, Badāyūnī translated only two out of the eighteen sections (parvas) of the Mahābhārat.

(iv) Tarjumā-i Rāmāyan A Persian translation of another celebrated and superb epic of the Hindus, namely, Rāmāyan. Undertaken by Badāyūnī at the order of emperor Akbar in A.D. 1584, it took full four years for Badāyūnī to complete it and this was accomplished in A.D. 1591, with the help of the Pundits.


(vi) Najāt-ur-Raśīd Composed in A.D. 1590-1, a treatise on ethics in Sufi literature, abounding in

26. E & D, V, p. 478, however, wrote that Badāyūnī translated two out of eighteen sections of the Mahābhārat
27. E & D, V, p. 478, wrote that Badāyūnī abridged a history of Kashmir, which, under the annals of A.H. 998, is said to have been translated from the original Hindi by Mullā Šah Muḥammad Sāhābādī but apparently not from the Rājatarangni, for its translation is attributed to Maulāna Imāmuddīn. According to Prof. H.H. Wilson, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 2, there were frequent remouldings or translations of the same work but amongst these which he notices he does not mention one by Mullā Šah Muḥammad Sāhābādī.

28. E & D, V, p. 478, recorded that Najāt-ur-Raśīd is a moral and religious work and he wrote it at the instance of his friend Nizāmuddīn, the historian, and which he must have completed very late in life, because the Munīkhatu-T-Tawārikh is mentioned in it.
historical anecdotes and controversial discussions like those throwing light on Mahdavi movement.

(vii) Tārikh-i-Alfi  It is a history of the world, compiled at the behest of emperor Akbar by a number of compilers, one of whom was Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī. It comprises four volumes, out of which the final revision of the first two volumes was undertaken by Badāyūnī in A. H. 1000 (A. D. 1591-2).


(ix) Another work of Badāyūnī, now not extant, is Yaqūt's geographical dictionary. Its translation was undertaken at the instance of emperor Akbar and it was at the express desire of the emperor that Badāyūnī epitomised Yaqūt's geographical dictionary to form a part of Rasīdīs Jāmī-ut-Tawārīkh.

(x) Another work of Badāyūnī, now not extant, is the translation of Atharva Veda. Its translation was undertaken at the instance of emperor Akbar.

(xi) Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh is the most celeb-

30. E & D, V, p. 478, however, wrote that Bahrul Āsmār is a work on Hadīs.
31. E & D, V, p. 480, gave the following account of Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh in the words of Badāyūnī himself: "The writer Abdul Qādir Mūlūk Šāh Badāyūnī, in obedience to the orders of His Majesty Akbar, finished the abstract of the history of Kashmir in the year A. H. 998, which, at the request of the same monarch, was translated from Hindi into Persian by one of the learned men of his time; but as I cherished a great love
rated one amongst all the works of Badāyūnī. It was completed on March 5, A. D. 1595.

(xii) Mūjamu-Buldain.  
(xiii) Jāmī-ur-Raṣīdi.

for history from my very childhood, and as it was seldom that my hours were not employed either in reading or writing some history, I often thought of compiling a brief account of the kings of Delhi, beginning from the commencement of the Muhammadan rule in India to the present time. But circumstances gave me little opportunity of executing my design, and day after day I encountered numerous obstacles. Moreover the scantiness of the means of subsistence obliged me to leave my country and friends, and thus the performance of my work was for a time suspended, until my excellent and beloved friend Nizām-uddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī went to the Paradise. Excellent as is the history composed by this individual, yet I reflected that some additions could possibly be made to it; and I accordingly commenced to abstract briefly the accounts of some of the great kings of India, from the historical works called Mūbārk-Ṣāḥi and Nizām-ul-Tawārīḥ Nizāmī, sometimes adding my own observations. Great brevity had been in the style, and the use of figurative and flowery language throughout avoided. I have named this work Ḥuntakhabu-T-Tawārīḥ. It is hoped that this history, the object of which has been to place upon record the deeds of the great Muhammadan King, and to furnish the means of transmitting my own reputation to posterity, will rather prove a source of my lasting happiness, than tend to aggravate my misfortunes."

32. E & D, V, p 478
33. E & D, V, p. 478, recorded that at the instance of emperor Akbar, Badayuni made translations into Persian from the Arabic & Sanskrit, as in the case of Mūjamu-l-Dahrain, Jāmī-ur-Raṣīdi and 'Rūmāyan.
TRANSLATION

OF THE OF AL-BADAIONI.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Oh thou 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, 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 desolation praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot 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, 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-Baddoni. Vide Preface.
2 This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are
commenced.
3 حرفٌ. That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-exist-
ing state or object, opposed to حرفٍ. Particles, which alone convey no
intelligible meaning—حرفٌ also signifies a letter which is also per se meaning-
less.
This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling in this valley, and have 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 hooch.

If 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—Sūrat-ul-Ikhlās.

That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellence of 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-Mu'talib, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraysh 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, and of the praise which is on every tongue (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 proclamation and stamp of undiminishing 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 shadow
To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth-perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalifahs (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 truth risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

1 H.S. (A) has, &c—a river in Paradise.

Verily we have given thee al-Kausar. Qurán cviii. 1. 

Coronation ceremony of Muhammadan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the Khutba and issuing coin (sîla) stamped with his name

Muhammad was said to have no shadow.

Thousands upon thousands.

The four immediate successors of Muhammad, Abu Bakr, A. H. 11, 'Umar, A. H. 13 'Ugman, A. H. 23, 'Ali, A. H. 35, acknowledged by the Sunnis. The first three of these are rejected by the Shi'as who hold that 'Ali was the first legitimate Khalifah.

Cf. Qurán xxvii. 81.
of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.\footnote{1}

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine mission (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,"\footnote{2} becomes a cause of misery.

\footnote{1} The sacred law. Cf. Quràn v. 52

For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law is always called אֲנוּמֶרֶת את-תאורת (Hebrew אֲנוּמֶרֶת את-תאורת).

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Quràn is divisible into five sections عادات—beliefs—عدادات—moralties—عادات transictions—عادات punishments. Cf. Kashshaf, Injihfah-ùl-Funán, art شرعر.

\footnote{2} Quràn xvi. 84.

وَنَزَّلَ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا مَا مَآمِرُ شَهَاءٍ وَرَحْمَةٍ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ and we will send down of the Quràn that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers. Vide also Quràn xii. 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 abso-
lutely refuse to admit a science which is one-seventh of the

¹ Qurán xlvi. 10. In the original we read— 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.

³ Malakhylía. The orthography of this word is Sadidi
(الشرح في المصدر) 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 un-
common. The Bahr al-Jawâdi says
إنما يقال مالخليا لما كان خزوة عن
السوداء غير صدره وهو تغير الأطعمة والكفرن الحجابي الطبيعي إلى الكفان
والتوف لزوج سيدياري بوصف الأول.

It is only called "malikhûliá" where it is the
result of (the humour called) "Soudá" (black bile) which is not inflamatory. It takes the idea 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 الفقه Jurisprudence. Ac-
cording to the Ištîhâḥ-ul-Funûn علم الفقه treats of the soul and of all that
upperfains thereto, thus including all theological science; (Kashshâf Ištîhâth-
al-Funûn art. ۸۳۹) of. al Ashbah wal Nâzâr by Zainul Abidîn
î bin Nasîfîn, (H. K. 774)

It's 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"2 tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhári 3 and Qá'í Báiżáwí 4 up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthralling 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 Súra xlv. 87.

being plural of repeating or reiterating. The number seven relates to the mansils or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also Tafsír ul Báiżáwí. 5

Qurán xi. 131. This quotation is correctly given.

3 Háíí Abú‘Abdulláh Muhammád ibn Abí Úsáín Isma‘íl ibn Ibráhím Ibn-ul-Mughair ibn-ul-Ahnaf Yezidíh, or Yezdezháh according to Ibn Mákín a Mání of the tribe of Jái. (Slane Ibn Khallíqáh, ii. 595 ) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughírát embraced Islam.

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

4 Qá'í Néshír ud-Dín Abúl Khair Abdullah Báiżáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muhammád, was born at Báiţá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qá'í. He was the author of many works, among others Algháyatu fiq ho, Sháh ul-Mubábib waq waídáy. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called Anvárú-t-tanzíl. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz. See also De Sacy, Anh: Gram. Arab: notes on Báiţáwí, p 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol ii, 252 and note.
recognised constructions 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 Geheana, the house of perdition.

"When the crow 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 Sháhñáma relates the affairs of the kings of the world.

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection.

1. یم یمام is the plural from یمام an inf. e.g. یمام. یمام.

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

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 یم یمام یم یمام More ill-omened than a crow.

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say یم یمام 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 mad-
ness 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 Qādir ibn Mulék Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his
name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999
in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the
Khailifah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhi
when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmir
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 metro-
polis of Dehlí, from the time of the commencement of Islám 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 Islám.
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 spectus for the intellectual, and although it

1 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)
2 The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make
translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu‘jamul-
Buldán, Jámín-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478.)
3 Said to have been translated from the original Hindi by Mullá Shah
Muhammad Sháhábádí—but not apparently the Rájá-tarangí, for the tran-
lation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imádí-din. Cf. Aín-i-
Akbari, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—footnote 1.
4 Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic
phrase is السّواد الأعظم من المسلمين The collective body of the Muslims.
Vide Lane Art. حدّاث.
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 vexations 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, hinging 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 Tārikh i Nizámī 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 دَرْحِيْزَتْ عَوْرِيْه وَتَسْرِيْه مِنْ آفَتَاهُ. Lit. used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on.
2 Khwajá Nizámud-dín Ahmad, son of Khwajá Muqim Harawí diván of the household of Babar, is said in the Záfrādut-l-Qawānīn (E.D. v. 173) to have been appointed diván of Akbar’s household. He was subsequently appointed bāllāsh of the province of Gujrat.

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author Tabaqát-i-Akbar-sháli by which title Badžoní 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 liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of the chequered hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is no bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat He leaves the sparrows' portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrats Emperors of Hindustan from the Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shahī 2 and the Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh of Niẓāmī 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- Albari. Firuzkot states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowsen, v. 177-178.)

Niẓāmu-d-dīn died in 1093 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 Niẓāmu-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 Niẓāmu-d-dīn's decease.

The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return and be. The days.

2 This work was written by Yahyā ibn-Ahmad ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindī according to Firuzkot with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubārak Shāh. It commences with the reign of Muhammad Sīr, founder of the Chorí dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultan Suyyid Muhammad, 852 A.H.—(1448 A.D.).

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

The name Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh is generally restricted to the work by Baizāvī (vide Elliott and Dowsen II, pp. 252-253.) Its date is about 671 H. (1275 A.D.)
imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition Khutabatu-Tawarikh.¹ I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the suspicious 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 roamiest 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.²

And since the first of the Emperors of Islam who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustán—(after Mahomed Qásim,³

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-Dhakāsh-Shírāzī, completed A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D.). The work of Badāwī is known better as Tarikh-i-Badāwī.
² There is a play on the words 말, wrong and 말, tongue which cannot be preserved in translation.
³ The incidents of Mahomed Qásim’s engagements and victories are related in the Chahar Nāma, extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol. i. pp. 281–211.) See also Futūh-i-Buldān of Al-Bilāzuri (E. and D. i. 11). His full name was Mahomed ibn-Qásim ibn-Muhammad ibn-Hakim ibn-Abi ‘Uqail, and he was sent during the Khalifah of Walid ibn-Abdul Malik 705–715 A.D., to command on the frontiers of Sind. (E. and D. Al-Bilāzuri Vol. i. p. 119.)
⁴ See also E. and D. Vol. i, Appendix 432, &c.
country lost all order) were Nāširu-d-dīn Subuktigin¹ whose son was Sultan Mahmūd Ghaznavi 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 enannuated 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 commandng Muhammad Qāsim at whatever place he might have arrived when he received the mandate, to suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw bula and sent to the Capital. Muhammad Qāsim received the letter at “Udabān” (Qazyrūr) 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 thenupon 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 Bowson, Vol. I, pp. 240-211, Appendix 437, Ain-i-Akbār, Vol. II, 345, and fnote). Muhammad Qāsim was succeeded in the sovereignty of Sind by the descendant of the Band Tāmīm Ansā’ from whom it passed to the Sānūd Rāpātā.

¹ In A. H. 107 (A. D. 725-26) under the Khalīfate of Shihāb b-Abdul Malik Amin b-Abdullāh Kabbar, governor of Khurṣān, conquered Ghor Ghurjarān, 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 Khurṣān until under the Sāmānīs, Alpiqin, a slave of that house, withdrew from their obedience took possession of Ghazni and Kābul and asserted his independence. On his death Subuktigin, father of the great Mahmūd, succeeded to the kingdom and it continued under the house of Ghazni.

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

Nāširu-d-dīn Subuktigin is affirmed by historians to have been a Turk by descent who was brought by a merchant as a boy to Bakhāra where he was sold to Alpiqin, who from being governor of Khurṣān had by revolt against Mansūr (A. H. 351) established his sovereignty over Ghazni.

Subuktigin some fifteen years later married the daughter of Alpiqin and was acknowledged king by the chief of Ghazni, Alpiqin having died two years previously, during which period his son Abū Iṣḥāq was governor till his death. He then became founder of the Ghaznavid Dynasty or the Kings of Lahore. (See Briggs Ferishta, Vol. I, pp. 11-93,) also (Elliott and Bowson, Vol. II, 207-221.) See also Ta’aqat-i-Nāṣiri (Raverty) page 70 and fnote.
came the seat of Government, so that Islam 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 landed at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

THE GHAZNAVIDE DYNASTY.

From Sultan Nasiru-d-din Subuktigin to Khusraw Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Delhi, proclaimed Islam in Hindustan, 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.

SULTAN NASIRU-D-DIN SUBUKTIGIN

Was of Turki origin, the slave of Alptigin who was a servant of Amir Mansur-ibn-Nuhr-Samani. In the year 367 H. after the death of Abu Ishaq, the son of Alptigin, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded to the imperial throne in the city of Busat and raised the standard of conquest, and

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

2 The Samanid dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Samân. It held sway over Khurasan and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhârâ—from 270 A. H. to 395 A. H. See Tabagât-i-Nâsiri, Ravery pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amir Abuâl Hîrâ Mansûr died at Bukhârâ 360 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abuâl Qâsim-i-Nâsh. (Tabagât-i-Nâsiri, Ravery 44.) For an account of the Samanid dynasty, see D'Herbolot III. 193. Abu Ishaq was appointed by Mansur as governor of Ghazna upon the death of his father Alptigin in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

3 The Tabagât-i-Nâsiri states that Subuktigin succeeded Alptigin in Ghazna (Ravery pp. 46-74.)

4 BUSAT, the capital of Zabulistan (vide Abul Feda II, ii. 201) which includes Kâbul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yâkût from Zâbul, grandfather of Rustam. (Ain-i-Álbâr (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 403). "According to the Qimân Bust is situated in 31°58' long.; and 32°15' lat.; according to the Atrwâl in 90° long. and 32° lat. Third climate [see Ain-i-Álbâr. 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 Subuktigin 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 Amír 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 Amír Násiru-d-dín, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name. Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amír Núh-ibn-Manṣúr 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.

Yamánu-d-Daulat Sultán Mahmúd ibn Násiru-d-dín Ghaznavī.

When Subuktigin, 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 Hindumand and is part of Sijistán. From Bost to Ghaznín one reckons about 14 marches (Abul Feda II, ii. 103) Abul Feda further states that at Bost on the Hindumand (Hindumand) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iraq. (II. 76)

1 The Koh-i-Júd: includes the mountainous region between Ghaznín and Lahorn.

2 Lamghánát: See Abul Feda II, ii. 201. According to the Loháb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznál (See Abul Feda I, ccclxi ) Lamghánát. Long 101°50' Lat 34°3' Aín-i-Albari iii 89.

3 The reading of the دکا (Khutbah) and striking the سکا (sikta) that is stamping the currency, were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islam, and constituted a proclamation of their authority.

4 See History of the Caliphs As Suyutí (Jarrett) pp. 432-433.

5 ماورا الامبر.Transoxiana.

According to Yaqút in his Moshtariq, Fürán is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See Abul Feda "Transoxiana," for a full account of the countries included under this name.

6 The eighth month of the Muhammadan year.
responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'il as his successor. When this news reached Mahmúd 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'il should give up Ghaznín to Mahmúd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'il refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Mahmúd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'il, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznín for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'il then came and had an interview with Mahmúd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamínú-d-Daulat Mahmúd. After this a quarrel arose between Mahmúd and Manşür ibn-Núh Sámání and also his brother 'Abdu'l-Malik ibn-Núh. Eventually Mahmúd got the upper hand. The Amir of 'Abdu'l-Malik also, Fáqíq and Baktúzún, who engaged in contest with Mahmúd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurásán, of Ghaznín, and the frontiers of Hindustán came into the hands of Mahmúd.

Mahmúd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zábul.

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'il. The author of the Tabagdt-i-Násir ignores Isma'il's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigin died in 387, and Mahmúd succeeded according to Fanákat in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma'il held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Mahmúd in Ghaznín, represents his whole reign.

2 The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Mahmúd against the nomination of Bak-Túzún to the governorship of Khurásán (see Briggs, p. 54, see also Raverty, Tabagdt-i-Násir, pp. 49, 50).

Manşür was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fáqíq and Baktúzún who then by agreement with Mahmúd were to hold Merv and Níshápúr.

Shortly after this (in 388 A. H.), the Sámání dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilák i-Násr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 104).

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

3 She was the daughter of Alptagin, governor of Ghaznín, which is here meant by Zábul, the words that is Qandshá'r only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.
[that is to say Qandahār] accordingly, he is called Mahmūd Zābulī—so Firdausī says!

The suspicious court of Mahmūd Zābulī 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 Baghdād Al-Qādir -billāh 'Abbāṣī. Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amīru-l-Millat Yamīnu-d-Daulat.

Leaving Ghaznīn he went to Balkh and Herāt, and in 367 A.H., (977 A.D.) he returned to Ghaznīn after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustān, and took several fortresses. 'Asjadi composed the following qaṣīda in honour of this expedition:

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

In the month of Shawwāl, 391 A.H., (1000 A.D.) Mahmūd returned to Hindustān from Ghaznīn with ten thousand cavalry,

*Not in MSS. (A) or (B).

1 Firdausī. For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1, and Majma' al-Falāshā T. 382.

2 Al-Qādir billāh Abul 'ABBĀS Ahmad-ibn-Ishāk ibn il Muqtadīr 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 Sayūfī quoting from Al-Khalīb says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character. (History of Caliphs, Jarrett, p. 481.)

3 Hakim Abū Najār Abūl 'ABBĀS ibn-Mansūr contemporary of Hakim Ansuri, Hakim Fārriki, and Hakim Firdausi. He died in 432 A.H. (Majma' al-Falāshā; Vol. I. p. 340.) The qaṣīda in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma' al-Falāshā, loc. cit. MS. (A) quotes them wrongly, MS. (B) is the same as the text which reads ṭa[t] for ṭa[t]. 'Asjadi was a celebrated poet of Merv. The Tabāṣrī-ī-Nasirī' gives another complete in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansuri (p. 82, note 1).

4 Somnāt. Situated according to the Qānūn in 97°10' long. and 32°15' lat. Somnāt is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India. Ibn-Iṣāḳ says that travellers often speak of it, and it forms part of Gujarāt or the country of Lur. (See Bayley, History of Gujarāt, p. 18, etc., Afn-i-Abbari Vol. II. (Jarrett) 246, etc. Abul Firdās II. ii. 110.)

See also Alibirun, India (Sachau) I. 203, and Index Somnātha.

See also p. 27 of this volume, to.
and reduced Peshávar. 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 Maḥmúd 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 Gházís, among them a pearl necklet which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand dinárþ,¹ and the necklets of the others too, on the sumo

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. 80, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyúṭi gives the following account: “Yahyá-b b. Láyár narrates:—

'I heard Malik say that the first who coined dinár was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Maṣāʾb states that Abdiṣ Malik inscribed on the dinár “Say, God is One” (Qur cxiv) 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 Calipha 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 dinár the mention of what you will not like.” Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own dinár 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. 19-248.)

The denarius, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½. 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 9 75, 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 Rajá 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 Chandra-gupta 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,¹ the 8th of Muharram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Mahmud proceeded to the fortress of Tabardinah, which was the residence of Jaipal, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muharram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznī, and proceeded to Hindustan by way of Seistan and assaulted Bhätia, which is in the vicinity of Multan. The Raja of that place, Beji Ráj, fearing the punishment of the Sultán killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultán. Many Hindus, more than one can number, were harried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Mahmud took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Dá'úd ibn-Nasr, the renegade ruler of Multán, being reduced to submission by the Sultán, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand dirhams, annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden dinár was double the weight of the silver dinár and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver dinár in terms of dinárs 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 Dá'úd ibn-Nasr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishta (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the AlN-i-Akbar (Blochmann i. p. 36) that "the Dinár is a gold coin weighing one misqal, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but as both the dirham and the misqal were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.


¹ Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muharram.
² Tabardinah. Firishta calls this Batindah which is also the name given to Jaipal's capital in a history of the Raja of Jamú. As to the identity of this with Waihind, see Naverty's Tabagát-i-Akbar, pp. 76-89 footnote; see Tüffenthaler's map, Vol. III. See also E. and D. II. 433.
³ MS. (A) has جاب نيد. Text here which is evidently an "improvement" on the author.
⁴ MS. (A) has دبیه بطیا, MS. (B) has بطیا. The real name of this place is, according to Elliott Bera, which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see E and D., Vol. II., Appendix, pp. 439-440.
⁵ Grandson of Shaikh Hamid Lodi, first ruler of Multán (Brigge, p. 40.)
⁶ Firishta says 20,000 golden dinars. According to the AlN-i-Akbar, 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.
As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaípál, 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 These events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Bulgh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán,² king of Mawáz an-Nabr.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 Turkéstán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkís, pursued Súkhpál⁴ Nabasí, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islam had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Ali Sinjúrí but had again joined the idolaters 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 hotaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagári⁵—which nowadays is known

¹ Firíshta 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 Bihárd or Walhínd, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attoól.

² See Raverty Tabaqat-i Nasuí, p 62 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Buhkári 10th Zí Qá'dah, 380 H. See also pages 64-65, footnote 9.

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

⁴ Transolína.

⁵ Firíshta calls him Súkhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkhpál Nabá. — سوکپال نبی. According to Elliott his name was Súkhpál-Nawása Sháh, the name Nawása denoting his relationship to Jaípál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App 441.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firíshta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinston, Hist. of Indíá, p. 280.

⁶ This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firíshta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tiefenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N.W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol I, he says, "Côtégangra nommée aussi Nagor c'est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 84 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 Sakti or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."
as the Thánes of Bhím—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 Bhím, 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 Kharmátians and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort, where they died. He took Dáúd ibn Násr, the heretic ruler of Multán, to Ghaznín and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghóri, 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 Sultán, 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 Karmá, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 319 H. under Abú Táhir, took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Elliot and Dowson II. 573). (See also Sáli's Qur'án, Pro. Discourse, pp. 130-131.) Herbolet (Carmate).

2 MS. (A) مَلْخَة

3 MS. (A) ۳۱۸۱

4 Firishta. Thánesar. 76°22 E., 29°30 N. vide Map, Tieffenbader, Vol. III.

Tieffenbader describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus he states, 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 ou n'en recouvre rien." The water is accounted holy.

He places Thánesar at a distance of 66 miles from Delhi giving the stages,—Nárío 12 miles, Sonpat 6, Soro 6, Pánpipat 12, Cassa! 14, Assamáhán 7, Thánesar 9. It lies N.W. of Delhi and is now called Thaneswar. See Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pp. 330-332. See Albouy, I. 199.
sām, on account of which the Hindūs 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 Ghurjistán, and in the same year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultán heard that he was of the Bātini 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 Bālnáth. Jaipál 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 Kótval to defend it, while he pursued Jaipál. 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 Islam—a certain number he led captive to Ghazvin.

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 Ghazvin. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

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

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindūs. The idol of that place is called Cakra svāmin, i.e., the owner of the Cakra."

2 Ghurjistán, or Ghurjistán, the country bounded on the west by Herat, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazni. See Jadut in loc. Ghurjistán.

3 Esoterics, a sect of the Shi'a Muslims. For an account of them see Curzon's page 147 — They were variously called یقینا لیاقت و لنعی
کتاب املال و نهج
الآحاد . الالمپیا . المزکیه

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. Tieffenb. I. 105, in lat. 32° 39' (Alberini, Sachen trans, 317). In Rennoll's map (1782) the Belášt 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 Anandpal, grandson of Jaipal I.

7 Called also Lohkot by Finishtain. MSS. (A) (B) have. لوهكوت. لوهکوت.
with Abul Abbas ilm Mammad 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 Khwárezmí, the commander-in-chief of Khwárazm. The Sultan's forces gained the day and Mahmúd appointed Altún Tásh governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwárazm Sháh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwárezmí 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, Kárukí, the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

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

2 Qanauj or Qanauj, was for a long time the Hindu capital of Northern India. Firishtá 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 Alburúr (Sachau tr. I. 109). (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham op cit. 376, &c.).

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called "Canma çobadj" ce qui signifie la vierge bosse. Vol. I. pp. 193, 194.

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

Indus Sveti Sindhu Gr. "Indus incolis Sindus appellatus" (Pliny.)
Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes Skr. Vätásté (Vibut) or Viyatta.
Chenab Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga.
Biáh Hyphasis or Hypanis Svet. Vipásá.
Subhí Zaraedras. Hasyrds (Pliny) Svet Shatladar.
Jamuna Jana or, Yamuna.
(See also Aín-i-Álbari (Jarrett), ii. 310.) Alburúr, Chaps. xxiv, xxv
MSS. (A) (B) 25 Kúràk. According to Firishtá the name of the

see of Qanauj was Kúpur Káí, see Elliott, Vol. ii. p. 461.
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 Mahmūd’s assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand\(^3\) rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Mahmūd proceeded to the fortress of Mahawun\(^2\) on the banks of the river Jon,\(^4\) where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar\(^5\) 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 Mathura\(^6\) which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birthplace 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 rasied 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

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

\(^{2}\) According to Firishta 250,000 silver dinars. This gives the value of the silver dinar as \(\frac{7}{8}\) of a rupee. In the Afn-i-Akbari we find no mention of a silver dinar, but the dirham is stated to be \(\frac{7}{8}\) of a dinar; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dinar were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

\(^{3}\) Vide Tieff. 160. Mahābān avec une forteresse en briques.

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

\(^{5}\) Kal Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 402. MS. (A.) دُلُوُّ كَلُّ کُلُّ Kulechand.

\(^{6}\) Vide Tieffenthaler I. 201 et seq.

Mathura or Māhārā, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva, see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 190; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Bājā Kansa. Arrian calls it Methora while Pliny states that the river Jomans (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisoborn (Kalikavarta or Yrvindāvana) Cunningham ed. cit. no. 374-375.
had with him 36,000 cavalry and 45,000 infantry and 640 elephants, and who had put to death the Râjâ of Qamarj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultân, and who had also come to the help of Jaipâl, who had several times fled from before the Sultan. The servants of the Sultan who had gone forward to the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipâl, 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 Sultan's troops He then returned to Ghaznîn.—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 Jalâm.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Mâhmu'd proceeded to Kashmîr 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 Ghaznîn.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandâ, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwâliâr, 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 Kâlinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.

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

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 483, for an account of the various statements.

1 The text has Med 7-ti-7-âr 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 Fazîl (Afn-i-Akbar, Text I. 429) says this was in 416 A.H.
men who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manât, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arabs 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 Kisban, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindi language, is really Sobha Nāth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manât. 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 Mahrmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznín, where it was placed at the door of the Jámi’ Maajid 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, Mahrmúd turned towards Maltán 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 LIII. 19, 20. Zamákshári in the Kashsháf states that Manât was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khurús and Saqíf, and that it was called Manát lázn dawá Elmának Kámát Námá (Calcutta Edn. Vol. II., page 1422).

2 Patán. Tieffenthaler I. 305, states that Patán was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Badhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Neharroála. It was originally called Anhalpur. See Afn-i-Akbar (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs’ Firishta, I., 69, &c., Anhalwála (Elphinston).

3 Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

4 Firishta calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Mahrmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (Kandama Tfré-Afš). 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 so exactly with Firishta’s that there can be little
Sindhi. His army suffered great hardships from scarcity of water and forage, until with great difficulty he reached Ghaznīn in the year 417 H.

In that year Aıld Qādir billāhi to the Khalifah, despatched a flag with a letter appointing the Sultān to the Governorship of Khurasān and Hindustān, Nimroz and Khwārazm, and conferred titles of honour upon his brothers and sons, and in the same way assigned the titles of Kahan-d-Daulat wal Islām to the Sultān, and to his elder son Amir Mas‘ūd that of Shahāb-d-Daulat wa Jamāh-l-Millat, and to Amir Muḥammad his younger brother that of Jalāl-d-Daulat, and to Amir Yūsuf that of ‘Aẓm-d-Daulat—and so forth.

In this year by way of punishing the Jats of the vicinity of Multān, who had committed many acts of disrespect, Maḥmūd brought an army to Multān—and four thousand (some say eight thousand) boats belonging to the Jats laden with their families and property, were sunk in the Multān river on the occasion of a victory obtained by the boats of the Sultān, 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 Sultān, victorious and triumphant, returned to Ghaznīn.—In the year 418 H. (1027 A.D.) marching towards Bāward, he

doubt as to the identity of Ganāba with Canda. Cf. Elliott II. 473, note 1

Elphinstone Hist. of India, 289.

In the Tabaqāt-i-Abār this rāja is called Parama Dev.

1 For particulars of this march see Briggs’ Firishta I. 78. Elph. 290, and note. Tabaqata-n-Nasiri (Kaverty) p. 83, cf. Elliott II. p. 163 from Jami‘ul-Ilkī


2 See Elliott II. pp. 480-481 on the assumption by Maḥmūd of title of Sultān, see also p. 16 of this volume note 2.


The contrivance alluded to was fixing spikes on the prows and sides of the boats like the rostrum or ładas of ancient warships. This instrument the origin of the modern ram is said to have been invented by the Tyrrenian Fierce. (Smith, Dict. of Antiq). See also Elph. 291, and note.

5 Bāward. MS. (A.) has بیانب ماریا یالنیر بارود ونن. MS. (B.) is same as the text. Abaward ville du Khurasān est situé selon l’Afzād par 84° de longi-
utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai 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 Amír Mas‘úd his elder son. He then returned to Qhaznín and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption, 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 Qhaznín, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi‘ul Awwal,

tude at 37° 20′ de latitude. On la pomme encore, dit le Lobáb, Abáward et Báward (Abul Feda (Reinand) II. ii. 185-188). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict du la Perso) p 13, Abiward).

1 A district of Persian Iráq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the Firdúsi, in long. 76° 20′ and latitude 35° 25′. Its original name was he states, Bází.

Ibn Hánqal in his article on Dallám, speaks of Beyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Ázarbaiján. It is the ancient Rihag or ‘Isták of Arrián, 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 Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya Ar-Rází, familiar to the medical world as Rházos who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles (شیر چدایی و سرخی) was published in a Greek translation ψηφολογία in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (Sydenham Society, 1847.) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (Hamadán). It was called at different periods Europas and Arasacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Tehfín and north of Isfahán. The famous jurist and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, and al-Kicáyi the reader of the Qurán, are buried there. Persian Iráq comprised the regions of Beyy, Qáshán, Isfahán and Hamadán. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhagm.) (Abul Feda, (Reinand) II. ii. 168, &c.) also see. I. K. (Slano), iii. 811 et seqg.

2 Briggs, Vol. I. p. 88, 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 سؤال الغنية يا سل يهم رساليداً &c.

The disease ساودْل ساودْل of scurvy which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Völker sub voce قلنت ِ "pravus habitus corporis, gr. ἀναιδές, while the following translation from the MS. copy of Baháu’lláh-Jándír 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 dryness, but inasmuch as the term dryness is specifically
421 A.H., and was buried at Qazvin. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was restricted to another disease, this term Ṣū ṣul qiyas is made applicable to this condition.

In the Istdādul-Funūn we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from Al Majās of Sadīd, a translation from which follows,—he writes "the commencement of dropy 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, 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 belching, 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 dropy. 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 salt water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and diindri and wardā is beneficial. The food must be appetizing and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges; Cantharides flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic 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 Muyūn fi Sharḥ Majās by Sadīd).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Mahmūd died was not either hectic fever (Nādānūni) or phthisis Ṣul (Firishtā), but an anemia, very probably "idiopathic anemia" or "progressive pernicious anemia." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbatic 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 myxedema, 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 anemia. 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. 158, note 1.

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

2 Rayyāt in the Tābaqat-i-Nāṣirī, 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 1 the poet is well known, and the holy Jāmī ² says:

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

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

Rahīm-ṣāḥib, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the Maqāmī of Amīd Abū Nayr by Al-Daihaqī as his authority.

The Tabaqāt-i-Nayrī gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 28 years.

1 Abū Qāsim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the Shāh Nāmah, was a native of Tūs in Khorāsān where he was born about 839 A.H. (950 A.D.). He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (1025 A.D.). He was appointed by Maḥmūd to complete the Shāh Nāmah. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand mīqdād of gold for every thousand dīrāms. However, the machinations of Aḥrār one of Maḥmūd’s favorites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmūd as being a seditious and heretical, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver dīrāms instead of the promised 60,000 mīqdāds. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dīrāms 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 Shāh Nāmah which he had presented to him on its completion, and died from Maḥmūd’s court to Māzanderān and thence to Bāghdād. Maḥmūd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 dīrāms 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 Atashkāda ‘Azur p. 92 et seqq. also Atkinson’s Shāhnamah, Preface; also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter’s Indian Empire, p. 219. and Beazle’s Dict. of Oriental Biography.

² Mulla Nūrūd-Dīn Abūdūr Bahmān (Jāmī) author of “Yūsuf and Zulaiḥa” in Behāristān, &c., was born at Jām in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See Atashkāda ‘Azur p. 78.

He was called the holy from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazir Amīr Alī Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herāt twenty years later.
And in the Tažkira of Muḥammad Ufī, the following Qiyāḥ has been attributed to the Sultān 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.

Sultān Muḥammad ibn Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznāvī,

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 Sultān Maḥmūd, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznī, and a month and a half after his accession Amīr 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 Shahābudd-Daulah Mas'ūd who was at

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1 Muḥammad Ufī, author of a biography or "Tažkira" Lūbābū-l-Albāḥ, and of another work called Jāmiʿu-l-Hilāyat. The latter he compiled in 1223 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 Nārūdīn Muḥammad Ufī. (Beside, O. B. D.). See also J. B. A. S., Vol. IX. 119.


2 Called in the Tažkīrat ud-Mulūk, 'Ali son of Iyāl Arsalān a relative of the late Sultān Maḥmūd (Raverty, Tabaqūt-i-Nāvars 89 note 8).

Fiqhīīī calls him Amīr 'Ali, son Kızıl Arsalān father-in-law of Maḥmūd. (Briggs, So.), See Elliott, IV. 153. Alī Kurbat (Raverty), or Alī Khīšhāwandī.

3 Abū Nuṣṣām Amīr Aiyāz (Fiqhīīī).
Sipáhán. Amir Muḥammad despatched Súndlí 2 Ráí the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them, Amir Aiyáž was victorious in the fight, and put to death Súndlí Ráí the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amir Muḥammad. Amir Aiyáž joined Amir Mas’úd at Nishápúr, 3 and four months later Amir Muḥammad moved his camp in the direction of Bajj, 4 and came out in full force from Ghaznín 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 Bażávi 8 it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the 9 Lubbu-i-Tawáríkh writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghaznín for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was improperly 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 Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch;

1 Ispáhán, see Abul Feda II, ii 170 (Reinaud).
2 Bewand Ráí (Firíshta)
3 The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jarján and Damaghán. See Abul Feda II, ii 189. (Reinaud).
4 Fourteen marches from Ghaznín in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghaznín. Abul Feda II, ii 108. (Reinaud).
5 Takínábád, see Elliott II pp. 271, 293 iv. p 193 note 1. Briggs places it 30 miles N. of Ghaznín; see Aín-i-Akhbář (J) II. 68 Long 101° 5, Lat. 33°
6 The reading in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read،
7 Variously called Welaj (Firíshta) Mangsál (Nuzámú-Tawáríkh) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.
8 Abú Sáïd Abdallah ibn Abú Nasr Ali Baţárwí, See Elliott, II. 252.
Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslan\(^1\) reach the sky in its grandeur.

Come to Mary that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslan beneath the dust.

**SHAHABU-D-Daulat Sultan Mas'ud ibn Mahmud.**

By the consent of the Amirs and Vazirs of Mahmud he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Hari\(^2\) to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi whom Sultan Mahmud kept a prisoner in the fort of Kulinjar, made him a Vazir. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghazni and thence started for Sipahs and Rai, and arriving at Herat engaged in war with the Turkomans, and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkomans increased in power; day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.\(^5\)

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

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1. Abu Shuja'\(^3\) Muslim, son of Chakirbeg Dada, son of Mikail, son of Saljaq; son of Duqaq, surmised 'Azaqhd-Daulat Alp Arslan (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Seljouq dynasty who ascended the throne of Khurasan in 451 A. H. (see Bavyati 352, note 2). Born 424 A. H., murdered 456 A. H. The lines are attributed by the author of the Tuhfet-i-Nafir to Hikam Sanxi a celebrated poet of Ghazni. His most celebrated work is the Hadisat-ul-Haqiqat wa Sharafatu-Tarbiyat otherwise known as Fakhr-ar-Rasul. His full name was Abu Muhammad ibn Adam Sanxi Al Hikam. He died in the year 535 H. (4th December, 1140) (H. E.). See also Majma' al Fuzuli I. 255, and Ashikdade-i-Azur, p. 102, of L. K. (Shan) iii. 280.


L'opinion generale des Persans est qu'Herat doit son nom et son origine à un des officiers de Nermân le Peklivan et qu'elle fut rebâtie par Alexandre ...

3. i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Seljouq in 429 H. by Tughril Beg.
Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí 1 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'úd reduced Amol 2 and Sári 3 and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there 4 and sent Tughdí Beg and 5 Hussain ibn 'Ali ibn Maikáł with a large army from Nishápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Hussain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amir Mas'úd.

Amir Ahmad Niyál Tigin 6 the treasurer of Sultan Mas'úd whom Mas'úd had fined and had sent to Hindustán, 7 on arriving in Hindustán revolted 8 and the Amir Mas'úd nominated a general of the Hindus named Náhir 9 to oppose him. Ahmad being overcome in battle fled to Mangárah 10 in Sind 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 (K) II. ii. 177-179.
3 Sári or Sáriyín in Tabaristán (according to al-Lubád in Mázindarán.)
4 Lit. had coins struck and the Khutbah read in his own name.
5 MSS. (A) and (B) لفظه و بنگ.
6 Cf. Táríkh-e-Subuktigán. Elliot 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 Elliot II. 125. Biháqi says, In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the news of Ahmad Niyál Tigin having reached Lahore with the Turkománs, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore had flocked to him.
9 Biháqi says, Tilak the Hindu was sent: while Firishtá states that Mas'úd sent Múth one of the Chófs of Hind, and that upon his death in battle Tilak ibn Hussain was sent who killed Ahmad.
10 Briggs translates "Tilk the son of Jyó Sein" — and remarks upon the fact that he was an unconverted Hindu.

10 Al Mangárah in Sind: the former city of Bahmanwá, conquered and renamed by Muhammad ibn ul Qásim ibn ul Munabbih. It is situated at a distance of 20 fareakhs from Bhati, situated between the arms of the Mihráb river. (Alberuí) Almanjára. Tieffenbair, Vol. III. Map. Known later, and up to the present time as Bukkur, see Imp. Gazetteer. Also Abul Feda. II. ii. 118. Ains-A-Albaí (Jarrett) II. 287 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 Hánṣí² 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 Rám⁵ who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non-appearance. Amír Mas'úd accepted his excuses and giving the Amír⁶ Abúl-Majáhid son of Mas'úd,⁷ the drum and standard (of commission) rent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznín.

In the year 426 (1036 A.D.) he left Ghaznín 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 Haidnáqi 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 Awal. Hánṣí, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hissáir. Tiefenthaler I. 184.
³ Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress. Tiefenthaler I. 133. It lies North of Delhi. MSS. (A and B). read قلعةً سنت
⁴ Denial
⁵ Pirshá's account is almost identical here.
⁶ Pirshá writes فرزند خرمشیر دلیل جاسوسیه ورد! His son Abúl Majáhid. See also Haverty p. 95, note 7. In the text we should read إبل سهاف بن مسعود.
⁷ Here I follow MS. (B). The readings of the MSS. vary here very considerably. MS. (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان ازب جنسون (کشته تهیه ماروا النور را منصرف شده و دان اورتکم تل تغییب ده و اصولخیسر یاز قبل ازین شکست داده و دلیجش یاد جمعت قسم بل اب نمرد). MS. (B) reads (سلطان ازب جنسون کشته تهیه قسم بل اب نمرد)

Preference must be given to MS. (A). The copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first و نم ⁸ کلهم و نم اوله را he has gone on قسم بل نم ⁹ that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shown by the next line where he writes و دردین اینا تعددی بنواحي کورکان دراربندر. We read و دردین اینا تعددی دست تعددی بنواحي کورکان دراربندر.
crossing the Jihán occupied the whole of Transoxiana. Dáád, the Turkomán, who had previously defeated Tughdí Beg and Amir Hussain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amir Mas'úd thereupon returned from Transoxiana to Balkh and Dáád the Turkomán leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdí Beg² had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgán. When the Amir Mas'úd perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amir Mas'úd then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú³ the Turkomán 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 Herát. While on his way thither a body of the Turkománs fell upon the army of Mas'úd, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sultán 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'úd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Zíáí⁴ of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

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.

¹ See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.
² MS (A) has تُنْدِي بِه, not تُنَدِّي بْهِ.
³ Isrá'il-i-Béghú. See Raverty (Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí) p. 94, note 2, page 116, note 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqíyá dynasty. See also Ibn Khallí (Blanc) iii. 225 and regg.
⁴ Zíá-d-Dín Khajándí Al Farsí, a native of Shiráz who left Shiráz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sultán Malik Sháh Saljuqí, and died at Herát in the year 622 H. (In the Majmu'ál Fushúd from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Sháh 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 didst 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?
Begeh Malik Shah, he who by his sword made the brave
warriors to weep openly on the field of battle.
The King Nizam Din to whom at the time of his conflict
Came from the tombs of Rastum and Dëra the sound of weep-
ing.
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
splendour,
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 Wámiq and 'Azrá¹
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 Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances,
one by Mahmúd bin Aşmán, Lamál; and the other by Mu'id, a native of
Tarkhán. (D'Herbelot).
² أي لب شكريز 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. In 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 Bey of Káthir says:

Actions and properties of Saffron. Exhilarating and tonic to the senses, exciting and digestive, laxative and corrective of the impure humours of the phlegm, and preventing and preserving them from alteration and hardness. It is diuretic and constipating, aphrodisiac and strengthening to the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory...
Then Amir Mas'úd marched from Herát to Nishápur and thence to Tús¹ and a body of Turkománns giving him battle met their death, the people of Báward gave up that town to the Turkománns and the Sultán having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Nishápur.²

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughral³ 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 رَجْلُوْلْجِوْغُر gives a further account of its properties.

یمْنِع مَيْزِن الرِّجْلِیاتِ اِلَّا الْعَیْنِ بِالْطِّیْخِ وَالْکَشْقَا [یَلْیَس‌الْمَهْوَة‌] حَلَقْتِ

الْشَّمْلِیة وَالْبَیْسَة فِی الْأَوْلِی مَفْتَحٍ قَبْلَ مَنْضَفِهِ الْلُّونِ وَیَسَکْرِمُ الْشَّرَابِ

جَدًّا حَتَّی يَرَسَ وَبِمَدِّ وَیَلِمْ الْجَلَّلِ الْبُیْلَةَ وَالْلَّفْدَةَ وَالْقَنْسِ رَیْقَرِی

الْقُلُبِ وَوَدْرُ وَسَطَالْشَهَرِ وَیَلْمِعُ مِنْ الْوَجُّاقِ الْبَاطِلَةِ وَالْوَجُّاقِ الْرَّحْمِ وَیَذَمِبُ

الْخَمْارِ وَیزِیدُ نِی‌لِ الْبَاءِ وَیَرَقُقُ الْعَرَضِ الْطَّیْلَمِ

It prevents the flow of moist humours 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 debach and is a sexual tonic and caros diseases of the spleen.

Sadáfi, p. 143, says of Saffron.

وَلَا خَمِیْیة عَجَیبَیة فَی نَورِیة جَوِاتِ

اِلْوَلْدِ وَتَفْرِیقُهَا لِی تَجْدِی فِی‌مِنْ نُرُوْیة‌بَا وَالْبَسَاطَةَ مِنْ مَةَةِ وَریْبْیَنَا الْعَطْرِیة

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

¹ Tús, a district and city of Khorásán, one of the dependencies of Nishápur, distant from the city of Nishápur about 10 farsháhs.


³ MS. (B) has کُنْرَدِی‌نَا showing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindústan. A line or two lower he writes فِرْوَارِ نِبْوَد فِرْوَارِ نِبْوَد. This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

⁴ Tughral Beg. Abú Ţálib Muhammad Ibn Míkáil Ibn Saljúq Ibn Dúkák Búkánu-á-Dín Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljúqs (cf.
Turkoman who had raised a rebellion in Baward, when Tughral took to flight, Amir Mas'ud turned back and came to Sarakhe, by way of Mahnaw, and gave orders to raise the fortress of Mahnaw. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnaw, and cut off the hands and feet of many more, and then came to the direction of Zirqan, in which place the Turkomans brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultan. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghazniv, mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultan remaining alone on the field, fell several of the Turkomans leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Ramazan, 431 H. (1039 A.D.). From thence Amir Mas'ud came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last aided with him. He went to Ghazniv by way of Qhau, and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance Ali Darya and Hajib-i-Huzur, and Beg Tughri, to Hindustan and imprisoned them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amir Mas'ud now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkomans to punish them. With this intention he made Amir Maudud seventh Amir of

1 Sarakhe or Sarkhe (Maynard, Dict. de In Perse, 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kaikaran, a city situated between Nishapur and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda, II. ii. 198.

2 Mahnaw. Thrisheta says also, Mahtaka but A'da is undoubtedly the right reading. In Parman this name is spelt, مهنة. Mahnana, an small town of the district of Khobar, between Abyward and Sarakhe. See Maynard, Dict. de In Perse, 588.

3 Zirqan 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 Daudkhan, a town in the vicinity of Herat, of Beverly, p. 94, note 6. Also Abul Feda, II. ii. 197. Maynard, p. 233. It seems to me most probable that we should read Zirnak, though all MSS. give Zirnak. Zandkhana, Zirnak Khan, is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsakh from Sarakhe (Maynard, 233).

4 Abul Feda, II. ii. 201. A province lying between Herat, Kordvan and Gurjatan.

5 Thrisheta, حسین بن عبد الله, Hajib Shihani.

6 Us. (D). Daulat Maudud his eldest son. Compare the account given by Thrisheta.
Balkh, and having appointed Muhammed ibn Abduł Samad as his Wazir despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amir Muhammad with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multán, and sent the Amir of that district to the foot of the hills of Ghaznín to restrain the Afgāns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Maḥmūd’s treasures which were stored in Ghaznín and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustán, and despatched messengers en route to bring his brother Amir Muhammed who had been blinded and was then confined in the fortress of Bazghand. When Sultan Mas’ūd arrived at the frontier fort of Márikala, his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amir Muhammed arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed perforce, approached the Amir Muhammed, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultan 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 Márikala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kûrī till at last in Jamādiul-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

1 Firishta says میرب جدود Amīr Majdūd—the second son of Mas’ūd. MS. (A) has اخیر جدود Amīr Maḥdūd, which should in all probability be read جدود 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 Izad Yār was Mas’ūd’s fifth son. Both MSS. however have ایام دیارا

3 See page 21.

4 MSS. (A) and (B) برزنگ

5 باخت Dozy quoting from de Sane gives casernes fortifiées qu’on construisait sur les frontières de l’empire as the meaning of

6 Márikala. Firishta says Márikala which according to some is on the Jhelam river which in those days was called the Behāt. Raverty in his note 4, page 93 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Hāval Pindī and Attock—See Elliot II. 273, note 2.

7 MS. (A) ایاب تحدی از بش MS. (B) ایاب تحدی از بش In the text read ایاب تحدی از بش For Cf. Firishta غلامان دانستند که ایاب تحدی از بش. Cf. Firishta کیزی Cf. Raverty 135 (6). MS. (B) MS. (A) کیزی

8 Firishta reads Kûrī. Cf. Raverty 135 (6). MS. (B) MS. (A) See Elliot II. 273, note 3.
message purporting to emanate verbally from Amir Muhammad ordering him to kill Amir Mas'ud and to send his head to him. The Kotwal in obedience to this order severed Mas'ud's head from his body and sent it to Amir Muhammad.

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 30
underneath his head (in the grave).

This story is according to the relation of Nizami, but the Qazi Baizawi relates that in the year 432 Mas'ud fled defeated from before the Seljuqs to Ghaznin, and Amir Muhammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'ud's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Ahmad ibn Muhammad followed him and murdered him. The Government of Sultan Mas'ud ibn Mahmud lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qazi Baizawi (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H. as the date of the death of Mas'ud, and writes that Muhammad ibn Mahmud reigned in Ghaznin 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

1 Nizam ud-Din Ahmad, author of the Tabaqat-i-Akbart; Elliott, v. 177. Died 1008 H.
2 Baizawi's account is as follows:
Mas'ud after his arrival at Ghaznin sent Yusuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljuqs crossed the Jissn and invaded Khorasan. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A.H. 432, he returned to Ghaznin where his brother Muhammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Ahmad, the son of Muhammad, 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 Mas'ud. Mahmud died in 421 A.H. Mas'ud was murdered on the 11th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 433 H. (Bavery, pp. 95-6.)
Muhammad was put to death by Mahmud in revenge for his father's murder in the year 431 H. Mahmud reigned seven years and died in 441 H. (1049 A.D.)
the time of Sultan Mas'ud is Manuchehri who speaks as follows in a qasidah concerning his Wazir.

Couplet.

Shah Mas'ud is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwan the upright.

Sultan Maudud ibn Mas'ud ibn Mahmod,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his father in Bamian) with the consent of the Wazirs and Amir, and with the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards Mari galah, but Abu Nasr Ahmad ibn Muhammed ibn Abdullah Samad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to Ghaznin, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his uncle the blind Amir Muhammed. On arriving at Dipur he engaged in a severe battle with the Amir Muhammed and thus passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their positions. The next day Sultan Maudud induced the Amir Saiyyid Mansur who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amir Muhammed to side with him, and engaging in battle took prisoners the Amir Muhammed and his son Ahmad and put them all to death. The Amir Maudud founded there a city which he

4 Manuchehri Damaqanli. Hakim Abu'numa Ahmad, a pupil of the poet 'Unani, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called شمع record because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma'ul-Fasa'il).

5 Naushirwan. Chosroes I son of Kobad, one of the Sassanidae dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A.D. to 579 A.D. (See Dict G and R B, p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muhammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A.D (Causerin de Perceval I 233). Muhammed 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 Bamian. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznin, 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 خنک بدن Suri bud, the Red idol, and خنک بدن king bud, the White idol." Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feis II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghaznin. The district in which Ghaznin and Kabad are situated.

2 Text has Dipur (MS. A Dinur). For the locality of Ghaznin Hovrity 96, note 2. The name is in all likeliness Dinur as in Balkh that
named Fathabad. This victory was gained in the month Shaban of the year 432 H., or according to another account in the year 434 H. And in the year 433 H. being angry with Khwaja Ahmad ibn Abdus Samad he imprisoned him in Ghaznin where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abu Naser Muhammad bin Ahmad towards Hindustan to fight with Namni ibn Muhammad, and Namni was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H. Artaxias at the order of the Sultan proceeded with an army to Tabaristan against Daud the Turkomán, 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 Maudud. Afterwards when the Turkomans attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghaznin. Then in the year 435 H. Amir Maudud imprisoned Abu Ali the Kotwal of Ghaznin for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Diwan of the kingdom and Kotwal of Ghaznin, and imprisoned Yasuri ibn Iyamghur the Diwan, till at length he died in confinement. He also punished Altipin and in the year 436 H. Khwaja Tabir who had succeeded Khwaja Ahmad as Wazir, died, and was succeeded by Khwaja Imam Abul Fath 'Abdur Razzag. In this same year he sent Tughral Hajib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abu Mansur Zangi, the brother of Abul Faizl and brought him to Ghaznin, he then departed for Sisiran and having

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1 Bayruti, Hist, note 2.
2 The latter date must be the correct one as Manud was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 43.
3 The Tarikh-i-Mas'ul, however, writes as follows —

و امیر صرود دیرن شیبان که شام ملك خاتمه بغریبیل [1435] دندار

ام و چنگ کورد و عزم را بفروم با پسرانش وکسانی که با ان پادشاه یار

بودنده شگان و بکش.

4 Firshah describes him as ول اصل سیده شکریه the son of the Blind Muhamed.
5 See note 1, p. 33.
6 Altipin Hajib.
7 Grandson of Imran Maimandi.
8 Firshah says also Zangi. Briggs in his translation has said "Oshukuy."
engaged in conflict with the Turkomans at the Ribat Amir, put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sir, where he put to death the Turkomans of that district who were known as Red-caps and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznîn.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takínábîd who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Ali bin Rabî 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 Ghaznîn. In the year 439 H. the Amir Qazdâr raised a rebellion and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájîb Buzurg Bártagín and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abú Qâsim Mahmûd and Mansûr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshûr and he sent Abû Ali Hasan Kotwâl of Ghaznîn to Hindustân to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznîn after having done good service Maudûd made him over to Mirak ibn Hasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mirak ibn Hasan the Vâkil who had murdered Abû 'Ali Hasan without the orders of Amir Maudûd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

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1 Firûshâ, Ribât Amir, Long. 105, Lat 54, Ain-i-Abâbît (J.) iii. 69. Both MSS. have ریاضت امیر.

2 Firûshâ also says مسرح کاله and does not mention the word though Brîgga translates "called Kuzîl Bâsh, owing to their wearing red caps" Brîgga, Vol. I., p. 121. Qâzîl Red in Turkish باش Bâsh. Head is Turki.

3 In one copy we find the following so we should read here بقیه قصد وزرید إمیر تکردار اطغیان. 4 According to Firûshâ MS. (A) reads بایتّیین, MS. (B) reads باشیین, Brîgga says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khâozdâr, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Firûshâ we find these words: ورزدّار جیلک کرده شکست. یافت which looks as if if Amir Qazdâr was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bist, and is the present Khâozdâr of our maps the capital of Jhâlawn in Bishiáltân."

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

4 Parshûr, the modern Peshâwîr, called originally Pârsâwârâ, Cuan. Anc. Geog. of India, p. 78.
proceed to Kabul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amir Maudūd reached the fortress of Sialkot he was attacked with colic and was forced to return to Ghaznī, and ordered Mirak to release Abū Ali Kotwāl. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amir Maudūd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A. H 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The Lubbi-t-Tawāriḥ states that Sultan Maudūd asked in marriage the daughter of Chungiz Beg Saljūqi, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'ūd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khurāsān to visit Chungiz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

1 Tūshita writes Sānkot. Both MSS read very plainly written.
2 Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term Qulinj of which there are stated by Sadīdī to be five varieties. Of Sadīdī Art.

i True or spasmodic colic.

ii Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of or mucus in the cecum or colon.

iii Flatulent colic

iv An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighouring parts such as the liver and kidneys

v Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine. Vortulns.

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

Defining the Colon the author says: 

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

8 Lubbi-t-Tawāriḥ, "The marrow of History." The author was Yahyā ibn Abūl Lahif Quazwini who composed it in 1641 A.D.

He died 15 Dec 1552. See H K. Lubbi-t-Tawāriḥ also Elliott, Vol. iv p. 263.

4 Jaghar Beg. See Raverty Thaqaqt-i-Ndirīs p. 97, note 8-4.

MS (A) Chaghar Beg MS (B) Chaghar Beg.
Sultan Mas'ud ibn Maudûd ibn Mas'ud ibn Mahmûd.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Ali ibn Rabî', 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 Mahmûd.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzâq ibn Ahmad Maimandi who had been sent by the Amir Maudûd towards Seistan arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfârâr,² and learned that Abdu-r-Rashid ibn Mahmûd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amir Maudûd, 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 Mahmûd.

Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzâq proceeded to Ghaznin. 'Ali ibn Mas'ûd died without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hâjib who was one of the household slaves of Sultan Mahmûd having conquered Seistan turned his steps towards Ghaznin. Amir 'Abdur-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 Mahmûd to death and married the daughter of Mansûd 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 Firîshtâ differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudûd 'Ali ibn Rabî' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'ûd the son of Maudûd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghaznin; this arrangement was opposed by Bâshîtûn Hâjib who fought with 'Ali ibn Rabî' whereupon the whole populace of Ghaznin rose in arms, and eventually Bâshîtûn Hâjib succeeded in deposing Mas'ûd ibn Maudûd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Hasan 'Ali to the throne. Compare also: Tabaqât-i-Nâşiri (Raverty, p. 97 and footnote).
² Tâbriz.
³ MSS. (A) (B) Firîshtâ says Isfârâr which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapur, see Meynard, p. 23. (Abul Feda II. ii. 183).
⁴ Nine people in all. (Firîshtâ).
but in the Nizam-u-Taswīrī, his reign is said to have lasted for seven years, and in the Lubbu-u-Taswīrī, his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H. God knows the truth.

**Sultan Farrukh Zād ibn Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd.**

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljuqs came up against Ghaznin, and Farrukh Zād put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghaznin. Alp Arsalān the Saljuq king brought an army against Ghaznin from Irāq and Khorasan, and being victorious in sight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghaznin to Khorasan. Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both sides obtained their release, and since Zābulistān had been laid waste the Sultan 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. The period of his reign was six years.

**Saṭṭīḍūs-Salāṭīn ʿIbrahīm ibn ʿAbdūr ibn ʿAbd al-Māmūd.**

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 Saljuqs 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." Tāhāqāt-i-Nāsirī says two and a half years.

2 Alp Arsalān son of Dād, son of Mikāl son of Saljuq was the second Sultan of the family and dynasty of the Saljuqs. He succeeded his uncle Tughrul Beg in 435 A.H. (1043 A.D.) He was born in 421 A.H. and was murdered 436 A.H. and was buried at Mav.

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

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

3 Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammām.
From one city \(^1\) 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, \(^2\) and sent them to Ghaznín, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Kháirábád, and Imánábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátin and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wáli. \(^3\) In his reign in Ghaznín, 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., \(^4\) after a reign of thirty years. Qází Baízáví says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. Mástúd Sa’d Salmán\(^5\) flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

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

2 كه إفراتيباز سر كشي

3 إهشان بيش كکماده باران وفرزند نز ولايت خراسان اخراج كورد باندوسان

4 فرساده ...

5 وک خیر اهشن اکخراج كوده —

In our author’s text we read the Tabaqát Albar Sháhí are almost identical with those quoted from Fírishta and some such change as the substitution of the word الفروصيباب for the words خروان اهشن which may easily have arisen from a copyist’s mistake, seems necessary in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

2 Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islam, according to Fírishta.

5 Wáli. Abúl Fáxl (Abú-l-Albár) (Jarrett) iii. 550 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.”

6 Fírishta says 492 H. or 492 H. Tábágát-Náširi 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years.

5 Mástúd Sa’d Salmán Jürjání. Known sometimes as Hamadání. The son of Khája Sa’id ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jürján who attained
Abūl Qāsim Malik Mahmūd Ibrahim ibn Mas'úd
In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his floating 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 tem-
poral and spiritual.
Mas'úd (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the ex-
panse 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 direc-
tion 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 37
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 Mahmúd and Sulayn Ibrahim of Ghazni but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nás, owing to the
spiteful rancour of Abul Faraj Rúm. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'úd ibn Mahmúd. He was however again made prisoner for some years
and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghazni
where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts
from his various poems in the Majma'ul Fúsahá, Vol. I. pp. 514 and seqq.
See also Beale (O B D p. 173.) and Afnshada-i-Sūr, 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-
quost
When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abúl Faráj Rùnî¹ too was eulogist of Súltán Ibrahim, and also the panegyrist of Súltán Mas'úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Diwán, and Rùnî² 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 qíyaż in praise of Súltán Ibrahim is by the Ustád Abúl Faráj.

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'd 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 'en years, he wrote this rubá'í (quatrain) in prison.³

¹ Abúl Faráj Rùnî, a celebrated poet. The name Rùnî is from the village of Rùna (ا.د) in Nisápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Súltán Ibrahim, and we learn from Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jarjáni that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Náhí by the column of Abúl Faráj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abúl Faráj lived for some time at Lahore, so that he is known to a few as "Lahori." His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwári. A Diwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma'ul Fuṣáḥí L. 70). See also Alásh-ad-dár, pp. 137, 138.
² Rùnî (O B D, p. 15) says that he came from "Rùn a place near Lahore." It would appear from the text above that Badí'í attributed his name of Rùnî to his connection with the village of Rùnî. The author of the Majma'ul Fuṣáḥí 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 672 H, by Mánmúd ibn Ibrahim in the fortress of Náhí. (Majma'ul Fuṣáḥí loc. cit.). See note 3, page 52.
For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Shah is necessary
So that thy fetter may chase the foot of monarchs.¹
That one who springs from the loins of Sa'd Salmar
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 Divânes by him in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

'Alâ'-d-Dîn Mas'ûd ibn Ibrahim ibn Sultan Mas'ûd,

Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year 508 H. (1114 A. D.), having reigned seventeen years.

Sultan Sherzad ibn Mas'ûd ibn Ibrahim.²

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year.
His brother Arsalân Shah revolted against him and killed him in the year 509 H. (1115 A. D.)

Sultan Arsalân Shah ibn Mas'ûd ibn Ibrahim,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole of his brothers with the exception of Bahrâm Shah who fled and went to Sultan Sinjar³ who was the son of his maternal uncle.⁴

In spite of all the apologies for Bahrâm Shah which Sultan Sinjar

¹ بند نو پایی تا جدایی شایست.
² Cf. Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nâsirî, page 107, note 7. Firouzâbâd also mentions the accession of Kamâlu-d-Daulah Sherzâd, and calls the preceding monarch Alâ'-d-Daulah also Elliott II. 278.
³ Sultan Sinjar Manzûzadân Abûl Hâris Sinjar was the third son of Sultan Malik Shah and the last of the Saljuq dynasty in Khurasân. He was born A. H. 479 (1086 A. D.) in the environs of Sinjar and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name. See I. K. (Blasi) I. 600. He governed the province of Khurasân for 20 years. He died in 552 A. H., at Merv of a "colique compliquée avec un derouement." D'Herbelot.
⁴ See also Beato (O.B.D., p. 235).
⁵ The sister of Sultan Sinjar called "Mahâd-i-'Irâq" was married to 'Alâ'-d-Dîn Mas'ûd father of Sultan Arsalân Shah. Cf. Raverty Tabaqat-i-Nâsirî, p. 107, note 6.
made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sultán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh retraced his steps. Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámíán and with the assistance of Sultán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.¹

Sultán Bahrám Sháh ibn Maš'úd ibn Ibráhím

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanái² was his panegyrist. Kalilah Dámmáh 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 Sháh 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 Ḥabaqát-i-
Nasrī says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firuzí says three years. Baizáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D’Herbelot).
² Abá Muhammad ibn Abú Dáwúd, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1129 (H. K.)
A celebrated poet, author of the Hadíqat-ul-Haqíqat, a Persian poem commonly known as Fákhír-ñámáh. Among his other works were:

طريق للتحقيق - عشق إله - صور العبادة إلى البعد - كارنامه بلاغ - مثل نامة

According to Majma’u-l-Faruqá (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1 p. 35.
³ Ashrafu-l-Din Hasan ibn Náširu-l-Alawi, died 565 H. Majma’u-l-Faruqá 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
Thou young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth
parrots, (poets).

And the Ḥadīqat-ı-Haqīqat\(^1\) of Shaikh Sanáí is written in
honour of Bahrám Sháh, it was written during his imprison-
ment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznévide fan-
ticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having
reached the capital of Baghdád received the impræsor 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 Ḥadīqat, 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, Muhammad, 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\(^2\)
which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

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\(^1\) The work mentioned in note 2 page 58. Its full title is Ḥadīqat-ı-
Haqīqat, see Sharaf-ı-Ṭarīqat (horius veritatis et lexis), and it treated
among other subjects of the Imáms Abú Hásẹ and Sháh, the founders
respectively of the Hanifite and Sháhí sects of Sunná.

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\(^2\) کی بیان پر یاد می گریں ؟، وہ میں ایج اسی جان شہر حیدریہ.

No one would go under the shadow of the owl, even if the Humá were
extinct from the world. See Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs, p. 227. The lea
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 Islam, and the just king Bahram Sháh ibn Mas’úd Sháh ibn Íbrahim 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 Michael 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

Humb, 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.

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

2 Expunge from line 6 and read جبريل وميكل إز .

3 By this tree is meant the lotus tree of Paradise .

4 Cf. Qurán II. 90-95.

5 Bâyazid Antári also called Pir Roshan, founder of a Sáfi sect, called the Rosháníyyah or enlightened. Beale (O.B.D., p. 70).

A good account of him will be found in The Emperor Akbar by Beveridge, Vol. II. pp. 189 and, segg.
Shibîl: 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 he 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 Alî-Mârîn 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 'Alî, 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 Siddîq 2 and Fârûq 3 and Zâ' Nûrân 4 on the ground of descent and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muḥâmmad Muṣṭafâ, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, with reference to the vices of the Alî-Mârîn and the virtues of the Alî-Muḥâmmad Muṣṭafâ, 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 Dola' Ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) Ibn Yûnus (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surname An-Shibîl, a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Baghda'd, but his family belonged to Khursân. This highly respected Shi'a followed the doctrines of the sect of Mâlik and had for masters Al-Juna'id and the other holy men of that epoch. An-Shibîl died at Baghda'd, A.H. 334 (A.D. 946), and was interred in the cemetery of Al-Qaizân. He was born at Surra-man-Râ (Samârâ'a on the Eastern bank of the Tigris). Shibîl means belonging to Shibla a village in the dependencies of Orlsa'm, a large town beyond Samârâ'a on the Tigris. 1 See also regarding Samârâ'a J. R. A. S. 1895 p. 36.

2 "The faithful." The title given by Muhammad himself to the first Khalîfeh Abû Bakr, who reigned two years and died A.D. 634 (A.H. 13).

3 The second Khalîfeh 'Umar, A.H. 13 to A.H. 23. Called Fârûq or "the Discerner" as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islam.

4 Ummân. The third Khalîfeh, A.H. 23 to A.H. 35. Called Zû-Nûrân "the possessor of the two lights" because he married two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqayyâ and Ummu Kulaym.

The above three Khalîfehs, the first three successors to Muhammad according to the Sunni Muslims, are rejected by the Shi'a who assert that 'Alî was the first legitimate successor, the others having been usurpers.
and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and his verse is from the Hadīgat.

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

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

Mas'ūd Sād Salman wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahram Shāh,

Bahram Shāh 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 humā.3

2 Cf. 'Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī', Roverty p 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saliyides whom he took prisoner from Ghaznīn, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firuz Koh.
3 The humā is according to the Ghāna'i-Lughāt "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 Sháh ibn Bahram Sháh.**

seconded the throne after his father, and 'Aláu-d-Din Husain
ibn Hasán Ghori came up against him. Khusrau Sháh fled and
came to Tahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hind-
ustán, and when 'Aláu-d-Din, as has been related, returned from
Ghazni, successful, he went back and recaptured that country,
and after that the tribe of Ghuzz seized Sultán Sinjar he turned
towards Ghazni. Khusrau Sháh 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 as in text.
2 MS. (A) not as in text.
3 MS. (A) reads.
4 The text has but the MSS. A. and B. have which is the correct reading. 'Aláu-d-Din Hasán Ghori Jahánseoz, the first of the
kings of Ghir.

A tribe of Turks. They took Sinjar prisoner in 658 H. From them sprung the Seljuk dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu-d-Din Tughrul Beg.
Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tus in the year 429 A. H., when under the leadership of Tughrul Beg and
Daul they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'ud ibn Mahmúd.
Raavaging Armenia, they entered Diárbakir 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 Nasbin, and thence passing through Armenia returned to
Azerbaijan.

*G. D'Herbelot, *Gez.* who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz
tenth son of Japhet son of Noah; from Bulgar, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang
the Bulgarians and from Perthes 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 one of the kind called *Tarji'band* and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusru Sháh who with ease
Conquers with sword and mace from Hindústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qáhí Baizáwí and others it has been written that when ‘Alád-d-Dín plundered Gharmsh and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghíyásu-d-Dín Abúl-fath Muhammad and Shihábú-d-Dín Abúl Mázárír who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusru Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusru Sháh was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznévides family came to an end. After a time Ghíyásu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábú-d-Dín, but since Khwája Nizámú-d-Dín Ahmad deceased, has written in the *Tarikh-i-Nízámí* copying from the *Rauzatu-s-Sáfí* that Khusru Malik ibn Khusru Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.

**Khusru Malik ibn Khusru Sháh.**

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

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1 The *Tarji'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 *Am-r-Akbár* (Jarrett) iii. 341. See also Elliott II. 258.
3 The *Rauzatu-s-Sáfí* however states that Khusru Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Gháznín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusru Malik.
4 The account in the text is that given by Baizáwí and other reliable authorities.
5 Cf. Raverty op. cit., p. 112 note 5.

Baizáwí states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusru Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Tabaqát-i-Akbár*, but its author called it *Tabaqát-i-Akbar-Sháh*, and Badhíni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Tarikh-i-Nízámí*. 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 Ghaznavidah was growing old
while that of Ghori was in full vigour, accordingly Sultan
Mu'izzu-Ad-Din Muhammad Sam, who is well-known under the
title of Sultan Shihabu-Ad-Din Ghor, having gained the upper hand
and making Ghaznī his capital, brought an army against Hindu-
dostān and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore.
Khurān Malīk fortified himself there and was compelled to ask
for quarter in a personal interview. Sultan Mu'izzu-Ad-Din Mu-
hammad Sam took him to Ghaznī, from thence sending him to
Sultan Ghiyāshu-Ad-Din, who imprisoned him in Fīroz Koh 1
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 Ghaznavide dynasty
came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those
of the Sultans of Ghor. "Thou givest the kingdom to whom
thou seest fit." 2

HEMISTIC.

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

And Qādī Baizawi may God's mercy be upon him states that

Khvāja Nizamu-Ad-Din Ahmad was the son of Khwāja
Muqīm Harawī Dīvān of the household to Bābar, he subsequently served
under Akbar. (Elliot Y. 177 et seq.) The real facts are that the son
Khurān Malīk succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H) (1187 A.D.), as
is stated by our author.

1 The Ḳurduq-Ad-Dinī states that Khurān Malīk was imprisoned in the
fortress of Balawān in Ghurjīstān. Purūsh Koh was the capital. The story
of the treachery by which Shihabu-Ad-Din Ghor took Khurān Malīk prisoner
is told by Farukhī.

See also page 44 where the author states that Ghiyāshu-Ad-Din imprisoned
Khurān Shāh in one of the fortresses of Ghurjīstān where he died a prisoner.

2 Qurān III. 25, 26. Al-lāhī li-Allāh al Mulūk tuqī Allāh min nasir wa-rawm al-Mulkī, "Say O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to
whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou
pleasest."
the duration of the Ghaznevide dynasty from Sultán Mahmud to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qáżí Yahyá 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 Tariqí-i-Nizámí, 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 Ghorí who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad ibn Sám.

SULTÁN MUIZZU-D-DÍN MUHAMMAD IBN SÁM GHIRÍ.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and ʿIráq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghaznín, had the khulába read and the currency struck in his own name, and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindútán 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 Tariqí-i-Nizámí is the nearest The actual duration of the Ghaznevide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 563 A. H. (1167 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Baizéwi arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Mábúd in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve Lings reigned.

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

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznevide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.
² Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyásu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Aláu-d-Dín Husán Jahaní.
³ As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyásu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative ٍأَكْبَرُ “The greatest” is applied to Ghiyásu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled ٍأَكْبَرُ “Great” (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli, p 13).
In brief, Sultan Ghiaṣu-d-Din, when he had seized Tabrīz, which was one of the dependencies of Garmsir and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultan Shahāb-ud-Din, used continually to bring up armies against Ghazvin, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultan Ghiaṣu-d-Din brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghazvin the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sultan Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhāmmad, the title of Sultan Shīhāb-ud-Din.  The title of Sultan Shīhāb-ud-Din after one year of sovereignty as viceregent

Tabānābād which was one of the chief cities of Garmsir: Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, p. 115, line 9, (Cal. Edn.), see Aṣ-ṣAḥārīr (J.) iii. 68, also Elliott, II. 292, 293.

The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy, as there are found those who assert that the title Shīhāb-ud-Din is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu-d-Din, popularly known as Mūhammad Ghori. (see Rauvrt's Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, p. 146 note 5). It is true that the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī states that Muizzu-d-Din was originally called Zangī, while Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn was called Ḥabshī—both of them being called Mūhammad. He goes on to say that prior to Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn's accession to the throne, Ghōr he was called Shamsu-d-Dīn and that Muizzu-d-Dīn was called Shīhāb-ud-Dīn. The actual statement is

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn and the title of his brother had been Shīhāb-ud-Dīn. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultan Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn." From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī 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 Sultan.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shīhāb-ud-Dīn" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Mūhammad Ghori, as is the name "Mūizzu-d-Dīn," and Bādānī evidently hold this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shīhāb-ud-Dīn."

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 Sultan Al-Muazzzam (or Al-A'zam) Muizzu-d-Dunya wa Din Abū-l-Muṣaffar Mūhammad ibn Sām.

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 Kardiz¹ and in the year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhati² tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh,³ and having entrusted that country to Ali Kirmáj⁴ returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán ⁵ he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat at the hands of Ráí 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 Khusran 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 Shihábud-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Siálkot⁷ and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H. he brought an army against Diwál by which is meant

¹ Kardiz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yaqút. Or Gardasz, the name of a large "dak of the Tájiks, Tabaqát-i-Náṣírī Ráverty, p. 449, note 9.
² MSS. (A and B) agree with the text جماعة بمنيا For a full account of this from Fírishta with a comparison of other translations, see Ráverty, p. 453, note 2. Ráverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzud-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bhátin a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and A or. The Rájá referred to according to the Mirát-i-Jáhán-Numá was chief of the Bhati tribe. See Ráverty Tabaqát-i-Náṣírī 451, note 2 last paragraph See Elliott, Vol. I. p 61.
⁴ According to Tissenchaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tiess. I 118.
⁵ So also Fírishta علی كرمی on though Briggs translates Ali Kirmáj.
⁶ In the text بلال ملکان Fírishta says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."
⁷ Uchh is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers, Tiessenchaler. Ut chateau très fort bâti par Mahmoud
Tattah and having thrown into confusion the cities on the seashore 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 Siátkot retraced his steps, and from Tárikh-i-Nizámi which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Siátkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the Mubáraksháhí from which we learn that the building of Siátkot 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 Khákhrs and other tribes, besieged the fort of Siátkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Din again besieged Khusrau Sháh in Lahore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasmavi... La petite rivière d’Ayak coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant.” Firishta states that Muizzu-d-Din founded the fort of Siátkot which lies between the Chenáb and Rávi and left Husain Kharmil as governor, in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.)

1 Cf. Raverty 452 note 2. See also Tiefenthaler, I. 121. Tatta est tres ancienno... on la nomme anjourd’hui Dobil.... Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karáchí. See Abul Feda, (Reinaud) I. ccclxxvi.

The position of Debal. Judging by the map given in Tiefenthaler Debal lay between Karáchí and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karáchí 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 Mohrán (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 Láí 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 Batúta, 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 Khákhrs. This seems to be the same tribe as the Gákkhrs, cf. Alau-Ákbarí (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 Sultan who conveyed him to Ghaznin and sent him to his brother Sultan Chiyasu-d-Din at Piroza Koh. Chiyasu-d-Din imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistan, 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.

Qita’ii

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 bud 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.
Strangely 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 Sharat draws the foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.
And in this year Sultan Muizza-d-Din left Ali Kirmaj\(^1\) who was governor of Multan, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H. coming from Ghaznī he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah\(^2\) which was the capital of the great rajas of Hindustan, and left Malik Ziau-d-Din Tukili\(^3\) with a corps d'elite consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rai Pathurá the Governor of Ajmir, and Khandi Rai his brother who had been Governor of Delhi before Pathurá, arrived with a vast army at a place called Taráyan\(^4\) on the banks of the river Sarasati at a distance of seven krohs\(^5\) from Thanesar. It is now known by the name of Tarawari\(^*\) and is distant forty krohs\(^5\) from Delhi. A great conflict ensued with the Sultan and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultan evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandi Rai who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear-thrust in his mouth from the band of the Sultan. The Sultan also was struck on the head by the Rai's spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. The Sultan got off his horse and taking up his son Khilji upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field; the Sultan proceeded to Ghaznī, and Rai Pathurá took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Ziau-d-Din Tukili on pacificable terms after a


\(^2\) Both MSS. A and B have 457 note 2. Jarrett (Afl-i-Albārī trans., III, 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah, and Raverty (Tubaqat-i-Naṣirī p 457 note 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Brahndah apparently relying on the Lubbh-i-Tawārīkh-i-Hind. From Rennell's map in Tiefenthaler 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 Bikānīr and Jhunjanū in Rajputānā, that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmir.

See also Raverty 458, note 3.

\(^3\) Malik Ziyān-d-Dīn Tulakī, (Tubaqat-i-Näṣirī) Raverty p 457 note 3.

\(^4\) MSS. (A) and (B) read Tīrān. See Raverty; Tubaqat-i-Näṣirī 459 note 7. Tiefenthaler mentions this place calling it Karvūn, but it is not to be found in the map he gives, see Vol. I. p 155.

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p. 327), S. E. of Thanesar.

\(^5\) The स्त्रीकर्मā Skt. महिला, is equivalent to about two miles.

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultán again came into Hindustán 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 Khandí Ráí having been overcome in battle was killed and hastened to his resting-place in Hell. The Sultán then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsuti 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 Ḥazrat Khwájá Muínu-d-Din Chishti2 may God sanctify his heart, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy meu 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 Sultán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultán Malik Qutbú-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son, and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy kroh from Dehlí, he invaded and plundered the Síwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Qutbú-d-Dín having captured Dehlí took it away from the kingsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Ráí. Then in the year 589 H. (1193 A. D.) Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Ráí Jai Chand the governor of Qanaúj, on the confines of Chandwár3 and Atáwah,4 killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol5 fell into the hands of Qutbú-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehlí his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehlí once more became the metropolis of the Sultáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

1 The country south of the Himalaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).

2 Khwájá Muínu-d-Dín Hasan Chishti was the son of Chíráu-d-Dín Hasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijjástán.

He died in A. H. 633 and is buried near Ajmir.

3 Tieffenbüler I. 168 mentions Atáwá and Qanaúj as belonging to the Sarkár of Agra. (See Raverty (Tubaqát-i-Násir) also p. 470 note 1).

4 Col-villé manie d'une fortresse qu'on appelle Sábeighar et Raunghar. Tieff. I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra.
Commenced in the reign of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Altamash in the year 606 H., as will be related, if God (may He be exalted) will it, in its own place. And in the year 591 H., he took the fort of Bhangar and Badoun. And in the year 593 H. he conquered Gujarât and took his army to Nahrwâlâ which is known as Pattan, and having taken vengeance for the Sultan on Bhim Rai Dev, and having taken much spoil returned; and in that year Sultan Ghiyâqu-d-Din removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode, and Sultan Muizzu-d-Din having heard this news when on the confines of Tüs and Sarakhs turned towards Bâdghis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred came to Ghaznîn and brought an army against Khwârazm, and on the first occasion Sultan Muhammad Khwârazm Shâh suffered defeat, and the Sultan pursued him and fought the Khwarazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jâlûn, and a number of the noted generals of Ghur were martyred and he could not take Khwârazm; he also fought a great battle with an army of Khitâ towards Khwarazm, and who had come to the help of Sultan Muhammad, on the banks of the river Jâlûn—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andkhûd where he entrenched himself, and

1 Sultan Ul-Munnâm Shamsu-d-Dûnây wa'n-d-Dîn Abûl Mu'azzâr, Iyâl Tíâsh the 1st of the Shamsiyah Sultâns. See Raverty 597 note 4.
2 Ms. (A) Thânâr, but it should be apparently, as in Tiefenthaler and Bârghar described as "un fort triangulaire, construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indon nommé Hârâram ... Bârghar est à 20 milles d'Aûnâa à 40 de Bârûl et à 8 de la rivière ultérieure du Gange.
Budion, "ville ancienne ... elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des raisons ... Lîlû est à 20 milles de Bârûl, à 10 d'Aûnâa et à 5 de Bârghar.
Budion was the birthplace of the famous Nizâm-d-Dîn Aulîya, called "Ali Bâkhûs" or the contorversialist, and "Madul-shûkân" the assembly-router.
5 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N.W. Teff. I 333. See also Bayley, Hist of Gujarat 25 &c Abul Feda (Reinaud) II ii. 117.
6 See Raverty (Tâbâqût-i-Nâsirî) 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 5.
7 The details of this partition are given in the Tâbâqût-i-Nâsirî (Rav. p. 472.)
8 Sultan Muhammad Khwârazm Shâh applied to Gûrkhân of Qarâ Khitâ for an alliance. See Raverty (Tâbâqût-i-Nâsirî) 473 note 2.
having asked for quarter returned to Ghaznī; and at that time the tribe of the Khūkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultan accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Qutbū-d-Dīn Aibak from Dehli, and having given the Khūkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznī, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyak, a village of the dependencies of Ghaznī, at the hands of Khūkhar bandits—the following gītāḥ has been written to chronicle this event:

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihābu-d-Dīn,
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,
On the third day from the first of Shaʿbān, in the year 602,
Happened in the road to Ghaznī at the stage Damyak.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznī 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 māns of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property

Thon didst see Maizzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām, who in war
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sām and Navimīn
He obtained, like Mahmūd, from the elephants of Hindūstān
Governments of Sasān and many kingdoms of Sāmān

Footnotes:
2 For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Ravery (Tābaqat-i-Nāṣiri) 478 note 6.
3 A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznī. Its exact situation
4 In the text has it has Sitād! Pohtak.
5 No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The
6 Both Zahir and Abu'l-Hasan allocate the man to one of the learned men of that period.
7 The Tabriz mān must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the
8 The name of Hindūstān varies from 40 to 80 lbs. (Ravery).
9 The Ain-i-Akbari makes no mention of the mān as a weight unit for jewels.
10 Two ser are equal to half a mān. As the ser of nāsil was nearly two pounds this
11 The 1500 māns of diamonds.
He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)
That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mams of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhru-d-Dín Rázi; may God be merciful to him who wrote the Latíf-i-Chiyási and other books in honour of his brother Sultan Ghiyásu-d-Dín Abá-i-Fath. He remained with the army of Sultan Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammed Sáim, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sultan 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 Sultan from the pulpit he said Oh! Sultan Muizzu-d-Dín, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rázi! The following qiyúl 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 Sultan certain mischief-
cors out of envy accused the Imam of having conspired with the Fidásí, and asserted that the Imam was well aware of their

1 Abú Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Hassín Ibn al-Hassán Ibn Ali al-Jaími al-Bakrí at-Tabarestání Ar-Rázi (native of Rai in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Shífít sect, he was born at Rai A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150) and died at Herát A. H. 506 (A. D. 1210). (Ibn Khallíqán). See D’Herbelot at-Rázi. See also Majma’ul Fussád I. p 374, where he is called Al-Quraishí al-Tirmízí, Ibn Khallíqán does not mention the Latíf-i-Chiyási among Ar-Rázi’s works, while on the other hand Haji Khálifa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows. “1128 El-Latif El-Chiyathuych, subtilitates Ghiyáth-CD-Díní Liber persiosis in quatro partes divisus, quaram prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiâ, tertia de ethicis quarta de precatiis sgt.”

2 The term Fidásí is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Muláhidh heretics, at whose hands Muizzu-d-Dín met his death according to the express statement of the author of the Tabaqát-i-Nápir. (See Bovervy 465 note 3). This attempt to impute Rázi in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the Jami’u-t-Tamárísí, and the Táju-l-Madísí.

See Elliot II. p. 236.
hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imam and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarī who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultan; 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.

Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Shāh Ghāzi whose sword in the world has become like the famous Zulfiqar of Alī Murtazá.

The true Sultan Muḥammad Sām; he whose love for the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafā.

1 Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī states that he held the office of Vazir, and was put to death by the Turkish Malik and Amira of Ghaznī, together with Malik Naṣīr u-d-Dīn Husain the Amīr-i-Shikār.

2 Zul Fiqār. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqān (Slano) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hārūn ar Rashīd on sending Yazīd ibn Musa'ab against Al Walīd gave him Zul Fakār the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazīd, by it you will be victorious" To this Muslim Ibn al-Walīd alludes in the following verse of a kātīda composed by him in praise of Yazīd:

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

By these last words he meant Alī the son of Abu Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it"

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishām ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khallīqān states that Zul Fiqār belonged to Al-Aṣaṣ son of Nabile, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Aṣaṣ being slain by 'Alī who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that Zul Fiqār was given to 'Alī by the Prophet." I must observe that fāqr with an a after the f is the plural of Fāqrā which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced Zul Fiqār the word fāqr is the plural of fāqr (Vertebra).

At Tabārā states that Zul fīqr came into the possession of Hārūn ar Rashīd in the following manner:

"Zul fīqr was borne by Muḥammad ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al Hasan ibn Alī ibn Abī Talib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave Zul fīqr to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dinārs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abī Talib 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 Sulaimān ibn Alī ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbās ibn Abū-al-Muṭṭalib obtained the governments of Yemen and
Another poet says:—

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

And Nâzukî Marâghâi too says in praise of him:—

Shâh Muizzu-d-Din 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 dinârs.
From him it passed to al-Mahdi the Son of Al Manṣûr (Ḫalifah from 776
A H. to 785 A.H.) from him to Mūsa al-Hādi and from Mūsa to his brother
Hārūn ar-Rashîd.”

Al 'Asmâ'î relates that he saw Hārūn ar-Rashîd at Tus wearing a sword
and that he said “Asmâ'î would you like to see Zâl fâqâr” and on Asmâ'î
expressing a wish to see it Hārūn ar-Rashîd bade him draw the sword—on
doing so he found on it eighteen faqûrs—the word faqûr 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 Zâl fâqâr 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 صریحاً 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
(Mizân).

The sun enters Gemini Taurus Aries (Spring) 21st March.
حمل ثور جوزا
Virgo Leo Cancer (Summer) 21st June.
سرطان إسرب سفبلة
Sagittarius Scorpio Libra (Autumn) 21st September.
میزان عقرب ترس
Pisces Aquarius Capricornus (Winter) 21st December.
جدی دلو حورت

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac. It was known to the
earlier Greek astronomers as ḫalâf of Virg. Georg. 1. 33.
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 Hamīd 1 of Balkh says:
Ghāzi Muizzu-d-Dīn wad-Dunyā with whom
On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious standard,

Quae locus Erigoneon inter Chelasque sequentes Panditar.

Subsequently it was called Zépōs (the yoke) by the Latins Jugari and was first formally called Libra in the Calendar of Julius Caesar. 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 Arpes (a pound) or Arpae, 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. 161, also Alm-Abbâr (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and notes. Also Albirũnī (Sachau) p. 172, 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 γραυδι to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to Ἁρπας 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 must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirũnī (Sachau (Trümner)) Vol. I. p. 219.

1 Fakhr-ud-Ulama wa Zinā-ush-Farāšt Ḩamzān-d-Dīn Umar ibn Māhmūd Balkhi, a celebrated writer whose Maqāmat called forth the praise of the poet Anwārī. 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 Majma' al Fushā' I. 197.
Verse.

When the head of a Sultan 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 chaugan at Lahore in the year 607 H., and died
And was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort
Of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of
Hindustan, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four
years a Sultan.

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 Sultan
Muizzu-d-Din reached princely power in Hindustan and Ghaznavi
And Bangala and other places, whose affairs are written in their
Proper places; among others Taju-d-Din Yalduz on the confines
Of Tarahan, otherwise known as Tarawari, having fought with
Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltamish was taken prisoner. Another
Is Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Qabacha who is also one of the slaves of
Muizzu-d-Din, and had married one of the daughters of Taju-d-
Din Yalduz; the other daughter was married to Sultan Qutbu-
Din.

1. قابل خي ساخت: Literally, emptied the mould (in which he was cast).
2. قالب though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in reality the Persian word قالب (cf. قالب) in an Arab dress.

The game of chaugan is the origin of the modern game of "polo," the game of chaugan is called in Arabic سکلاجن and is a name applied to a stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called جنگل بیر. A pony which is fit for the game of chaugan is called جنگل (Darhan-i-Qâfi).

In the Ajibu-l-Makhtuqât of Qazwini we find that the astrologers considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars as his courtiers and troops. The moon is his Vâzir and Jupiter the Qâzi. The planet is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد أكبر. The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the Hindus Somagrah, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was called Aditya, i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things. See Alibrusi (Sachan) I, 217 and seqq.

3. Who on the death of Qutbu-d-Din proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multân
According to Rârârî (530, note 6). The Tubagî-i-Nâsirî states that Niçiru-
Din Qabacha married two of the daughters of Qutbu-d-Din. (See note 4,
p. 529), (note 2, p. 533).
Din and Sultan Muizzu-d-Din during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multan. After the death of Sultan Qutbuddin, he brought the whole country from Uchh to Sarsuti and Khirgam under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Taju-d-Din who was on his way from Ghaznin, Khwaja Mu'niyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjari being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sind in which country he obtained great ascendency.

In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multan for forty days and the Sultan Nasiruddin, 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 Sultan Shamsuddin and tried the way to the next world. Another is Malik Bahauddin Tughral, when Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sâm reduced the fortress of Bahankar he entrusted the command of it to Malik Bahauddin Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhaissyana elected to reside there and used continually to

1 70 miles, south-west of Multan. For the situation of Uchh, see Gunn A. G. I., p. 212.

Tieffenbaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages of which contains the tomb of Syed Bukhari. Tieff. I. 118 In Rennell's map, Vol III. Suristy is shown as in Long 74°5 Lat. 23°6, Koran Long. 75°4 Lat. 23°4.

2 See note 1 page 74.

5 In the year 612 H. according to the Taju-l-Madsir, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to Tabaqat-i-Nasiri he was drowned while trying to escape. See Revery 542-543, notes. cf. Elliott II. 304.

4 Both MSS, but according to Tabaqat-i-Nasiri and Alli the name of the fort was Thankir or Thangir. (See however Revery 544 note 1).

5 MS (B) has Bhaissyana, MS. (A) has Bhayana. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri says "the fortress of Thankir which is in the territory of Bhayana." This fort on he built was called Sultan Kot (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri).

Tieffenbaler mentions a place which he calls Beana and says, concerning it, Beana était autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd'hui le nombre de ses habitants est fort diminué, après que le Rajaat Indou on a classé, il n'y a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Sauides, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Ali. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs du Jutpour au Sud-Ouest.

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

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

Another is Malik Muhammad Bakhtyár Ghúrí. 5 He was one of the great men of Ghúr and Garmsir, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghaznúín in the reign of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din and from thence went to Hindústán. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultán Qutbu-d-Din, and joined hands with Malik Îlusainu-d-Din Ughal Beg 6 ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpilah and Patíáli 7 were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oudh and conquered that coun-

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1 No date is given of these events.
2 Called also Muhammad Bakhtyár Khilji, the first to lead a Muslim invasion of Bengal in 696 A. H. He belonged to the Khilji tribe of Ghúr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the Afn-i-Akbár states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muhammad Bakhtyár Khilji. He destroyed the city of Nadiya (in 1203 A. D., 600 A. H.) and transferred the 'capital' to Lakhnaú. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Dehli. Afn-i-Akbár (Jarrett) II. 145.

3 He was a nephew of Muhammad son of Mahmud. (See Jubáqát-i-Náísír 649). 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. 660 note 6).

4 Maliku-Muizzam. Humainu-d-Din Ughal Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb, independently of Qutbu-d-Din.

5 See Raverty, Jubáqát-i-Náísír 660 note 6.


See the note above for a discussion of the question.

In the text *Künfílm* is evidently a copist's error for *Künfílm*. 
try, reduced Behár and Munér,¹ and having taking large booty
Sultán Qutbuz-d-Dín 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
evious 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 Lakhnautí³ in Bengal and sent him
away. In the second year after this arrangement Muhammad
Bahllyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and
arrived at the town of Núdiyā⁴ with a small force, Núdiyā
is now in ruins. Ráí Lakhmía (Lakminía⁵) the governor of that

¹ Munér ville essai distinguée située sur la rive extérieure (du Gange) à 4
milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l’embouchure du
Son (Soano) se trouve entre Munér à l’ouest et Scherpour à l’est. Le Sou
re jette dans le Gange 2 de cesse avant Munér. Tiefl. 1, 423 note (a).

² Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadí is situated on the
Pancháná river. Tischenthaler describes it thus “Une grande ville moins
peuplée aujourd’hui qu’elle ne l’a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magni-
fiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Shárafu'llhín Munírí is buried there).
Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en
ligne droite est de 17 milles.”

See Hunter Gazetteer of India.

³ On the occasion of a public audience held by Qutbuz-d-Dín in the Qasr-i-
Safed.

⁴ The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakhanmanawatí, and
possibly also Gaur. Called Jammatábad by the Emperor Humáyún. See Afn-i-
Akbar II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz., art Gaur. See also Raverty
Tabaqát-i-Nášír, 559 note 2.

⁵ Both MSS. نور يا ندیا. Also Tabaqát-i-Akbar. See Imp. Gaz. Nadiya;
Nadiya or Nabawip is on the west bank of the Bhágirathi, it was founded
by Lakhman Sen son of Ballál Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left
Gaur for Nadiya owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágirathi at Nádiyā.
The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty op cit 559 note 2.

⁶ Afn-i-Akbar II. (Jarrett) 149. Tabaqát-i-Náshir, 555.
town who had heard from astrologers the fame of Muhammad Bakhhtyar and his great power, fled thence to Kāmarān, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muhammad Bakhhtyar 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.

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 khabbāb read and the currency struck in his name, having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amir Ali Masjīd (Mich) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestān and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan. A river

1 For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see Tābqát-i-Albarī 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 Tābqát-i-Nāširi, p 556).

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

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

As to this passage see Raverty 569 note 3. See Thomas Pathán Kings of Dehli p. 37 and p. 110, and notes. It appears unlikely that Muhammad Bakhhtyar issued coins in his own name, as he was nothing more than Sipahsālār of the Sultan Muizz-d-Din Muhammad Sam; moreover no such coins are known.

4 A chief of the tribes of Kūneh and Mīj called Ali Mīj (Tābqát-i-Nāširi) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti.

5 Regarding this the Tābqát-i-Nāširi says that a chief of one of the
here crossed their route called the Brahmanputr, which they also call Brahmkadi. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges.

Shah Ghausap when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kamrúd and went on his way. Muhammad Bakhtyár 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 Lakhnauti and Tibbat the Kunach-Mij-and Tihúrú who are all of Turkish countenance (مها مَرْكَاب مهَرَة رد) 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 Muhammad Bakhtyár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Martham Kot (or Bardhan kot) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matí and when it enters the country of Hindustán 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 Tabaqát-i-Náfírī 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.

Bagdání’s statement has more prima facie probability, the statements of the Tabaqát-i-Náfírī moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhán.

It seems fairly certain from Bagdání’s account that the city of Bardhán 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 Kamrúd, where Bagdání says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) Abardín; MS (B) Abardhan.

Tabaqát-i-Nafírī says Bardhan (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has مرحدين كوب.

1 Tabaqát calls this river the Bag-Matí (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 Kamrúd, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Síl Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Todra.

2 See Raverty p. 561 note 2 and Ibn-i-Awallí III (Jarrett) 328 note 1.
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 Muhammad Bakhtyar. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muhammad Bakhtyar 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 Muhammad Bakhtyar 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. 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 Muhammad Bakhtyar 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. Muhammad Bakhtyar, 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 and used to say "no doubt Sultan Muhammad Muizz-ud-Din Sain has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him Ali Mardan one of Muhammad Bakhtyar's greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Narnali and finding him

1 Called Karpattan (Mubtasi-Nasir) see Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyar'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) See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this Narán-kos.
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 Sultan Muizzu-d-Din: and after the death of Sultan Quthu-d-Din this same Ali Mardan eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the khusba and silka of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultan Alau-d-Din, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Iran and Tūrān among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultan's power why do you divide them?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Alau-d-Din, who asked "where does this fellow come from?" They answered "from Isfahān" then he ordered them to write a document to Isfahān which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vāzīrs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Isfahān, 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 Amir of Khilj consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husainu-d-Din Khilji who was one of the nobles of Khilj and Garmisir and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtyar. The reign of Ali Mardan lasted thirty-two years. 1

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Din 2 abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengala and Jajnagar and Kāmrūd and gained the title of Sultan Ghiyagu-d-Din, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

1 Cf. Zubdāt-i-Nāqish 576. 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 مسی و روضلا but as a matter of fact Ali Mardan reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 note 7.)

3 Malik Husainu-d-Din 'Iwaz.
seventy thousand tanqahs\(^1\) in cash as a present and acknowledged
the Sultán’s authority, as will be mentioned, if God (be He exalted)
so will it. And in the year 621 H. Malik Násiru-d-Dín Muḥam-
mad ibn\(^2\) Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín went from Oudh to Lahmnați at
the instigation of some of the Amîrs,\(^3\) and Ghiyâsu-d-Dîn\(^4\) who
at that time had taken an army from Lahmnați to Kâmrûd turned
back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Násiru-d-Dîn 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 Hindústán
incidentally with the affairs of the Sultáns of Delhi was both
opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyeh
kings who attained to the Sultánat of Multán and other kingdoms
are mentioned in other places.

Sultán Arám Sháh Ibn Quršu-d-Dîn Aîbar\(^6\)

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 Amîrs he marched from Lahor to Delhi.
In the meantime Malik Shamsu-d-Dîn Iylátimish, who was a
servant and adopted son, and son-in-law of Sultán Quršu-d-Dîn,

\(^1\) Tanqah  For the value of this see J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. i. p. 343
also Raverty 594 note 2. Thomas Chr. Pathán Kings of Delhî pp. 161 and
p. 49 note

The silver tanqah weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the
lání which was \(\frac{1}{2}\) of a tanqah, while another coin was introduced under
Muhammad Taqilâq known as the black tanqah which was \(\frac{2}{3}\) of the silver
tanqah.

The value of the silver tanqah was about the same as the rupee. See As-S-
Albârî III. (Jarrett) 362, note 3

\(^2\) The text should read بن سلطان شمس الدين MSS. A. and B.

\(^3\) Malik Izzu-d-Dîn Jâni. See Raverty, p 596, note 1.

\(^4\) Ghiyâsu-d-Dîn Iwâz ... Hüsain Khîjî.

\(^5\) He was the last of the Muizzî Sultáns according to the Tabaghat-i-Nâṣîrî.

and had tributary relations with Malik Nāşiru-d-Dīn Qabāchā, at the invitation of Sipah Sālār Alī Iṣmāʿīl, had come from Hardwār and Bādān 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

All 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 Iyaltimish 2

Called by the title of "Yāmīn-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 Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

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1 Minhāj-uz-Sirāj mentions that at Arām’s death Hindustān was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Nāsiru-d-Dīn Qabāchāh; Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish; Lakhnātī was held by the Khārijī chieftains ‘Alī Mardān having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Dīn, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli and Ghur. See Thomas’ Pathēn Kīngs, p. 40.

2 Not in either MSS These verses are from the Shāhnāmah of Firdawṣī. (vide Shāhnāmah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 8, 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 بَلْتَبْسُ This text has

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehli with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalīf of Baghdād [Al-Mustāṣir b-illāh, A. H. 638] a most important recognition to a Muḥammadan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdād of this new Ḥind Muḥammadan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).
born under these circumstances Iyaltimish. His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkostán. 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 Bokhárâ, and thence in the time of Sultán Muhammad Sám to Ghazniá; and in these days Sultán Quţbudd-Din after the conquest of Nahrwálâh and the taking of Gujrât had gone to Ghazniá, and since without permission of Sultán Muhammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultán to sell him. Sultán Muhammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Delhi and sell them there. Sultán Quţbudd-Din after his return from Ghazniá bought a slave named Ibâk, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Delhi for 100,000 tangašat at first he called him Amir Tamghách,¹ and appointed him to the Amirship of Tabarhindah,² and at the time when Sultán Quţbudd-Din fought with Táju-d-Din Táldús, Ibâk his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Guwâliâr he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Baraţ and its environs, and since he began to show signs of extraordinary hardness he entrusted the country of Badáún to him, and in the war of Muizzudd-Din with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badáûn and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizzudd-Din in the service of Sultán Quţbudd-Din, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river ² engaged the enemy bravely several

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 ù has become displaced and that the word should really be written āy-tulümâsh = eclipse of the moon.

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

² See Tâbâghât-i-Nishâl. It was the river Šilmân.
times: Sultán Muizzu-d-Din bestowed on him fit'ig honours and distinguished him royally and gave him high recommendations to Malik Qutbu-d-Din, and went to the greatest possible lengths in his care for him; and that same day Malik Qutbu-d-Din wrote his letter of emancipation, and by degrees raised him to the dignity of Amir-ul-Umará (Chief of the Amins) till his affairs reached the height they did. And in the beginning of his reign certain of the Muizziyeh and Qutbiyeh Amins rebelled against him and suffered punishment and became food for the pitiless sword. And Malik Táju-d-Din Yalduz after he had suffered defeat by the Army of Khwárazm 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 Taráyan which is known as Serái Talawari.1 After a severe battle Sultán Táju-d-Din Yalduz being defeated fell a prisoner into the hands of Shamsu-d-Din who sent him to Badáon. 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 Náširu-d-Din Qabácha who had married the two daughters of Sultán Qutbu-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 Bhankar, and Nizámud-Mulk Wazir Jandi pursued him while the Sultán reduced Uchh. After hearing the news of the capture of Uchh, Náširu-d-Din sent his own son Bahram Sháh into the presence of the Sultán and sued for peace. Bhankar also was captured. And in the year 615 H. Náširu-d-Din was overwhelmed in the sea of destruction in the Punjáb, 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 Tazarín-I-Muluk this was the first occasion in which Sultán Shamsu-d-Din had shown hostility to Náširu-d-Din Qabácha. On the other hand the Tabíqát-I-Náširí states that there used to be constant contention between them. Badáoni is very likely correct in his statement. See Raverty p. 609, note 1.
Jalālu-d-Din Mangburni, son of Khwāram Shāhī who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changiz Khān after Tāju-d-Din, came to Ghaznīn and thence from fear of the incursions of Changiz Khān had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultān Jalālu-d-Din not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Sīwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmān and Irāq.

And in the year 622 H. Sultān Shamsu-d-Din, took an army towards Behār and Lakhnautī and brought Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Din Khīlji, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned, established the Khūba andṣikka in his own name and having given his elder son the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din Mahmūd made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Nāṣiru-d-Din Mahmūd having fought with Ghiyāsu-d-Din on the confines of Lakhnautī 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 Dehlī.

1 So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 285, note 3). He was the last of the Khwārasm Shāhī dynasty. He is said to have turned devotes and to have lived till 633 H (Raverty 299, 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 Mankharun, as he considers the final letter to be .unwrap不爱 4. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (meng) in Turki means "grain de beauté" while "ne" (Dict Turk. Orientale Pavet-de Courteline) the word originally being منغبیر in Mongol would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to منغبرن and with the addition of the يی-i-nishat منغبرنی Mansur burni.

2 For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also Afr-i-Akbarī, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D’Herboulot ārt. Gulabeddin, Vol. II. p 67.

3 Mistake in text 623 when 622 H. is in figures.
4 “Thirty elephants and eighty laks of treasure.” (Zubadāt-i-Nāṣirī)
5 See Thomas’ Pathān 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 يی-i-nishat in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word يی-i-nishat. MS. A continues after the word يی-i-nishat as follows:
It is well known that a poet name Násirí arrived in Delhi in the service of Hazrat Khwája Qutb-ud-Din Usháki may God sanctify him and said I have composed a Qasída in praise of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din. Read the Fátiha that I may get the accustomed reward." They read the Fátiha and he having been admitted to the Sultan's presence read this Ma'ála:

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

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

بعزيت تَسْخِير قُلْعَة مَدَور نامَزُد سَلَحْتِهُ إِن قَلِعَةً رَآ بَا كَرَعْ مِرْوَقُ دْرَحْمٍ ضَيْطَا
اورد وَبَدْمِي مَرْجَعَت فُرْصَد وَشِهِدَ مَلِي بَلْدَة وَرْحَانُي كَفَّ آتُانَلَ أَنَّ
روزْغَارَ بُون وَدَرْحَادَة چَنَگَرْ خَان اَزْجَا بِدْمَيْ إِمَّه وَدْرُكْتُ إِنَّ اَنْفُنَاحَت
قُصَائِدَ غَرَّ لَفَتَقَة ارْجِمَالَ إِبَنَ قُصَيْدَة

MS. (B) reads as follows:

ولسلطان شمس الدين ... عزیت وبنیورندوم ... لشکریان طرف بروده انقلعه را مخفوق گردانیده و در سه‌ن ارغ و عرخن ... وسمتی پیامی گران بعزیت تَسْخِیر قُلْعَة مَدَور نامَزُد سَلَحْتِهُ

I do not know what MS. the Maulavi 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 Kók from the "Kók" or cakes which were supplied by the prophet Khizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotees left him no leisure to make provision. See Ain-i-Akbári II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A.H. 634, and is buried in Delhi. See also Crawley p. 621, note 6, third par. [Ain-i-Akbári 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 x. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poiguée 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 Maudar, brought that fort together with the Siwalik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehli, and in this same year Amir Bahá'íš who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehli from Bukhara in the affair of Chaghná 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 Sultan of the age
Shamsu-d-Din,

Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,
Hearing this good tidings, the canopy of adornment.
That from the land of the heretics the Sháhansháh of Islam
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 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 Bannell'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 Mándawár (Tábaqát-i-Náma, p. 612, note 3, Mándawár MS. (A)).

See Bannell's map. Monopour Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mándú or Mándawár. Tisserant's I. 323, mentions Mándawár ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djípours. This is probably the fort here called Mándú.

2 Hátim Abu Baktár b. Muhámmad and Aší Ulárquandî.

3 MS (A) we have instead of كمال الصمود in the text, the words كمال تزيين which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment."

I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has which is evidently a copyist's error for كمال تزيين.

4 حيدر کوار is a name of 'Ali who is called 'Abád 'Ullah or by the Persians Shír-i-Khántí, the son of Grd.
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 Manṣúr 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 Sultan Náṣiru-d-Dín, Governor of Lakhnautí, and the Sultan, after completing the duties of mourning, gave his name (i.e., Náṣiru-d-Dín) to his younger son after whom the Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí is named. In the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnautí and quieted the disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the government of that place to Izza-í-Mulk Malik ‘Aláu-d-Dín Kháfi³ 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)
² This must have been from Baghdad; from the Khalifah Al Mustazir b-illah. See Baverly 616, note 2.
³ MS. (B) or in the text, Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí reads Aláu-d-Dín Jání. See p. 618, note 2.
following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone:

Every fort which the king of kings conquers
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith:
That fortress of Kālewar 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 Mālwā and taken Bhilsā³ and also captured the city of Ujain,⁴ and having destroyed the idol-temple of Ujain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Mahākāl, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rāi Vikramājit from whom the Hindūs reckon their era (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifah 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 Hindū pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and strange circumstance, from the Hindūs into the Persian tongue and called it Nāma-i-Khirād Afzā—) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Dehli ⁷ and ordered the people to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multān;⁸ this expedition was in every way unfortunate.

¹ 26th of the month Safar 630, A. H. (Zubdāt-i-Nafirī), 1232- A.D.
³ Bhilsa on the Betwā, is a place of Hindū pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes.
⁴ Ujain on the Sipri, was in ancient times the capital of Mālwā, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya. See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., and Tief. Vol. I. p 345.
⁵ A‘īn-i-Abdārī (Jarrett) II. 15, notes 2, 3. Alberuni, (Sachau) II. 5, 6. The Samvat era commencing from 57 B. C.
⁶ 1504 A.D. and 1594 A.D. Al-Badā‘ūnī died according to the Zubdāt-i-Shāh Jahān in the year 1024, A.H. (1615 A.D.). I can find no mention of the Nāma-i-Khirād Afzā, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was one of Kālidāsa’s poems. مي و دو (B). لله راشف، مي و دو (A). The text (C1. agrees with MS. (B).
⁸ See Raverty 622, note 8, who holds that this should read بنيان. Both MSS. (A and B) have مانان. an also has Fīrizīa.
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 this 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-enthralling 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
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 Sultán and shed some tears upon the Sultán'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 Mr Khurâb Dehlâvi 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 Yâminu-d-Din Muhammad 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 Astakh Kazâda his death occurred A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

6 Not in MS. (A).
Sultan, and that God be his 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 Shah, may God make Paradise his kingdom in Fathpur and also in Lahore, on his deathbed, 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 Sultan Ghaytu-d-Din Balban, and they said that when the Sultan wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on (and this occurrence was at the time of writing).  

Sultan Ruqnu-d-Din Firoz Shah ibn Shamsu-d-Din

Who in his father’s time had several times been in charge of the districts of Budion, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his ir-ir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authority as in the aforesaid year, and Malik Taju-d-Din his secretary 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,  
Yamnu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Din  
Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamani 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 inatitude 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 keeper 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  before  
4. The south corner of the Ka’bah, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims.  
Burton’s pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah, III, 162. Hughes Dict. of Islam, 548. See also Muir’s Life of Mahomet, II. 36, note.
5. The text MS. (A) -double checked-
And his mother Turkān Khātūn, who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Quṭbu-d-Dīn the eldest son of the Sultān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and Malik Ghūṣān-d-Dīn Mūḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultān, who was ruler of Oadil, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik ʿIzzu-d-Dīn and Kabīr Khān Sultānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultān Rakhnu-d-Dīn Firūz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Manṣūrpūr and Tāriyān with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī, the Wazir and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultān had fled to Khīlūghārī and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik ʿIzzu-d-Dīn Mūḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amirs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Manṣūrpūr went to Dehli and having sworn fealty to Raẓziyāh Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, 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 Sultān having returned from the army, arrived at Khīlūghārī, the troops of Sultān Raẓziyāh 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 Khudāwāndā-ī-Jahān.
2 The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nūṣirī rays, “Malik ʿIzzu-d-Dīn, Mūḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Badānī broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik ʿIzzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz feoffee of Multān, Malik Saiṭān-d-Dīn Kūfī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Aḥmād-d-Dīn Jānī who held the sief of Labor united together” and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.
3 Khīlūghārī, a suburb of Dehli.
4 MS. (A) برميغة خاطية.
5 In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabīʿu-l-Awwal.
6 His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāj-ṣ-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. See Raverty, p. 638, 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 Raknu-d-Din was Shihab Muhamma Badoun 2 as Mr Khusrū 3 on him be mercy says in one of his opening odes

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

And Maliku-l-Kalām Fakhrū-l-Mulk 'Amid Tūlaki 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 Shihabudd Din ibn Jamāludd Din Mutmara (شیحہب الدین ی badaان جمال الدین منهار). He was known as Shihab-1-Mutmara. The verse here quoted should be as follows:

در مدین روان مست بر خلیل شهاب متنمر
بشنندگ اردخنی مرغان دهلی دویت نوا

In Madinah Shihab-1-Mutmara rises intoxicated
If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehli in this melody.

Vide Majma'u-l-Fusakā, Vol. I. page 305.

3 Mr Khusrū, the celebrated poet born at Patiala 651 A.D. Died 725 A.H. the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (Majma'u-l-Fusakā) see note 4, page 69.

4 MS. (A) لویکی. Lāyaki We should read 'Amid Lūmālī. Fakhrū-l-Mulk Khwaja 'Abdu-l-Dīn commonly known as 'Amid Dālamī, the panegyrist of Shihāb Muharram Yamin, said by some to have been a native of Gilān, called also 'Amid Lūmākī. Majma'ul-Fusakā I 308.

5 MS. (A) لویکی. لویکی

6 Theo صیح امعلات or seven poems. The well-known poems of the Jāhilīyah or pre-Islamic age.

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

See also Koldeske (Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber, pp. xxvii and seq.

See also Arabian Poetry (Clouston) pp. xxxi and 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 in-
cumbent 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 con-
nection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence
the excellences of that doughty knight of the arena of elo-
quence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citi-
zenship. The master poet Shihābī Muhammad Badā‘omi then says
as follows:

1 Am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.¹
My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of
others, my own existence is transitory.
I stand at the end of the row² 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.³
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.⁴

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 point 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 ۚ hamza.
³ Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in ی باغ, or a syllable
as in گم. The Alif at the commencement has a hamza.
⁴ MSS. (A), (B)
⁵ The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the
ningale and to remain speechless, cf. Hāfiz.

خیست بلبلی چروص اندر چین جم
یا یین لسان عفاب که خامش چوسم

Fifty it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden, and having
no sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.
Like Ālif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues?  
Since I can seize it 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. Hâdî.

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

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

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

The lily Sûsan is of four varieties. The white variety is called Sûsan-i-ṣâd, see Burhân-i-žâlî, e. v. s. m., according to the Bahru-i-jawâhir its properties are those of heat and dryness, and it is useful in the headaches of fever.

The Maḥzûn-i-adârîa states that the word Sûsan is an Arabicized form of the Syrian Sâzêî. 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). چوش گیوم (A). چوش گیوم (B)

The text should read—

چوش گیوم گریمیده چه روم پسی دویده
چوش بهینم انگارا چه دوم ره نه‌الی
فلک از زمین نشینه تشنامه آگه هستم
چوش گیوم گریمیده چه روم پسی دویده
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 greatness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings of the 'ashars.

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 great, 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 1264 A.H., page 7.)

2 Bağh-i-Askân, 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.

3 MSS (A) (B) جهار طعم زبخار پارگینم

4 فضولات پارگینی زده لأف پارگینی

5 MSS. (A) طعم

6 The reading of the Qur'an, which is divided into portions called 'ashars consisting of ten Ayats.

6 The a bill-hook or raming hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called داس, (Burhan-i-Qatt').
Oh Shihāb it is strange that you in this road of Kingsly affairs are neither the Amir of the Eight Squares 1 nor the Knight of the Seven Places 5
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 Gūrkhāni silk. 8
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 basking 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 genuflection.
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 Jafāndiyār, see the Shāh Nāma (Turner-Hacan) Vol. II, pp. 1129 and seq.
3 Gūrkhāni, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kham Khiāl, the meaning of the title being "universal king." It must not be confounded with the title of Gūrkān which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied by marriage with the house of Čingiz Khān.
See Tārisk-i-Nāshidī, 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 ¹ 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 defoulis the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamûz ²; in your ode you scatter snow ³ perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fanciousness 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 בַּאְרֵי.

2 Tamûz. The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tamûz; see Ezekiel viii. 14 “and behold there sat women weeping for Tamûz,” Tamûz was a deity of the Phoenicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies “dissolution” or “influence” see Gesonius a. v. דַּמְשֶׁ֑ק. See also Albiruni’s Chronology, (Sachan) pp. 68–82. Tamûz 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 (Albirûni) 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 Kalamath yaqûf ast. His speech is ice.
The King of the thrones of "Kun"1 is Muhammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahānī.2 He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the loveliness 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 coal5 from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words,6 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 Sūfī philosophy خَلَق ‘ālam-i amr the world of the order, or potentiality. خَلَق Jakāna is called ‘ālam-i-khāli the world of creation, or the material world.

2 Ummahānī, daughter of Abu Ṭālib, the uncle of Muhammad, and sister of ’Alī. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muhammad called مَرْجع mūraj (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) (D). The text as it stands is meaningless.

4 Ms. (A) بعِيدَةَ زَبَلْنِي which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the لَبْنَيَةَ between وَقَتَ and وَقَتَلَهُ. The text and Ms (B) have بَلَمَةَ زَبَلْنِی which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the لَبْنَيَةَ between وَقَتَ and وَقَتَلَهُ.
By his accountanship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of suspicious 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 Medina.

2 بِرَاطِ. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller's rest house or caravansaray.

3 فَتَمَّ حقًا. If we read نَفَتَمَّ حقًا we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart."

4 عُمَانُ. 'Usmān the third Khalīfa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy the good things of this life.

5 عَلَى إِنَّهُ شَدَّ كَنِينَ. MS. (A), 'Ali the fourth Khalīf whose sword Zūl-fiqār. (See note 2 page 74) was brought by Gabriel to Muḥammad from heaven, and by him given to 'Ali.

6 Text Hāmēh Umār-e Hakīm and MS. (B) Hāmēh Nūr-e Hakīm both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qasid is given in the Majma'ul Fāsahā.

7 Text زَمْسُ إِنَالْكَ. MSS. (A) (B) have زَمْسُ إِنَالْكَ.
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.

1 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 clef 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) رزبيتي
2 MS. (A) ظوموري
3 MS. (A) وزين هومورتونيتش
4 MS. (A) لفظي يومون شكر م
5 MS. (A) (B)
6 Insert in text after MSS. (A) (B)
7 MS. (A) نمست از علمش
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 a guardian over every ant, that dust in the palm is endowed with chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted into pearl;³ that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon, and a hair of the limbs as a spear.⁴

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 Father Bury and 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 ( khácل-هایی). 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) یک

⁴ 甜عطق نیسان. The drop of rain falling in the month of Naisan are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (لیمی-لاجم). Naisan (Burtun-i-Qāf³) or Nisān was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4, Albiruni, Chronology (Sachau) 62, and sgg.

⁶ میردد یکم از دها و صوی بر ایشامیان (ب).
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 bride appears like spots on a
mirror.
The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the
Arghawān.
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) The reading in the text is preferable.

3 Mss. (A) (B)

4 The Arghawān, or (Arabic) Arjūwān is according to the Ma'āzul-
Ādira, 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
easing 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 Burān-i-Qāf 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.

Villars-Lexicon Pers. Lat. states p. 81. Hoc arbore designari videtur arbor-
Judas, i.e., Cercis siliquastrum (Linn.); cf. J. A. S. 1845, Dec. p. 467.

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

کان یانا مانا و منظم خسیب پارچه از طلایین

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

2. 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.

3. 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.

4. 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 Muhammad.

2. MS. (A) The unctro shows this reading to be right.

3. This story is related as follows in the Haiatu-l-Qulab, —

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 Muhammad, "I swear by Lät and 'Uzza 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 dies." 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 knoweth 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 denieth 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." (Haiatu l-Qulab by Aghā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī)

4. See Qur'an, Surah 54. "The hour draweth nigh, and the moon is split asunder." (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the Haiatu-l-Qulab 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 Muhammad at Mekka — "The tribe of Qureish sought as a sign from Muhammad 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 Hadīth by Ḥāfiz Imām Ja'far Sādiq 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. 
1 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 
puished 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 
Dul Hijjah and said to him, 'Every prophet has shown some wonderful 
miracle, so this evening we desire you to show us some great miracle.' 
The prophet asked what miracle they desired him to show 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 Muhammad, '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 half,
whereon it split into two parts, and the prophet knelt to show 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 
rud 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.
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, 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?

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 Solomon, Šihāb 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 Šāliḥ showed him (Šihāb) that path of rectitude.

1 MS (A) نعت
2 MSS. (A) (B) یی جوزرا
3 MSS. (A) (B) داسکان
4 MSS. (A) (B) چون مریر دارم یک موری می کم ملکه
5 MSS. (A) (B) لز هروس پیش این و آن
6 MS. (A) و جهان.
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 Rukan-d-Din Firuz 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 Şirât or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Şirât or bridge crossing 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 Islam, art Şirât. See also Qur'an J. 5.

2 MS. خصم ملك شاره بخاراش داره (A)

3 The words karg rhinoceros, گورگ shir lion, فیل elephant.

4 MS. هو زمان این بیش گوگ شهرو تعلیم خوا (A)
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 over thrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of
the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life
of Rustam a strong move like "pilband." 1

1 MS. MSLST. (A).

pilband

A stratagem in the game of chess. See Al Biruni (India) I.
183-184. The fil 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 Pīrāda-i-ASTER 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—"fork-
ing" them as chess players call it. Under certain combinations this pawn was
utilized to give mate. Thus in Aḥbādī's Life of Khwāja 'Ali Shāhrūnī we
find

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

This 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 Bahār-i 'Ajvār gives the following definition of pilband:

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

When in contest with elephants thou dissuasest thy noose. Thou defeat
est the king of Qanavj with the "pilband" (Nizāmī).
The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof like a lion; if the elephant of this casrulcan castle the 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.2

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 wolf 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 amulet 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.

Aban Dehlavi also says:

 meepeko cyliqan ysaqst
n laa eeman kashad naswan

Also that the "pillow" of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Foreign 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 جوشین میثاق زبرم گری سامان گان دور.

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 شول. Dur-kan-i-Qal'a.

4 لبیرین to'waq 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, "Scalp of dragon, tooth of wolf," etc.
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\(^1\) seizes the meadow from the lions.

His rhinoceros-like staff of office is in the heart of the wolf of the sky, his club\(^2\) 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 Gurgsär from the sword of the brazen-bodied one.\(^5\)

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

\(^1\) Gark Pozr Khanga\.

\(^2\) MS. (A) Pozr.

\(^3\) Isfandiyar at the conclusion of the seventh stage of the Haft Khwan.

\(^4\) Gurgin-i Milad one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusran.

\(^5\) Bizhan, son of Geo, and nephew of Rostam, was the lover of Manijeh daughter of Afrasiyab, 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 Rostam, Gurgin was punished by Geo, and then imprisoned.

For an epitome of the story, see Atkinson’s Shâh Nâma, pp 300-324.

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) بَلْغُوُن

2. مَلْك "Urnāb, Zizyphus jujuba (N. O. Rhamnaceae), a tree bearing an oval baccate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustāni بِر, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the Bahru-l-Jauāhīr the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humour, 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-Qālit).

3. MS. (A) إِبْرَارَتِي

4. مُحْرَر مَار The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The Māzānī-Adwa'rī says:—Hajārū-i-Hāiyah (حِجْرِ أَسْجِه) called in Persien مَهْر Māhr is of two kinds: one a mineral which is known as مَهْر مَار Māhr Māhr, 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 misqāls.

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 soft, 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.\footnote{1}

That Wazir 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 hook\footnote{2} and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King\footnote{1} 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, it rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteners disappear.

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, show the same phenomenon. (Makhzan-ul-\textit{Adviya}).

The \textit{Bahru-i-Jawahir} says only

\begin{align*}
\text{جمیر اکثیرة حجیر ملادور} & \text{میں نہ تست بالین} \\
\text{و میں ما فیا نمہ خطوی} & \text{کر} \\
\end{align*}

\textit{Hajaru-i-Haqqah}. The stone Pâdzahr (Bazar stone,) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashon-grey, and some have three stripes.

\footnote{1 See note 2, page 115.}

\footnote{2 MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi \textit{छुङ्ख अक्षु} \textit{Asus}.}
For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf-natured sky
select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and
rhinoceros? ¹

For that purpose again and again,² 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-lion³ 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 ⁴ so
long may your wolf-crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros-destroyer
and elephant-like in strength,⁵ 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.⁶

SULTĀN RAZZĪTĀR 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
as in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Nizām al-Mulk

¹ MS. (A) has: نوح. ² MS. (B) has: تومر. ³ Text and MS. (A), MS. (B) has: دمکور. ⁴ 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.
⁵ 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 Farnese are an example of this.

⁶ These words are exactly alike in writing.
Jundi (Junaidi) Chief Wazir. Antagonism and strife showed itself among the Amirs, and Sultan Raziyyah 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 Mūr and took up his abode in the secret place of death, and Khwaja Muazzam the Deputy succeeded him in office. The kingdom of Raziyyah gained considerable power, she despatched an army to relieve Rantambhur, which, after the death of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, the Hindus had invested continuously, and liberated the Muslims from their captivity, and Jamaluddin Yaqut, the Abyssinian, who was Master of the Horse, became her confidant and trusted adviser, to such a point that Sultan Raziyyah 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 Raziyyah came out from the curtain of chastity and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety, used to wear a tunic and lullah when seated on the throne to rule the kingdom. And in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.) Malik Insu-d-Din Iyaz, Governor of Lahore, displayed hostility. Sultan Raziyyah proceeded against him and having reduced him to obedience added Multan also to his jagir, and in the same year she brought up an army against

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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 Saitu-d-Din Kuj and his brother Fakhru-d-Din were taken prisoners and put to death. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 640

3 MS. Retired to the hill country of Sirmur.

4 The fortress of Rantambhur in the province of Ajmir, 75 miles southeast of Jaipur, see p. 92, note 5.

5 The text has بازوی اور صیک درب گذشت which is the reading of the MS. (A).

6 In the MS. (A) we have the following از پرده پر ایم which is the letter reading (see Raverty, p. 642, note 3, with reference to this subject).

7 The laila and lollah were a tunic and hat worn by men.

8 After making over Multan to Malik Izza-d-Din, Sultan Raziyyah returned to the capital on the 10th of Shaban 637 H. (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri)

A jāgir was land held in fief, generally bestowed as a reward for some service.
Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turkî Amirâ witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sultan Razzîyah and Jamâlu-d-Din Yâqût the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amir, and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah.  

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world.  

^ For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers.  

^ There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of the rose.  

^ Lament, Oh heart-rest nightingale, for here is cause for complaint.

SULTAN MU'IZZU-D-DIN BAHRAM SHAH 6 IBN SHAMSU-D-DIN.

Next succeeded to the throne, and came to Delhi. At this time Malik Ikhbîyâru-d-Din Arûniyah 8 the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sultan Razzîyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats 6 and Khûkars, and all the landholders, brought an army towards Delhi. Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din Bahram Shâh, sent the Malik 7 Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultan Ghîyâsu-d-Din) with a vast army to oppose Razzîyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razzîyah 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 Katînâ 8 with the intention of conquering Delhi, and again being defeated at the hands of the

1 Razzat-e-Safâ calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Razzîyah see Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî.  

^ Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî states that they put Jamâlu-d-Din to death.  

^ Bibi ka nazar chaal sekh mast bani a past.  


6 Son of Iyyâlimish.  

7 Allûniyah was appointed by Razzîyah as feudatory of Barun (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession, he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî, see Raverly 647, note 9.  

6 Elliott I, 597 Tieffenbahrer II, 306  

7 Malik Baçu-d-Din Sultan Rûmi had become Amir-i-Kâjib on the death of Ikhbîyâru-d-Din. He was the patron of Ghîyâsu-d-Din Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amir Akhâr. The account in the text tallies with that given in the Tabaqât-i-Alkârî, but see Raverly 648, n. 2.  

8 Katînâ Sâk, Kapîshâla. Lat. 29° 49' 7" N., Long. 76° 26' 26' E. 33 miles distant from Karnât, and about 100 miles N. W. of Delhi. See Hunter, Gaz., vii. 598.
Malik Bultan the younger, took to flight, and both she and Altuniyah fell into the hands of the Kawarān and were put to death by order of Sultan Bahram Shah.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.), and the duration of the reign of Raziiyah 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 Shah, Malik Ishtiyar-d-Din Ilkhan who was formerly Hajib 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 Nizamul-Mulk Mahazzabu-d-Din, 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 Mahazzabu-d-Din Wazir, by certain Fidaah, 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 Kawarān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The Tabagat-i-Nasiri says "Sultan Raquiyath with Malik Altuniyah fell captive into the hands of Hindus" (See Raverty's translation page 643 and note 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawarān here spoken of were a tribe of Jats otherwise known by the name of Gatwaras. They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonipat Bangur and in the Deeb on the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliott, Races of the N. W. Provinces of India: Vol. I. page 128.

2 638 A.H. Tabagat-i-Nasiri. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firiste says that the armies met on the 4th Rabul Awal 637 A.H., and that Raziiyah and Altuniyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Raquiyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, note 2.

3 फिरिस्ता is the reading of MS. (A). Firiste says "two Turks in a state of (fignued) intoxication." Dinbaşa-s-Siraj writes, p. 192, Cal. Text. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidaah, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidaah is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (Burhan-i-Qafi) see Raverty Tabagat-i-Nasiri p. 651 n. 7.
come, as for example Badrūd-Dīn Sangar Amīr Ḥājib, he sent to Badrūd-Dīn where they died in prison. Among them was Qūṣī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshānī, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qūṣī of Badrūd-Dīn, and Qūṣī Shamsu-d-Dīn the Qūṣī of Māhira, they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H. the troops of the Mughul Ḍāngiz Khān came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qarāqush 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 Nizām-ul-Mulk Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultān, to oppose the Mughul force in the Panjāb. 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 till then." He showed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahram Shāh sent Hazrat Shaikhul-Islām Khwāja-i-Khwājagān Qūṭbu-d-Dīn Bahkhtyār Ushī, may God sanctify him, to the Amīrs to put

1. Who had been appointed Amīr Ḥājib when Ikhtiyār-d-Dīn was murdered.
2. The MS. (A) reads قاضی شمش الادیه قاضی صرهراء را ن ظاپل ولف which reading I follow. Ferialhtā writes

Qāsim Shams al-adīn Qāsim Chahāra Rā sa Shāhdadūket

Ṭabaqāt-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 Qūṣī Shamsu-d-Dīn and had sufficient influence over Bahram Shah to compass his enemy's death.

He calls the town Yāhir. (Raverty 657 and note 4), MS. (A) has شر مصر Māhrūs.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī states that the Sultān nominated Malik Qūṭbu-d-Dīn Hasān ibn 'Ali Ghārī, together with the Wazīr the Khwāja Muhazzab-u-d-Dīn for this purpose, and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him. (See Raverty 657, 658)

4. The MS. (A) reads كن انزمان ایشان مدرکی کتبی بکنی which carrying into effect the maxim بادروستان تلفیق و دشمنان مدارک.

5. See Raverty, p. 658, note 2. Qūṭbu-d-Dīn Ushī after whom the Qūṭb Minār of Dehli is called died in 638 H. See Raverty 622, note 6.

6. See also note 93, note 3. This was another man Saiyyid Qūṭbu-d-Dīn.
matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhu-l-Islām returned and came to Dehli, and just at this juncture Nizāmū-l-Mulk and the Amir also arrived and besieged the Sultan in Dehli, 1 and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world 2 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.

Sūltān ʿAlāʾū-d-Dīn Maṣʿūd Shāh ibn Ruknū-d-Dīn Firozshāh

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sūltān Naṣīrū-d-Dīn Mahmūd and Sūltān Jalālū-d-Dīn, the sons of Sūltān Shamsū-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that Izzū-d-Dīn Balban 3 (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Malikūs or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sūltān ʿAlāʾū-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Qāṣību-d-Dīn Hasan as Depute, and Malik Muhāṣṣībū-d-Dīn Nizāmū-l-Mulk Wāẓir of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sūltān ʿAlāʾū-d-Dīn Maṣʿūd put to death Nizāmū-l-Mulk the Wāẓir.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wāẓirship was conferred upon Šadraū-l-Mulk Najmū-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghiyāṣū-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sūltān, 4 became Amīr Ḥājīb and in succession to him the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ajmir was conferred

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1 On Saturday the 19th of Shaʿbān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zī Qaʿdah (Tahāqāt-i-Nāvīrī, p. 639).
2 On the 13th of Zī Qaʿdah 639 H.
3 Malik Izzū-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashī Khān, see Raverty p. 775 and 660 note 2.
4 Malik Ghiyāṣū-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 637 H. but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H. when he became Amīr Ḥājīb.
See Ṭīn-i-Ākbari (Jarrett) II. 298.
permanently upon Malik 'Izza-d-Din Balban, the elder, Budān was conferred upon Malik Tāju-d-Din; and in this year 'Izza-ud-Din Tughā Khan who had advanced from Karrah 1 to the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti sent Sharīa-i-Mulk Ashā'īrī to the Sultān 'Alāu- d-Dīn, with a written despatch, the Sultān then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh 2 for 'Izza-d-Din Tughā Khan who was in Lakhnauti, and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanaaj to Malik Jalālu-d-Din, and Bahrājī to Malik Nūsiru-d-Din Mahmūd, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 642 H, the Mughal forces 3 arrived in the district of Lakhnauti, the assumption is that the Mughuls must have come by way of Tibat and Khitā, and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn sent Timūr Khan Qarā Beg 4 to the assistance of Tughā Khan and the Mughuls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughā Khan and Malik Qirān, 4 Tughā Khan came to Dehli, and Lakhnauti remained in the hands of Timūr Khān. 4

The printed text has ٕتٕ 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.

5 Qizī Jalālu-d-Din Kūfī (Tabagāt-i-Nāsiri)

6 This is an error which has according to Rayerty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p. 685.

The original reading was كفر جاجكر Kufīr-i Jāñagar which by some strange perversion became كفر جاجكر خفس Kufar Husain and so to our author's statement.

Jāñagar or Jajpūr on the Buxarānī river in Ories, capital of the province under the Lio Dynasty, the Gajpatī or Lords of Elephants (Aṣnā-i-Akkari II, 210 n. 1) (see Imp. Gaz. Vol. VII, and Stat. Acc. of Bengal, XVIII. 85-89).

The Inffidel horde of Jāñagar were of course Hindūs and not Mughuls; hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnauti is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

4 The real name of Timūr Khan Qarā Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qīmān-d-Dīn Qīrān-i-Timūr Khan and he is the Malik Qīrān referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qīrān and "Timūr Khan" are one and the same person. In the text it is a misprint for قریان Qīrān. MS (A). See also Rayerty 656, 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 Biāli, 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 Amirs and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nasiru-d-Din Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Din from Bahrēj, and upon his arrival at Delhi in the year 644 H, they threw Sultan 'Alāu-d-Din Maṣ'ūd into prison and he speedily 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,

The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

**Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Din Iyyātimish**

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H, (1246 A.D.) and the Wazirship was conferred upon Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nasiru-d-din.\(^3\)

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. 1246 A.D. This was really a Mughul force, under the command of “the accursed Mangūtah” (Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī).
   His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī).
3. Shamsu-d-Din Iyyātimish.
   Nasiru-d-Din Maḥmūd, son of Shamsu-d-Din Iyyātimish was born at the Quwwāt-i-Dīn in Delhi in the year 626 H. (Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī).
   It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyyātimish to bear the name of Nasiru-d-Din, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 625 A.H. (see Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Cal. Text p. 201, l. 16.)
   He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur'ān. Thomas (Pathān 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 Rostam in energy.

Nasir-i-Dunya wa-Din Mahmūd ibn Iyāltimish.

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

Of how compute the exaltation of the Khayyām at the mention of his happy name.

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident from the book called Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī 2 which was composed in his honour.

The Sultan entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khan said, "I deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest thou commit thyself to any evil action, 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 Sultan himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion, and reading the Qur'an 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'an which he was writing, 3

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1. His titles as given in the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī were:


2. Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Minhāj-ul-Sirāj was written in his court and dedicated to him; hence its name.

3. Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Minhāj-ul-Sirāj is a general history up to 658 H. composed by Aḥū Unār Minhāj-ul-Din Uṣūlān ibn Sirāj-ul-Din al-Ja'fānī. See Elliot II, 258. An English translation by Major Boas has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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زیتون کاری دا کلی 4

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 Bāzār. 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 Ḥūrī 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 Multān¹ and in Zūl Qādah having crossed the river of Lahore (Rāvi) and having appointed Ulugh Khan as leader of the forces,² sent him towards the Jūd hills³ and the country round Nandanah, and he himself halted on the banks of the river Indus. Ulugh Khan 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 Koran), les vendait, et se nourrissait avec le prix qu'il en retirait. Le Kāddhi Ėddīn m'a fait voir un Koran copié de sa main, artistement et élegamment écrit.

¹ We find, Ḍāniān in the Jābāgīt-i-Nāṣrī (Raverty 677, notes 5, 6.) but both MSS. (A) and (B) read Multān.

² Māqām al-Jībiš Also in MSS. (A and B), but this must be a copyist's error for Māqām al-Jībiš.

³ The Kohi Jūd (See Rennell's Map Koh-i-Jehond) is apparently a part of the Salt Range, Lat 32° Long. 71°. Bāber states that the tribes of Jūd and Janjūhah descended from a common ancestor, are the ruling races of the district and of all the tribes between the Sind and Babrah. Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 405, note 2.

Truffenthaler (I. 105), places Nandanah or Nandānpūr (forteresse en briques sur un montagnon) between the Behāt and the Indus it must have lain somewhere near the line Jhelum to Peshāwar.
he Khukharsi and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sultan and returned to Dehli, and in the year 645 H., having taken Miwāt, turned his attention to the country of the Doṣb, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrahs 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 Rantabhūr, and having punished the sedition 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 Multān, and after some days Malik Ṣama-d-Din Balban-i-Buzurg, the Governor of Nāgor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled, but when the Sultan proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H. he marched in the direction of Gwāliār and Chandāri and Mālwa, and Jāhir Dev the Rāi of that

1 Khukhsār, see T Pedro, 104 and 105. Le district des salines est habité par les Khocacces ce sont ceux qui tirent le sol des mines, c'est un nation qui a quitté l'idélatrie pour embrasser le mahométisme. See also this volume, p. 67, n. 3.

2 Text and MS. (A) Miwāt. This place is not mentioned in the Tabqāt-i-Naqšī, it is mentioned in the Am-i-Akbār (I. (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Naqarat Khān fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbal Khān, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I, p. 211, Miwāt est un canton assez étendu, borné par les provinces de Dehli et d'Adāmeret par les Districts de Djpur et de Dik. It extends "north and south from Bashāhpur to Harṣana, 47 miles, and east and west from Dik to Nārōl, 67 miles." Alwar is about the centre of it now.

Tieffenthaler goes on to say "Cette contrée est habitée par beaucoup de Mahométans qui ont été et sont gentils. Elle appartient auparavant aux Afghans dans le temps qu'ils régnaient à Dehli. Le Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols. Maintenant le Djunct (Jata) s'en est approprié le plus grand partit et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājā de Djpur (Jāpur) qui ont expulsé beaucoup d'habitants mahométans.

He speaks of the abundance of Nīm (Melia azedarachta) and Sissoo (Dalbīna fistula) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country.

He speaks of Nārōl the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing. See also Ronnell's Memoir (1783), p. 76.

Tahdqāt-i-Naqšī says this occurred in 649 H., which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a contemporaneous historian.

4 This Raja is called in the Tahdqāt-i-Naqšī, Chākhar Ajarī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A.D 1246 (644 A.H.) under the name of Chākhar Dēya, his coins bearing the inscription शिव जामध डेया. He was a very powerful Raja (see Thomas 67 et seqq. and Rawl. 690 note 1)
country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sultan in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar was taken. And in this year Sher Khan Governor of Multan, and Malik Izzu-d-Din Balban who had left Nogor with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khan remained in the fortress, while Malik Izzu-d-Din Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a jagir the districts of Budan and was given the title of Kashiul Khan.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehli intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multan and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashiul Khan accompanied the Sultan as far as the river Biah.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehli, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multan of which Sher Khan had lost control, and of which the Sindhis held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalan Khan and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

1 Narwar——In the Ain-i-Akbari, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (see also Raverty 690, note 1).

In the text رنر is a misprint for بفر MS. (A).

Narwar. Tiss. 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 ½ a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude 25° 20' N. Longitude taken from the Islands of the Bight 53°24'. (Cf. Ain-i-Akbari [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.

2 Of Bardar and Bijnor (Tubaqit-i-Nawvi). In the text instead of
the fort of Miāpur, 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 Kashgar, going to Badāo and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amirs, namely Ulugh Khan-i-Azam, and Arsalān Khan and others, in concert with Malik Jalālu-d-Din, the brother of the Sultan, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindak. The Sultan thereupon marched from Delhi, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindak and Kuhrām and Kaithal, by the intervention of a party of Amirs, the Amirs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths sworn for pardon came into submission to the Sultan; and the Sultan conferred upon Malik Jalālu-d-Din the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 H. the feelings of the Sultan underwent a change with respect to his mother Malika-i-Jalān. He gave Qutlug Khan, to whom Malika-i-Jalān was married, a jādegir in Oudh, and a short time after turning against him also sent him to Bahrāij. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mūr, and Malik Izzu-d-Din Kashlū Khan and certain other Amirs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt; the Sultan

which is manifestly wrong I read कोई यात्रा नहीं लेने देकर as in MS. (A).

1 Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong. MS. (A) reads as follows —


c which is intelligible and tally with Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī. Where the reading गोरा पर in the text comes from, it is hard to say.

2 MS. (A). The text reads: कालब अब रस्ते रस्ते see Albirānī (India) (Sachau) II. 261; also Elliott, I. 49 as regards the Rahab.

3 देलाहर, वेल्टलाग सरकर MS. (A).

4 The Calcutta text of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī calls this कौलेरहर. Our text has कौलेरहर. MS. (A) has कौलेरहर (P) MS. (B) कौलेरहर (I)

see Haverty 606, note 4.

5 See Elliott, II. p. 364.

6 The printed text gives خو ربل. It should be خو ربل. MS. (A)

7 This should read एक लाख मदद ना निर्देशन करें; not as in the printed text.
accordingly detailed Ulugh Khan Balban with a large army to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikh-i-Islam Saiyyid Qutbuddin and Qazi Shamsuddin of Bharaij and another party of men incited Qutlugh Khan to come into Delhi, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country; the inhabitants of Delhi joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khan represented this at the Sultan's court, and the Sultan issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutlugh Khan and Malik Izzuddin Kashlu Khan after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred krahs in two days and came from Samana to Delhi, but did not find the party which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlugh Khan and Kashlu Khan also were separated, and Ulugh Khan following them arrived in the Sultan's presence. And in the year 655 H. the Sultan issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandees from the city of Delhi, and at the end of this year the Mughuls arrived on the boundaries of Delhi and Multan; Kashlu Khan Balban made common cause with them and the Sultan came up in hot haste against them. The Mughuls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurasan. The Sultan also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalaluddin Jani marched towards Lakhnauti. And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultan from Turkistan, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Hazrat Makhdum Ganjshahar, may God magnify his power and exalt his

1 This account differs from that given in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. (See Raverty, p. 703 and seqq.)
2 The word تطبيع دران ملك كونند is omitted in Calcutta text.
3 About 160 miles, see Din-i-Akbari II, p 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.
4 The ancient Kraa of Magadh was about 14 miles, the kes of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than 24 miles. The Akbari kes was rather less than 14 miles and this is the standard referred to above.
5 These Malik (Qutlugh Khan and Izzuddin Kashlu Khan) retired towards the Swatlik territory foiled in their object (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri).
6 Compare the account in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.
7 Shaikh Farida-d-Din Ma'uf Ganj-i-shahar was the grandson of Farrukh Shah of Kabul, and son of Kamalu-d-Din Saleman who came from Kabul 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 clothes without number, arrived from Lakhnauti as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Kashhū Khan Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Q바나qal-عالم Hazrat Sheikh Bahān-d-Din Zakariyāī the Multāni, may God sanctify him, raised the tent of 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 (khan).

Multān in the reign of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghūri. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahān-d-Dīn Zakariyā, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also Ain-i-Akbāri [Jarrett] III. p. 363).

His tomb is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbāri (I. 325) as being at Ajūdhan (Pāk Pātān or Pātān-i-Panjāb).

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates, Badāoni gives 656 H. as the date of Fāridūn-d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar’s death and 657 H. as that of the death of Bahān-d-Dīn Zakariyā, while according to Firishta the latter should be 656 H. and the former 658 H. The Ain-i-Akbāri gives 653 H. as the death of the date of Fāridūn-d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar and 655 H. as the date of the death of Bahān-d-Dīn Zakariyā.

The printed text is wrong here.

Shaikh Bahān-d-Dīn Zakariyā was a famous Muhammadan saint of Multān. He was the grandson of Kamīla-d-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh Qoroishi who left Mecca for Khwārazm and thence came to Multān, the Qubbatu-ı-Islām, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahān-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Wajhīn-d-Dīn by the daughter of Hesām-d-Dīn Tarmādī and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 557 H. He died at Delhi about the year 668 H.; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Ṣadru-d-Dīn ‘Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahān-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 Ain-i-Akbāri (Jarrett) III. 362 and note.

The tomb of Bahān-d-Dīn Zakariyā is in Multān.

MS. (A) در جوار قبض دو اینکه (A).

The word ٠٦٥٥ gives the date 657 H. the word ٠٦٥٠ gives the date 66 H. See page 133, note 1.
And in the year 658 H. Sultān Nasiru-d-Din Mahmūd, chastised the country of Miwāt 1 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.² He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehlī, 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-Kalām (Lord of Eloquence) during Nasiru-d-Din's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Din Dabīr ³ whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mir Khusrū, ⁴ may God sanctify him, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-d-Din) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the Ghurratu-l-Kamāl and at the end of the Husht Bihisht greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

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1 The Ţubaqōl-i-Nāṣirī Cal. Text, p 227 reads: خان معظم إلخ خان اهظم بر طرف جبال دهلی براي دفع فساد مقداری میوات كه دیو از ایشان در هر دو چاپ نپیشن زند

Khān-i-Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehlī to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Miwāt who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Miwāt see Hunter, Imp. Ger., Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgōn, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur. See also page 129, note 2, of this Volume.

² On the 11th Jamā'ī-l-Awwal, as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muharram 634 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 Khān having died in infancy.

³ There is no mention of this poet in either the Majma'u-l-Fatḥā or the Aṭashšūdā. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the Husht Bihisht in praise of one Abū Ḥanīfa, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-dīn.

⁴ Amir Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amir Mahmūd Saifa-u-Dīn was born at Patišālā 661 A.H. and died at Dehlī in 725 A.H. (Scale p 151).
abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his). And Sultan Ghiasuddin Balban having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangal and Kamrud had left him in the service of his elder son Nasiruddin¹ Bughrâ Khan, and these few couplets are from an ode of his.

Oh thou 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 and I did not know that that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain.

I keep my heart 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 Nasiruddin died. The Majma’ul Fasahâ gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Delhi from Turkistan in the time of Changiz Khân’s invasion, and obtained great distinction in the court of Sultan Mahmud ibn Taghlaq Shah and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels, when his son Amir Khân was appointed as his successor in his Amirahip, 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 Shabargan (Farûd-din Ganjshâhâr see note 1, p. 103).

He was the author the celebrated Qirânu-s-Sâ’dain the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sultan Nasiruddin with his son Sultan Kai-Qubad on the banks of the Ghagra and of several other works (see Elliott, III. pp. 523 and seqq).

¹ MS. (A) reads correctly Sultan Nasiruddin Bughrâ Khan second son of Ghiyasuddin Balban. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tughral.

He married a daughter of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shâh by whom he had a son and successor Kai-Qubad. (See Raverty, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri 716 n.).

In Thomas, Pathan Kings of Delhi there is given a copy of an inscription of Nasiruddin Mahmud which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Alligurh bearing the date 10th Bajad 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 Nasiruddin himself, (cf. Thomas op. cit 129–130).
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 show 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 Saleimān was vain.

The king Mahmūd Shāh, that Sultān 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.

1 MS. (A) عشق

2 MS. (A) خام صنایع این سینه خود پیشانم

3 MS. (A) نخور و بنا که نموهی خام ناصر دنیا

4 MS. (A). The text has لخرب which is meaningless and spoils the sense.

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 1. 200)
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 assuance 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’un since the dragor of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent.

Oh Khusrū! Shamsu-d-din 8 is thy secretary, strong and well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes, an inexperienced scrivener.

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) جَفَّ بِنَسَغَلِي خَمَم. 
2 MS. (B) agrees with the text. MS. (A) reads خَلُّ خَصْم إِسْتَ خُوْرَ جَانِي زَرَعُ ِبَرَاءِن. 
The textual reading is adopted with زَرَع in place of زَرَع.
3 MS. (A) جَوْر. 
4 MS. (A)  إن شِيْلَ كَّا از كَلَ جَمّان (Duruhun Qai’un).
5 MS. (A). بِعَلَتِي حُرَثَ كَشَقْمَان. 
6 MS. (A) بَرْدْ جَوْر. See page 134 n. 3.
7 MS. (A) نَفَسِ أُورُي تسَلَّمْ وَر. 
8 MS. (A) يُهُرُ تُوْر مَلَكَتُ يَوْرِب. 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 Fakhr-ud-Din
'Amid Lūmākī⁠¹ writes in a Ḍaṣīd, of which this is the opening
couplet.

When my loved one takes the lute, and binds the plectrum
on her fingernail
Her nail strikes Nāḥīd with a hundred wounds in the heart
through envy.
Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāḥīd at that
instant.
Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that
fever.⁶
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, har-sprouted forth and made the nail moist.
If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed 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 sharp-
ness of their nails.
Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness, be-
cause 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 Fakhr-ud-Mulk Khwāja 'Amidu-ud-Din, commonly known as 'Amid
Dašiari or 'Amid Lūmākī said to be a native of Saḵḵām and eulogist of Sultan
Muḥammad Yāmīn.
² MS. (A) reads ......... چون هر یک گل و برگ زنده بر ناکش ... MS.
(B) reads چون هر یک i.e. plays the lute.
⁶ Nāḥīd. The planet Venus زهره, zuhra whose seat is in the third heaven
(Burāhān-e-Qātī), called also راقض فلک, raqqās-e-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 MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.
⁵ MS. (A).
of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshāh Nāṣir-i-Dunyā wa-Din Maḥmūd, 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 Hādīṣ.

1 MSS. (A) (B)  

2 MS. (A) (B)  

Compare the Arabic proverb. In capite orphane discit tensor.

There is also a Hindi proverb to the same effect, which runs:—

\[ \text{मैं एक चारा का काला बालक हूँ।} \]

\[ \text{मेरे बुद्धिमान लड़के का काला बालक हूँ।} \]

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

4 MSS. (A) (B)  

The reading in the text is a抄写员的错误。

5 MSS. (A) (B)  

In the Jāmiʿat al-kullāb of Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥābil we find: 

Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (i.e., poverty) and increases the means of subsistence. 

Also, 

\[ \text{रसोई इलाह मुक़ाबला बना उसे नाले बना उसे नाले।} \]

\[ \text{रसोई इलाह मुक़ाबला बना उसे नाले बना उसे नाले।} \]

“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 Israel.”

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Muḥammad said, He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with blear eyes. It is also said in a Hādīṣ by ʿAbdall-Rahmān.

\[ \text{कहा था कि तोपा जमाना देख तोपा जमाना देख तोपा जमाना।} \]

\[ \text{हमीर इस्लाम नाम और रात्रि नाम और रात्रि नाम।} \]

“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.

\[1\] The text should read thus.

\[2\] MSS (A) (B).

\[3\] MS. (B) writes جرم قمر.

\[4\] This line should read. نشاند در ضیا درک و قلب جهان نکن. MSS. (A) and (B)

\[5\] Text از سوژمپسیر MSS. (A) and (B) have which must be wrong

\[6\] The text is wrong, we should read برد زاچنگی جوزم پسی سیرناخی MSS (A) and (B).

\[7\] The text it appears should read انگامی 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 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 (nākhun) as radīf³ 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 ‘Amid, who was controller of all the states of Hindustān, it is essential to reproduce some thing from poems of his which are rarely met with:

Arise ‘Amid, 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: وهدروننخن
² MS: پننا روي عالم
³ radīf. The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus, in this poem the word ناکحون nākhun is the radīf, the rhyming letter or qāfiyah being ج (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 potsherd, 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 potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house.” J.E.A.S., Jan. 1893, 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 anemono⁵ to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī and Rāhū⁷ to blossom in the garden.

¹ The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are:
   1) Falaku-l-qamar (Moon).
   2) Falaku-l-qālāf (Mercury).
   3) Falaku-zi-Zuhra (Venus).
   4) Falaku-zi-Shams (Sun).
   5) Falaku-zi-Mirzâ (Mars).
   6) Falaku-zi-Mushtari (Jupiter).
   7) Falaku-zi-Zuhal (Saturn).
   8) Falaku-zi-Sawabīt (Fixed stars).
   9) Falaku-zi-Atlâs (The plain sky).

N.B.— Меаns an unstamped coin

See the Qihāju-l-İvâhât.

See also Ain-i-Akbari III. (Jarrett) 37, note 1.

See also Kashshâf Bib: Ind. Vol. II., p. 1184 and seqq.

² The constellation Libra, called نَفْسُ الرَّأِبِ (tarâs-i-charâb) or نَفْسُ الرَّأِبِ (tarâs-i-falâb) or مَيْتَانَ (mīsān).

³ "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic.) Steinmann. In the Hasht Bihisht of Amir Khusraw, we find لب پر رازش " a full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī.

None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is.

⁴ شقاقيٌ النعیم Shqâqi‘u-n Nu‘mân so called because of its redness being likened to the flashing of lightning or from theANCE in the sense of “blood” or resembling blood in colour so that it signifies “pieces of blood.” (Lace) s. v.
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 mouth has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one time curved like the chaugán, 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 Khattá 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 sligon 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?

(Salafín-i-najázi) So-called kings, as opposed to (Salafín-i-naqiqí) true kings, i.e., the prophets.

According to the Bûrhán-i-Qān this name is given to any stick at a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the ihal and "maqūra" (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole at a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignias of royalty. Here it is a "pole" stick.

Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'án, II. 216 and 22.

Khāla Cathby vid. D'Herb, II. 431 Khathai.
Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the
garden bough by its song of Kū Kū1 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
naturesd 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, an
eloquent without a (material) tongue.

1 The song of the dove, Whence? Whence?

Omar Khayyām.

You palace towering to the wellkin blue
Where kings 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 Muhammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is

Subhan teri qadr, Subhan teri qadr. Praise be to Thee for thy power.

Rūḥ is the vital principle the “breath of life” (Gen. ii 7),
distinguished from the نِسَى nafs or conscious manifestation of life, or the
consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur’ān XV. 29.

In kuno gultuhu fasād ‘alimtahu ta’lamu ma fi nafsi.
“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
نِسَى nafs and a رُوح Rūḥ.

It would seem as though the word نِسَى 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 Kitāb and what is Qaṣar.

In face of thy decree what is the Khāqān and what is Halēkū?

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 nerous 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.

1 These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس. نفس, nafs, is by Arabic metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (a) نفس الفراغ, which is also called النفاس النافذ, the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b) نفس التبجي, the breath of life.

The first of these is again subdivided into two, that which commands and that which forbids: thus they say جلالة يسر قلمه, جلالة يسر قلمه. Such an one consults his two minds, i.e., weighs the pros and cons.

See Lane article نفس and روح, also Chiyezī-l-lughāt, and Khusnāf art.

Qaṣar. Qaṣar is the Turkish word meaning Emperor. The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary. (See de Courteille, Turk. Orient., Dict. خاقان). Khāqān. Originally the title Qaṣar was given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, while the subordinate prince of the Chaghāı̂d and other Chingizī lines were styled only Khān.

After a time the higher Qaṣar lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was used by many besides the sovereign (see Tarikh-i-Mashhī (Elias and Ross) p. 30 n. 1).
Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards, yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Ya Huna. 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 in the following in praise of the prophet may the peace and blessing of God be upon him. 

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose sleeve, flows gracefully from the adornment 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 prophetic office, than whose spikenard

1 The word چنگ in its original sense means bent or curved, hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also “gajak گیجک” 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 (Busul-i Qasim). The چنگ was played with a plectrum called زیاق Zeqma, and from its description as زیاق کوز Kuz and زیاق دنکم Zeqin was like the ‘ud of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

1 مس. Ya Huna. 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.

4 MS. (B) has گنبد.

5 MS. (A) has چرود. MS. (A) and (B) چرود.

6 Sambul (Nardostachys jatamansi N. O. Valerianaceae) زیاق, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (S. John xii. 2).

In the Buch-i-Jamshid it is stated that there are two kinds of Sambul—Sambul-i-Hindi, and Sambul-i-Romi.

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain and useful in dropsy, in flatulences and as an hemostatic in metrorrhagia.

The perfumed sambul is the variety called Sambul-i-Hindi while the Sambul-i-Romi is also called Nardin.

See also Buch-i Barar (Southerner), Vol. II, pp. 68 et seq.
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

1 Cf. Tielmann the III. 107. Abul Fa'ad (Rexmad) II. 122. D'Herbelot vol. ii. Art Khattār. Māchin or Mahā Ghin ou Sin-El-Abī, ii. 118 and note 2, "Japhet is created by orientals with the paternity of Chin who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Māchin his first born."

2 The phrase نور الزمان means literally the six-sided seven shaped world.

The six sides or divisions of the world are—

- عالم الإنس, the world of mankind.
- عالم الہ, the world of the jinn or genii.
- عالم الملائک, the world of angels.
- عالم النبات, the animal world.
- عالم النبات, the vegetable world.
- عالم المعدن, the mineral world.

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

نور الیک, sun; معبر, moon; وش, evening; جزیر, dawn; and فجر, sunrise.

The two standards, الام, are the sun and moon, cf. Qur'an, xxxvii, 35, 39.

M. S. (A) reads رخی. His onyx-like eye, etc.

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 Nūsbatu-d-dahr (p. 69), he said this "because the onyx essere it's wearer to become ill-tempered, rash, precipitate, and hasty... 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 Chin ( الصين) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the unkindness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there.

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing croup in children; it also acts as a sedative causing them to dribble when it is hung round their necks.

See also Lane Art. جناح 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 every thing 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 gualangahin (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 sweet 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,

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1 Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on which was engraved the "most mighty name".

See Laps Arabian Nights Introduction p. 21 and Chap i. p. 15. This stone was supposed to show Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Herbelot art. Soliman.

2 Called Yihmiyeh upon which the world is said to rest. See page 162, n. 2

3 MS. Yihmi Zurman (A)

4 The properties of the rose are said in the Bahru-I-Jawilir 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. Sadid 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 Sadid's statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

5 This line should read: See page 110.
In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his eleft 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) coloquynth are both reminders of his love and wrath.

The garden, in submission\(^2\) 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 of\(^3\) the spirit of the human. One cannot reach to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

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\textit{note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muhammed was fleeing from Mecca 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.}

\textit{Haiatu-l-Qulub. See also Muir’s Life of Mehdi II. 257 note.}

Compare the following lines by Ya’qub al-Manjaniqi, quoted by Ibn Khalliqan.

\begin{quote}
١٧٦٥٥

\textit{Ehha al-maddi l-ikhbaru l-fakhr}

\textit{l-walli l-fakhru l-jabr}

\textit{Rasmi dawd l-ya’r l-fakhr}

\textit{Rasmi dawd l-ya’r l-fakhr}

\textit{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.}

\textit{See Ibn Khalliqan (de Slane), Vol. IV., p. 375.}

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. (Hegrah).

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\(^{1}\text{MS. (A)}\)

\(^{2}\text{MSS. (A) and (B)}\)

\(^{3}\text{MSS. (A) and (B)}\)
When Banūq 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 Ummahānī, 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

Asād Allāh 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 torn of his religion.

A band (of men) lost like a hair which has fallen into heaven 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, pega 166. See Qur'ān Sur. XVII.

2 A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth. "After that I was taken up to 'Sidratul-Muntahā and behold its fruitata were like water pools and its leaves like elephants' ears" (Mathew) Mishkātul-Masābih, Vol. II, p. 694.

See also Hughes' Dict. of Islam. (Sidratul-Muntahā).

3 MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

4 MS. (A). This alludes to the Muslims.

5 MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

6 MS. (A). These are Rā'ā, insdel.
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)
4 MS. (A) (B)
5 MS. (A) (B)
6 MS. (A) (B)

...
are imbued with sugar as though from the ray 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 Qasida.**

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 portayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.⁵

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 night⁶ as an angel.⁶

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.⁶ Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.⁶

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¹ MS. (A) has the words لَيْيَكَ اِنَّهُ Aīṣan lahu Also by him.

² The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāk one As-Simāk x-Rāmū, the lance-bearing Simāk (Aroturus) ; and the other As-Simāk x-Azal, 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 Ulug Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the verb Samak to rise, to be exalted. See Ibn Khallqān (de Slane) Vol. I. note 11.

Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth, bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (Qiyasu-l-Lughāt).

³ ٣٥ ٣٥ Burhān-ī-Qalī. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows. Also a pigeon all black with white tail.

⁴ MS. (A) reads غَلْكُ which seems to have no meaning. The text read غَلْكُ with a variant مَلْكُ which we find in MS (B).

⁵ Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form; crescent or decrescent.

⁶ Parak. The star Canopus. Burhān-ī-Q
Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth are his thilh. 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 range 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 confection with salt. Except thy eternal existence how can any caravan arrive at secondary existence.

In the eye of truth there is kuṭṭ (of ornament), in the eye these are according to the Burhān-i-Qātā.

Bahr-i-Nīlās, ḏūrīt bahrī. Daryā-i-Rūm.
Daryā-i-Maghrīb, ḏūrīt bahrī. Daryā-i-Chīn.
Daryā-i-Khwarazm.

MSS. (A) and (B) read خبک, خبک. MSS. (A) and (B).

খ্যেক "A patch" for the face (Burhān-i-Qātā).

5 I read خسک. This seems the best reading. Both MSS. (A) and (B) lend countenance to it. The reading in the text is impossible.

6 That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so plaintive that it seems as though they were tinged with salt. Conserve of roses is called ḫōdūrī parsiarish.

(qidam) Existence from all eternity. For ḫōdūr (hūdā) see note 4, page 1.

5 The word kuṭṭ was used as a collyrium. ملک ملک (Mil Hoshidān) is to put out the eyes. ملک, called also ملک مالک, is the double or style used for applying the kuṭṭ.
of insidelity and doubt there is the pride (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 Lamsēk 2 cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life as 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 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.

1 MS (A) reads ۲۶۵ but this is an error.
2 The text and both MSS read Nūh bin Lamsēk. Genesis 1:28-30 Noah the son of Lamech; also Gen. 11:14
3 زداغ غم MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly ۳۴ غم
4 When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.
5 MS. (A) [Text kulah-i-pardai. (Buhār-i-Qalid).]
6 MS. (A) [Text ۲۴ جبارا.]
7 MS. (B) جبارا [Text ۲۴ جبارا.]
8 MS (A)

In the Nāsīhān-t-awārīd of Lisānūn-i-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 ⁶ has been placed in my hand by destiny.
How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperor, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation.³
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 mosquitoes, which are the most contemptible of all creatures, and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrûd, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrûd, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and died 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 Nimrûd died in abject misery.⁴

¹ 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.
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 lends to emptiness.
³ ⁶ ⁵
⁴ Arabic transcription from the original
⁵ Jayyûd literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy.
⁶ MS. (A) The text reads wrongly در غطیان گلپ

By the laws of Islam, cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing or at times of prayer, or as a prayer carpet. Cloth worn of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called جغدی راهبه.
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 Chīn remains dry as a bush,
Let me refresh the olfactory sense 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 show 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) مغيّبة

The term رافضی is applied by Sūnni Muslims to any of the Shi‘ah sects. See Hughes. Dict. of Islam Art. Rāfīṣī.

2 The four Khalifs.

3 Hadis. مثلاً إنساني كائناً كائناً بايام إهدائكم إهدائكم. My companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

4 بنفسه MS. (A)

5 Faddak was an estate near Medina which Muhammad 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 Khārījī, 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 silula bonum suisset, eas venator non reliquisset. Freytag Held, 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 Hueit-ı-Haimān there is a story told of Al Mā'mūn who in the course of his pilgrimages 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 فيك الشم واللول من يعيش في إركانك إليكم يوم يعيش فيك إليكم من فرح أكر من تعنيك ضرفا.
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 rain of the palace.

The name Khārījī was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imams (see Cureton's Shahrastānī Milāl u Al Islām, p. 86.)

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 he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslems.

See for a fuller account of this sect. Sale's Qurān, Preliminary Discourse, p. 123 (ed. of 1857) (Badger, Imāms and Seyyids of Omān, Appendix, pp. 374, and seq.) (Osborn, Islām under the Arabs, p. 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Ali and Mū'āwīya met at Siffin from which the following is an extract "The valour of 'Ali was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Mulika-Ishtār, the Marshal Nay of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Maiilik 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 Amr 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\(^1\) is like the night-flying bat\(^2\) 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?\(^3\)
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.\(^4\)
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?\(^5\)
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.\(^6\)

Towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'an fixed to the hearts of their lancees. "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 Abi-Shehriyān named, and insulted upon 'Ali recalling Malik Al-Ashir from fighting against the Moslems "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Urwa" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah being a settled by arbitration.

\(^1\) Abā Būkār—The sole companion of Muhammad when he fled from Mecca to Medina, cf. Qur'ān ix. 40

\(^2\) The animal commonly known by the name dâtli, which seems to have no meaning.

\(^3\) Kizil Arslān in the Turkish for "red lion". He was the son of Ildighiz the first of the Ātābakes of Ārār baijan whose dynasty commenced in 555 H. and ended in 622 H. Muhammad the elder son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslān who was assassinated in 587 H. (D'Herbelot) (Beest).
Yet in the beginning of the nun and dāl of my age (54) 103.

after the year ḥā and nun and hū (655 H.), thanks be to God that the bird of my ambition has built the bonds of this net and gone free.

I have washed my hands of the one, and have sowed my feet from the other, springing out of both snakes 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.

Then shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxication of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are cold and shrunk or.

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yaḥūq says: A city lying beyond the river Sīhūn in Turkestan near Turall. Then, one night, Abū Muhammad Abū Bakr ibn Yūsuf ibn Yaḥūq al-Majmūl ibn Yaḥūq ibn Yūsuf. A city and country celebrated for the beauty of its

people. ब्य हेनि श्र:.

Yaḥūq does not mention this.

The above shows that 'amar Lūmākū 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 which stands for 54 means good guid mer. no meaning can be attached to the 全域旅游, which stands

for 09. हरि हो बर्न 104.

³ tāl, in a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force of the breath of the finch. Stringops' Diet

It is also called फिय ् ड़ री रोज. 105

⁴ Fāqirh pen gun, named by Steet (Etym. Diet) to the base Pu expressive of the act of loosening. ✡ र बुक

पू ब क्रोन के दक्षिण के दक्षिण के दक्षिण के दक्षिण के दक्षिण के 106

A lamp which God has lighted

He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard

This is added in the text after the word BB. (A). This appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The intoxication of 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 ear;
For this mangy ear 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 QAṢĪDA.

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless toils
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.

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 كرک for كرک the meaning will be “strikes it with the elephant
goad.” There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word كرک.
One meaning is according to the Burhān-i-Qāṭī “an earthenware vessel which
is used for holding dates.”

3 should be the reading. MS. (A) Ms. (B) read كرک كرک كرک.
قُتْعَ (qutug) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a makan.
گزک (gazak) is the Persian equivalent of قَتْعَ. (qutug).
4 This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.
Saves 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 edging 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 Nasiru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wala Muhammad Baibun, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath.

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-four thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion.

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.

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 odour from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

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These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

MS. (A). The text reads بحرا عقوبة كما كتب و مبتذل qatilahu yunfau wa yanīm wa tariiyīq yahaydū.

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a suppository, 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.

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1. MS. (A). The text reads بحرا عقوبة كما كتب و مبتذل.

2. I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

3. MS. (A). The text reads بحرا عقوبة كما كتب و مبتذل.
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 obstacles.

Like Nunshirwan 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.²

The knot of the dragon’s tail and the dragon’s head 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 infliction

¹ Both MSS. (A and B) have خَرَكَةٌ إِفْكَانُ. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

² MS. (A) reads : مَهَازِرُ بَلْدَةً. بَيْشَامِرَ بَنَهَ.

³ Platanus orientalis. The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

⁴ عَقَدٌ (i.e., nodus ascendens et descendens.) Völler sub loco. The Istiklāl 1, Fāniz, says that the ‘Uqdatu-ī-Ra’z is also called ‘Uqdatu-ī-Shamāliya and the ‘Uqdatu-ī-Zunah is called ‘Uqdatu-ī-Shamāliya, and the two together are called Jamarāz. These terms are fully explained in the Article.

⁵ See also Lane s.v. لَيْث. 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 band upon the learned.

Woeful is my soul. 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

1. As regards the word کسوف 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 Ohiyāsi-Lughati applies it to either while the Kashshāfi Ilkīhāsi-l-Funūn 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. Kane however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language إكسوف is the partial loss of the light of the sun and إكسوف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition.

2. As is a much earlier letter than خ it is probable that originally at all events خى 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, Sūrya Siddhānta, p. 60.

Mythologically Rāhu is a Dālta 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. (Nanson 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 heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart.
No one has seen half a dāng 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 showed 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)

در بند می نه دیده کسی نیم دانگ زر
ور دید پیروان تکنسم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS.

² MS. کشیدم (A)

باز کشاند (B)

³ MS.
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 imprison-
ment 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.

Qasida.

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 then hadst girt ______ would have been brought &c.

It is evident from this Qasida that 'Amid Lomaki was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the Majma'u-L-
Fasa'id.

2. The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the: haft anām (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (4) and (5) the two hands, (6) the foot 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: ad-dam. The blood. aß-ṣām. The phlegm.

4. 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

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1. "In former times (says Alberuni) this day (Mihrgān) 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. Yaqūt 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 became like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the Burāhān-t-Qātī says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamī 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 Nauros, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, Mihrgān-t-Hasa and Mihrgān-t-‘ammā; 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 Farīdān ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the binding of affection (مَجْذَبَة ٍ تَبْتَوْسِن) 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. (Burāhān-t-Qātī)."

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 Kirdes 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.—(Alberuni).

See also Alberuni (Chron. of Ancient Nations), p. 208 and n°19.

2. At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; i.e., March 21st.

3. MSS. (A) and (B) have وَبَنَا. 

4. MSS. (A) and (B) have وَبَنَا.
guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge. 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 specially 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 (Qulzam) of sorrow.

Sinjar 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.

He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune. Ebony is said in the Burhān-i-Qāfī to be "a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the ('ad) or 'aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it disperses calculus of the bladder."

The Bahna-i-Jumshid says that ebony "is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water," hence the poet asumea a ship built of ebony would sink.

Abul Ḥārīs Sinjar Ibn Malsakah Ibn Alp Arsān was Sulṭān of Khurāsān, Ghazna and Mawarīn-n-Nūh. He was the sixth of the Seljūq Sulṭāns. 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 543 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 Sinjār whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slano) I. 600.


Qairawān, Long. 10° E. Lat. 36 N. is situated in the North of Africa, in the province of Tunizia. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwan. At the commencement of the Muslim occupation it was the capital of Africa. See Abul Feda (Renaud) II. 198. The ocean of Qairawān is the Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda (Annales) we find that Qairawān was founded in the year 59 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 peal 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 heavens³
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 Khosru 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).
³ MS. (B) has the same with the exception of رگد 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 Clymene \(^1\) of eloquence.

Heavens, 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 musk-laden locks.

Though the stag roamed round the garden a hundred times he saw no bed of violets to equal the bloom on thy checks.

What magical power is there in that eye which, with one glance\(^3\) captivates hearts from within and hunts the stag from without.

From envy of the musk-coloured spot\(^5\) which stands like a drop of dew upon thy rose-like cheek, the stag without respite nurses a lacerated heart in his breast.

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\(^1\) The Gulf of Heracleopolis, 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 occupied the site of the ancient town of Clymene. Epiphanius mentions τὸ Ἕλερτρον τῆς Ἐλληνίδος as one of the three ports of the Red Sea, the others being Elath and Berenice.

\(^3\) Of. "The Bitter Lakes" are remains. The canal of Trajan beginning at Babylon entered the Red Sea at Clymene.

\(^5\) Of. 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 do sprinkle!
Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snare
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-subdner.
The suspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion,
Sinjar,
In whose estimation the fierce lion or the sky is but a stag.
The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor
taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khiṣṭā as a memorial.
Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became 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 as 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 clutches of the
lion?
At that time the stag prided himself upon being fitter 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 Sullān,
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 شمَشَ شمَشَا, shamsa-y-kafir.
2 MS. (A).
3 MS. A.
Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast of the dried blood of his navel in Tâṭär.

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.  

His food in 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 pursuest him he shows 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)  

8 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. (Surrâhān-i-Qâfī).

The following is abridged from the Ruṣūṭ-i-Hâwâni. "The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever 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 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 no makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

Aml has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.

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 Narwan slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawan pale like the saffron.

The word ṣāḥib stag, occurs in every couplet of this qaṣīda.

mishk is said to be the concealed blood of the navel of the stag of Khūtā. (Burhān-i-Qāṣī and Maḥfūzūn-i-Adwīya). 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 headaches; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the boar (Castor oil) 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 bish (aconite) and qurūs-i-sumbul (P) 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.

See also Ibn Blijân (Southeimer) Vol. II. pp. 513 et seq. for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

The Narwan is described in the Burhān-i-Qāṣī as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also Gulnar.

The Arghawan according to the Burhān-i-Qāṣī is a tree with
How can it be asfuran for it has not made me smile!

Fasting makes my cheeks yellow like the Zarzir's through weeping, and my tears red as the Ashtan

How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and

How can we be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and
His frame stately as the Narwan is bowed like the reed,
Has any one ever seen fasting proceed from the Narwan 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 1 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
2 to the shape of a bent bow.
It is two days since I have seen jar upon jar of sugar 3 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, may
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. 4

1 The text has which is right.
2 MSS. A. B. have which is right.
3 The text has which is correct.
4 Cf. Nūmā (Silandasnāma).
The amulet hung 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;

Muḥammad 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 Isfandiyār, 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 Zakāt, Ḥajj 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.

The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb.

Zakāt or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical religion, Qur'ān xxiv. 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 gnát of Nimrûd 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 Isám)*.

1. حَلْوَى is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Hadis says:

\[\text{حلوى و فم الصائم الطيب عند إلهام مبطن} \]

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane. *Art. خلق.* It became altered (for the worse).

The Qámüs, says:

\[\text{و حَلْوَى فم الصائم خلْوٍا و خلْوَة فَن غَدُرَت راهنة} \]

2 Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word abshāt to be a plural formed by Badáni on the analogy of إميتات ummahāt and to stand for the نَهَايَة علويَة *nulh abāt*, being the nine bearings.
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 me² 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 "radīf" better than ‘Amid, 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.

¹ MS. (A) reads زبايزد نه پیدا ولی نه نیان روزه. MS. (B) reads زبايزد
² ... the reading in the text is زمانه بری ویدا ولی نیان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems tenable, and has been adopted in the translation.

زمانه نه پیدا ولی نیان روزه

⁶ The text reads لمح بردن but MS. (A), and (B) read مطفر.

⁶ 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 ‘Eshr or morning meal." (Burton’s Mecca I, 310 note) see also Lane’s Modern Egyptians for the observances of the month of Ramazān.
Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the bounty 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 نشاط instead of فسل 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 safety." See Shah Nāma (Atkinson) p. 75 Shāhnāma, Turner Macan, Ed. I, pp. 97 et seq.
3. There is a play on the word يوم here which cannot be preserved.
4. Another name for the Simurgh, and a synoninm for anything rare and unattainable. (See Burhan i-Qātī under the name عناصر مغرب)
There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the Hayātu-1-Hawān 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 prayers 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  holster which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. "May the Anqā fly away with him."

They also say لجود و الغزل والعنقا ثالثه إما إيشيا لم توجد ولم تكن Liberality, the Ghul, 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 brilliance 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 shown me the way (and have hidden 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 Manizha² 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 Afrasiyab. 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 Gîrîn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manizha, the beautiful daughter of Afrasiyab, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwa was sent by Afrasiyab to put Bizhan to death; by the intercession of Pirân the punishment was averted, but Bizhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manizha 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 Rustam, Bizhan was freed and he and Manizha went to Iran together. (See Atkinson's Shah Nâmâh, pp 300 and sqq.) See also page 116 note 5.
Patience has the strength of Rustum, 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 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 cuirass 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)

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

1 Rustum extricated Bīshan from the pit by drawing him up with his 
  karnād 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. Ḥāḍī Khalīfah, III. p. 87, writes as follows:

  "Philosophia illuminationis (Hekmat el-ishrāz) sive Neo-Platonica inter vetores 
disciplinas philosophicas solum tenet quem Thesophia inter doctrinas 
Islam; similis modo, sive philosophia physica et theologiae inter illas disciplinas 
lorum tenet quem theologiam dogmatico-scholasticam inter has.

In the Ḥāḍī Khalīfah 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 Ḥāḍī Khalīfah. See also ibid., Proleg. Ibn Khalt. III. 167.

3 The MS. (A) has خيشمن رَيَّر ذَيْاق The text follows MS. (B).

See note 1 page 101.
lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Ladan¹ into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā² superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.³

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 burden 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 Qifrān,⁴ not now only but long ago.

¹ لدان Ladan. The resinosus balsamic juice of Cistus creticus and other species; according to the Burhān-i-Qāfī it is called also عنبير عسلی 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 femina quædam, cui in utero fetus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ladanis vaporaverit, fetus illæ mortuus illico excidit. See also Ibn Baitār (Sontheimer) I. p 409.

² It is the ٥٦ of Genesis xxxvii 25 and xliii. 11, where it is translated in our version myrrh. The Greeks called it ὑσαρχ. The true myrrh (Ar. مورخ) is different.

The Ashhab is the white amborgris which was accounted the best.

³ A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) have فیض عز بزات but is a better reading.

⁵ Qifrān, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the Burhān-i-Qāfī (and Qāmūs) for immersion of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called ‘ar’ar (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the Ma’ārimu-l-Adviya: Deobstruunt, diuretic, emmenagogus, 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 antiinflammatory. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps Juniperus Sabina (Savino) which is powerfully ebolic. According to Ibn Baitār (South.) II. p. 94, it is Ḳinwecedrus, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, Ḳفزب ‘Ar’ar.

The word سكرن is derived in Burhān-i-Qāfī from اسمح and 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 GHĪYĀSU-D-DIN BALRAN-I-KHURD

Who had the title of Ulugh Khān, by the consent of the Malik and Amirs adorned the throne by his accession in the Qasr-i-Safed

1. The word شعر here has its double meaning. Našī in his prosody says, "A baṭ (poem) is called baṭ for the reason that baṭt means a house and they compare the baṭ of poetry (شعر) with the baṭ of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abū-l-Ālā Maʿrūḍ

الجنس يظهر في البينين رونفه بيت من الشعر ووبت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shown forth in two tents
The tent of poetry (شاير) and the tent of hair (شیر)


The Wahhābi writers define Shirk as of four kinds:

Shirk al-ʿilm. Ascribing knowledge to others than God.
Shirk l-tasarruf. Ascribing power to others than God.
Shirk l-ibādah. Offering worship to created things.
Shirk l-ʿadāhah. The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.

See also Qurān, xxxv. 33 and xlv. and 3, and various other places.
(the White Palace) in the year 664 H. He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultan 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 Khan, 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 Bazār, had recourse to one of the Sultan's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum on the condition that if the Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property. When this request was represented to the Sultan 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 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

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1 Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 668 H. and the accession of Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban there is no known historical record. The Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Tahir-i-Din Barani only begins from Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban.
2 MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبل and بسیر.
3 MS. (A) reads بکدویی راسته.
4 According to Firuzi, one of these was Suhail Khan, the Amir of Ondu, 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 Areslaü Khān sent from Lakhnautī sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sultan proceeding to Patiali 1 and Kaupilā, built the forts of Patiali, Kaupila, Bhojpūr, and certain other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jūd hills. In two days after leaving Dehli he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāitharā 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-Dīn the territory of Badaun and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kāitharīs, 3 and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jauṇpūr; and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the Doab, 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 Sīntūr

1 MS. (A). Patiali. The printed text has Betali.

Patiali. In Aliganj tahsil, 23 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter Imp. Gaz.)

Kaupila. In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(Imp. Gaz.)

Bhojpūr. The residence of the Ujjainīrajah, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram, a pargāna in the Sīrkār Rōhīs Bihār.

2 So also: Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī. Firishta reads Kāther. MS. (A) reads Kānther. 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 Hsîr-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 Mughuls in the reign of Sultān Mu‘izzu-d-Din Bahārām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness reached the confines of Lakhnauti, and Tughral, Naib 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 Mu‘izzu-d-Din, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sultān Qhiyāgho-d-Din brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkila (Nārkila) and Malik Ikhtiyār-d-Din Beg Birlās was ordered to pursue him, the Rāi of Sunārgām named Dhanūj offering his services to the Sultān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyār-d-Din 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 Baghrah Khān, Governor of Sāmān, who eventually received the

1 MS. (A) reads كوهیہ سانبرز Kokpaya-i-Sanbūs. This seems to be a typographical error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumān hills must be meant.

2 حصار نونام نہائ MS. (A).

3 Neither Firishā nor Zīān-d-Din Barni mention this.

4 MS. (A) reads ناکیلہ در بحرہ مرہرو شفتہ and Malik Ikhtiyār-d-Din Taugra.

5 MS. (A) reads Malik اختیار الدین تنکر را Malik Ikhtiyār-d-Din Taugra. Tārīkā-i-Fīroz Shāhi calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sūrjānī. See Elliott, III. 117, note.

6 Called Dānūj Rāi in Tārīkā-i-Fīroz Shāhi. See Elliott, III. 113, note. “The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippora. The Sunārgāw, 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 Tieffenbhaler “Sonnergong.” See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 82.

7 The printed text and MS. (A) both have The above appears to be the meaning.
title of Sultan Nāṣiru-ḍ-Din, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle’s son to the Sultan and one of the “Forty Slaves” of Sultan Shamsu-ḍ-Din, and Governor of Lāhor and Dilāpur, and had read the Khudābād in Ghāzni in the name of Sultan Nāṣiru-ḍ-Din, the Mughūls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustān) the road of communication had become opened to the Mughūls, accordingly Sultan Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sultan Muhāmmad, 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 insignia of royalty, and having made him heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Mūltān, 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 Mūltān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Mūltān to Shirāz and begged that Shaikh Sa’dī, 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 his care of the Sultan, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sultan Muhāmmad used to visit Mūltān every year to see Sultan Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

1 The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading ḫuṣūṣ [instead of ḫuṣūṣ] than losing all the sense of the passage. Cf. MSS. (A) (B).

MS. (A) has, correctly, ḫuṣūṣ

2 Shaikh Shamsu-ḍ-Din Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Abdu-llaḥ as-Sa’dī. He was a native of Shirāz 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 82 and 112 years (Beale says 120) He spent 50 years in acquiring sciences, 10 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 50 years in piétude: 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 Kaddīyat are of world-wide reputation. The Majma’al Fuzūḥā (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 701 H. which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sa’dī was born “about the year 671 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 Itkhshād, p. 294.
possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultān 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 Multān; and in the same year Itimār the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a petition to Kān-i-Shahīd 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 on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zu-Hijjah of the year 683 H. and Mir Hasan of Dehli composed a prose lament, and sent it to Dehli. It is copied here in its very words.

The Lament of Mir Hasan.

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

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1 Itimār. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Zīn-d-Dīn Bārnī calls him Samār. Firishta calls him Timūr Kān.
2 Called Kān-i-Shahīd or the “Martyr Prince” because he fell in battle opposing “the accursed Samār, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changīz Kān” (Elliott, III. 122)
3 MS. (A) Bāgh-e-Sarīr, the text reads Bāgh-e-Saīr. MS. (B) Bāgh-e-Saīr
4 Zīn-d-Dīn Bārnī says 684 H.
5 Zīn-d-Dīn Bārnī 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 Hasan which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A) (B) may have had its origin in a copyist’s error.
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 whosoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires, to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whosoever 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 amusement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly springing 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 force of 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 Qānīn-Mulk Ghāzi,1 may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies, on Friday the last day of the month of Zā-1-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 “jihād” 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 Ilīmār, with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three farsangs. When morning broke, he commanded to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one farsang coming face to face with those accursed ones,2 elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

1 Qānīn-Mulk Ghāzi. The eldest son of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Balban who was Khan of Multā. See page 187 note.

2 کن مال عیدی را. MS. (A).
of Bāgh-i-Sarīr 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 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 and in very truth that choice of position was the snare of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khan, 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, 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 (white) girdled Khan, 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 Serāb mentioned before.
2. The Raśī and Satlāj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, 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 خزای شایگی MS. (A)
4. MS (A) reads درنشاشه عامی
   جا افاضا ساپاق افاضا Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.
   Other proverbs of this kind are the following.
   اذا نزل الافضای بطل الیذر When Fate comes, caution is useless.
   اذا نزل الافضای عمي البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind
5. The three stars in Orion's belt. See Lane s. v. انجوزار.
manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb "In fact 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 Khan-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 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 jihād, 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 illumined heads, while the Ghāzis of Islam, 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.

2 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. 840, II. p. 232. Ibn Khaldoun, Proleg.: I. 102.

3 The owl (Alul) is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean, Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (Haigātu-l-Haiwānēl).

Hence the proverb Ḳoṭānān in the būmē خَمَرَة تُرْكُوا الْعُمَايَدَ.

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. See also page 107, note 1. See also J. A. S. B. 1877, p. 81.

4 According to Sūf writers there are two Jihāds. Al-Jihād-u-Akbar or "the greater warfare" which is against one's own lusts: and Al-Jihād-u-Aṣghar or "the lesser warfare" against infidels (See Hughes, Dict. of Islam art. Jihād.)

5 Crying Allāhu Akbar (God is Almighty). See Mishkāt-u-Masābīd 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 Malik's 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 Tartars was being torn to shreds.

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth
The Tartars 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.¹

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 rue upon that fire to guard that eye ²

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

¹There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. تیر tir is a kind of cambrie or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow."

²عين إكلام An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs say فَقِامَ إلِىِّ مَنْ عَيْنٍ إِكلَام May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

³مَيدُ According to Burhān-i-Qāh, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. See Vallor's Lexicon

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's Modern Egyptians.
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
Jauzbar, 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
favourites. 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 lassoor, 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 فسند فئاه as has the text. MS. B فسند Neither is intelligible.
² Possibly we should read تمصقه. Jauzbar the head and tail of
Draco, see Burkhan-i-Qad also ʿAn-i-Akbārī, II. (J.) p. 9, also Karshāf, L. 202.
³ I read تئر در خانه ی هشتم MS. (A).
⁴ I read نزد در خانه ی هشتم which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as
سنده for which there is no sanction. The text reads نزد و بر and it seems to me نزد is more likely to be
right. It might easily have become تئر by copyist's error.
⁵ MS (A) و خوشای غلابان و خفا و خلابان طلابان غزال. This is a better
reading than the text.
⁶ MSS. (A) and (B) read صمام فیه for صمام سما in the text.
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 Hindustan 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 3 before the Sun, and like the Ram 5
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, 6 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 6 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 Kāhār Ḥāqqāb. The thorn of Scorpio. Mars is called
2 Ḥūl. The sign Pisces.
3 Ḥāmil. The sign Aries.
4 Zābān fī al-ṭabbūr on the analogy of 5 Ḫāla fī ḥādīkaka said of a liar.
6 Qandār in a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played
with a plectrum. The word was originally 6 ḫalq dung from its being likened to
the tail of a lamb. (Lane).
6 Mercury is called 6 Dābīr-i-Falā. The scribe of the sky.
6 Nizām al-Dīn. (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. Amon, Oh Lord of the worlds!

And Mr Khurū also on that day fell a prisoner into the hands of Lahori, a servant of the Mughul, and had to carry a nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts 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."  

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehli two elegies written in tarkib-band which are found in the anthology known as

1 For an account of Mr Khurū see Index reference.

The poet relates some of his experiences as a captive—"At the time that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the Mughul—may such days never return!—travelling in a sandy desert, where the host made my head boil like a cauldron; I and therman who was with me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although the naphthia of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by drinking a draught of water. Both my guard and his horse drank their fill and expired immediately." Elliot, M.l, Appendix, p. 645.

جمل means both horsecloth and also rose. There is a difference in the readings MS. (A) reads مغرور نبيل وننثالة جمل, MS. (B) is like the text.

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 Tarkib-band as
**Tahâratu-l-Kamûl.** For a space of a month more or less, folk used to sing those tarkib-bandās 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 cyclone, 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.

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has been stated elsewhere, the plan is similar to the above, but the interpolated complet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in Tarkib-bandā and in Tariq-bandā.

1. Tahâratu-l-Kamûl. The longest of the four Divâns of Amîr Khûndū. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life; for an account of this and the other "Divâns" see Elliott, III. Appendix. See also Hâji Khalifshâh, IV. 311.

2. MS (A) reads كُلْسِان for بُسْتَانِ.

3. MS. (B) has a worthless reading.

همچ یادگار برادر مولانا خمین پدید
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 ¹ 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'ash. become the Pleiades ² (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen ³ 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 جشم we should read فر جشم as in MS. (A).

² 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.

³ This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنه تكيب بنة نعشت بنات النعوش. Banātu-u-na'ash, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation Ursu Major. See Lane, s. v. نعش -

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sodillot in his Notes to the Prolégomenes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear فَرَطْرِن لؤازر Fœœtrum Lazari, 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 Ibn-J-Amid (see de Blanu, Ibn Khall: I. 3, 283).

"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 barsee."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 18, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

² MSS. (A) and (B) read تلجه طالع.
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.¹

One assault took him from Multan 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 flies² 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 Muḥarram³ for him, 14
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 برسخون پر کشیده.
³ MS. (A) reads غرة معا شکر مکرم.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Zul Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muharram.

The 'Ashūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muharram. We read in the Ḥijrat (VII.) Ibn Abbās said "I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Ashūrā and the fast of Ramāzan." 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 Husain; the dust of his steed served as
coliurium 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:
the day 'Ashūra I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year.”
“'It is the only day of Muḥarram, observed by the Sunni Muslims, being
the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the
tablet of decree, the pan, life and death.” (Hughes; Dict. of Islam).

¹ MS. (A) reads جرق حرق أين رآييغَتْ وناَّكَ وِرَوِسُ وْدِرسَتِدَنَّ فَهِيَ صَائِعَتَ
² MS. (A) reads جنگ instead of جنگ as in the text.
³ MS. (A) (B.) read وَرَسَمَ هِيَ اِنْ تَشْيِنَتْ ٍمُلُكَةَ
⁴ MS. (A) (B.) read وَإِنْ جَنِبَتْ بِدَرُ قَامُهُ كَأَوْرَارَ أَرْسَتْنَ
⁵ MS. (B.) reads the same as (A) repeating جنگ 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 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.  

1 These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

2 Tayammum. This word signifies "Intention," and is restricted to the "Wudu" 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 Muhammad'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 tarjiw band. The following in the correct reading as given in MS. (A)

Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorriectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.
The day was cast into darkness when they hurled one upon the other, 
the sun became pale when dagger was interweaved with dagger. 
The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords 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. 
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 which were matted together like the locks of black hair, 
Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears 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.

1 MS. (B) reads تافتنه which is the best reading.
2 This is the reading of MS. (A) ایزگارتیغ and MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read زنگار تیغ. i.e. The warriors' swords.
3 MS. (A) has the following —
شان را مانند کان صهیائی تیغ از خردوسو
MS. (B) has شان زاند while the text has this as an alternative reading for شان را زانست.
MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however (text) and MS. (A) for نفتنه while MS. (B) in the second line.
4 MS. (A) کافرون هورس.
5 Insert از before تیغ MS. (A)
The cloven heads became as one again when head was throst against head.
The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain. ¹
Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.
Long had they been striving even from morning till even-
ing, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand. ³
The king ⁵ wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail
Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.
⁶ [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 ⁵ 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,
sputing in the air.
The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,
Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards. ⁶

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتغیان إقتادة ذ اطراف کم سخیری سبز which is the reading adopted.
² MS. (A) reads روی وسم وسم وسم بسم پریاندن روی وسم وسم وسم بسم پریاندن
MS. (B) reads روی وسم وسم وسم پریاندن خواست شد
³ MS. (B) reads incorrectly
⁴ The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning إندر خیاطان instead of the lines which should follow
پی زمان شیر اقبالی نیامد پرچال
از وزال روز تاشمین ادرار روز وزال
⁵ MS. (A)
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 nerved 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.³

¹ These lines follow here in MS (A) which reads چون کسی گز نیل انجیده.
² It is again the text and MS (B) are wrong. Here should follow as it MS. (A).
³ These are omitted in MS. (B). MS. (A.) reads اَثرش را اَجْمَعَ یَخْتَقَداد.
Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Husain of the famous Kerbelä\textsuperscript{1} was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muhammad whose end came upon him in the water.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1} A city in Iraq 60 miles north west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates. Husain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yazid ibn Mu'awia on the 10th of Muharram; the name of the place where Husain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelä. See Hughes Dict. of Islam art. Husain.

\textsuperscript{2} MS. (A) reads کی در اَکش بیع کب افکاَدہ ہور but the text is the correct reading.

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the Khân-i-Shahid, the Martyr prince met his death. Firishta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustân discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muhammad, the Martyr Khân, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 600 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" (Tariḥ-i-Firishta, I. 143. Bombay Edition.) The Prince after a gallant flight was killed by an arrow and most of his men killed. It was here Amir Manṣûr was taken prisoner but escaped.

\textsuperscript{3} The following is greatly abridged from the Qīṣṣa-i-Abīnā.

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn Aṣṭarjī who while Solomon was bathing, persuaded him and demanded the ring from his wife (Yarīnāh) to whom he had entrusted it. Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter. Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as his
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 Islam to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.³

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Asaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (زعم) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurât (Book of the Law) which they read aloud; Asgerji 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 great 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 illuminated, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

¹ MS (A) reads کشکان را سر. The text and MS. (B) read کشکان سر which seems preferable.

² The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are

لا فرعم بود که قیامت را معین دیده ام
گرچین قیامت را نشنید که پیش می‌دیده ام

³ MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) دارایات کسی با و 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. 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. And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed and count it as a shame to him for ‘Īsā 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 shown to ‘Ali the Haidar-i-Karrar (lion of repeated attacks). And if the devils caused him to drown, then say this that it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.
Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting the Mughāla.
At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

4 Qur'ān, Surat 30-Kahf, xviii. The seven sleepers of Ephesus, MS. (A) reads, MS. (B) which the text follows reads and the text reads.

5 MSS. (A) and (B) read .

6 The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here: the correct reading MS. (A) is .

7 Qur'ān, xxi. 52-69.

Said they: Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so. We said: Oh aad! be then cool and a safety for Abraham.

8 MSS. (A) and (B) read . The reading in the text is inadmissible.

9 Abūr, Muhammad ibn Mu'ālim. saw ‘Ali with a sword while engaged in prayer on the 19th Ramadān 85 A.H. in the Mosque of Kāf."
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 Muhir, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and every where. 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 these in the text:

جمعة بود وسلخ ذي أصبهج كه رمى كن كارزار
خوشهشنة وسه إفاز هشنةد وجمار

1st Muhirram (684 A.H.)
3 MS. (A) 
5 This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).
They were preparing to perform the ṭawṣū 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 Jihān.
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 148.
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.
Aha! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping 
beneath the earth, while ⁴ because of his sleeping there 
the whole horizon has become blue (dark).
There was both the blackness of the Hindū and the white-
ness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindū are 
wearing blue (as mourning)
⁵ [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens 
and dividing them among themselves,

This is the order of the couplet in MS. (A).

¹: MS. (A)
²: MS. (A)
³: MS. (A)
⁴: MS. (A)
⁵: MS. (A)
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 ماكو for ماكرو the latter is the correct reading.

2 MS (A) پیرکوی.

3 MS (A) پیرنهای وروس.

4 MS. A. مسیر سر تا چند از این فم زار وگریان بر کنتم. Not in the text.

5 ین تن چون منی باری از رس جان بر کنتم.
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.¹
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 friend!
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.²
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.³
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) (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].

O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls.

May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of the 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, 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.

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].

When they give into their hands the record of their deed taken from the book of punishment, May the record bear as its heading the words "A book for the right hand."

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (R).

پاد می گو خُفُقُسُان را خَامَعہ در حال دم کت بَرْهشت رَبِّ نُسُایه مَغْسِر، دَلَ دَمَا دَلَ دَا Dāl-i-duṣa Dāl signifies the letter with which the word du begins, while Dāl also means "that which shows the way."

پاژعب از MS. (A).

در هواش گرمیک پر ورود مگس MS. (A)

در ظلمات گر (A).

This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون خُوُوشیئد قیسَمَت رَویْها گَردد مِسَیا بَرِسْرَاز پرِصلاک ِسِبیْه گَردان پَاد مِشنان بِرکف دَهُنَد (B) MS. (A)

بِرکف دَهُنَد (B)

See Qur'an lxxxiv. 7, 8, 9 and as for him who is given his book in b
May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon.
For the thirty ones whose souls departed for lack of water,
May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads.
For the captives 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, and
may the favour of the Sultan be theirs.
Since Muhammad has departed may the event be happy for the king. May his son Kaiqubad be most fortunate and
his son Kaikhushru be blessed.

And the opening [of another threnody] 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 calamity which has been fallen this year on the
frontier of Multan,
The right wing of the believers has been defeated 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 كشتفاکان وا که جانهی شان از حی اشتی کشتفاک. I follow the text here.
2 This is the reading of the text. Ms. (A) reads كشتفاکان کشتفاکان. Ms. (B) reads كشتفاکان.
3 Vuller. Prizian.
4 These words are not in either MS.
5 Ms. (A) reads میں بال از نگر اعصا. This is the preferable reading.
6 Ms. (A) reads كشتفاک.
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 Khāibaris, 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 battlefield? 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 گزش که شد پاز کشته بود همه
² MS. (B) reads زمین گزش که شد پاز کشته بود همه
³ The real reading seems to be زمین گزش که شد پاز کشته بود همه.
⁴ See Richardson, p. 7.
⁵ دوازده بایگانی.
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 Qurūna ³ driving me on in front followed along the way ¹⁵³,
seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range
Factor ab isto ore tesseractus asiles odori similis,
Capilli oris ejus publi similis usque ad mentum delapsi.⁴
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatigue
He would draw at one time his falchion ⁵ 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 Muhājir and Anṣūr?⁷

¹ Chūmqār. Paret-de-Courtèille in his Turki dictionary gives this
word as خَمَقْر Chūmqār, with the meanings mossus, pourdin.
² These lines are as follows in MS. (A).

Debe Namaq bīlay Zībrein Tσhńa
Deji Shāh Shīk Mi Zmādēn Nāmar

³ I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turki qūrc̱i, an armed soldier.
⁴ See Elliot and Dowson, III. 528.
⁵ Ṭūgān there is a Turki word طوغان tūgān which means
a falcon, and another نزاغن tūgānək oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P. de C.). Hence the above translation by the word falchion.
⁶ Ṭakḇmār a dart having no point (Richardson).
⁷ The Anṣūr or ‘helpers of the prophet’ were these tribes of El Medīnāh
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 (II.)
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 Annihilation
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 Khusraw, even were I a Kaikhusraw, 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'il 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
Muhammad.

The Muḥājirūn 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
cath of brotherhood with one of the Muḥājirūn. This bond was however
broken shortly after the battle of Badr. See Muir's Life of Mahomed, Vol. III.
p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the Qurān, p. xxxiv. and Hughes Dict.
of Islam a. v. Anṣār.

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A).
Malik Shamsu-d-Din Dabir, and Qazi Asir 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 Khan-i-Durrag Qasim Malik arrived from the conquest of Damrela, and a rumour came to me 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 gave for five years more to the Punjab and Multan 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 dome 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.²

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Muminpur, otherwise called Patiali³ on the banks of the river Ganges.⁴

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 Bughra Khan who had acquired the title of Sultan Nasiru-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

¹ The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads, which has no evident meaning. MS. (B) reads The word and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase and Dar al house of benefits is not a very unusual 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 Paradiso mentioned in the Qur'an, iv (Suuratu-Rahman).

³ Patiali "Ancient town in Aghanj 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. 10 Tiefenthaler I. 188, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Delhi and about 20 from Furruckabad.

⁴ See page 186
sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nasiru-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 Hindustân" 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 Kaikhusru, the title of Khusrū Khan, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multan too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaikhushla the son of Buhrā Khan should be sent to his father in Lakhnauti. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaikhusru, 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 Nasiru-d-Din.

2 His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is saug-chaman = fati-bulbul namirwaas, i.e., the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

3 MSS. (A) and (B). The reading in the text is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians Barbi 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. III. 124).
the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.\textsuperscript{1} 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 Nāsimu-d-Din bin Sultān Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban.

In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachlan, who was called Itimar, and other Amirs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire\textsuperscript{2} 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 Nizāmu-d-Din\textsuperscript{3} was appointed Dūlbeq\textsuperscript{4} and they gave Khwāja Khatīru-d-Din the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhīk Amir Ḥājib that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of Wākidar: and after six months he left Dihli and founded the palace of Kīlūghārī, 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 Moslems, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Nizāmu-d-Din 'Alāqa the Wazīr (this Nizāmu-d-Din 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muḥammad 'Afsi composed the books Jāmi'ī-l-Hikāyāt and

\textsuperscript{1} 1287 A.D.
\textsuperscript{2} Ḥiān-d-Din Bārā, author of the Tārikh-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 Malik-1-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihli, Khwāja Ḥusain Baṣrī the Wazīr and some others and charged them to set Kāikhusāū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (از جهتی که کسی کوشش احراز یورت دارد) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kāikhusārā 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-Din (Elliott III. 129).
\textsuperscript{3} Nephew of Malik-1-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihli.
\textsuperscript{4} Chief Justice.
Tuzhirat al-Shaw’arā); and to Malik Chhajū (who eventually became grantee of Karra ¹ and Manikpur, and whom Mir Khusrū eulogises in the Qirānu-s-Sa’dān in these words,²

Khān of Karra Chhajū, conqueror of countries
Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets³ formed from the lips of Khāns)

was given Sāmān, his daughter was united in marriage to Sultan Mu'tizzu-d-Din Kaikbād. At the end of the month of Zūl Hijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatīr insidels whose leader was Itīmar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multān. The Sultan appointed Shāhīk Bārbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khān-i-Jahān despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatār 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 Sultan Kaikbād, during the lifetime of Sultan 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 unshackled 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 Niẓāmu-d-Din 'Alā'ī seeing that the

¹ Not کوره as in the text, but کور in MSS. (A) and (B) also Bani. See note 3. Malik Chhajū was brother's son to Balban.

² MSS. (A) and (B) تطریف کوره و گفتگه. See Hāji Khalīfa IV. 510, 9399, in Qirānu-s-Sa'dān.

³ In the original there is a play on the word کور which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows: MSS. (A) and (B).

خان کوره کشچه‌نر، کشور کشای کرائ خانان کوره بستی بپایی.

See Ame-Atârī II. 167, note 2, where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batūtā) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'tizzu-d-Din and Nasiru-d-Din. See also Karra Irr. Gnr. of India, Vol. VII, but Karra is on the Ganges, and lies far away from the line Lakhnauti—Dibb, but as 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 Ghūyū-ud-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu’tizzū-ud-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sultān Muhammad 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’tizzū-ud-Dīn.

Sultān Nāṣirū-ud-Dīn 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’tizzū-ud-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Nizāmū-ī-Mulk. Sultān Mu’tizzū-ud-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father’s advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sultān Nāṣirū-ud-Dīn should leave Lakhnauti, and Sultān Mu’tizzū-ud-Dīn 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 Qāyān-ī-Sā’īdīn, and also from the Tārikh-ī-Mubārak Shāhī we learn that Bughra Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāsīn-ud-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihli, and Sultān Mu’tizzū-ud-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Saru lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on Qāyān-ī-Sā’īdīn. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets Jupiter and Venus, see H. K. 9309, also E. and D. III. 524.

2 Tārikh-ī-Mubārak Shāhī, the author of this work is Yaḥyā bin Ahmad bin ‘Abdallāh Sirhindī (Elliott. IV. 6).

3 The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Saru (Sarjū) the Ghaghra (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godi (Gumti). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance show themselves. (Ain-ī-Ahārīn, Vol. II. 171).
the other side, and neither was able to cross the river. The Amirs and Malikṣ of Ghiyāṣu-š-Dīn’s party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms, and Sultān Nāṣiru-š-Dīn 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-š-Dīn 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 Nāṣiru-š-Dīn 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 Lakhnauti. 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 Ghiyāṣu-š-Dīn and Nāṣiru-š-Dīn and Muʿizzu-š-Dīn, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Malikṣ of both parties exchanged visits: Mir Khusrū relates in detail this meeting in the Qirān-u-Saʿdān, and in another place he writes in a gasīda:

Hail! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one.
Hail! to the happy era when two troths are as one.

Ain-ı-Akbarī II. 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son. For the river Sarjū, see Tieff. I. 250, 259, 260, 291, also plate XIX. facing page 252, in which the confluence of the Sarjū and Ghgregator is shown as it was in 1788.

The Qirān-u-Saʿdān fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajūhīya on the banks of the Ghographer.

1 Ibn Batūta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nāṣiru-š-Dīn and Muʿizzu-š-Dīn Paris Edn. 1835. Vol. III. p 177, see also Elliott III. p 706.
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 Nāṣir of the age, the king Mahmūd 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 Kaiqbad,
In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—
Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Din Kaiqbād Shāh
Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four kings

On the last day when Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-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 Amir and Maliks of the adherents of Ghiyāsu-l-Din, then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramāzan, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulmān 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 Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Ālāqa 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 Sultān 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 courtesans 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 solitude and self-
restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquetries, and sensë-

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 Hindustán¹ in its dreams and he
broke through his forced repentance, which was as slimy as the web
of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, “Which
advice?² 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 befits 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
right-living cup-bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his
hurt ephemeral existence, and in this static malicious time used
to foretell this calamity.³

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
stable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

¹ See note 2, page 219.
² The text has کلام بنود misprint for پدد بنود.
³ The text reads این كتکه but MS. (A) reads preferably كتکه.
to the skirts of the mountains Shēr Khān, who was one of their number, repented and retained, 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 Yagh rash the Khilji, who eventually obtained the title of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān, and entrusted the district of Baran to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Ḥimār 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 digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself.”

Thou hast digged 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 Sultān Mu’izz-ud-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Niẓāmu-1-Mulk Ālāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Maltān, but Niẓāmu-1-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 Niẓāmu-1-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 Sultān 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 Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

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1 MS. (A) reads Arba Khān.
2 MS. (A) Shāyiṣṭā Khān.
3 MS. (A) Qutb-ud-Dīn.
4 MS. (A) Nūr-jaṃī Kandūr Dālī.
5 Arabic: Laqua Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the Bahru-1-jāwarah: “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 Kāus who was an infant of tender years to the throne with the title of Shamsu-d-Din.

In the year 688 H. (1290 A.D.) they made terms with Shāyista 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 Ghiyāshu-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 Kilughar where he was but barely visible, and made obeisance to him. In the meantime Malik Chliajū, brother's son to Sultan Ghiyāshu-d-Din, who had acquired the title of Kishī 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 Kāus."—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 Shāyista Khān in battle, and since the sons of Maliku-l-Umarā Falghru-d-Din Kotwāl had been taken prisoners in the fight with Shāyista Khān, and Malik Himār Surkha, who had plotted with the servants of Ghiyāshu-d-Din to kill Shāyista Khān and carry off Sultan Shamsu-d-Din (Kai Kāus), had fallen by the hand of Ilḫtiyār-d-Din son of Shāyista Khān; accordingly Maliku-l-Umarā (Falghru-d-Din) opposed the people and prevented their assembling as they desired, till at last the adherents of Shāyista Khān removed Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāus from the throne by force and carried him off to Bahāpur, where Shāyista

1 MS. (A) omits the word طالب.

2 The reading of the text is here adopted. MS. (A) reads طالب.

3 MS. (A) omits the words (برو و) بعد طالب.

4 MS. (A) reads حركة الما بعدي.

5 MS. (A) reads ابتلاع.

6 MS. (A) omits the word كياروس.

7 MS. (A) reads بارنكر. Burni says Bahāpur (E. and B. III. 134).
Khan was; they then ordered a man whose father had been put to death by Sultan Muizzu-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 Muizzu-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 Muizzu-d-Din, after the capture of the Shahzada, was seized while sitting in darbar 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 Sirkha and the people of Dihli subsided, and Shayista Khan had gained his heart 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 Muizzu-d-Din bade farewell to this transitory, unstable

1 MS. (A) در اواست.
2 MS. (A) در اواست.
3 Firishta says 687 H. Tariikh-i-Mubarak Shahi says 10th Muharram 689 H.
4 The Tariikh-i-Mubarak Shahi gives the date of the death of Muizzu-d-Din as the 19th Muharram A. H. 689.
5 MS. (A) omits فاني.
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.

SULTAN SHAMS-AL-DIN KAI KAWS.
The son of Muruzzu-d-Din Kairblue nominally ascended the
throne in Balapur in the year already mentioned, by the co-
operation of Shayista Khan and Malik Chhajj; and the uncle of
Shayista Khan, named Malik Husain, who had kept quiet at Kil-
ughari during the disturbances, for the safe custody of Sultan
Muruzzu-d-Din, had established great confidence. Shayista Khan
made Malik Chhajj Kishti Khan 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 Tiberhinda, Debhur, and
Multan, and asked permission to depart thither; Malik yielding up
the Regency and Vazirship to Shayista Khan asked for the dis-
trict of Karra for himself. Shayista Khan immediately acceded to
his request, and conferred on him a robe of honor, and some days
later allowed him to proceed to Karra, and Malik-i-Umaara Falhru-
d-Din Kotwai having congratulated Shayista Khan on his accession
to such high office and great prosperity was instrumental in obtain-
ing permission for Malik Chhajj to leave.
Shayista Khan 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 Sultan Shamsu-
d-Din on horseback to the palace of Kilughari, 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.
The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Din Kāl Kān 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 Yaghbash Khāli**

Whose name was Malik Firoz and his title Shāyista Kāhan, came to the throne in the year 689 H., as has already been said, with the consent and assistance of Malik Chihajū Kishlī Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom² the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Dīn Hākim Kirmānī Jannepūrī,³ the author of the history called Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhi, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din and Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi from the stock of Qālij Khān, son-in-law of Changiz 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 Khelij, 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 Qalj⁴ with the meaning

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¹ Neither Barun nor Firishta reckon Kaikāus (or Kainours) 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 Khilji. Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, who had been appointed Vizir when Nizāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fact of Barun had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Ariz-i-Mamālik. The plot he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubād have been detailed above.

² MS. (A) omits the word (للکی).

³ See the Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhi.

⁴ The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because لیل qalj and لیل qalij are the same, the nūf in لیل being in place of the fathāh which follows the س in لیل, in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians لیل is frequently used for لیل.
of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khalj is the name of one of the sons of Yašhī, (Japhet) the son of Nūh (Noah) on whom be peace and that the Khīljas descend from him. God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultan Jalālu-d-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 Khān 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 Jumna 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)\(^1\) and in Shāhān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān went to Karr, and became openly rebellious. The Amirs of the party of Qhīyāsūn-d-Din who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlāna with the intention of attacking Dihlī, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajū who was to come by way of Karra,\(^2\) (and)\(^3\) Sultan Jalālu-d-Din left Khān Khānān in Dihlī and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kōl, and reached Budāon,\(^4\) sending Arkali Khān towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajū. Arkali Khān 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 Kōla, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajū that Sultan Jalālu-d-Din was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sultan, 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 Kūwārs.\(^5\) Arkali Khān crossed the Rahab,\(^6\) despatched Bairām

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1 MS. (A) شهرو موسوم گورا

2 MS. (A) reads کریز زا کریز برابر. The reading in the text is adopted.

3 MS. (A) inserts خ here.

4 MS. (A) reads از زم کوئل و بدیع رسید. The text is preferable.

5 The text gives an alternative reading تورانیان.

6 MS. (A) عورا کریز.
Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amir of the Qhiyāṣī faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahārī and Kasam Kūr, which is the same as Shamsabād, and when they took Malik Chhajū and the other captive Balbant Amir in fetters and chains into the presence of the Sultan, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, 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.

Malik ʿAlāʿu-d-Din who was the brother's son and son-in-law of the Sultan, and has been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of ʿAlāʿu-d-Din who subsequently became Ulagh Khan was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān Kāanū. The Sultan was greatly distressed at his loss. Mir Khusrū 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 Hindūstān 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 باشند.

2 MS. (A) دو بند و غل

3 MS. (A) has ملك عال الدين را which is a mistake: and omits the word درد after the word داماد inserting it after the word كم بعد از او آتشان گشت.

4 MS. (A) which reads بعد إزاز اتشان گشت.

5 There are plays on the words خاطه meaning a fault, and the kingdom of Khātār or Cathay, and خچین 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 Tārīḵ-i-Rashidi, (Rosa and Elmae), 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, Arkāli 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 Ghīyāṣī Amīrs, he made over the district of Budāon to Malik Maghlātī,¹ sent him off at once and appointed Malik Mubarak to Tiberhindah, then after reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted series of marches to Dihli; and in these days a certain Saiyyid ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God,² relying upon Him, bountiful,³ adorned with so many excellencies and perfections, Sīdī Mānā ⁴ by name first came from 'Ajām (Persia) to Ajūdhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master Shākhī Fādī. Gānj-i-Shākkar, may God sanctify his resting place, and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hindustān. 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.⁵ In the same way the greater number of the deposed Maliks and Amīrs of the Balban party ⁶ 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 alchemic powers, and used to come in such crowds that a thousand mans of fine flour and five hundred mans of freshly skinned meat, and three hundred mans of sugar used to be the daily

¹ MS. (A)
² MS (A)
³ MS (A)
⁴ See Beale’s Dictionary, p. 120
⁵ MS. (A)
⁶ MS. (A)
expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigilas 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 public worship in accordance with established custom, and Qazi Jalalu-d-Din Kashi (and) Qazi Urdu 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 Sultan, 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 durbar and ordered Sidi Maula with the Qazi 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 Qazi Jalalu-d-Din lay under the Sultan's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultan deposed him, and nominated him as Qazi of Budoon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire lit that prepared by Nimrud (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maula thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreverent nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultan saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sultan accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maula were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultan was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abu Bakr Tusi Haidari, who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

1 MS. (A) ٍ٣٨٨٩
2 MS. (A) adds ٍ٣٨٨٩٩
3 MS. (A) omits ٍ٣٨٨٩٩٩٩.
4 MS (A) omits the words ٍ٣٨٨٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٨٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩٩.
and "Why do not you 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 with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side with saddlemakers' 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 Hindus, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands throw 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
Rantsanbhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Aikali Khān went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sultān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khān came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanān. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultān thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khān, and also his son, who called the Sultān his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country and Alghū the grandson of Chingiz Khān, enkindled Islām, 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 Sultān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultān. The Mughuls took up their abode in Chiyāspūr in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nizāmūl Auhīyā 2 may God sanctify his resting place. It is commonly known as Mughulpūr and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims".

At the close of this same year the Sultān having gone up against the fort of Maudāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāū-d-Dīn the Governor of Kafr, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa 3 and attacked that country 4 and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Bādān to be trampled upon by the people. 5 These services of 'Alāū-d-Dīn being highly approved, 6 the jāīr of Oudh also was added to his other estates; and since 'Alāū-d-Dīn was very angry and incensed

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1. See Tūrīkh-i-Ragīdī (Balas and Rosq) p 34
2. Nizāmū-d-Dīn Auhīyā. See Bulaq. O. B. D., p. 211, also An-i-Albārī (J) III. 365.
3. MS. (A) reads which is meaningless.
4. MS. (A) reads which is meaningless.
5. MS. (A) omits after and has for
6. MS. (A) reads for.
against the Sultan's consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sultan, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sultan'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 Sultan to bestow upon him the district of Chanderi, and leaving Dihli, came to Karra, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chanderi, he went by way of Illichpur, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogir; leaving Malik 'Alau-l-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sultan, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alau-d-Din's whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sultan was exceedingly sorry. Suddenly news arrived that 'Alau-d-Din having gone up against the rebel Deogir, 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 Sultan, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alau-d-Din had gone to that country without permission from the Sultan, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malikra-i-Jahan who was the consort of the Sultan, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now 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 Sultan seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sultan, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alau-d-Din had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

1 MS. (A) omits 35.
2 MS. (A) omits 35.
3 MS. (A) omits 35.
to speak\(^1\) of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāū-d-Din, the Sultan 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 Sultan was in the neighbourhood of Gwâliâr he summoned a council of his Amîrs to deliberate about 'Alāū-d-Din and said,\(^5\) "What in your opinion is 'Alāū-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 Chanderî or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihli?" Malik Ahmad Châp, who was a Vazir of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultan by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhâji and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Karâ, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāū-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 Sultan would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant enology of 'Alāū-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 Fakhru-d-Din, and the other Amîrs also went with oily speeches to the Sultan, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sultan, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihli; Malik Ahmad Châp rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāū-d-Din with all this pomp and royal display has arrived at Karâ and crossing the river Sarû makes for Lakhnaût, I do not know what can be done by anyone to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sultan he repeated the following lines—

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\(^1\) MS. (A)
\(^5\) MS. (A)
\(^6\) MS. (A)
\(^2\) MS. (A)
\(^3\) MS. (A)
\(^4\) MS. (A)
A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size

The Sultan then came from Gwalior to Dibli, and 'Alau-d-Din having reached Karya wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sultan 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 brother Zafar Khan to Oudh ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Saru. The simple minded Sultan Jalalu-d-Din wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alau-d-Din's request and sent it by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imadu-l-Mulk and the other Ziau-d-Din. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing that the face of affairs was altered and 'Alau-d-Din having prepared the dish for the Sultan, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over these 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 Sultan, and sent it to Dibli, 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 Sultan I proceed 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 Sultan, 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. بدل خان
2. the word in the text is omitted here.
3. Qureskān.
4. دیکغر
5. طرح وضع او
6. که ورق دیگر گورش شده literally "that the leaves had changed colour."
7. سیر (A)
8. گیرم داود سلطان...
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 perform lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world." When Iłmās Beg laid that letter before the Sultān, he on the instant sent Iłmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Din and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Iłmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water, on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Din, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnauti, 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 in the very height of the rainy season. At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary, 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." Since the cup of the life of Sultān Jalālū-d-Din was full and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure, 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.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him, he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

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1 MS. (A)
2 وخصت همود ورده كرد (A)
3 MS. (A) بروزي اب روانه شد.
4 MS. (A) و اروا برونی بلکه دولی تحفوص همود (A)
5 MS. (A) ایسکال.
6 MS. (A) پچه کال or پچه کال پشکان ترکی word, "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles).
7 MS. (A) هر انديشگه که باید انديشگي.
8 MS. (A) همانجا and omits می.
9 MS. پریش و (A).
10 MS. (A) مال مورهوم شوم.
11 MS. (A) گشتند.
12 Lit. striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.
sawirs, lowering his speed from the wind and his haste from the
stream, and set out for Karra: he sent Malik Ahmed Chap the
Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land;¹
Malik Ahmed Chap was rendering 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 Sultan, 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 Ramazan: and Alau-d-
Din, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river
Ganges between Karra and Manikpur and had pitched his camp:
then he sent Ilmas Beg to the Sultan, 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 Sultan from
his army and bring him to ‘Alau-d-Din. His confederate therefore
went and presented himself before the Sultan, and with
great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility presented
that ² if he had not come ‘Alau-d-Din 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 Sultan, and filled his
mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no
means entirely removed from his mind.⁴ There is still a probabili-
ity of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sultan 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.”

The Sultan taking his bloo-cursty words for the truth,
ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain
halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small
body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short
distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

¹ MS. (A) ² MS. (A) ³ MS. (A) ⁴ MS. (A) omits ⁵
traitor Iłmās Beg further represented saying "my brother is in
great fear and awe of the Sultān 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." 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 ʿAlā-ud-
Din was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and
equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khur-
ram ṭ the Vakildar said to Iłmās 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 before the Sultān, with an eye
to future advantage," the Sultān in accordance with the saying
"When fate comes the plain becomes narrow" 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 Iłmās 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 to get into a boat
and come to me?" Iłmās Beg answared "my brother is unwilling
to receive the Sultān empty handed and with receive.

"If thou goest empty handed to visit a Sheik,
Thou wilt get no profit, nor wilt thou even see him."

9. He is busy selecting elephants and valuables and goods to present,
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 Sultan, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit.” The Sultan 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 ‘Alau-d-Din having got every thing ready came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultan and fell at his feet. The Sultan 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 ‘Alau-d-Din was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultan laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was showing him marks of his special favour, and had given his hand into his, ‘Alau-d-Din seizing the Sultan’s hand firmly, wrenched it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultan. Then Mahmud Salim who was one of the scour of Samana, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultan and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultan made for the boat crying out as he ran: “Thou wretch ‘Alau-d-Din, what is this thou hast done!” At this juncture one Ikhtiyar-d-Din who had been a particular protege of the Sultan ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him; he then cut off his head and brought it to ‘Alau-d-Din. By Alau-d-Din’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 Sultan 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 Fakhrur-Din Kuchchi fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Ahmud Chup having made prisoners of the Sultan’s army brought it to
Dhili and, pending the arrival of Arkali Khan from Multan (he was the worthy son of the Sultan and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jahân, seated Qadr Khan the youngest son of the Sultan, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Rukn-ud-Din Ibrahim. The Amirs and Maliks of Jalalu-ud-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 Alau-ud-Din lost no time, but on the very day of the assassination of the Sultan, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head was addressed as Sultan and in the middle of the rainy season marching uninteruptedly he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering dinârs and dirhams 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 came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amirs of the Jalali faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalalu-ud-Din was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy of the copper of faults;
Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sultan Alau-ud-Din reached Badshau sixty thousand sowârs had joined his standard, Malik Ruknu-ud-Din Ibrahim seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multan to Arkali Khan, with certain chosen Amirs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalalu-ud-Din), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of Alau-ud-Din.

1 MS (A) inserts ١.
2 MS (A) reads علاج الدين فوست نداة هم در روز.
3 MS (A) reads پروسخود گرخته.
4 MS (A) inserts م.
5 MS (A) reads در مرآها و منصبيت.
6 MS (A) reads ی هرسن که یکیما رسد زر گردید.

All copper which is affected by Kimiyâ 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 Khaldun. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skel, s. v.
The kingdom is God's and greatness is His. The massacre of Sultan Jalâlu-d-Din took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramazân 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.

Sultan Jalâlu-d-Din had a taste for poetry, and Amir Khusrû after the death of Mu'izzu-d-Din Kâiqbâd, came into the service of the Sultan Jalâlu-d-Din, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qur'an-keeper to the Sultan; he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amirs of the Sultan and were tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust.

In this same category were Amir Hasan and Mard Jâîrmi and Amir Ahrân Kâbibi and Sa'd-i-Mantiqi and Bâqî-i-Khatib and Qâzi Mughîr of Hansâi, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalâlu-d-Din and wrote a Gharâl in nineteen metres of which this is the opening:—

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with fresh youth delight,
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 Sultan's assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems, and delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following few verses are the offspring of the Sultan's genius:—

It would appear from the statement that this Gharâl or ode was made up of nineteen lines, each of which was in a different metre. The first of the above lines is either Mutâqirî or Râmiî. This is called Zabârân (of two metres) in p
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 Gwalior he built a pavilion and a lofty dome and wrote this quatrains as an inscription 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 Manṣiṣi 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: Yes we are afraid of hurting my feelings. I will point out its defect in this quatrain:

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.

Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din Khilji.

On the twenty-ninth of Zul Hijjah in the year six hundred and ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sultanate

1 MS. (A)  بنكود و يعيب
2 MS. (A) omits عيب.
3 غرب إطلسي The highest of all the heavens so called (إطلسي) because it has no stars. The literal meaning of إطلسي is "worn out" "effaced" Thus رحل إطلسي الثوب means a man whose garments are worn out (effaced).
4 MS. (A) reads درست ونهم while our text has درست ونهم.
of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilmas Beg, to whom he
gave the title of Ulugh Khan and to Sinjar, his wife’s brother,
who was the Mir-i-Majlis he gave the title of Alp Khan, while to
Malik Nuqrat Jalisari he gave that of Nuqrat Khan, and to Malik
Badru-d-Din that of Zafar Khan, and alighted at the plain of
Siri, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audiences
delighted the hearts of the Amirs and all classes of his subjects
by his boundless munificence, then he had the Khushbuh and the
Sikka promulgated in his own name and conferred appointments
and titles upon the Amirs, and distributing jagirs gave his mind
first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two
sons of Sultan Jalalu-d-Din who were in Multan.

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 Khan and Alp
Khan against Arkali Khan and Sultan Ruknu-d-Din; both these

Mir Khusrū in the Tārikh-i-‘Alā, states that ‘Alau-d-Din left Karra
Manikpur on the 19th of Ḍabīl al-‘Ājur 675 H. and after taking great booty
from Bām Deo, Nā of Droyār, returned to Karra on the 28th Rajab. His
accession to the throne took place on the 18th Ramadān 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.
Barni does not give the day of the month; nor does Firīshā. The latter
tells us that on the death of Jalalu-d-Din, Malik-i-Jahān of her own accord
set Qadr Khan the youngest son of Jalalu-d-Din on the throne, with the title
of Ruknud-Din Ibrahim, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to
summon the second son Arkali Khan, who refused to come hearing of ‘Alau-
d-Din’s success with the army.

1 MS. (A); the text reads بیک خان.

8 Barni says that the title of Zafar Khan was conferred on Malik Hizābrud-
Din, (Elliott III. 157).

8 The text omits را before دیل سما supplied from MS. (A).

4 It appears both from Barni and Firīshā that the youngest son of the late
Sultan was in Dihli and that Arkali Khan was in Multān. See note 4, last
page, and Elliott III. 159.

5 Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khan’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 Rukn-ud-Din Quraishi may God sanctify his resting place, came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khan, who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihli; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-ud-Din he set out for Dihli. When they came near Bohar a place in the vicinity of Hānai, Nuṣrat Khan arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons of Sultan Jalālu-ud-Din, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultan, and of Malik Ahmad Chap, and handed over the Sultan's sons to the Kotwāl of Hānai and martyred them together with two sons of Arkali Khān. They kept the Sultan's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihli, sending Ahmad 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 Sidi Mula 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 Barni states that the sons of the Sultan went Shaikh-ud-Isām, Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din to see for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161). MS. (A) omits. Thin Rukn-ud-Din was the son of Shaikh Sadru-ud-Din 'Arif and grandson of Shaikh Bahā」ud-Din Zakariyya (See Isn-‘Akbār, Jarrett III. 365)

Firishta gives a full biography of Rukn-ud-Din, his father and grandfather

3 MS. (A) 4 MS. (A)

5 MS. (A) قدر

6 MS. (A) قدر

7 MS. (A) قدر

8 Barni merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkali Khān were slain

9 MS. (A) قدر
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 Jalalan-d-Din and his family, and of so many thousands of others among the people who had been murdered.

The wealth of Qurân 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.), Nasrât Khân having been appointed to the office of Wazir, used strenuous efforts to recover the money which Sultan Alââ-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 Kará Alââ-al-Mulk, the uncle of Ziaû-d-Din Barnâ, the author of the Târîkh-i-Firdâs Shahâ (whom Sultan Alââ-d-Din had removed from the kotwalship of Dihli and had sent as governor to Kará, appointing Nasrât Khân to the office of Kotâwâ) 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 5 a Mughal commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustân, and Ulugh Khân and Tughaq Khân the governor of Dépâlpur (who in Ghâzi-i-Mulk), were appointed to put down that rising, and offered strong opposition to them on the confines of Jârin Manjbûr. 7 The Mughal army was defeated, some of them were killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultan Alââ-d-Din returned victorious with many spoils. A second time

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1 MS. (A).
2 See Qurân XXVIII. 76.
3 Omit. 4 Omit. 5 MS. (A).
6 The text reads Chalâda, MS. (A) reads Saldi, so also Barni (Elliott III. 166) and Alâ-d-Din (Jarrett) III. 347.
7 Both Barni and Firdâstn say Simâstân.
Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Dūā,¹ came from Māwārān-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān,² and penetrated³ as far as Dīlī, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dīlī itself grand became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,⁴ and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn placing Uluh Khan and Zafar Khan 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 Guli.⁵ Zafar Khan was killed, and the Sulṭān had gained what he wanted in this.⁶ Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Taqghī Mughul who was one of the māqavī,⁷ that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the foot 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 Tughlaq Ghūrī-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance.⁸ Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran,⁹ joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls.⁹ The Mughul forces being routed, Taqghī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muḥammad Turtāq¹⁰ 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 Firistha.  
² MS (A).  
³ MS. (A) جا تنگ گشت  
⁴ Or Khi (Barni)  
⁵ Barni explains this. He says "'Alī d-Lūn returned from Kuli, considering that he had won a great victory the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khan had been got rid of without disgrace."

⁶ مرگن This word is given by M. Pavot de Courcelle in the meanings of fatuher : bon tueur : héros. It is a Turki word.  
⁷ The reading of MS (A) is here followed: viz.

Malik تغلق غازی ملك از درگاه بجیہت دفع این فنده دامرد گشت
ال_STEP:  
MS (A)  
⁸ باتاقی شیخیون نور مغل اوردرند (A).  
⁹ The reading of this name is a little uncertain. MS (A) may be either تریاص or تریاق. Neither Barni nor Firistha 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 Bīāh which they call Kāli Pānī. Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn appointed Malik Mānīk his slave (who is Kāfūr Nāib or Hazār Dīnārī) with Malik Tughlāq Governor of Depālpūr 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 Rahab, Malik Mānīk 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 Bādāon 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 anew,
May Targhī, like 'Alī Beg become thy captive.

And Mir Khusrū has written an account of the fight between Malik Mānīk (who had obtained the title of Malik Nāib) in

either word appear in the Turki dictionary. The text reads تریاق Taryāq which seems rather an ex necessitate reading. The Turāk-i-‘Alāi reads Turtāq.

1 MS. (A).
2 MS. (A).
3 So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dinārs.
4 MS. (A).
5 MS. (A).
6 MS. (A) omits نابیع الرحمه.
7 Firizhāt states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kāfūr (Hazār Dīnārī) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Rām Deo, Rāja of Deoghar, a refractory tributary.
the Tārikh-i-Khazānu-l-Futūh 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 Iqbalmand and Kapak, Mughals, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turṭāq ² and 'Ali Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multān. The Sultan 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 Sultan 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 baw that it was time to break up, ⁵ the Sultan happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahā (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

¹ This work, known also as the Tārikh-i-'Alū, is a prose history of the first years of Sultan Alād-Dīn Khilji from his accession in 685 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 63-69.)
² MS. (A) omits خویری and gives the pointing of Turṭāq as تریاق.
³ MS. (A) gives the pointing of Tughlaq as تخته. This account differs somewhat from that given by Khusrū, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbal Mudbur as he calls him.
⁴ MS. (A).
⁵ MS. (A).
what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultân¹ 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 Ḍāqī Bahā.² They replied, He was sent into eternity at that very moment.³ The Sultân 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 imprisonment⁴ 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.

¹ The text has a note here to the effect that a ل should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS before the editor.
² MS. (A) has لث, and reads سلطان وآ خوش روز روشن شد که آن گمان خلط دود.⁴ The text here and in the former line reads بیا MS. (A) has پیا.
³ The text reads اور خوش همان زمان هزار سال پیداست, while the text reads تعریف مالی و بنده میکوند.⁵
⁴ MS. (A) has لث.
⁵ There is a play on words here in the original غربات خواب شد.
⁶ Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilized for vinegar: There is a hint here that every one was discontented, and, as we say, sour looks which the Persians express by saying قالن کس سرمایه فروشی سی کند. So and so sells vinegar Quānī says to his mistress.
⁷ MS. (A) omits لث but the text is correct.
And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sultan 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 Sultan should be hunting and hawking. One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sultan. 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 Hindustan, 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 Sultan; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khan, Nusrat Khan, Zafar Khan and Alp Khan 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-shāh. When he sought the advice...

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1 This was spoken of above 'Alau-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) در فلان ما و

3 MS (A) omits علیه السلام.

4 MS (A) omits.

5 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 160, 169.6 and 169.5 g are in existence bearing the legend

(See Thomas, p. 168)

Sikandar-i-shāh Yaminu-llahī Khālīfatu Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mūminīn.
of Alau-elmulk Kotwal of Dhihi he restrained the Sultan from pursuing both these claims and said, “No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be bribed 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 Sultan clears Hindustan of insidels and frees the environs of Dhihi from these contumacious Russians, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar.”

The Sultan, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent, and bestowed a robe of honour upon Alau-elmulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The Amir, who on account of the harshness of the Sultan, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for Alau-elmulk 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 Sultan 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 Khan to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gujarat against Rai Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty head of elephants. Ulugh
Khan, after Rai Karan was defeated, ravaged and laid waste Nahr-
wała, and pursued him; and Rai Karan took refuge with Rai
Ramdeo who was the ruler of Deogir, in the country of the
Deccan. The family of Rai Karan, with his treasury and eleph-
ants and all his possessions, fell into the hands of the Muslim warrior.
Among the ladies of his harem was one Dowarlāni, of whom Khir
Khan the son of Sultan Alāu-d-Din ultimately became enamoured.
He related the account of his amours to Mir Khusrū for him to turn
into verse, and the book of Khir Khan and Dowarlāni, which is
known as the 'Ashīga, is in his name. Ulugh Khan carried off an
idol from Nahrwala (in place of the idol of Somnāt which Sultan
Mahmūd had carried to Ghaznīn, and the Hindus had made an
object of their worship,) and took it to Dihlī where he caused it
to be trampled under foot by the populace; then he pursued Rai
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 Khan having proceeded to Kahanbāyat, a well-known
post, seized much spoil of valuable goods and rubies and other
jewels from the traders; Kafūr Hazār Dinārī whom the
Sultan Alāu-d-Din had latterly taken into close favour, and made
Nāibn-ulk was part of that booty.

When Ulugh Khan 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 Mughulā who accompanied him thought

1 MS. (A).
2 MS. (A).
3 MS. (A).
4 MS. (A) reads کہنپایہ.

Camby, in Gujerat. According to Hunter (Imp. Gaz, III. 372) "the
name of Camby or Khambhat is said to be derived from Khambha or Stamb-
bhatrih, the pool of Mahādova under the form of the pillar god. During the
11th and 12th centuries, Camby appears as one of the chief ports of the
Anhelwār (Nahrwāla) kingdom and at the conquest of that kingdom by the
Munsmāns in 1207, 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 Cambaye. (pp. 380-381.)
5 MS. (A).
this rather unfair, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed; some of them went off to Rai Hamir Dev in Jhāin, which is near Rantambhor, and some went elsewhere.

Ulugh Khan 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 Khan from Gujrāt. 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 Khan was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantambhor and Jhāin, which is better known as Naushāhrā, and Rai Hamir Dev, the grandson of Rai Pithora, 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 Rantambhor.

Ulugh Khan having reported the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sultan to capture the fort; the Sultan collected his forces and marched against Rantambhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Malik, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed a Kotwal to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhāin upon Ulugh Khan, left to attack Chitor, and having conquered that place also within a few days,
and having given it the name of Khizrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Kān aforenamed, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nusrat Kān had come from Karrā, to Rantānbhūr, to reinforce Ulūgh Kān before the Sultan 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 Sultan, that is to say Zafar Kān, 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 Malhab the Sultan 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 Sultan, Akat Kān, together with a band of new-Muslim Mughals who were engaged in performing the duties of guards, attacked the Sultan relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultan was wearing a cap stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Kān wished to slay from his horse and strike off the Sultan's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultan is killed! Akat Kān 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 Amir, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

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1 MS. (A) در نواحی قصیه پنجم سوین پنت تلیب
2 MS (A) پانئیا
3 MS. (A) omits کر
4 The reading here is doubtful. The text has a translation in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحی ملیب
5 Qamurgha, hou de chasse. (Pavet de Courtelio). A Türkî word signifying hunting ground. Firigha loc. cit. also uses this word.
6 MS (A) omits و
7 Firigha also says Akat Khan.
8 MS (A) reads کل کوره
as the rightful king, and raised no overt objection. Akat Khan was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the harem, but Malik Dinar Harni, who was on guard at the entrance to the harem with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you show me the head of the Sultan I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din, when he had somewhat regained consciousness after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khan, in unison with the Amirs 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 Jhan (where Ulugh Khan was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khan 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 Khan took the road to Afganpur, but a body of men who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner, sent him into the Sultan's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qatluq Khan his brother also perished.

Verse.

One who injures the country is better beheaded

And at that same time 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan the two

1 The words تارک توزی و توزی كر signifies the royal family. It also means king: law: right, also a custom introduced by Chingiz Khan توزی كر means simply "right" or "authority," hence 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) دیوره کرک.

4 MS. (A) اورا دستگیر کرک.

5 The account given by Darni of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III. 172-173). Firuzta also calls him Solimán Shah, Akat Khan, though Briggs in his translation calls him "The Prince Bokan Khan."
nephews of the Sultan, revoluted in Badão: certain of the Amirı 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-Umarū Kotwāl,² gathered together certain ruffians, displayed a counterfeit order in Dhihli,³ entered the city by the Badão gate, and sent for one Tūrnūzī Kotwāl and in an instant cut his head off,⁴ closed the city gates, and sent a messenger to ʿAlāu-l-Mulk ⁵ a friend of his, who was Kotwāl of the New Castle, saying “An order has come from the Sultan, come and read it” ʿAlāu-l-Mulk being fully alive to what was going on ⁶ did not obey the summons, whereupon the rebel Ḥāji Maulā went to the Ruby Palace, and liberating all the prisoners, gave a house 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-ʿAlawi Shāl Nabsī,⁷ who on his mother’s side was descended from Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Din Altamah (İyaltımish), summoning his chief men and nobles for the purpose, and seated him upon the throne at

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¹ MS. (A)
² According to Barnai “a maulā or slave of the late Kotwāl Amīrū-l-Umarū Fakhru-d Din.”
³ Pretending to have received it from the Sultan (Barnai).
⁴ MS. (A)
⁵ ʿAlāu-d-Din Ayāz (Barnai)
⁶ MS. (A)
⁷ Barnai’s account is as follows: “There was an ‘Alawi (descendant of ‘Ali in Dhihli who was called the grandson of Shāh Najaf who by his mother’s side was grandson of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Din. The Maula 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.

Firshita writes. ......... علوي كي أورا شاهنشاه گنبدی. ‘Alawi who they used to call Shāhānshāh who on his mother’s side traced descent from Shamsu-d-Din Altamah.
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 Haji Maula when Malik Hamida Din, who was Amir of Kolt, 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 Haji Maula in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Saiyyid Zada also, and sent their heads to Rantambhor. 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 Malika l Umar on this suspicion that Haji Maula would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.

The Sultan after adding the fortress of Rantambhor 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 Rantambhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddad.

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1 MS. (A).
2 MS. (A).
3 MS. (A).
4 The text reads شروع دارين امر ودية پاکئ ل نوہودة پاکئ so also MS. (A), but we should, read as without this the sense is not very obvious.

Burnt states, "The sons and grandsons of the old Latoj Maliku-l-Umara had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death.

5 The Tarikh-i-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 attacking Tilang and Mubar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khan died about six months later.

6 MS. (A) reads بچس شداد پیدا کرت. See Qur'an lxxix. 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 Jâlor, whose leader was Muhammad Shûh, were captured in Rantambhor after the fort

Iram of the columns: "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Hazramaut and Sana’a. It was founded by Shaddâd ibn ‘Âd, 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’ân xxix. 21) he said to his mighty men ‘Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.’ Then he appointed therunto 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 Ghânim ibn Ulwân, Zubâkh ibn ‘Uluwân, and Walid ibnur Raïyân, 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 Shaddâd. 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 builded 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 roby. 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 other 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 parasâks and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded theron 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 Amirs 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 showed 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 wine bibbing, 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 Rais, 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 Hud ibn Khallid who came and called upon Shaddad to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hud 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 Munisad who had it is said believed in the words of Hud. When Shaddad arrived with one day’s journey of Iran 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 artisans, the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth.”

Mirjam al-Buldân. Yaqit Vol. I.

1 HS. (A) reads ٌبّه in place of ٌبّه.
2 The Persian phrase is نوکسیسای یسلا. Naookisnā-i-shēkā.
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 Zia-i-Barni. These 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 Maghuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work, 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.

In the year 700 H. he ordered 'A'inu-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]. 'A'inu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils. The Khusrū of poets has described this in the 'Ashīqa, in these words:

He gave 'A'inu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow  
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa;  
From the clear-sightedness which 'A'inu-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.

And in the year already mentioned the Sultān set out for Sūrath on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Sata

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1 The Tūrīk-i-Firuz Shāhī. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 et seqq.
2 MS. (A) در اسم كتاب.
3 The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).
4 Fīrāštā gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rājā of Mūlwa. The text and MS. (B) read رائی Rānī.
5 There is a series of play upon the words عین and دیدa 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 Jelor was reduced by Amaun-al-Din Kark and he sent Kanjur Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell.

And in the year 702 H. (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kafur Naib 1 with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhat 2 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.) 3 Malik Naib Kafur went a second time to Arankal 4 and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rai Nadar Dev the Governor of Arankal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country of Matbar 5 as far as Dhor 6 Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims.

And in the year 711 H. (1311 A.D.) Malik Naib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand man of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

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1 MS. (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has Kayib jaffar.

2 Telenga or Telangana, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S. India. See Ain-i-Akbari II. (J.) 237; also Hunter Imp. Gaz. I. art Andhra; also Cunningham Anc. Geog. of India p. 519, 537.

3 There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author. Barni gives no assistance and Firishta very little.

4 Warangal was the ancient capital of Telangana (Tieff. III. 5) See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XIII. 521. Regarding Marhat or Maharantra see Hunter, Imp. Gaz. IX. 166; also Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, Preliminary Observations; also Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India p. 553.
Arangal or Warangal. Barni gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rai of Arangal. Elliott III. 201. So also Firishta. See text I. p. 287.

Matbar extends from Kulam (Cavalum) to Nilavari (Nellore). Wazif (F and D III. 32).

6 Firishta says Khwaja Haji and Malik Naib were sent to conquer Matbar and Dhor Samund where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels. I cannot identify Dhor Samund.
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, Khizr Khan in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatnäpur barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihli, 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 Sultán-i-Mashâikh wal Auliya,

“Shâikh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizâmû-d-Din Like Khizr and Masih, with a breath brings bones to life.”

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity.

And Malik Näib informed the Sultán of the coming of Khizr Khan with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khan, the maternal uncle of Khizr Khan, who had arrived from Gujrat, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Näib 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 Khizr Khan, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultán whose health was upset, and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices, in accordance with the saying, “When a man’s health is disordered his faculties are disordered,” from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion as the truth, instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khan.

Malik Näib and Malik Kamâlu-d-Din Kark seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Näib induced the Sultán (on the ground that Khizr 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 restoration of order in the State, he should go for some

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1 MS. (A) reads Hatnäwar. Khurra in the ‘Ashiqa states “When the Sultán recovered in some degree, Khizr Khan set out on his expedition to Hatnäpur.” (E and D III, 554).

2 MS. (A) خ.

3 MS. (A) reads ﺪ.اح.

4 MS. (A) omits ﺪ and text line 2.
time to Amroha till a command should issue summons 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 Khan 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, that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultan to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dikli. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sultan, 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 Khan went thither, and Malik Naib out of villainy, on the instant went back to the Sultan and filled his ears with lies, saying, 'Khizr Khan has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sultan takes no notice of the matter.' The Sultan upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan, to the fortress of Gwalior. Malik Naib, after these two heirs had been deposed, and the way was clear for Malik Shahabu-d-Din, the son of the Sultan 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 Sultan'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.
2 MS. (A) reads.
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.  
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 Khusrü and Mr. Hasan may God have mercy on them].  

And among the poets 2 by whose existence the reign of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusru-i-Shahiran (Prince of Poets), may God show 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, 5 in the year 698 H. (1298 A.D.), in honour of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din,

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1 MS. (A) reads مسیم in place of مسیت and this is correct as 'Alau-d-Din died on the 7th Shawwal 715 H. See E and D III. 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 Jame' Masjid." (Firdaws-i-Firdaws Shahi.) See also Thomas Tawus Khan's Kings of Delhi p. 166 n. 1.

2 MS. (A) reads زمر لکفا گرسته. See Thomas Tawus Khan's Kings pp. 168 et seqg.
3 These words are not found in MS. (A).
4 MS. (A) reads ما دجلل شواری کہ زمان.
5 These were the following—
Khusrü was of Turk origin, his father Amir Mahmud came to Delhi during the invasion of Chagiz Khán into the service of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah by whom he was advanced to high office, but was eventually murdered. Mr. Khusrü succeeded his father, but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Nizam-u-Din Auliya. His Khamsa was written in imitation of the Khamsa of Shihab Nizami.

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 Matʿål-al-Anwār, which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses):

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
In two weeks did the full moon arrive at completion.

In the Naṣāḥāt it is stated upon the authority of Sultan-ul-Masāhiḵ Nizām-ul-Auliya, 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 heartburnings of this Turk Allāh (God’s champion); Mir Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says:

Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way
That you may be called Turk-i-Khodā (God’s champion).

Another poet was Mir Ḥasan Dihlavi, 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 Khusrū took place in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). He is buried in Dihli at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

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2 Ṭbār-i-gardān Mīrām. Mah-i-Kāmil.

3 Naṣāḥāt. The Naṣāḥāt-ul-Uns see Ḩāji Khalifah.


4 Turk Allāh.

6 Mir Ḥasan Dihlavi, whose name was Shāikh Najmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like Mir Khusrū, was a disciple of Nizām d-Dīn Auliya. Majmuʿa l-Fuṣūḥ L. 196. He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H.) at Dehullahād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also Atiāh Kada p. 351.
an spiritual instructor 1 may God show mercy to them. Muhannad ibn Bayhar 2 wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having engraven upon it a tablet of stone 3 had it fixed above the shrine 4 of Mir Khusru. It is as follows:

Mir Khusru, the Khusru 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 'Adl muqta 'Misr 4 came as the date, 
Another was Tuli-i-Shakar Magal 5.

Mir Hasan, in the year in which Sultan Muhammad having laid waste Dilli built Daulatabad 6 in the Deccan, died in that year.

1 Nizam-ud-Din Ani.
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 كهme give the date 725. Thus 70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 4 + 80 + 40 + 500 + 30. So also do those of زورطيني شكر مقال. Thus 9 + 6 + 9 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725. Not counting the hamza.
5 Mir Khusru died in the month of Ramazan 725 A. H. (1325 A. D.) and is said in the Majma' 'al-Fusul to have been buried in the burial place of Shaikh Shakkur Ganj; as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Nizam-ud-Din Ani.
6 'Adl muqta 'Misr means "peerless." Tuli-i-Shakar Magal, "Parrot of honey speech."

Daulatabad. Lat 19° 57' N. and long. 75° 16' E. 28 miles N.-W. of Hyderabad.

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by Ala-ud-Din, which event is noteworthy on being the first appearance of the Muhammadians in the Deccan, it was given back to his Raja Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Kaba Malik Kafur, taken prisoner and sent to Dillih whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muhammad Tughluq Shah
country, and was buried in the city of Daulatabad where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

"Arif Jami, I may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustân 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.

SULTAN SHIHABU-D-DIN IBN 'ALAU-D-DIN KHILJI

Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwâl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Melik Nâib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Melik Ikhtiyyâ'ûn-d-Din Sanbal to the fortress of Gwâliar to put out the eyes of Khizr Khân and Shâdi Khân. He also caused the mother of Khizr Khân, Malika-i-Jahân, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shâhzâda, whose name was Mubârâk Khân, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihli for Deogirî which he renamed Daulatabâd and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihli to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Ba'tûsî (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and says that the citadel was named Dâr-i-Taghâ. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogirî as we should probably read.

1 Nuru-d-Din 'Abdûn-r-rahmân was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jâm Khurâsân, whence he took the name of Jâmi.

His father's name was Nijâmûn-d-Din Abûnâd. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nuru-d-Din (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Mârînâ. 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 Aurang, a series of seven poems, viz., Sulhîlû-l-Zahab, The golden chain; Qippu-i-Salâmân va-Abâl, Story of Salâmân and Abâl; Tuhfatu-l-Abrâr, The Offering to the Wise; Sabhîlû-l-âbrâr, Hecacy of the Pious; Yâsuf wa Zulaykha, Yusuf and Zuleika; Lailî va Majnûn, Lâlî and Majnûn Kha'rad Nâma, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 846, H. (1432 A.D.)

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alā‘ū-d-Din became known, two sirdars named Mubahshīr and Rashīr in concert with a body of pāiks of the garrison of the Ḥarār Satān palace, one night murdered Malik Nā‘īb.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 appointed ² him to be Nā‘īb to Sultān Shihābū-d-Din in place of Malik Nā‘īb; Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amīra and Malik. Then he sent Sultān Shihābū-d-Din to the fortress of Gūlāṁer where he finally died in the year 716 H.⁶

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-Din was three months and a few days.

Sultān Qutbū-d-Din Mubārak Shāh ibn ‘Alā‘ū-d-Din Khilji,
Ascended the throne of Dihli with the consent of the Amīra

¹ Thirty-five days after the death of ‘Alā‘ū-d-Din (Barni) i.e., 715 H. (1316 A.D.)
² MS. (A) مصوص بکریم میں
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 Sipāhr of Mir Khusrau.
⁴ MS. (A) پیل و رسولی
⁵ With regard to the succession of Shihābū-d-Din, see Firūzta, who describes him by the name of ‘Umar Khān (Brigg’s Firūzta 1. 283). His full name was Shihābū-d-Din ‘Umar according to Mir Khusrau.
and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, H. and portioning appointments and suitable jagirs among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Hasan, Barāwar bacular, 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 Hājīb of Sultān 'Alād-Din.

He gave him the title of Khusrū Khān. The tribe of Barāwar are a family of servile position in Gujiā; 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 Vazir.

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
Give not high office to an upstart;

Unless thou wisiest that thy state should be ruined

Entust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultān Qutbū-d-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 Fakhrū-d-Din Jūnū the Son of Ghāzi Malik, who eventually was entitled Muhammad 'Ādil, to be Mīr Ākhor.

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogir otherwise called Daulatābād, but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

1 So also the Tāríḵ-Fīros Shāki of Barnī, but Khusrū in both the 'Ashīqa and Nuh Sipuhr, 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 Firista says the 7th of Muharram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the Nuh Sipuhr, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

'Alād-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and Qutbūd-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Qutbū-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muharram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence.

2 MS. (A).

3 MS. (A) omits 3 after 3�������������������� arousal.
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? 204.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultan Qutb-ud-Din sent Sar Salahi Kotwal, 1 with orders to proceed to Gwalior and put to death Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan. Having done this he summoned Dewal Rajni and included her in his haram. With reference to this Mir Khurra 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 Mubarak Shiah in cruelty
Turned against his own kith and kin with anger 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 malic-ious enterprise.
Secretly he sent a messenger to Khizr Khan
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 en-deavour.
Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that captivity.

"A musician named Shadi" (Mir Khurra E and D III. 535.)
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
Olinar.

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 shouldst 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

بِنَاتِيُّ ذِلْلَ مَا مِبِكُنْذِ خَروَتْ كَرِينٌ زَانُونَشٍ دِرْيَانٌ خَسَسَت

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the Aghiga but in none of the
three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)
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 flam of the fire of enmity shot forth.
He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one.
In anger he sent for Sar Salāḥī (the Kotwāl)
Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred krohs;
Go to Gwāliār 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 tītcī 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,
The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power. Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.  
Shādī 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 (liou) was attacked by ten dogs, § 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, § 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 § from his place,

٤ مس. (A).  ٥ مس. (A)  ٦ مس. (A)

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Of 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 Dājūl ajaļa 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 دجال ajaļa in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," see Luna 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 Mīkhāl, 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 ٍkus kuf, 
infidelity, is written between his eyes; he is to appear from the middle of a
road between Syria and ‘Iraq and will mislead on the right hand and on the
left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cave (Qur‘ān XVIII) will be a
means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either
Mecca or Medina. 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 Lūq in
Palestine. The Jews of Ishbāh 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) برسه. The text reads برسه.
3 For Farhād. See Beale Dīct. Of Biq. 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,

There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind
A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth
Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,
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 Dāi at Ghaznī 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 solo 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 Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to
been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world,
while the first man (whom they call Gauḍaṁa) was born from the sweat of
the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān.
See Alīrūnī (Chron.) p. 107.

3 The tenth month of the Persian year. See Alīrūnī (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,  
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 in Khizr 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,  
Rizwan 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 Shaikh,  
The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song.  
When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shaikh's face was  
seen amid its clustering locks,  
Lamentation arose in that assembly like 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 Shaikh'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.  
Deval Râm, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,  
Was the lifespark of Khizr Khân's existence.
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 dow,
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 'Alāū-d-Dīn was laid, the question was asked of
a devotee, why this should be? His reply was because 'Alāū-d-Dīn
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.

3.

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 Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn, all
the rules and regulations made by 'Alāū-d-Dīn, 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 Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn,
who threw open the doors of licue, and gratification of
desires to the people; and when Malik Kāmilū-d-Dīn Garg, after
that Alī Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been
executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom,
'Āmmūr-Mulk Malik Multānī was nominated by the Court,4 and having
quelled the disturbance there regained possession 5 of Nahrwūla
and all the country of Gujrāt, Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn married tho

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1. Lārāyī
2. MS. (A)
3. MS. (A) reads. خاندان, instead of خان و مان and in place of خاندان.
4. MS. (A)
5. MS. (A)
daughter of Malik Dinär, and having given him the title of Zafur Khân, sent him to Gujrat. He performed the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than ‘Ainu-i-
Mulk.

In the year 718 H., (1318 A.D.) Sultan Qutbu-d-Din marched for Deogir with a larger army, and the Râis of that country were not able to stand against him.

He slayed Harpal Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Râm Deo. The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Din who, having given Khusrû Khân the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Mathúr, and having left Yakulkhi in Deogir as Nâib, returned to Dihlí. Near Badin-i-Sâkun Malik Asadu-d-Din ibn Yaghrush Khân who was called Malik Khâmûsh, and who was the uncle’s son of Sultan ‘Alâu-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 Asadu-d-Din. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of Yaghrush Khân who were aware of this conspiracy some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhán he sent Shâdî Kath his chief captain to Gwaliâr to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khîzr Khân and Shâdî Khân with the remainder of the haram of ‘Alâu-d-Din to Dihlí, after having

1. MS. (A) inserts پر کری.
2. MS. A. The textual reading is preferable.
3. The Sultan ordered him to be slayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogir.
4. MS. (A) omits وک.
5. Called Chât-i-Sâkûn by Barnâ.
6. MS. (A) reads خبردارگوردانیہ (A).
7. MS. (A) reads خبردارگوردانیہ (A).
8. There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS. (A) writes کر این واقعہ خبردارگوردانیہ, 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 in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barnâ. “They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep.”
9. MS. (A) reads شادی کری کری Shâdî Kath, and this is the name given also in Barnâ’s history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnotes is correct.
killed Sultan Shihâbu-d-Din, which he carried out. Sultan Qutbâ-d-Din was led by the fact that Khîr Khan had been a disciple of the Sultanâ-1-Mahsâkh Nizâmâ-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 Ruknâ-d-Din from Multân, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jâm, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizâmâ-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 Khan Wali of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yâklakhlî had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrû Khan reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yâklakhlî and made him over to Khusrû Khan, who sent him bound to Dihlî where he was executed. The Sultan ² also put to death Malik Shâhin who was known by the title of Wafa 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.

Staturam cujusvis ut littera Alif erecta, idem quod litteram
Dal et Nun incurvescetabat, adeo Alif in primam omnium incerebat.

¹ MS. (A) omits the word ¹ in error.
² MS. (A) omits the word سلطان but it appears to be required.
He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amir, as for instance A’mul Malik Multani and Qarabeg, who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazar Sultan palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudisfacti, gestu, tarpi 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 ruined, 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 Khan, he raised Husamud-Din who was half-brother to Khusru Khan to succeed to the position enjoyed by Zafar Khan and nominated him to proceed to Gujrat. Husamud-Din collected together the Barawar crew from all parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his brain. The Amir of Zafar Khan’s party however seized him and sent him to Dibbi. The Sultan led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusru Khan took no steps to punish him, but had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Wabidu-d-Din Qaraishia to Gujrat in place of Husamud-Din. He it was who was the
cause of the arrest of Yaklakhī. 1 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 2 with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithil country, 3 and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dimas, came into the country of Ma’bar, and relying on that 4 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 Talbigha Yaghīda 6 and Malik Talbigha Nāgorī and Malik Hajī Nāb, with certain other Amirs of the Sultān’s party, becoming aware of his secret intentions throw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogir to Dihlī 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 6 The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amirs, censured them 7 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 Khalifah of Baghdad, he got Ja’fār the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubaida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalifah was

1 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 Barun, Yaklakhī was “an old servant of ‘Alī d-Dīn, who for many years was wali of the bands” (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Wāhidu-d-Dīn.
2 MS (A) omits.
3 MS (A) omits 
4 MS (A) reads thus . Barun calls him Malik Talbigha Yaghīda
5 MS (A) omits after سلطان
6 MS (A) omits .
7 MS (A) omits .
favouredly disposed towards Zubaida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq. He accordingly wrote these lines:

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked.

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 Khurā Khān became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultān, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrūt and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultān. The Sultān reposed entire confidence both in him and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands, abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery.

1 Abū Firás Hamamī or Hamaim the son of Ghālib surnamed Abī Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm. 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 Hamasa II 585). It was a nick-name given him according to Ibn Kuts incorporated 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 ornate (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 ملتح for which appears to be intended for متلتح. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqān, when Nawār the granddaughter of Dhibān, wished to marry one of the Qurnah 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. Nawār was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullāh ibn as-Zubair, sovereign of Hijāz and Irāq, to obtain redress. Al-Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al-Nawār stayed with al-Khala wife of 'Abdullāh ibn as-Zubair, and Al-Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al-Khala interceded for al-Nawār, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above. (Ibn Khall: (de Slane), III. 626).

3 MS. (A) omits يائرا.
Verse.
Casting aside the Qur’ān 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 Khusrū Khān.

Verse.
If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you ☦

And the family of Barāwar¹ gained entire control of the Court
of the Sultan, and used to assemble by day and by night at the
house of Khuwarī Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the
Sultan, and when Qāzi Zīāu-ʾd-Dīn, who was known as Qāzi Khān,
made these facts known, the Sultan who was the slave of his lust
immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,² and informed
him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the
people see the great kindness which the Sultan shews me and
regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely
accuse me. The Sultan believed him and made over to him
the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses
as well; Khusrū Khān ³ regarded this as a proof of his complete
ascendancy 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 Khusrū Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultan was holding a drinking
party in the company of Khusrū Khān and the Amirs of
the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzi Khān came
down from the roof of the Hazār Sultan palace and was engaged
in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

¹ MS (A) در خلیل
² MS. (A) میت
³ MS. (A) قاصدی اور کردن و ...
⁴ MS. (A) میت.
In the meantime one Randhel, the uncle of Khusrū Khan, with a body of the Barāwas, having daggers concealed under their arms came upon Qazī 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 Khusrū Khan, enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū 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 Jāhiriya, the uncle of Khusrū Khan approached the Hazır Sultan with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrahim and Ishāq who were on guard at the palace, made for the Sultan. The Sultan rising, half intoxicated as he was, ran towards the ḥaram, Khusrū Khan caught him from behind by the hair of his head, and as the Sultan was begging him to aid his escape Jāhiriya 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 Amira at the door of the palace, the Barāwas entered the Sultan's ḥaram and tore Farid Khan and Mangā Khan, the two infant sons of Sultan 'Alāu-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 'Alāu-d-Din and Qutbu-d-Din.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant.

The whole course of the world becomes changed.

1 MS. (A). "بندهل."  
2 MS. (A) omits "بندهل."  
3 MS. (A) "بندهل."  
4 MS. (A) "سرطلان را."  
5 MS. (A) "بندهل."  
6 MS. (A) "سیرطلان را."
And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirns namely 'Ainu-1-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūna, by whom is meant Sultan Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shūh, and Malik Waḥidu-d-Din Qaraishī with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirns, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Ĥazār Sultan; and when it was day they made all the Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khurā Khān, and read the Ĥutbah 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.

Husāmu-d-Din, the brother by the mother's side of Khurā Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol became Rā-i-Rāyān, and the haram of Sultan Quṭbu-d-Din and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khurā Khan took to himself in marriage the chief wife of the Sultan. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reiga of Sultan 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.

Nāṣiru-d-Din Khure Khān

Whose name at the first was Hassan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Din and Quṭbu-d-Din, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirns 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 ceremones of Islam tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency. Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

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1 MS (A) omits 2 MS (A) omits 3 MS (A) reads 4 MS (A) reads 5 MS (A) omits 6 MS (A) omits
spread, and although Khusrā 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 Alāʾūn-d-Dīn and the wealth which Qutbū-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.) Khusrā Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of ‘Alāʾūn-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and ‘Alī Khān, and Bahādūr Khān, and gained over certain of the Amin, 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 Sinjar 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.

Khusrā Khān issued firmāns to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf Ṣafī Aẓibacha the title of Ṣafī Khān while Iḥtiyārūn-d-Dīn Sanbal was styled Ḥātim Khān. He also made Kamālūn-d-Dīn Ṣafī Waḥīdār, and the son of Quarra Qumār ‘Ariṣū-i-Mulk; Malik Fakhrūn-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzi Malik he appointed Akhūr 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) مفصل ماخت.
3 MS. (A) محت.
4 MS. (A) omit 3.
5 MS. (A). The text reads إلا.
6 MS. (A) مخت.
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 ‘Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of ‘Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzi Malik, he wrote a letter 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.  

And of the Amirs, some sided with Khusru Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzi Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islam 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 that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihli and asking for post horses, which in the Hindi tongue are called ādān chauli, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

1 At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrām Iba, the governor of Multān and Uchh he fled from Dihli with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

Verse.

Seated upon that swift Burāq  
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

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1 MS. (A). (A)

2 I read here ارلاط although MS. (A) is the same as the text.

3 Īlāq or Īlāgī: travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Paret 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 میراج (miʿrāj) Qurʾān XVII. 1, in the Mushāfiʿī-Muṣbābīt it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of
And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti. When Khwārā Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognised that the departure of Malik Fahūra-ī-Dīn Jānū was a strong proof of the decline of his own power: accordingly he despatched the son of Qurra Qumār, whom he had appointed ‘Ārīz-i-Hamāli, 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 Khwārā 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 Malik; further by issuing orders for the commencement of the jihad he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dīlī.

Khwārā Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Šāfi Khān with the other Amirs of this canaille against Ghāzi 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 (Mughalat-i-Hamzah, Mathews, II. 661). The word Burāq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

1 MS. (A) reads برزولة دولت خسرو. 2 Mustermaster General. See p. 291. 5 MS. (A) نمره. 6 Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islām.

This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name Thānesvara is connected viz. Thāneu (a name of Mahmād) and Sua a lake. See Hunts. : Imp. Gaz., XIII. 200.

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 in 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. 335-339.)
were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusru Khan abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dihli. Ghazi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches\(^1\) and reached Dihli in one long march.\(^3\) Khusru Khan 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 āram the remainder of the princes of the family of ‘Alān-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-Khas\(^4\) where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Hauz-i-Khas to Indrapath,\(^5\) while Ghazi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb\(^6\) of Sultan Razīya. In the meanwhile ‘Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusra Khan fled with haste towards Dhar and Ujjain;\(^7\) his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusra Khan. On the following day the army 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 Khan obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghazi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghazi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustam came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

\(^1\) MS. (A) كائن عملي.

\(^2\) The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

\(^3\) Barni says the Hauz-i-‘Alâi. The royal lake constructed by ‘Alân-d-Din.

\(^4\) Indrapath. MS. (A) اندرپات. Barni tells us that Ghazi 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 Vritra with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanc (see also Cunningham 335).

\(^5\) I read here حضيرة not as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultan Razia 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) شئاقث.
valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel horde \(^1\) and Malik Talbagha \(^5\) Nāgor, and the son of Qurra Qumār \(^3\) with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,\(^4\) as such hypocrical knaves should. Khusra Khān brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but \(^6\) 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 retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzi Malik.

Khusra Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shādi \(^7\) 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,\(^8\) so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bough?
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 \(^9\) and alighted at Kāshk Sabzi.\(^10\) 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 were

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\(^1\) MS. (A) جمیعہ کابلیترینا .

\(^2\) Text تلیفیا . MS. (A) تلیفیا یر.

\(^3\) Shāyista Khān.

\(^4\) MS. (A) inserts ٍ.

\(^5\) عارفی.

\(^6\) MS. (A) کمک.

\(^7\) MS. (A) کرما . The text reads تلیفیا . But the real reading should be ملک, Indrapath, as is shown by what has gone before, and also-by Barni.

\(^8\) MS. (A) لہذا بنہادی. The text reads تلیفیا . But the real reading should be ملک

\(^9\) "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS., I think we should read for ملک سبزی .

\(^10\) Kāshk-i-Siri, the palace of Siri. This is the reading of the Tāzik-t-Fīroz Shāhī.
brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the
corner of a garden,1 where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhr-ud-Din proceeded by order of Ghāzi Malik, and
having mutilated and disgraced him he paraded him about the city
where he met withcondign punishment. This event took place
in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.). The duration of Khārūn
Khān’s rule was four months and 6 few days.

Verse.

That which thou dost they will shew thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULTĀN 3 Ghīyāśu-d-Dīn Tughlāq Shāh 4

Who is the same as Ghāzi 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 ‘Alāu-d-Din and to some of the
Maliks of Quṭbū-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his
ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlāqābād and all
the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay)5 and Badr
Shā‘ir Shāghi 6 invented as a chronogram for the date of building

1 MS. (A) omits 4.

2 Shābkī Mustāsa Bāhān in 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 ملک —

Barni gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzi Malik succeeded to
the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of
any son of the house of ‘Alāu-d-Din and Quṭbū-d-Dīn. (See Elliott,
III. 228-229).

4 MS. (A) omits the words نظرانه دا 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 footnote to Text.

5 There is a difference here. The printed text reads مسیرها در این نیمود
showed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع در این نیمود
set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

6 Badr-ud-Dīn Chāchī, “was a native of Chāch 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 Qutbuddin had joined hands with Khwaja Khân and had aided and abetted the band of Russians and scoundrels. He also gave the title of Ulugh Khan to Malik Fakhruddin Juna who shewed marked signs of discretion and kingly dignity, and conferred upon 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, the dignity of the title of Kishlu Khân, and entrusted to him the district of Muitan and the whole of Sind. To his other sons he gave the titles of Bahram Khân, Zafar Khân, Mahmud Khân and Nasrat Khan.

And in the year 721 A. H. [he appointed] Ulugh Khân to proceed in command of his troops which were at Chandori and Badson and in the other eastern districts of Hindustan, towards Deogir and Tilang, and Ulugh Khân 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

Dhibi as the panegyrist of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah and other monarchs who provided his allotted portion from the treasury of their bounty. His Divan consists of 2,000 couplets. His style is strange.” (Majma'ul Fatah 1, 169). The date of his death is not stated. See also Beale, O. B. D., p. 62.

1 MS. (A) inserts باغ.
2 MS. (A) inserts فارغلوا. These words give the date 727 H.
3 Omit one from text.
4 MS. (A) omits پسر خود which is in the printed text.
5 MS. (A) omits ی. It is unnecessary.
6 MS. (A). The printed text has الله Bahram Ullah.
7 The printed text adds the words لغتاق گل شاخ.
8 See also the account given by Jarnai 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 ی núi and proceeding with the words following the second ی جا. The printed text is correct.
meantime 1 Ubai'd Rākātī 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
Nizāmī's 4 saucepan by mistake, his flummery 5 to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsāfī) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihli, spread a false report that the Sultan Tughlaq was no more, whereupon great dismay spread through the Muslims. Ubai'd also testified the Amirs by his account of Ulugh Khan, 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 Khan who with fifty sowās 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 Jaisalmer 7 was taken prisoner with his family, and Tāju-d-Din 7 Talaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigin who had escaped from prison, was captured 8 on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubai'd (the poet) 9 also was captured in the same way in a wretched

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1 MS. (A) reads درس میان.
2 'Ubai'd. MS. (A) adds راکاتی. See Beale, C. B. D., p. 275.
3 MS. (A) reads مخربى مشهور.
4 Shaikh Nizāmī Ganjānī whose full name is Abu Muhammad Nizām-ud-Din Ahmad Ilās ibn Ali Yūsuf ibn Mursāliyyīd Mājarrāzī, a celebrated poet, author of the Sīlandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works. His Khausa (pantad) consists of Khusrū and Shīrāz, Hafiz Pākār Lālī o-Majnūn, Makhzan-ī-Asrār and Sīlandar Nāma.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the Majma‘ul Fama'ū (I. 637) he died in the reign of Tughrul ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A. H.

6克服 is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymologic significance of raw, crude, harsh, W. Hymnus, (so named from its sourness). (See Skeat, s. v.)

6 We should here read مضمون لشکر MS. (A).
7 MS. (A) Lat. 26°. 55' N. Long. 70°. 57' E. in Fājiāt, U. I.
8 MS. (A) مکینیت گشت.
9 MS. (A) omita. Burnā says that he was impaled alive. Firūzta 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 Khan for the second time marched towards Tilang; and Rai Ladar Mahadeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khan gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels by force of arms, and took the Rai prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jajungar and Bida, and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihli [and despatched Rao Ladhar also to the capital and having given to Arakanal the name of Sultānpūr] returned to Dihli.

And in the year 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Sultan Ghiasu-d-Din Tughlaq Shah, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khan as his viceroy in the capital Tughlaqabad 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 Lakhanuti with a firm intention of setting things straight; Sultan Nasiru-d-Din the ruler of Lakhanuti, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to meet the Sultan and placed their necks under his yoke; Sultan Tughlaq Shah conferred upon Sultan Nasiru-d-Din the canopy and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted Lakhanuti once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihli; then he sent on in advance Tātār Khan his adopted son, the Governor of Zafarabād who brought Bahādur Shāh otherwise known as Tūdā (? Nūdā) the Governor of Sunār Ḡānū who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

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1 MS. (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol. VII and Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XVIII for a full account of this place).
2 Or Jajpur, the former capital of Orissa.
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.

Sultan Tughlaq Shâh taking Babâdur Shâh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dîlî, 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 hours from Tughlaqâbâd. It was completed in three days, so that Sultan 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 Sultan arrived there and Ulugh Khân having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultan 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 Sultan was mounting with all haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sultan 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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5. These words are repeated twice in MS (A).

6. The text has بکریب دس نشستن but MS (A) reads شستن the latter is correct. MS (A) also omits the words چاکان خان (line 2 of the printed text).

7. Barni gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235) Firdaâsî gives a somewhat similar account to Badîonî; 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 Shâr Jahân Gujârî, Ulugh Khân had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Hâji Muhammad Qandahârî says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (Firdaâsî Briggs, I. 408).

8. MS. (A) قصد قندان The text has قصد qandan purposely.
foundations\textsuperscript{1} as was currently rumoured, but the author of the Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Fīroz 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 Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn 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 Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sultan-ul-Mashāīkh, 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."\textsuperscript{2} The Shaikh replied, "Dihli is still some way off."\textsuperscript{3} This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The Tughlaq Nāma of Mir Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sultan and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sultan-ul-Mashāīkh and also of Mir Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

Sultan Muhammad 'Adil ibn Tughlaq Shāh.

That is to say Ulugh Khān, by the agreement of the Amirs and

\textsuperscript{1} فَعَلٍ إِجْوَفٍ "hollow" verb: a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

\textsuperscript{2} In accordance with the proverb دَوْرِ دِرِيش دِرْ غَرِيش دَارِ غَيْمِ مِنْ غَرْبِهِ. Two derveshes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb دَوْرِ دِرِيش دِرْ شَمَشِيْر دِرْ غَيْمِ نَيْمِ نَغْيُنُونَ. Two swords will not go into one scabbard; as we say: Where cannot be two kings in Brentford.

\textsuperscript{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" Boeckink 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) Naib-u-Mulk, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Hamid Lawiki, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Saraze obtained the title of Imdu-Mulk, Malik Khurram that of Zahiru-Juyish (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindar Khilji was given the title of Qadr Khan, and Malik Izza-Din Yahya that of Azamul-Mulk, the district of Satgauw 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 dhawa, that is to say pails, 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 Firgista 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 1. 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.

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 Iftid for four months and ten days. Among Hindus the period of mourning is thirty days. (See Matthew, Mthkatu-l-Mafribh 1. 389).

3 The word جدلا here spelt جدلا is a Sanskrit word जनक to run. पवित्र its Persian equivalent has a more usual form پیت.

4 MS. A omits در را.

5 MS. (A) نصب قرموود.

6 The leaf of Chawica bello (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceae is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomaticic. The leaves containing a part of the root of Areca catechu, known as Supari, some lime (channa) 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 Daulatbād and considering it as the centre of his dominions made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhdu'm-i-Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amīrs and Malikās, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatbād: all the Saiyyids and Shāhāls and 'Ummār also proceeded thither in the following of Makhdu'm-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 Dubli 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 dhili, bīrī, gilvī. 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 Europeans pistles the bīrī is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acid taste. It is a powerful astringent.

The medicinal virtues of the Chārice bēlla 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 catarrh, 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 Jawa whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated. (Druy, Useful Plants of India).

1 MS. (A) omits the word ḫimān.
2 MS (A) 'Ummār. See page 271, note 6, of this volume.
3 MS. (A) omits ḫimān.

The word Saiyyid (سيد) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fāţima by 'Ali. The Sultan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shākh (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 Khawāfas Abū Bakr and 'Umar are known as Ash Shāhiyyān. The two Shāhilān.

The term 'Ulama (علماء) includes all religious teachers as Imāms, Muftis, Qarīs, Maulavis, (see Hughes Dictionary of Islam, also D'Humelot.)
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 Aiyār, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultān and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahānám Īha the adopted brother of Sultan Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān, and put to death 'Ali Khata'i who had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sultān, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihli and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahānám having come out against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultān who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shāikh-i-Islām Qutbu-l-Ālam Shaikh Ruknā-l-Haqq wau-d-Din Quraiş, may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultān and made intercession, the Sultān pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king,
Great men have shown mercy; mean men have committed

And the Sultān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwān-i-Mulk
Maqbul retraced his steps, but after some little time having turned

1 Barni 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 Gurashasp was defeated is 739 A H. twelve years later than Badāuni’s date, according to Briggs (1 418). A reference to the original text, however, shows that the date given by Firishta is the same as Badāuni’s date. Firishta

2 MS. (A) یکشیش

3 MS. (A) مخاطبہ کمیں و مخاطبہ نمود

4 Ami-Akbar (Jalott), III. 365.

5 MS. (A) عکریں ر

6 MS. (A) چند کامی
against him despatched Behzâd to replace him, but Šâhâ Lodi the Afghan killed Behzâd and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultan on his arrival at Deypûr found that Šâhâ had fled into the hill country, so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) Narmâ Shirin the Mughal, the brother of Qutlugh Khwâja the Mughal King of Khwâsun who had formerly invaded Hindûstân, having entered the Dihli territory with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts, and proceeded slandering and taking captives from Lahore and Sâmanâ and Indarî to the borders of Badûn; and when the victorious troops of Islam came up with him, he retreated as they advanced; the Sultan pursued him as far as the frontier of Kâlahor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujiruddin Abûrijâ returned in the direction of Dihli At this time the Sultan formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doáb 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 Sultan gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dihli and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatabâd, 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 Daulatabâd was populated, and Dihli

1 MS (A) (Afghan). The text reads in the printed text has but MS (A) has . The text is correct.

2 MS (A) (Mughul). The spelling adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect, but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr. Noy Elms in his introduction to the translation of the Tâhirâb Naqshâbîdî (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 Mo-phol or Mo-cl as Mongol. It has, he says, always the vowel sound of a, and never that of û which is a foreign introduction.

3 MS. (A).

4 MS. (A).

5 MS. (A) omits גָּזָא.
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 Sultan enacted that the mohan of copper should become current on an equal footing with the mohan of silver, and any one who showed 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 just as much 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 Sultan 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.

1 Firighta does not use the word mohan and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round mohan in Akbar's time was of the weight of eleven miskhs and was worth nine rupees (Ain-i Akburi I, 20). Bani uses it in the same way as Badan. See Bani Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

2 MS. (A) omits the word mohan but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Bani states that the Hindus of every province coined kors and lots of copper coins, so also Firighta.

3 The Persian text is: تنکبند زر بند یک دوست. This can hardly mean that for every copper tanka a golden tanka would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view. It runs as follows:

"Every one who has in his house a copper tanka," Bani's account is much the same, Firighta'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 tankas having
prospered greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper tankas were lying in heaps in Taghlaqābād as late as the time of Sultan Mubārak Shāh according to the author of the Ṭāwil-i-Mubārak Shāhī, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year 1738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Himāchāl which stands between the country of Chin and Hindustān, and which they also call Qurāchāl with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communication 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

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver tankas, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value, so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. See Elliott III. 234, Brigg’s Firdausī 415.

Although Brigg’s translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of Firdausī is perfectly clear on the subject, and we see that these copper tankas were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the Sultan found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who feared it was not received in foreign countries, that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper tankas for silver or gold tankas, hoping thereby, as Firdausī says, to rehabilitate the copper tankas, but the people were too wise for this, and threw the whole stock garrisons and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver. Firdausī (Ilo. Ed. p. 239).

For a full account of this forced currency see Thomas Fathah’s Kings pp 223, et seq.

1 Ms. (A) ₃₃₃₃₃₃.

2 Omit 2 Firdausī says 100,000.


4 Rashīdu-d-Dīn in the Jāmi‘u-l-Tawārīkh (Elliott, I. 49) states “Besides these mountains there are others called Karāchāl (called also by the same author in another passage Lājral). The editor notes “The mountains of Sirūn.” Reinaud reads the name “Kolārdjak.” Ibn Batūta calls them “Karāchil” (Vol III. 326). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit ačchāl mountain. The first part may be the Turkī word  없다 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 martyrdom, 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 withcondign 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.) Bahram Khan Governor of Sunargauw died, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Silahdar became rebellious and assumed the title of Sultan, and having fought with Qadr Khan the ruler of Lakhnauti in conjunction with Malik Husamud-Din Aburjâ the Mustaufi, and 'Izzu-d-Din Yahyâ A'zamul-Mulk, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khan; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khan died, and he had collected much money³ and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sultan. In spite of all that Husamud-Din Aburjâ could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khan would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Husamud-Din ensued; Malik Fakhru-d-Din returned, and the soldiery of Husamud-Din joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhru-d-Din. The absolute control of Sunargauw was given him; he appointed one Mukhliš a servant of his, to Lakhnauti, and 'Ali Mubânak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khan put Mukhliš to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sultan. The Sultan appointed Malik Yusuf, 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

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¹ Barni states that the Hindús of Qaræjal seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowers returned. (p. 478). See also Elliott, III. 242
² According to Firāhī all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultan.
³ MS. (A) omits ومال
⁴ MS. (A) گمسي دیگری بان جاداب (A)
At this juncture 'Ali Mubārak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhrūd-Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sūltān 'Alā'ū-Dīn, and Malik Ilyās Ḥāji who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alā'ū-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amirs and Maliks of Lakhnauti, and himself assumed the title of Sūltān Shamsu-Dīn.

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sūltān Muḥammad having left with the object of reducing Sunārgāw, seized Fakhrū-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakhnauti, where he put him to death and returned Shamsu-Dīn 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 Sūltān Muḥammad 'Adil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Saiyyid Ḥasan Kaithali the father of Malik Ibrahim a relative of the Sūltān, who was generally known as Ḥasan Kāngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alā'ū-Dīn Bahman Shāh, fermented a revolt in Mā'bar on the grounds of the severity of the Sūltān'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 Sūltān 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 Khān in Danhatībād; thus the rebellion in Mā'bar remained unchecked and Ḥasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery Malik Halājun and Kāl Chander Khākbar and Malik Tātār Khurd, the Governor of Lāhore, and when Khwāja-i-Jahān came up against them, they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

1 MS. (A) reads بحیث ملن در غیدة غزیدان امر برع.
2 MS. (A) has not the word ایم simply قتل اور ہام.
3 MS. (A) has کشتہ کل جنجر which seems preferable.
4 MS. (A) omits نمودت ملة and reads رَجَت.
And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultan passing through Sanām and Sāmān gave orders to the Saiyyids and all the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Ḥasan 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 rose he issued an edict that anyone who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustan and spend the days of dearthness and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatābād should return to Diblī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustan from the countries of Khurāsān and ʿIrāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultan, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Ḥāji Saʿīd Saʿādī arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalīfah with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultan the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīr-i-Muḥminin from the Khalīfah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultan 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 Khalīfah, he read the ʿIṣbah in the name of the Khalīfah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilāfah; with the exception of Sultan Mahmūd. He then gave largesse of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also de-

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1 The printed text reads موسوي، but MS. (A) has موسوي. So has also Barni, Col. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249.)

Barni gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalīfah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

2 Al Ḥākim bi Amir Mā|hī Abūl Abābā Abūl Adām iln al=Mustakli hilāhī, who was proclaimed in 741 A.H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalīfahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.
patched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Hāji 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 233. "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 Chamsābād, and on two or three occasions in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Mahdūr-şāda-şī Baghādādī 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. (1345 A.D.) Malik Nizām-şī Mulk governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-şālah the brother of ʿAinu-şī Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihāb-ud-din Sultan waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qutlug Khan was despatched against him, and Shihāb-ud-din coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutlug Khan inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence:

And in the year 746 A.H. (1346 A.D.) ʿAlī Sher sister's son to Zafar Khan ʿAlāʾi gained possession of Gulbarga 6 in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

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1 MS. (A) reads مصطاق. All MSS. read which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here مشار ق in the sense of 'honour,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him.

2 MS. (A) omits دیگر نیز


4 Ghūṣūn-šā-šī Muhammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdad Al-Mustansır-billahī (Thomas, P. K. D. 257, note 1).

5 A full account of this is given by Ibn Batūta (Paris, Edn. iii. 258 and seqq.) who writes و إعلاه جميع مدينة سيدي أبو اطعاط. He gave him in flight the city of Siti. Barni (Calcutta text p. 498) says و كرشك سيدي و أتعرعر صيدل مدن يور سعيد.

fought with Qutlugh Khan, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bidar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khan however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawari which was the camp of the Sultan’s army. The Sultan in the first instance sent the captives to Ghana 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 Sarkdawari his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Zafarabad 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 Khan 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 Sarkdawari and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brother Shahrukh 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 Qanauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Naib Barbak, 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 Gawars (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 Shahrukh and his other brother together with the majority of the sirdars of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the Gawars, 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

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1 MS. (A) omits حرف.
2 MS. (A) omits دکه.
3 MS. (A) نمودند.
4 MS. (A) نمودند.
5 The text reads برخاشته and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of برخاشته in the original copy.
6 MS. (A) reads برخمه naked.
7 Barni entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The Gawars are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingrae. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's Hindu Costes, 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 Qutlugh Khan from the Dakkan, but
inasmuch as Qutlugh Khan 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)\(^1\) and Aziz Khumār\(^3\)
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 Yūzbāshī\(^8\) in accordance with the Sultan'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 pro-
property belonging to the king. The Sultan arrived at Gujrat with
the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trust-
worthy Amirs as for instance Malik 'Ali Sarjāndār, and Ahmad
Lāchin to Daulatabād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were
there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Ahmad Lāchin
arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their
alarm\(^4\) came to a common understanding, and put Malik Ahmad
Lāchin to death; Aziz Khumār who had gone from Gujrat to
oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabhāli\(^5\) and Baroda, on coming
face to face with the insurgents lost his head, and fell from
his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the
Sultan 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
Sultan\(^7\) and having captured the fortress of Daulatabād from the
the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

\(^{1}\) MS (A) omits Qutlugh Khan.

\(^{2}\) MS. (A) omits the words Aziz ilmiār.

\(^{3}\) MS. (A) reads Yūzbāshī.

\(^{4}\) MS. (A) reads the words Yūzbāshī.

\(^{5}\) MS. (A) reads the words Dabhāli.

\(^{6}\) The text is wrong here. Dabhal. See Tecf. I. 372. Also map,
Vol. III. also Hunter, Imp. Hist., IV. 76; and Baylough, History of Gujrat.

\(^{7}\) The printed text reads طلبيتة بیور سلطان which is meaningless.

MS (A) reads لا سلطان and this seems the correct reading.
to the throne one Isma‘il Fatih gave him the title of Sultan Naṣiru-d-Din. After this the Amir of hundreds of Dabhoi 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 Fatih prepared to give him battle, but being defeated shut himself up in the fortress of Dhrānsagar, by which is meant the citadel of Daulatabad: many Muslims of Daulatabad were slain in this rebellion, or were made prisoners, and Malik 2 ‘Imādul Mulk Sartez was ordered to pursue 6 the fugitive Amirs of hundreds towards Bīdar. In the meantime tidings arrived of the rebellion in Gujrat of Malik Taghi, who, having put to death Malik Muzaffar the governor of that place, had obtained possession 4 of a large number of horses and much property. Thenceupon the Sultan leaving in Dhrānsagar Malik Jauhar and Khudawandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Din and Shaikh Burhānu-d-Din Balārāmi 5 left to quell the rebellion of Taghi, the army which had fled from Daulatabad under the leadership of Hasan Kāngū, coming out of hiding attacked 7 ‘Imād-u-Mulk Sartez. ‘Imād-u-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatabad and sought shelter there, and Malik Jauhar with Khudawandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Din and the other Amirs not being able to withstand Hasan in Daulatabad evacuated those districts and made for Dhrānsagar. Hasan Kāngū pursued them and came to Daulatabad, 8 and having driven out Isma‘il Fatih assumed the title of ‘Alāu-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 Futūh-i-Sulātīn 9 was written in his honour. And Taghi

1. irk, a small fort built between two large forts (Burhānu-d-Qil‘). MS. (A) spells this word irk.
3. The proper reading here is بتعاقب MS. (A). The printed text has متعاقب.
4. Read بترصرف او در کم. MS. (A). 7 MS. (A) omits ملك.
5. MS. (A) omits ملك.
6. MS. (A) در کم. 8 I can find no mention of this work.
the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultan 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 Sultan however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultan having sent for Malik Firoz from Dihli attached him to his Court; and in this year Malik Gir the son of Malik Qabul Khalifati, to whom the Sultan had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khalifah, and had sent it by the hand of Haji Dargah, died, and Ahmad Aiyar, who is also called Khwaja-i-Jahas, and Malik Qabul Qiwamul-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihli. Toward the end of the reign of Muhammad, 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 Islam. There were many reasons for this, which by their cooperation led to ruin and dissenion, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history the Firozshahi, and also in the Mubarakshahi. 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)  2 MS. (A) omits 3 MS. (A) omits 4 This is the reading of MS. (A). 5 MS. (A) reads correctly 6 Omit 7 There are two histories known as Tarih-i-Firoz Shahi one by Ziau-d-Din Barun, (Biblioth. Indica 1883) and the other by Shams-i-Siraj Afif. (Biblioth. Indica 1o91). (Elliott, III. 269).

MS. (A) reads (as does the printed text) but the better reading seems to be that given, without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text: This would distinguish the Tarih-i-Firoz Shahi of Barun as the original history of that name. The Tarih-i-Mubarak Shahi is that of Yahya 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 Doab, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustan, 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 \(^1\) over and above these, and in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves \(^5\) to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions \(^4\), so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle \(^5\) 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 Muhibkah\(\ddot{a}\)hi, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated. \(^6\) Fourthly.—the desertion of Dilli, and the population of Daulatabad, because after Dilli 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 Daulatabad, so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects \(^7\) 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 Him\(\acute{a}\)chal, 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-

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\(^1\) The word إخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

\(^2\) ی پیوستند (A).

\(^3\) MS. (A).

\(^4\) و رواین طریق (A).

\(^5\) MS. (A).

\(^6\) MS. (A).

\(^7\) MS. (A) inserts میان درواب ولایت and omits میان درواب (A).

\(^8\) The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barni a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

\(^9\) MS. (A) reads بپر حال ھندکس ولایت کم شدین گرفت و خراب شد. "
near of the Sultan; and his system of Government of his people, which made Siyyids, 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 Muftis 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 Muftis about his due punishment, so far as he was

1 Whether we read or this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (الحريد) 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 Mufti. The officer who assists the Qazi or judge by supplying him with facts or decisions.

7 We should read here .
able,¹ 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 midnight² he would pass orders for his execution,³ 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,⁴ 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 say⁵ that one day Sultan Mūhammad wearing his choco went on foot into the Court of Justice⁶ of Qāzī Kāmilu-d-Dīn 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 pronounce⁷ 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,⁸ 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 Daulatābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dīlī, he brought him before the same Court,⁹ 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, and¹⁰ for this reason his name has been handed

¹ MS. (4) حسب مکتوب.
² MS. (A) کان مکتوب.
³ MS. (A) میت میت.
⁴ MS. (A) میت میت.
⁵ MS. (A) اندیشید.
⁶ MS. (A) میت میت.
⁷ MS. (A) میت میت.
⁸ MS. (A) میت میت.
⁹ MS. (A) میت میت.
¹⁰ MS. (A) میت میت.
¹¹ MS. (A) میت میت.
¹² MS. (A) میت میت.
down in tradition, etc., 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 inroads had been wrought in
the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the
Sultans, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and
great breaches had been which the wise and learned were
powerless to repair by reason of his various toils and his evil
designs, the disease of Phthisis 2 found its way to his constitution;
notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Tadj, and in the

1 Qur'an, D.IX, 2. 2 MS. (A) तात्त्वज्ञ गुरु. यात्रा अग्नि न ज्ञान (म) र (A).

This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most
cusually that arising from pathneal disease of the lung. The following
definition is from the Buhâr-i-Jâmi'â.

The fever called "Digg" is when the heat which arises from the constitution
seizes upon the chief essential organ, 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 Buhârâ-i-Qâf'is states that it is called ٣٤ because it consumes the body.

The account is as follows. The fever ٤ ٤ is usually fatal, etc. It
is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The site of this complica-
tion is persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the
paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present. The worst complica-
tion of all is (he says) when "digg" is complicated with one of the fevers
which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "digg" is the
opposite to this.

The pulse in uncomplicated "digg" 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 unskillful physicians withhold food
and kill the patient especially. Food should be moist and cooling. If the
fever passes on to the degree called ٥ ٦ ٦ the pulse increases in
hardness and tenuity, the eyes change and become covered with scree, the
osselets of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of
the forehead tightens, the skin loose its lustre, and has a dusty appearance;
the epiglottis 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 \(^1\) Tughl had fled for safety; and \(^2\) in that expedition Qarghan Naib of the king of Khorassan sent Altan Bahadur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultan. The Sultan's illness was at that time slightly less urgent \(^3\) and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the 'Ashura, \(^4\) 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 Muharram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world, \(^5\) the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, odour 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 \(\text{(جذ بيت إلжен)}\) 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 eruptron, nor in diarrhoea appently 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 "diqt" with "putrid fever" of which Sadiq speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadiq speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "diqt" the second more severe is called zabit and the most severe of all is called "hashf."

I have only been able to epitomise Sadiq's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (Al Muqaddim fi Sharh il Majaz).

\(^1\) "The Ashura," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muharram. It is the only day of Muharram observed by the Sunni 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 Sunnis as a fast. (Hughes, Dict. of Islam, 26)

\(^2\) On the banks of the Indus \(\text{at fourteen kos from Thatha according to Barni (Elliot, III. 265), but Badoni states he had arrived at Thatha. Barni states that he was taken ill thirty kos from Thatha where he had arrived on the 'Ashura, 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 Muharram.}
When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun,
The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of 221.
Khurshān;
A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān 1 he built of Haft Jūsh 8 which in loftiness
Would need the Nahr-i-Tāir 2 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-natured
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 Sultan Muḥam-
mad is Badar Shāshi 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.

Sultan Firuz Shāh ibn Malik Rajab

Who was the brother’s son of Sultan Qhiyāṣu-d-Dīn Taghlaq and
uncle’s son of Sultan Muḥammad ʿĀdil, in accordance with the

1 Haft Khwān. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Dar was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the name of the Haft Khwān. See Shah Nazr (Atkinson), pp 407 to 426, also Būbhān-i-Qātī’ u. v.
2 Nahr-i-Tāir. The constellation called also Alshāba. The English.
3 Harumān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. Būbhān-i-Qātī’.
4 Cf. Qur’an XXVII. 64.
5 See page 296, note 6.
6 This looks as though we should read قرب بيست شاهر بست nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

41
authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultan Muhammad
ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of
the chiefs of the Shaihks and the leading Amir and Vazír in
the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the
Malhddzmâd-i-'Abbâsî of Baghdad, and Shaihk Nasîr-al-Din
Chirâgh-i-Dihlî may God sanctify their sacred resting places were
the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultan Firoz, and it is
currently reported that [Malhddm Shâíkh Nasîr-al-Dîn Chirâgh-i-
Dihlî may God sanctify his resting place] had secretly made Malik
Firoz King during the absence of Sultan Muhammad. Some of
the Mufús informed the Sultan of this, and his orders were that
those two, master and disciple [2] were to be taken in confinement
from Dihlî and brought to the camp. This was carried out, [4]
and Malik Firoz in some way or other gained over the guards, and
made his way, just as he was, to the neighborhood of Hansî to
Shaihk Badr-al-Din who was one of the descendants of Shaihk
Jamîl-al-Dîn of Hansî, 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 [6] at the camp of the Sultan in the vicinity
of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men
reached him [7] 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 [5] this state of affairs, they
liberated the holy Shaihk and the Sultan; [9] 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 بيعت نبودن for بيعت بروند (Text)
2 The words between square brackets are omitted from MS (A)
3 The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has ميدر و مريد را
while MS (A) has مريد و مريد را. The latter has the more genuine ring
though it is an uncommon expression
4 MS. (A) بیاورندن. The text reads بیاورندن
5 MS. (A) که چون از اولاد شیخ حسین دختری قلی قنی日至 لله صرعده بود
6 MS. (A) روسردیت اند. The text reads خبر ابن دو عزیز بار روسردیت
7 MS. (A) دلدل اند.
8 MS. (A) گذاشته اند. By Sultan, Firoz Shaihk must be here meant.
after that\(^1\) 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 Shah 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 "Nasiru-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. 223.

However this may be, the Sultan Firoz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the Mughuls who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sultan himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing these Mughuls effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army.

Verse.

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder
Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradiso.

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Siwistân made for Dihli by continuous marches, and Ahmad Ayûz, styled Khwâja-i-Jahân, who in the absence\(^2\) of the Sultan had urged a claim of an obscure child\(^3\) to the

\(^1\) MS. (A)
\(^2\) MS. (A)
\(^3\) Shams-i-Birj' Adif gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khan, son of Kishlu Khan Bahram, one of the servants at the Court."

\(^4\) He asserts the Khwâja-i-Jahân who was on terms of great intimacy with Firoz Shah received false tidings that Tûtar Khan, the Amir-Khâjî Firoz Shah were missing and either dead or prisoners. "After the days of mourning were completed, the Khwâja, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultan Muhammad Shah upon the throne, and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder." Elliott, III. 279-280.
thron, and had given him the title of Chiyāsu-d-Din Mahmūd Shāh, appointing himself Vāhil, after considerable argument, and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Aḥsrātul-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighborhood 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 Sarsunt tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzhāda Fath Khān, whose son eventually became Taghlaq Shāh, and the news of the death of Taghī Taghī also reached him there from Gujrat; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dīlī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sīnmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzhāda Muhammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāsiru-d-Din Muhammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kāliwar, whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsunt, and [gave it to Shāhī Ṣadrū-d-Din Jultānī, may God sanctify his resting place, the Shāhī-1-Mam] and Malik Qubār Nūb Vāzir he made Khān-i-Jahān, and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnautī with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Ḥāji Iyās 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.

1 Cf. Elliott, III 283.
2 MS (A) قرآن طغی.
3 MS (A) که پسری اختر تغلق شاہ بود.
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. B. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Azidpur by Fīroz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).
of Bangala, 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 Sultan 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 Manilkur he arrived at Dinha and built Firozahād on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.) ho

1 This appears to be the meaning. MS. (A) omits سلطنت and has دو لگ. See also Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 291 and note.

2 Shashalā in M. Parot de Courtrinles Turki Dictionary this word is given شاشال or شاشل Saison des plaines. He gives three instances of its use from the Būrmanāl.

3 Firozahād. This must not be Confounded with the Firozahād which arose from the change of name of Fandaul, see Elliot, III. 295, and Paulūnah, Imp. Gaz. Vol. XI.

This Firozahād (see J. A. S. B. 1870), was situated five los (ten miles) from Dinha, and included according to Shama-i-Siraj 'Aṣif, eighteen places, the census (townships) of Indarpur and others a list of which will be found in Elliot, III. 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the City of Hinsār (Hīsār Firozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jamna. The modern representation of the latter canal, which was called Raijān, is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnil (see Hunter's Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 258 for an account of this canal). The canal leaning from the Sutlej was called Alagh Khānī (Alagh Khānī). In modern maps there is a trac of this canal, but it is called the Jurasāh canal which is probably the word Raijān converted and applied in error to this canal. Rennell's map (Tiefe. Vol. III.) shows the supposed canal of Firoz Shah, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hinsār end but from Dipūlār, which lay at the junction of the Biās and Sutlej on the banks of the Biās, and passed south-east near Fathabad, if not actually through it, to join the river Jhijhar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer its nearest point measured from Dipūlār being exactly 100 miles (forty-eight kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jhijhar lies 23° 11' N. Long. 77° 12' 16" E. is 200 miles (Hunter's Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 189). (The river Jhijhar flowed south-east through Fathāpur joining the Jamna near Etewah). For this reason it appears likely that the canal was let not to Jhijhar but into the river Jhijhar as above stated (see Dé: Firitha, Text 1. 263).

Shama-i-Siraj 'Aṣif makes no mention of Dipūlār in connection with any canal, and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Raijān and Alagh Khānī, were conducted through the vicinity of
went to Dipālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Sutlej led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight kroh from there.

In the year 157 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandū (Mandili) and Sārūr, and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānūl.

Karnāl. If this was so the “supposed canal of Firoz Shāh” in Rennell’s map cannot be the Ulugh Khānī. His words are as follows:

Dahānā-i in har daqā-i ittiḥād-i karnāl birkān awarda miyān-i ḥaghtād kroh kār shahr-i Hīsār Firūza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Firoz Shāh would take his canal from Dipālpūr to Karnāl when his objective was Hīsār; we have also Badāni’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 shown in Rennell’s map, but not with that of Shams-i-Siraj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Siraj ‘Affī refers (Elliott, HI. 296-500), 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 Sārūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badāni must be what ‘Affī calls Great Larās, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sulṭān Firoz built the city of Hīsār Firūza. (Elliott, p. 297). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraison, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain in the original, that is to say the two Rāsais, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hīsār Firūza, one from Dipālpūr to Hīsār and on to the Jahjar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jamna as far as Karnāl (Rajiwah). 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 Jamna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1732 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar any near to Thanedar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jamna vid Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 689.
See also Thomas’ Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

1 MS. (A).

2 I cannot identify these places. Firsha (Bo. Text-I. 262) says Mandawī and Bīrūr, MS. (A) reads Mandīlī and Sārūr.

ستناء.
and thence to Rás, where he built a fortress which he called Hīṣār Fīroz, 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 underneath the fortress of Sarsatī, and from thence to Birāi Khera, and in the space between them he built a fortress and named it Fīrozābād. At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Īd-i-Zuhūr a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Khalifah Al-Hākim bi amrillāhī Abū Fath Abū Bakr ibn Abī Rabī' Suleimān from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān: and in this same year messengers from Ḥāfiẓ Ilyās the ruler of Lakhnāutī, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, 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 Fīroz with the exception of Lakhnāutī which was held by Ḥāfiẓ 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 Kāngī.

1 See page 326, continuation of page 325, note 3. Briggs' Firahīta calls it Raïsan. I. should be Raïsun, the two Rāsūs, i.e. Great Rāsū and Little Rāsū, Elliott, III. 293.

2 MS. (A) The text reads گریی کور. Sarsatī is shown in Rennell's map (Tieck. III) as lying southeast of Kānāl, Birāi Khera, I cannot trace. Firahīta Bo. Turn. I. p. 283 reads یہر میر کٹھرہ be wahr-i-Sarkhāra. Compare Rennell's memoir, pp. 72-73.

3 بنا نمرودیہ (A). At the village of Gārīn on the banks of the Jumānā, Elliott, III. 302.

4 MS. (A) adds گور.

5 MS. (A) reads گورا حاجی الیاس داشت.

6 According to the list of Egyptian Khalifahs given in Thomas' Pāthān Kings of Dīlī the Khalifah in 767 A.H. was Abū Fath Al-Mustakhibī Abū Bakr ibn Al-Mustakhibī biliṣīhi. He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalifahs. Al-Mustakhibi biliṣīhi Abū Rabī' Suleimān ibn Al-Hākim bi amrillāhī was the third of this line.

7 MS. (A) omits گور.

8 MS. (A) reads گورا مصالحہ کور.
And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samānā, he appointed Malik Qabūl Surkhāzādār to proceed against the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dipālpūr. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sultan’s army turned back and went to their own country, and the Sultan returned to Dīhilī; in this year the Sultan despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din of Lakhnaūti, who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents, and at Bihār they heard that the Sultan Shamsu-d-Din had died, and Sultan 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 Sultan having formed the design of attacking Lakhnaūti with a vast army, left Khān-i-Jahān in Dīhilī, and after deputing Tālār Khān, that is to say Malik Tālār, to proceed from Ghaznī to Mūltān, set out and passed the rainy season in Ẓafarābād, and at this place, A’zam Malik Shaikhzāda-i-Buṣṭāmī who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Ahmad Aṣyāz, and by the orders of the Sultan had been banished, brought from the Darul Khilafat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sultan and received the title of A’zam Khān. Saiyyid Rustādār was sent with the messengers of Lakhnaūti to the Sultan Sikandar at Lakhnaūti, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sultan when the rains were over leaving Ẓafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnaūti, 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 Shāhrāda Fath Khān, they also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

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1 MS. (A) Sirūj ‘Afiūl calls him Torkābānd. Elliott, III 311.
2 MS. (A) برس مغر.
3 MS. (A) میشو.
4 MS. (A)هی.
5 MS. (A) مراجعات تدوع (E).
6 The events preceding this are related by ‘Afiūl, showing how friendship was established between Sultan Firoz and Sultan Sikandar. Badānī’s account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305–312.)
7 MS. (A) omits اک
8 A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words پایتی وژ دین الكیلونی follow the word
of Pandūah, 'Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ḫulān 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 continual marches by way of Pandūah 2 to Jānpūr 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 Jagnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Ksarra, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Sargah 4 the Rāi of which place 5 withdrew, and thence he came to Būnānī 6 which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahāndūrī 7 and the Rāi of Bānānasī taking to flight made with all haste for Tīlang. The Sultān pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt 8 and arrived at the country of Rāi Pārihān Dev 9 who sent a present of thirty-two 10 elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultān coming to Pādmāwatı and Param Tiḷāo 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 Zīa-ul-Mulk 13 wrote a quatrain upon this:

1 See 'Affī's account of this. (Elliott, III 309). Sīrāj 'Affī calls this place "the islands of Ḫulān." See note 6, page 324
2 'Affī says by way of "Qamān and Qāsh"—Jānpūr was so near these towns called by Sultān Firuz Shāh after Sultān Mūhammād Shāh, son of Tughlāq Shāh, whose name was Jannān, so he called the place Jannān-pūr. He stayed there six months, during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowā (Gumti).
3 'Affī says the Shāh left his heavy baggage in Kārya Text p. 163 (Calcutta, Edn. Bibl. Ind.) see Lihott, III. 312, note 2.
4 MS. (A)
5 Namād Ad-Dār ('Affī) or Rāi Sūdhan (Pirštā).
6 'Affī says Bānānasī the ancient residence of the independent Rāis of Jānpūr.
7 MS. (A)
8 'Affī tells us (Text, pp. 165 57) that the Sultān turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliott III. 312-314).
9 The Rāi of Bānānasī (Briggs' Pirshtā).
10 MS. (A) reads तीन.
11 MS. (A) केवल दस
12 Not in MS. (A).
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.

And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Delhi, 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 Sarauti, 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 Sarauti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sibind and Mansurpur and Samāna.

The Sultan 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) قئط

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 Afit's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However Afit, Text 172, says he took with him 75 elephants alive.

3 MS. (A) بسرعت نما

4 MS. (A) نور ملتهما نام

6 Compare with this Firighta's account, with which Badsoni's is almost identical. Firighta, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

7 Firighta says (ibid) see Hunter, Imp. Gaz. XII. 261, for the Sarauti or Sarawati. See also J. R. A. S. 1892, pp. 49-76. The Salima seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhbad S. of Ambala.

8 Gaz. See Aftn Akbari (Jarrett), II. 53 et seq. Throughout Hindostan there were three kinds of gaz—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called tarsaj.

Presumably it is the short gaz which is here meant but even this would be about 25 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the forearm, 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 Sirhind and for ten kroha beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Zia al-Mulk Shamsu-d-Din Abu Rija, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Firuzpur which is in fact Sirhind, and the Sultan from thence, went to Nagarkot whose Raja after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment. The Sultan gave to Nagarkot the name of Muhammadabad after the deceased Sultan Muhammad; and when they brought the Sultan ice on that mountain fort lie said, "when Sultan Muhammad, 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 Muhammad and distribute the sharbat among the entire army. Under these circumstances they informed the Sultan that from the time when Sultan Sikander Zul Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshaba and keep it in a room where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahman of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jawalamukhi; a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished. No, not by thousands of masha of water. The Sultan having sam-

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1 I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is صحیح کتاب کے نام.
2 MS. (A) insert.
4 See Elliot III. 316-318.
5 MS. (A) 3.
6 MS. (A) اب.
7 MS. (A) 3.
8 MS. (A) adds the word تار.
9 Firishta's words are صورت نوشلا برا ساخته.
10 Firishta say جلاد مشی.
11 MS. (A) مکی.

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 Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B.C. and
moved the Bihirmans, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books 1 into Persian. Among those translators 'Izza-d-Din Khūlid Khān, 2 who was one of the poets and münāḥīs of the time of Fīrūz 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 3 Dalāl-i-Fīrūz, and the author of this Muntakhab read it in Lahore in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from blemishes nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sultan Fīrūz, some of them on the Science of "Pīnag" 4 that is to say on Music, and the kinds of Alhāra 5 which they call Pāmū 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, 6 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., Barsina or Sateira, the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arran) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325 Arrian is the only author who mentions the last wife (Smith, D. G. R Biography).

It represents in reality neither of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name must have been written Rūshūna and by copyist error perverted to Thatha.

Firuz's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation

1 MS (A) omits بدر.  
2 MS (A) reads خالی Beato (O B. D.) calls him 'Izza-d-Din Khūlid Khān and mentions him as the author of the Dalāl-i-Fīrūz bāšā, probably on the authority of this passage.
3 MS. A ḩāli.  
4 So called from Pīnagā or Pīnagānāga, the inventor of the art of prosody. See Albyūz, India i. 187, also Colebroke Essays, II. 57.
5 The Alhāra is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett), III. 258. The word Pāmū signifies in Hindi a prostitute or dancing-girl.
6 'Atif tells us that Jām the brother of Rāi 'Umar, and Bāhībās, his brother's son were in possession of Thatha.
grain, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrat, which country he placed under the control of Zafar Khān; then having deposed Niz̄īmu-l-Mulk and appointed him Naib Wazir of Dihli, he returned to Thatha; and on this occasion the Jam asking for quarter had an interview with the Sultan, and with all the zamindars 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-jahāna the Fāzir, died, and his son Jānā Shah obtained that title; and the book Chandahān which is a Masnavi in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lūrak and Chândâ, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulânâ Dā'ud. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Makhduh Shâīkh Tâqi-ul-Dīn Wâz Râbbânî used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit, and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them. When certain learned men of that time asked the Shâīkh saying, what is the reason for this Hindi Masnavî 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 Ayâns of the Qur'ân, and the sweet singers of Hindustân. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H. (1371-72 A.D.) Zafar Khân 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 (Af. Text, p 211).
2 Amir Husain son of the late Amir Miran (Elliott III. 333).
3 Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III. 334).
4 'Alî he son of the Jam and Tamâchi brother of Hânhbânà were appointed to rule over Thatha.
5 See Elliott III. 371.
6 MS (A) reads حادیاکر, without date, and also reads سر سر. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.
7 MS. (A) omits سر. (A) (B) حیدر.
8 MS (A) reads وسیده. وسیده, and succeeds.
9 MS (A) reads پسیده. پسیده. To.
10 According to Firuzkhit, Zafar Khan died in 775 H. and was succeeded by his elder son Daryâ Khan.
Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A.D.) an event distressing to the people (death) happened to Fath Khan; 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 Khan; 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, Muqaddam-zādas 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 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 Farhatu-l-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarrh Sultānī.

And in the year 779 H. (1377-78 A.D.) he marched toward Itāwa and Akchak and having sent the Rāis of these districts with their families to Dihli, built many fortresses on these frontiers; then having left Firozpūr and Bātlihā, in charge of the son of Malik Tāj-n-d-Din, and having given Akchak to Malik Afghān returned to Dihli. In this year also Malik Nizāmu-d-Din the ruler of Oudh, who was in attendance on the Sultān, died, and the governorship of that province devolved upon Malik Saifu-d-Din his eldest son.

In the year 781 H. (1379 A.D.) having gone to Sāmāna and passing through Shāhābūd and Ambāla, he came to the country at the foot of Sintūr hills, and receiving many presents from

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1 Muqaddamzāda has the same meaning as گیاکل زد Kināzād, corn in the house.
2 Briggs "Amocr Jadaeda" is in the original text "Amirān-i-Sada as in Badāoni.
3 We see from Firuhta that it was now he acquired the title Farhatu-l-Mulk (Bo. text, p. 267).
4 Firuhta gives the reason of this expedition, which was a rebellion of the zamindars of Itāwa. Instead of گچک Akchak, Firuhta reads گچک Akhal. He says یورا و اکح و یپلی Itāwa, Akhal, and Tilāi.
5 Til Firuhta.
6 MS. (A) رفته.
7 Firuhta says To the foot of the hills of Bāhrūn-pūr.
the Rais and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital and summoning Maliku-al-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, who held the title of Nusrāt Khān, from the district of Karra and Mahoba, appointed him to the Mīrān 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-al-Sharq, Saleimān the son of Malik Marwān, whose adopted son was Saiyyid Khizār Khān, the grandfather of Sultān 'Alāū-d-Dīn Badāonī 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 Muhammad and Saiyyid 'Alāū-d-Dīn his brother, who were Governors of Badāon. The rebellious Khūkhar fled towards the hills of Kumāon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khīṭāb the Afghān in the country of Sambhāl 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 Badāon 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 krahs from Badāon and is better
known as Mawāsā, and gave it the name of Firūzpur; and, since in later times no other building was ever erected by the Sultan it became commonly known as Akhīnāpur. 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. The age of the Sultan 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, 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 Sultan destroyed one party and put to death another and making accusations of conspiracy against Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān and some of the other Mahāks who were hand in glove with him, by this means turned the Sultan against him, and gave him a fixed idea that his confederacy had for their object to raise the Shāhzāda to the throne, accordingly the Sultan set his heart upon the defeat and extinction of those Amirās. The Shāhzāde, however, after that he had been in terror for some days and had omitted to pay his respects to the Sultan, one day in private came into the Sultan’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. Obtaining carte blanche from the Sultan to defeat and exterminate Khān-i-Jahān, and having brought over to his

1 Or Mawāsā: MS (A) مواسای
2 MS (A) نام آن گذاشته.
3 c. Lashkī.
4 MS (A) omits زمین.
5 Briggs says Zafar Khān Tarsi—but this is not in the text. This was Jumān Shāh who has been mentioned, see next page, note 7.
6 MS (A) حائرتشان اور کرد.
7 Intishta tells us that he came in concealed in a woman’s litter under the pretense that his own wife was visiting the Sultan’s harem.
8 MS (A). قہیم معمس شہر ر.
side the Mirza Amir and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajab, 789 H. (1387 A.D.) he started with a strong force to attack Khân-i-Jahân, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. Khân-i-Jahân fled with a few followers towards Miwât, and took refuge there with one Kûkâ a Zamindar; and the Shahzâda destroyed certain of the Amirs who had been well-disposed to Khân-i-Jahân. Subsequently to this the Shahzâda 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 Nâsiru-d-Din wa-nd Dûnyâ Muhammed Shah, in the month of Zahrân 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 Muhammed ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amirs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Ya'qûb the title of Sikandar Khân appointed him to attack Khân-i-Jahân in Miwât; Kûkâ-Chûhân a Zamindar of Miwât bound Khân-i-Jahân and sent him to Sikandar Khân who put him to death, and having sent his head as a present to the Court of Muhammed Shah set out for Gujrat.

And in the year 790 H. (1388 A.D.) Muhammed Shah arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmûr hills, and Malik Muharrî who was in Gujrat, in unison with the Amirs of hundreds put Sikandar Khân to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled.

1 MS. (A) فرغلیه.
2 Having first put to death Zafar Khân (Firighta).
3 Firighta calls him Kûkâ Olanâhân.
4 See Thomas' Pathán Kings pp 287 and 288.
5 The word must be inserted here though no copy has it.
6 MS. (A) omits the words زمیندار میروا ت.
7 MS. (A) بیکتل رسانیده. The first Khân-i-Jahân was according to Aâtîf originally a Khindû. He was a native of Telingana and a man of high position in favour with the Râj of that country. His name was Katâl, but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqâlî. Aâtîf states that he died in 707 A.H. and when he died all Dihlî went into mourning. This Khân-i-Jahân was his son Janâb Khân.
8 MS. (A) میک.
came with the Singhâul to Dibâi; Muhammad Shâh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterizes youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khân, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sultân’s soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samâu-d-Din and Kamâla-d-Din, who were the protégés of Muhammad Shâh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahiu-r-Din Lâhori whom the Shâhsâda had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muhammad Shâh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shâhsâda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shâhsâda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultan, so that they took refuge with the Sultan Fîrûz. 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 Muhammad Shâh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultan Fîrûz they left fighting and came over to the Sultan. Muhammad Shâh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmâr hills, and the army of the Sultan, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muhammad Shâh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultan at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muhammad Shâh from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughlaq Khân the son of Fath Khân, his grandson, the title of Tughlaq Shâh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughlaq Shâh beheaded Mir Hasan the son-in-law of the Sultan, who was a special favourite of Muhammad Shâh, and having exiled Qâlib Khân the governor of Samâna, sent him to the country of Bihar.

On the sixteenth of Ramâzân in the year 790 H. Sultan Fîrûz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

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1 So Firûzta. Briggs says here, p. 391, “placed his grandson Ghias-od-Din Deen ...... upon the throne.” The text is تغلی خان ولد شهید خان تغلی خان the son of the Shâhsâda Fath Khân. This was Ghiasu-d-Din Tughlaq Shâh II.
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 heart
This stirred up dust has been mixed!
Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild ass.

Among the poets of the reign of Firuz Shah and his boon-companions, is Malik Ahmad, the son of Amir Khusrū, 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:

Земи Рудова... Земи Рудова (trans.)

Hail! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heathen, by craftiness.
And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

Земи... (trans.)

Hail to thee! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

1. These words give the value 729 while Naqī-Firuz Shah gives 759.
2. Fitrīhta 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. Zahir-ud-Din Tahir ibn Muhammad, a co-temporary of Jamāl-ud-Din Ishtihādī and Hakīm Khāqān Shīrāzī, was a native of Fārīshk.
5. He died in the year 599 H. and is buried at Sarīshāb of Tībrīz which has been called “the Sepulchre of the Poets.” His poetry was held in great estimation. (Majma‘ul-Faṣāḥā I, 283) see also Scalé O. B. D. I, p. 286.
6. MS. (A) reads جباري. See also footnote to text.
and in place of {swallowed} (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read {thrown} (thrown) 1 and another in this verse

\[
\text{بین سیاه سر سر که گوگرد نرخ خواسته}
\text{گر ناه نگاه خواسته که وا گرفته کرده}
\]

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur: 2

If he had asked bread from the Khwāja, what could I have done?

which was thus written,

\[
\text{بین سیاه سر سر که گوگرد نرخ خواسته}
\]

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

\[
\text{گر مکش خواسته دار با تک دست مرتضی}
\text{نرخ گیسر پلک خویدیار نشکننـه}
\]

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,

\[
\text{گر مکش خواسته دار با تک دست مرتضی مرتضی}
\]

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rabies, do not grieve.

And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Ahmad 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).

The verse would then read as follows:

\[
\text{بین سیاه سر سر که گوگرد نرخ خواسته}
\text{گوگرد احمر}
\]

Gūgūrd-i-Āhmār (Sulphur). The red Gūgūrd 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-īkār (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called Abūl-arwāḥ (Father of spirits), they call this Abūl-ajṣād (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (Burhān-i-gāji).
Another poet was Manjana Maqbar Karra, whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnauti and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an astrology 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 Qasi 'Abid 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 Shāh ibn Fath Khān ibn Sultān Firūz

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amir in the year 780 A.H. (1381 A.D.) in accordance with the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Chiyyuq-ud-Din Tughlaq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amirs to oppose Muhammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Muhammad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot, and the army of Tughlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty of the way turned back (to Dihī) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Zahir Khān and grandson of Fath Khān, who was his brother's son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father, and Malik Rukun-

1. In the Majmā' al-Fushā he is called Maqbar-i-Hindi Qāsi of Agra (? Karra) the panegyrist of Firūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The Atash Kada.
2. Azur merely mentions his name as Maqbarī.
3. Neither the Majmā' al-Fushā nor Atash Kada-i-Azur mention this poet.
5. Ms. (A).
d-Din Chanda Wazir, in concert with other Amir, made friends
with Abu Bakr Khan, and killed Malik (Mubarak) Kahir in Firdaw-
sbad at the door of the rent 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. (1392 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 Baha Shah ibn Zafar Khan [ibn Fath Khan?]
ibn Firuz Shah.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shah, by the ill-judged agree-
ment of the Amir assumed the Government under the above
title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appoint-
ments among the Amir, and raised Rukn-ed-Din Chanda to the
dignity of Vazir, and eventually, when he heard that Rukn-ed-
Din in concert with certain of the Amir, 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 Amir of hundreds of Samaan cut to
pieces Malik Sultan Shah Khughdil, the Amir of Samaana, 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 Samaana and
sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shahsada Muhammad
Shah at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muhammad Shah
accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Samaana by way of Jelan-
dhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

1 MS. (A) omits پیارک. Firishta calls him Amiru-l-Umar.
2 Firishta tells us that this was Malik Firuz Ali son of Malik Taju-d-Din.
3 MS. (A) inserts ی.
4 MS. (A) changes ملک یکم to ملک یکم. Firishta says 21st of Safar.
5 MS. (A) writes پیش عہد برہد و مڑید روز.
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 Babi'ul Awwal in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.), and in the following month of Babi'ul Aakhir of the same year, set out to capture Dihli with a force of 50,000, and slighted at the palace of Jahan Numa where he bestowed upon the Amir suitable appointments; among others he conferred upon the Governor of Multan the title of Khair Khan, and Abu Bakr Shah having raised an army for the assistance of Bahadur Nashir Khan Zada of Miwat, on the (2nd) of Junaidin-I Awwal of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Firuzabad with Muhammad Shah, and gained the day. Muhammad Shah, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doab, and sent Humayun Khan his younger son to Samaana, and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amir of Hindustan with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihli. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abu Bakr 250. Shah and was again defeated, and Abu Bakr Shah pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muhammad Shah arrived at Chatar, 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 Muharram of the year 792 H. (1389-90 A.D.) Shahzada Humayun Khan having called together many Amirs from the frontier of Samaana to reinforce him, laid waste the country round Dihli, engaged in battle in the neighbourhood of Panipath with 'Imadaul-Mulk who had been sent by Abu Bakr (Shah) with four thousand cavalry to oppose him, and being defeated retreated towards Samaana. And in the month of Jamadiul-Awwal of the aforesaid year Abu Bakr Shah marched for Chatar (Chitar) with a strong force, with the object of opposing Muhammad Shah, and had encamped at a distance of twenty lef from Dihli, when Muhammad Shah with

1 MS. (A) از کراچی جمعیت الیکسیر.
2 The text and MS. (A) both read بکاربرد جمعیت الیکسیر.
3 MS. (A) چیتیم. The text reads چیتیم Chitar. Forightz emya چیتیم.
4 Jalesar. Bo text p 275
5 MS. (A) در نوشی. 5 MS. (A) omits the word شی.
four thousand men, pressing unobserved round his right flank, reached Dihli by another route and entered the palace of Humayun, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abu Bakr Shah pursued him and arrived at Dihli, and having put to death MalikBahādūr-DiuJangī whom Muhammad Shah had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humayun, and Muhammad Shah, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the Haaz-i-Khān died again with all haste to Chapter (Chitar), his original abode and asylum. Many of his noted Amirs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Bahādūr Muhammad Shah was no longer able to stand against Abu Bakr Shah, still the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abu Bakr Shah, and in the month of Ramaḍān in the aforesaid year, Mubashir Chap and some of the slaves of Firuz Shah’s party who had been promoted to the rank of Amir, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abu Bakr Shah, opened a secret correspondence with Muhammad Shah, and invited him; Abu Bakr Shah when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking resistance from Bahādūr Nāhir set his face to go to Kotla 7 of Mīwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shahin and Imād<ul>2</ul>ul-Mulk and Malik Bahār-i and Sāider Khān in Dihli; then Muhammad Shah in obedience to the invitation of the Amirs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firuzabad with great ceremony; and Mubashir Chap,

1 Firuzta sīyal wa wa 0,000 chosen Cavalry.

2 حیث غالب کوئ.. Firuzta sīyal,

3 و بعد از انہاں نوبھک کشت وہ چپ کوئ..

4 اش. (A) جانلہ دہلی دیویات فریمین کا صغر و رشدر مالی نہ‌بین پر و (ارپی)..

5 اش. (A) ادا اور اور .. خلیلی.

6 اش. (A) اسدا ہوا ..

7 کوٹلا. Hindi Kotī, a small fortress. Bahādūr Nāhir was

ruler of Mīwāt, see Firuzta Briggs, 471. This word Kotla seems to have been made use of by Firuz Shah to designate certain of his hunting palaces. See Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 292, note 2, and references there given.

By this Kotla however, Kotla of Mīwāt, we may understand probably Hardwar or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Bessar’s map G. n. as “Coupele” see Elliot, III 455. n. and 458.
Having received the title of İsmâ'îl Khân, was promoted to the rank of Vâzîr, and after some time he left Firdawsî and went to the palace of Hâmîyûn, Jahan (Nūrî), and gave orders for the slaves of the Firdâsi 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 Hindustân were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation, and were put to the sword. Abû Bakr Shâh after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the Kotîle (of Mîrâb) just as he was till Muḥâammad Shâh5 by continuous marches came against him, and Bahâdur Nâhir Mîrâb and Abû Bakr Shâh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultân Muḥâammad Shâh. Bahâdur Nâhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abû Bakr Shâh in the fort of Mîrâb. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 723 H. (1320-21 A.D.)6 the duration of the reign of Abû Bakr Shâh was a year and a half.

1 MS. (A) omits text.

2 This passage is not intelligible in itself, but Firdâste's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereas Muḥâammad Shâh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of these 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes, ‘Muḥâammad Shâh said 'whoever among you instead of Khârî says Khârî, in a native of the country,' and since (as the King in fact desired) they were unable to pronounce these words, but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word Khârî signified brisk, as applied to water: natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word Khârî in place of Khârî, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word pâni, water.

3 MS. (A) not in the text.

4 There is an error in MS. (A) here which writes, "ورصمة كتلة ويخضر" and in 723 H. ito Thanes, Pethân Kings, p. 393.
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]
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 Dihli in the abovementioned year by the
consent of the grandees and nobles of the State, and assumed
absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the
kingdom. And in this same year Mufarrīḥ Sultān governor of
Gujrāt revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajihu-1-Mulk was ordered
to proceed thither.

In the year 791 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the zamīndārs (land-holders)
of the Doāb breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of
Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against
Harsingrāī 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 Chitrā 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-
rabā-1-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

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1 Not in MS. (A.)
2 MS. (A) reads:—
3 MS. (A) omits.
4 Bājī of Itāwa.
5 See Thomas, Pathān Kings, 307 n. 1.
This place appears to be the same as Jaleesar judging from Firīghta's
account.
For Jaleesar see Hunter Imp. Gaz., VII, 103.
Ilāwa, who by promises and engagements\(^1\) induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qanaaj, 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 Dihlī. The Sultān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; 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 Shāikhā Khūkhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Luhorā, 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 Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ;\(^3\) the duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Mavnavi.

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 'Alā-ud-Dīn Sikandar Shāh ibn-i-Muhammad 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

\(^1\) MS. (A) و قوار دائط.

\(^2\) He died according to Firuzhta's account on the 17th of Rabī‘-ṣ-Ṣawwāl, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ. Text, p. 278.

\(^3\) The Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ was a reservoir constructed by Firuz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarnāma of Yuzdi 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 Dihlī obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firuz Shāh is by its side." Elliott, III, 441-501.

\(^4\) MS. (A) and footnote to Text read: میثاقا و لز صوده صدبار.
Sultan Mahmud Shâh bin-i-Muhammad Shâh,

Who was his youngest son, ascended the throne on the twentieth of Jumâdîn-l-Awwal in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amirs, with the title of Sultan Nâṣiru-d-Dîn Mahmûd, and having bestowed upon Muqarraba-i-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Kâbûn, he made him his heir apparent, 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 Sultân-i-Shurûq upon Khwâja-i-Jâbûn, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bilbûr with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jâjunâr and took possession of it,

1 And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Haüra-i-Khâsh. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firûzâ).-
2 The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).
3 Firûzâ also says. the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of."-
4 MS. (A) omits سلمانت.
5 Text reads جهادی الأولی.
6 The text reads بین حکم نیست, but this is I venture to think wrong.
7 Firûzâ says became Vâkila-Sultânât and Amîru-l-Imara.
8 MS. (A) omits و خلافات.
9 So also Firûzâ. Briggs however converts this into "Mulik-oos-Sharâb," p. 678.
10 Firûzâ says Jânumâr.
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 \(^1\) the greater number of the forts which the rebels had destroyed, in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malatta, \(^5\) Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khān to the district of Dibālpur to quell the rising of Shaikhā Khākhar. And in the month of Zu-Qa'edah of the same year Shaikhā Khākhar\(^3\) fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Śāmōṭhala \(^4\) which is twelve krohs from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamān; Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother \(^6\) Adil Khān,\(^6\) and returned towards Dibālpur.

And in the month of Shaba'ān of this year Sultān \(^6\) Māhmūd leaving Muqarrab Khān as his Viceroy in Dihli, and taking with him Sa'ādat Khān, who was commonly known \(^7\) as 'Abdu-r-Raḥīd Sulṭānī, marched in the direction of Bānā and Gwāliār. In obedience to the order of the Sultan a spacious chief mosque \(^8\) built of stone was erected in the town of Basāwar, and is standing at the present time. and when \(^9\) the Sultan arrived near Gwāliār, Malik Alā'uddin Dhārvāl, and MalleKhān\(^10\) the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān son of Malik Rājū\(^11\) conspired against Sa'ādat Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik Alā'uddin and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.\(^12\)

\(^1\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^2\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^3\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^4\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^5\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^6\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^7\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^8\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^9\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^10\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^11\) MS. (A) Delmar
\(^12\) MS. (A) Delmar

1. MS. (A) Delmar
2. MS. (A) Delmar
3. MS. (A) Delmar
4. MS. (A) Delmar
5. MS. (A) Delmar
6. MS. (A) Delmar
7. MS. (A) Delmar
8. MS. (A) Delmar
9. MS. (A) Delmar
10. MS. (A) Delmar
11. MS. (A) Delmar
12. MS. (A) Delmar
Malloo 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 Malloo 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 Muharram 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-shah, and acting in concert with some of the Amir summoned Nasir Shah son of Fahd Khan and grandson of Sultan Firuz Shah from Miwad, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabia-i-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nasiru-d-Din Nasir Shah. Nasir Shah 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 Nasiru Shah, 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

1 MS. (A) omits 'ere.
2 MS. (A) elide.
3 This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firuztha writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khan came out to receive the Sultan and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the specious and arr y of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo 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 Bakhsh, Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud Shah at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muharram 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." (Firuztha, Ba. text p. 279). Cf. Briggs, p. 490.

4 Being compelled by the court of the muns to decamp (Firuztha).

5 The text reads نصبت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان نادر شاه. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.
6 MS. (A) א.
o.Dhibi, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khan, and in treachery put to death by him: then the Amir of Nur Rat Shah's faction such as Muhammad Mu'izz-ul-Mulk Vazir and Shihab Azvir and Malik Fazlul-Allah Balkhi, and the slaves of Firuz Shah's party one and all renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sultan Nur Rat Shah and divided the appointments afresh.

Sultan Mahmud was known as King in Dhibi, while in Firuzabad Nur Rat Shah enjoyed that title, and Muqarrab Khan placed the citadel of old Dhibi under the command of Babdur Nahir Nivatti, and bestowed upon Mallow Khan the title of Iqbal Khan, and day by day battles were fought between these two kings, who were like the two kings in the game of chess, Sultan Nur Rat Shah retained possession of the country of the Deob, and Sambhal, Parniath, Rohat, and Jahjar, while a few old ruined forts such as Dhibl and Siri and the rest, remained in the hands of Sultan Mahmud, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression: The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudawand-i-'Alum) is from Dhibi to Palam. And all over Hindustan there were various parties each with its own Malik.

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 Dhibi party got the better of the Firuzabad party and at another time the positions were reversed.

1 MS. (A) omits 3
2 3
3MS. (A) omits 3
4 See Thomas' Pathan Kings, 312, note 1, and 318, note 1.
5 MS. (A) omits 3
6 Firuzhta states that these two joined neither king willing to see how affairs would turn out.
7 For a space of three years (Firuzhta).
8 That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter.
10 Hakan-i-Khudaawand-i-Kam az Dhibl to Palam.
11 See Thomas' Pathan Kings, p. 315 n. 1.
12 MS. (A) 3
Verse.

Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.  

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the Murađ-i-ʿAli,  
Khizr Khan, the Amir of Multân, and Sârang Khan the ruler of Dipâlpûr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwân, who was the tutor of Malik Sulaimân the father of Khizr Khan, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sârang Khan the governor of Dipâlpûr, Multân passed from the possession of Khizr Khan to that of Sârang Khan, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sârang Khan having overcome Ghâlib Khan the governor of Sâmâna, and Tâţâr Khan the Wâli of Pânipath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihli.  
Sultân Nasrât Shâh sent Malik Ilyâs a slave of the Firûz Shâhi party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tâţâr Khan. He accordingly drove Sârang Khan out of Sâmâna and delivered it to Ghâlib Khan.

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; Sârang Khan was defeated, and fled towards Multân, and Tâţâr Khan proceeded to the frontier of Thauandi, and sending Kamâla-d-Din Mubin in pursuit of Sârang Khan, returned. And in the month of Rabîʿu-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned, Mirzâ Pir Muhammad, grandson of the

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1 The Buhûn-i-Qāṭi.

2 It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female.

3 The Haizatu-l-Haiveen says nothing about this (art. 192 and 292), but mentions a statement that the ʿuqūb eagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I. K. (Blanc) id., 305.

4 See Thomas' Pathân Kings, p. 329, n. 1.

5 MS. (A) omits the words  

6 MS. (A) omits  

7 MS (A) also Firîhta.

8 In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (Firîhta).

9 MS. (A) reads  

10 MS. (A) reads  

Firîhta writes  

11
great—Amir Timūr Gūrgān, King of Khurāsān and Māwarān-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus, and was besieging the fortress of Uchh. 'Ali Mulik, Sārang Khan's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malik Tājū-d-Dīn Bakhtyār arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khan, Mīrzā Pir Muḥammad left Uchh, and taking Malik Tājū-d-Dīn Bakhtyār and his thousand sowāra unawares in their position on the banks of the river Biāh, attacked them. The greater number of Malik Tājū-d-Dīn's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction; and Mīrzā Pir Muḥammad after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed, and invested the fortress of Multān. Sārang Khan held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mīrzā, who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Timūr.

1 MS. (A) ١. Gūrgān. The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed; the most recent opinion is that of Dr. Erdmann, according to whom "Kurkān or Gūrgān 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 Tājū-d-Dīn. He also tells us that Kurkān or Gūrgān represents the Chinese expression Fu-mā and that the Amir Timūr was called Tājūd-Fu-mā by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chau-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. Fu-mā 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 Turāsh-Rakhidi by Elias and Rose, from which the above is extracted. In M. Paret de Courtelloy's Turkī Dictionary we find "ایسکر" prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de疽nue-Chān: prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi: prince né de parentes issues de Khanes qui épouse la fille d'un Khan: suzerain de Timour; savant, bon, prê. See also Aīn-i-Akbarī (B) I. 464 n.

2 By a bridge of boats (Firāshīa).

3 ١. Firāshīa.

4 MS. (A) omits the words "میتار میوار مواس.

5 Firāshīa says "میتار کرظان اکثر اک میوم دروقت گویز بیقل، و سیدید و بیشی در اخرب غریب کشته.

Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river.

6 MS. (A) omits "میتار میوار مواس.

7 MS. (A) omits "میتار میوار مواس.

8 Firāshīa tells us that Malik Tājū-d-Dīn escaped with a few men and fled to Multān.

9 Being compelled by famine (Firāshīa).
And in the month of Shawwal in the aforesaid year Iqbal Khan, who is better known as MalIo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sultan Nuqrat Shah, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahannumë, taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sultan Mahmud and Muqarrab Khan and Bahadar Nihar shut themselves up in old Dihli. On the third day from this Iqbal Khan made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nuqrat Shah hoping to take him by surprise; Nuqrat Shah fled from Jahannumë and came to Firuzabad, and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tatir Khan his Vaisir at Panipath. The whole of the army and elephants of Nuqrat Shah fell into the hands of the sultan Iqbal Khan, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khan and Iqbal Khan, until by the intervention of certain Amir peace was established between these two leaders, but after a few days Iqbal Khan proceeded against Muqarrab Khan, 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 Sultan Mahmud into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month of Zul Qadah of the aforesaid year Iqbal Khan wrested Panipath by force from the followers of Tatir Khan, and raised all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tatir Khan previously to this expedition of Iqbal Khan, had left Panipath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country to the winds left Dihli and went to Gujar with a large following to join his father. Iqbal Khan coming to Dihli bestowed upon Malik Nawiru-Mulk, a relation of Tatir Khan who had joined him, the title of 'Adil Khan, and placed under his control the district of the Deah.

And in the month of Safar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amir

1 MS (A) reads ینب نا ینا ینا ید in the text.
2 MS (A) 3
3 MS (A) نا ید
4 MS (A) م ید.
5 Firahat says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."
6 MS (A) م ید

"Aulat" or "aulakâ. A Turki word signifying "province, villo, pays, set" according to M. Favet do Courtelleis

6 His father Zafir Khan (Firahat)
Timūr the Great attacked the town of Tulumba, and taking Māltan, put to the sword the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sārang Khan whom Mirzā Pir Muhammad had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhat, and having taken prisoner Rāj Jaljīn Bhati put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there and taking Sāmāna, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dipālpur and Ajūdhan and Sarmatī, 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 Jamnā, and entered the Doūb and sweeping the greater part of the country

1 Text तलिना. MS. (A) ठिनी। Tulumba (see Hanter Imp Oas., XIII. 163) is shown in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab, Trangana being at the junction of the Chenāb and Ravi (Tieā III.).

Firīghta says "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamā and the Chenab meet where there was a strong fortress called Tulambha," Briga says "to the confluence of the Chenab with the Ravi."

From Tulumba Firīghta tells us Timūr marched to Shāhnawāz where they took all the grain they required and burned the remainder. From thence he went to Ajūdhan and Bhatīn. Shāhnawāz is shown in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Ravi, Long 72° E. Lat 30° 5' N. Ajūdhan is Pak Pattan, and is about 80 miles S.W. of Shāhnawāz. Here is the tomb of Shālih Parsa-d-Din Ganji Shukkar which was visited by Timūr. From Ajūdhan to Bhatīn is about 90 miles. Firīghta says from Khāliškot to Bhatīn is fifty Krah. See Elliott III. 415 et seqg, for the description of this campaign translated from the Malfuṭ-i-Timūri. Timūr calls Khāliš kūl, Khāliš Kotuli, and says it is ten kōs from Ajūdhan and fifty from Bhatīn.

2 MS. (A) गद्विनाती.

3 MS. (A) बहर. Bhatpar This should be बहर नाम Bhatnār, see note 1 above. Firīghta says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khāliš kūl) and Bhatīn in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

4 The Bombay text of Firīghta has बाजार खलीलī Rāz Khiljī, see also Briga Firīghta p. 488 footnote. Both MSS. agree with the text in giving Rāj Jaljīn as the name of the governor of the fort. The Malfuṭ-i-Timūri calls him Rāj Iūl Chain, see Elliott III. 422-423.

5 On the 3rd of Rabī‘ul-Āwwal.

6 5th of Rabī‘ul-Āwwal. see Elliott III. 426-428.

7 MS. (A) बहर कुल दूर अब दर आसमी।
with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the
banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lāni, not far
from Dihlī; and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty
thousand prisoners who had fallen 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 Hindustānī Muslims for Hindūs,
in their desire for the reward of holy war sent many of them
with their own hands into the next world.

Then in the month of Jamāidu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great
Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Fīrūzābād and the
next day encamped above the Haun-i-Khāzī. Iqbāl Khān having
sent 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, so complete was the rout.
And in this defeat many were killed, and when the glittering
soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day,
Iqbāl Khān and Sultān Mahmūd leaving their families and friends

1 Lāni, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī. Tieli. I. 183. Louvi villa entre lotis
peuple et manie d‘un fort. Timur arrived there on the 27th Rabī‘u-l-
Awwal. Lāni was situated on a Doč between the Jamna and the Halin.

2 MS. (A).

3 MS. (A).

4 The reward of the cui “Qubz” or one who fights in the cause of
Islām is thus defined “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. (Nichtbi, XVII, 1).

The ḥijāb or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the
Qurān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (See
Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. Ḫijāb).

5 Firishta states that he dug a deep trench and furnished a number of
cows and buffaloes together with raw hides, stationing sharpshooters behind
them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120
elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Haun-i-
Khāzī; and see Elliott, III. 433, cf. sqq.

The date given by Badāūnī is apparently wrong, as the Malikī-Timūrī
says that Timur crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabī‘u-l-Ākhir. See Elliott,
III. 443 and note 1.

6 MS. (A) omits and writes.

7 Not in MS. (A) which reads.
in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight. Sultan Mahmud fled straight to Gujarat, and Iqbal Khan crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Timur gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dilih, 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 Transoxiana; eventually Sheikh Ahmad Kathth whose tomb is well known at Sar Khuz in Gujarat near to Ahmadabad, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timur, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darveesh, 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 Rabii’-I-akhir.
2 Firaqta. See Elliott, III. 447.
3 MS. (A).

Sheikh Ahmad Kathth was born at Dilih A.H. 737 (A.D. 1339) of noble family of that city. His name was Nusrul-Din. He was a disciple of Baba Ishaq Mughribi, and came to Gujarat in the reign of Sultaan Ahmad Saraswati (A.D. 1411-13). He was buried in Sarkhej near Ahmadabad, (Ain-i-Akbari [Jarrett], III. 377).

Sheikh Ahmad Kathth was born at Dilih, a village near Ngor, the residence of his spiritual guide Baba Ishaq Mughribi. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places, he came back to Gujarat and settled first at Sarkhej, and afterwards at Ahmadabad, in the building which he was associated with Sultan Ahmad, 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 Muhammad Shah I., the son of Ahmad Shah, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qutub-ud-Din Shah. See Drury, History of Gujarat, pp. 30-31, notes.

4 The text reads سرکه یاحمد اباد vide Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann), Text, II. 220.

The text of Badawal reads مصیری گردن. MS. (A) reads مصیری گردن.

Tieffenhaller, I. 377 speaks of it as follows: "A trois milles de Guzerate se trouve Sarkta, village ou est le mausolée construit à grands frais par Guzerat, Roh du Guzerate," again at p. 375 we find "Guzerat, dont le magnifique tombeau porté par des arcades voutées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkta, distant de 3 milles de la ville.

Sarkhej was three miles South-East from Aswan in the vicinity of which Ahmadabad was built by Sultan Ahmad, 320 A.H. (1417 A.D.).

6 MS. بحثی است یا خیالی کردن (A).
Transaxiana force, and begged for the prisoners’ lives. The Great Timür conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustan; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the Magamût of the Shaikh. A few days after this victory Khizr Khan and Bahādur Nāhir Miwātī, who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Miwāt, came in and paid their respects to the Great Timūr; orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khan, 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 Siwalik hills, 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 ब्रह्म (Rakhā, aresence, prosperity) and खर (Khār, a thorn); and Shaikhā Khūkhar also, who had formerly served the Amir and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sāvān Khan, 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 Dipālpur and Multān to Khizr Khan he

1 MS. قبرل نارصود (A).

8 On Friday the 24th of Rabīʿu-1-Ākhīr according to the Malfūṣāt-i-Timūrī, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

8 Bāshōnī omits to mention the capture of Mirat (29th Rabīʿu-1-Ākhīr) and the victories on the Ganges (Jāmādiu-1-Awwal 1st to 15th)

10 Timūr captured, seven forts in the Siwalik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khūkhar and was taken about the 15th of Jāmādiu-1-Awwal (Elliott III. 457). Malik Shaikhā Khūkhar was brother of Nasrāt Khūkhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sultan Māhmūd of Dihī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pir Muḥammad and Kustam and Amir Jāhān 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 Malfūṣāt-i-Timūrī states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jablān, Sambast, Barūja to Attōck where he crossed the Indus. This was during the 24th of Jumādiu-1-Ākhīr and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also Zafar Nāma of Yarīdī, Elliott III. 520-52.
said to him, 'I have taken Dihlī and have made a present of it to you.' Leaving Lābor 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 Dihlī 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 Dihlī. In this interval Sultān Nusrat Shāh, who after his defeat by Iqbal Khān had gone into the Doūb, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mirath and thence to Firūzābād, and fortified the city of Dihlī. 'Adil 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 Iqbal Khān. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindus attacked Shihāb Khān suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbal 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 Nusrat Shāh, became more and more entangled. Iqbal Khān leaving Baran, started in the direction of Dihlī, and Nusrat Shāh leaving Firūzābād made for Mīwāt where he died, and the four quarters of Hindustān came under the dominion of Malik of the various tribes.  

Then in the year 802 H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbal Khān marched against Shams Khān Anhadi, the ruler of Baiṣana, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nāh and Patal; fortune favoured Iqbal Khān and Shams Khān proceeded to Baiṣana. Iqbal Khān led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rāi Harsingh. And in this same year Khwaja-i-Jahān was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpūr.

1 MS. (A) reads here حوالہ نسودہ برائة مہربن.
2 Firuzta tells us the names of these various independent rulers. See Briggs I. 498.
3 According to Firuzta this was in 806 H.
4 MS. (A) راہ Harsing was Rāi of Itāra. By Kaithar or Kalāhar is meant Rohilkhand. See Thomas Pathān Kings, p. 325, note 3.
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 Qaranqal, having assumed the title of Mubarak Shah, took his place.

And in Jamaidu-l-Awwal in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khan of Baiana and Mubarak Khan son of Bahadar Nahir had an interview with Iqbal Khan, who taking them with him fought a battle near Naftoli on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kalapani, with Rai Sir the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itawa; and on his arrival at Qanaug, Sultanu-sh-Sharq Mubarak Shah came up from Jaunpur 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 to their own country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbal Khan treacherously put to death Shams Khan and Mubarak Khan.

In this same year Turkbasha Sultanii, the son-in-law of Ghaleeb Khan of Samaana, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khiir Khan near Ajudhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhobar, where Ghaleeb Khan in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

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1 His adopted son Malik Wasiil.
2 All MSS. write this constantly جمادي الأول instead of جمادي الأول.
3 Firinta (Bo, text) says.
4 The text here is wrong; for read پازگشتند. MS. (A).
5 MS (A) only says Shama Khan, but Firinta's account includes Mubarak Khan, so that the text is probably correct.
And in the year 804 H. (1401 A.D.) Sultan Muhammad ibn Muhammad Shah arrived at Dihli from Dhur, and although Iqbal Khan went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahan Numa palace, with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbal Khan was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultan Mahmud became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanaaj. And in this year Muliku-gh-Sharq Mubarak Shah died, and his younger brother Sultan Ibrahim succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultan Mahmud and Iqbal Khan. Sultan Mahmud before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbal Khan under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultan Ibrahim who treated him with scant ceremony; Sultan Mahmud accordingly removed Shahzada Fath Khan of Herat, who was holding Qanaaj on behalf of Mubarak Shah, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanaaj, both people and soldiers, joined Sultan Mahmud, and Sultan Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur, while Iqbal Khan retraced his steps towards Dihli, so that Sultan Mahmud was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanaaj.

And in the year 805 H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbal Khan made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwalior, which Rau Harsingh had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timur, and wresting it from the possession of Bairam Dev the son of Harsingh, took it into his own control.

And in the year 806 H. (1403 A.D.) Tatir Khan, the son of Zafar Khan, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asawal, assuming to himself the title of Sultan Nasiru'd-Din Muhammad Shah, 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 Khan administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khan and the whole army joined him.

1 MS (A) reads شاهنشاه. 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 Eliott, III. 449 The palace was called Jahan Numa as in the text.

2 Firuztan calls him رشتنزه Harsingh.
3 Both MSS. and text read رشتنزه Harsingh.
Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than 4 months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbal Khan marched towards Gyaliar and Itawe, the Rajas of which districts all too refused within the fortress of Itawe, and stood siege for six months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four envoys and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbal Khan leaving there came to Qameuij, 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 Sama, and from thence came to Rupa, and by stratagem laid hands upon Bahram Khan Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sarang Khan, and flayed his head. Leaving Rupa he proceeded towards Multan, intending to fight with Khizr Khan, and at Talnundi taking with him Rai Khamal-din Mubin and the other Zaminars, on the nineteenth of the month of Jamadi-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khizr Khan in the neighbourhood of Ajudhan, on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj); and since

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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 Piskpattan. Lat. 30° 20' 40" N. Long. 75° 25' 50" E. It is known as Piskpattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Farid-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, Afghanistan, 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 اجرام در کنار دنکه. Ajudhan dar kinder dikhinda, 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 Mullan. And in the month of Jumada-ul-akhir of this year Sultan Mahmud came from Qanaaj at the invitation of the Amir of Dihli, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihli, and conferred appointments upon the Amir, and sent the family of Mubarak Khan to Kol. And in the month of Jumada-ul-awwal of the year 809 H. (1406 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud marched with a force towards Qanaaj, and Sultn Ibrahim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.

Sultn Ibrahim went towards Jaunpur, and Sultan Mahmud towards Dihli, but seeing that the Amir of Sultan Mahmud's army was the other left for their own district as they came to them in the march, Sultan Ibrahim turned back and besieged Qanaaj; Malik Mahmud Tarmat, 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 Kanpura, 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 Badouie'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 22 miles to the south-west of Deputpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river." (1871 A.D.) But from Badouie'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 Pakpattan; see note 2.

1 There is a play on the words أقبال, good fortune and إبهر, bad fortune.

2 According to Firqates Ibrahim Shah was induced to return to Jaunpur by the intelligence that Aqassar Shah of Gajrat had taken prisoner Alp Khan, commonly called Sultan Hoshang, and was now marching on Jaunpur.

3 MS. (A).

The text has the words كرسر, which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS. (A).
And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nuṣrat Khān Karkandās, and Tātār Khān the son of Sārung Khān, and Malik Marhabā the slave of Iqbal Khān, turned against Sultan Mahmūd and joined Sultan Ibrāhim, and Asad Khān Lodī fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultan Ibrāhim reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān; then crossing the Ganges he encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the fort of Kīchā in the vicinity of Dihli, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār and was making his way to Janpur; accordingly leaving Malik Marhabā in Baran, he reached Janpur by continuous marches; Sultan Mahmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marhabā in battle, and taking Sambhal without a fight, left there Başad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qarnaj and the Sultan came to Dihli. And in this year Khizr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmānā. The Amir 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 Rohtāk and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sultan Mahmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultan Mahmūd proceeding 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

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1 Or probably Gargandās "the wolf-slayer" MS. (A) reads دَكْ، which means a huge elephant.
2 In Central India Lat. 23° 36' N. Long. 76° 4' E. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. IV. 248.
3 In Central India, between Lat. 23° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.

Sultan Ibrāhim built at Janpur the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. VII 152.
4 In Rohilkund Lat. 25° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sat River. See Rennell's map. Tiost. III where he places it 45 miles N.E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 133. See also Hunter XIII. 187.
5 Tiost. I 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānaq and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihli.
6 MS. (A) reads أبو حمار رأي مارح. Firūzā call the fortress مارح. Firūzā.
7 Or ٌٌٌ رأي MS. (A)
came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathâbâd to oppose Sultan Mahmûd, and laid siege to Dhibli, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dhibli, then having taken possession of the Doâb he returned to Fathpûr.

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.) Bîrâm Khalâ Turkbâcha, who after the death of Bîrâm Khalâ Turkbâcha had become master of Sâmâna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khalâ, and again revolting against Khîzî Khalâ had had a second interview with Daulat Khalâ, now offered his services to Khîzî Khalâ, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in sie. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khîzî Khalâ besieged the fortress of Rohtak for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpûr. In this year Sultan Mahmûd made an expedition to Kaithar and arrived at the capital Dhibli.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khîzî Khalâ came to Naunûl and Miwât and ravaged that country, and blockading Sultan

1 MS. (A) reads here الزنجيل باب دژرا متعه رضحک، بچنگ سلّمان کمده.

2 For some unaccountable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here cf. Fīrîhtâ, Bo text, p. 303, 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.

5 MS (A) inserts ﹒ before بدرام خان and omits ﹒ after سامان.

Fīrîhtâ says that ikhtiyâr Khalâ joined Khîzî Khalâ seeing he was the stronger.

6 Held according to Fīrîhtâ by Malik Idrîs on behalf of Mahmûd Shâh.

7 By way of Sâmâna (Fīrîhtâ)

8 Mîwût. 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 Mâos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Hâjpîtha, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Mûnas. The original Mâos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Mahâmîd of Ghâznî, their customs are a mixture of Hindû and Muslîm observances.

The province of Mâwût lay south of Dhibli and in Mughul times formed part of the Sûbût of Agra. Its most famous town was Nâulpur. Ulugh
Mahmud in the fortress of Siri, which is part of Dihli,¹ and Ikhtiyar Khan in Firozabad, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege² by reason of the dearth of grain, and returned to Pathpur by way of Panipath.³

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Firuz Shah. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years ⁵ 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.

² MS. (A) omits zarvakht.

⁵ Panipath. A town of great antiquity. Lat 29° 23' N Long 77° 1' 10'' E 58 miles N. of Dihli. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgeons, father and son, Sheikh Hava and Sheikh Bina were natives of Panipat, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) I 543, note to No 94.

⁶ In the month of Zu Qa'da (Firishta) Firishta does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H but see n 2. Badon however agrees, with the Tareekh-i-Mubarak Shahi. On this point see Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 317, note 1.

¹ MS. (A) reads here, و مدخت ملك بناء همه فزول و انقلاب نوزده سال و دروما بور
Firishta has almost the same words but says بیست سال twenty years as in the text. So also the Tareekh-i-Mubarak Shahi.
Firishta'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 Amin gave in their
Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
Save the dust of favors there is nought in this desert.

Of the poets of the reign of Sultan Mahmud is Qazi Zahir Dulaver whose Divan (anthology) full of qasidas in enology (of Mahmud) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultan Mahmud,
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty of the world.
He removed Dulaver from the sky to serve as his signet,
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye left.

By the first stroke 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 favor,
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 bull has made thine enemies intoxicated
Like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last it has overthrown them.

\(^1\) Allusion to Daulat Khan Lodi, who struck the coinage, &c., in Mahurami of 815 H it is generally clear that the maans Zul Qa‘dah 815 H as the date of Mahmud’s death, and not 814 H as Briggs would have it.
\(^2\) Misprint in the text. Mbar (A) reads
\(^3\) Qazi Zahir Dulaver. I can find no mention of this poet.
\(^4\) The Hyades, one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation Taurus, the other being the Pleiades.
\(^5\) Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades. Thales reckoned two only (a and c) the two eyes of the Bull. Smith, Dict. Greek and Rom. Antiq. 150 n.
\(^6\) The constellation Taurus is here spoken of as having lost one of its two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not a and c of Thales as reckoned by Thales.
\(^7\) The lute rabat or lute, is a plucked 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 of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Mahmūd

Whom the assemblies of Sultān have chosen as their Imām. The Qāzi of the heavens comes out on foot to receive him.

When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.

He keeps constant watch 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.

¹ This line should read as in MS. (A).

Qiblah This is the direction in which Muslims 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. 129). From the Hijra, Muhammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jerusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka’bah at Mecca was fixed as the qiblah. See Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, s. v. Qiblah.

² This line should read incorrectly as in MS. (A).

³ Imām. In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalīfah.

⁴ Qāzi-i-Charkh. The planet Jupiter.

⁵ This couplet 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 anomaia 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 nproof the infidels and rebels,
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.
Shah Mahmud, he who when he sallied forth against the infidels,
Then wouldst say 'Isha has come forth to slay Dajjal.'
Thy reign has cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.
I said to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner of the Sultan, free him not!

1 بحَم: Biham, called also زِدْح qidâh. These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called السَّرَّ Al-maisar (forbidden in the Qur'an, II. 210, 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 مَلَق azlam. The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn. مَلَق jazz (1), مَلَق fantam (2), مَلَق raqi (3), مَلَق nafs (4), مَلَق kils (5), مَلَق musbal (6), مَلَق mussal (7).

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were مَلَق esfah, مَلَق maind, مَلَق raqat. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called رَبْع al-qaf, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as إِسْمَيْل al-misrî, 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 Majmu'ul-Bahrain, Maqamah, XIII, p. 89.

The complete are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS. (A) (B).

1 Dajjal. See page 275 n 4. "A name given in the Hadis 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 Islam, 64. See also Alibiruni Chronology of Ancient Nations, pp 196-196.

2 MS. (A) ١١١٤, MS. (B) ١١١١.
This is also his:
The month of Dai¹ has arrived, and the air has in conse-
quence become so cold²
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 five of the tulip and Gûlnâr have died
down,
From the cold the (gracious) trees of the garden have become
more sticks.
The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petu-
lance,
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 mantlep.
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 Mahmûd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there
is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like
Paradise.

¹ دی The tenth month of the Persian Shâmî year when the Sun is in
Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.
² MS. (A) omits شه.
³ MS. (A) reads کشت از درف in place of کشت دیوان. 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,
Because3 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 virtues4
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 sweethearts.
Hail Khusrā! even should I remain excluded from attendance upon thee.
I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogising 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 تطليع للفعي tujnīs-i-lafṣi or play upon words here which cannot be preserved in English. The words  Sarah & صفرā, have two meanings. 1st, draw up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as صفرā is taken as two words or as one.
2 MS. (A) and (B) write تاج. Text and MS. (B) كج.
3 MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهان بنش救助ت.
4 Suhā is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. See Lane s. v. إلها.
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 unprecedentedly in 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 ’Isä, refreshes the soul in the garden
Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.
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 Sirāt-i-mustaqlim.

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 Khizr for companion?

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 it 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; so eat and drink and cheer thine eyes.'" Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20-28

2 Sirāt-i-mustaqlim. The bridge-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, II. 8, 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 Khizr 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 flout in green attire, the ring dove wears white garments.
The blackbird is void of any such honourable vestments, wearing as it does a black blanket.¹

You would say² that the narcissus has produced a transcript of these people (umam) who sleep below the dust. Look! it has for each alif two mim's.³

The sambul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes of the fair ones;
Of these 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 Khîr 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." Khîr 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 Khîr scuttled, whereupon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they met a boy whom Khîr killed and again raised Moses' impatience; again they found a wall which Khîr prevented from falling without exacting any reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khîr said, "This is the portion between me and thee" and explained to Moses the reason for his action in each case. See Qur'an XVIII.64 and following verses.

The complete are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS. (A) (B) agree with text.

² The text reads ناريisme, with a footnote variant ناريisme. MSS. (A) (B) agree with text.
³ Narcissus or Narcissus. The poet's narcissus. Narcissus poeticon N. O. Amorylildacae. This nutural 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 alifs (ﻻ) and the stamens, to six mim's (ﻡ), the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its downward sloke. Thus the single alif (ﻻ) and two mim's (ﻡ) form the word ٦٨ umma, the plural of يا ummatan, meaning the followers of a prophet, or a people of no religion, hence generically a generation of men as in the saying ٦٨ ُس Feminine. Generations of men have passed away.

⁴ Sambul, Narcostachys satanauui, N. O. Valerianaceae. See note 6.
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
Beseecching 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 seqq for a paper on this, the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken: the true and in Isəmənəsi which, by the way, has as other names in the Amarət, the smoothest of which are əzələ and əməsə both derived from words meaning hur. The comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

1 MSS. (A) (B)

2 The scope of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

3 MSS. (A)

4 I read here pir-i-muğnast for əpir-i-muğnast (MSS. and text) pir-i-nəkəst which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote əmuğnast

5 əqil-i-kull. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Şufis the əqil-i kull (called also əqil-i-amad) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See Kaseštə-for Jelilabu-i-funun, II, p. 1028

6 ənuğmə for ənugmə. For ənuğmə for ənuğmə.

7 Rujət-i kušəq, called also ərəba Rujət, is the motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by the term kəstəmə əstəgəmə. See Kasešt, s. v ərujət
And in truth after Qāzi Zahir no poet arose in Hindūstān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultān Mahmūd the great Amirs of Hindūstān as for instance Mubāriz Khān and Malik Idrīs who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khizr Khān and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khān, Khizr Khān accordingly stood fast in Fathpūr and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muharram of the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) Daulat Khān having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Baitāli, and Mahābat Khān the Wāli of Bādāon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sultān Ibrāhim besieged Qādir Khān the son of Mahmūd Khān in Kālpī, and Daulat Khān being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places; and Khizr Khān in Zu-l-qa'da of this year came to the fortress of Fīrūzābād, the Amirs of which district came into him, and Malik Idrīs was besieged in Rohtak. Khizr Khān marched by that route to Miwāt and taking with him Jalāl Khān Miwātī the brother's son of Bahādur Nāhir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Zu Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dihli with the intention of taking it; Daulat Khān held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonā and the other supporters of Khizr Khān to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khizr Khān who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwām Khān who conveyed him to the fortress of Fīrūza and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabī‘u-l-Awwal.  

Verse.

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last spoils his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is his enemy.

Mansad-l-Āli Khizr Khān ibn Maliku-sh-Sharq Ibn Malik Sullīmān,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dihli, having

1 MS (A) reads حصار فیروزه کمن.
2 Fīrūzābād. The duration of his reign was one year and three months, 
3 MS (A) reads عاقبة.
4 MS (A). The text reads ملک اشرف.
raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon
the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by
Malik Naṣīrūn-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhī to the rank of a son,
and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a
Sa'iyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-
Jahāniyān Sa'iyyidu-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shāikh
Jalālu-d-Dīn wa-Rashāwu-d-dīn 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 Sa'iyyid 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
Sa'iyyid; but besides this, the signs of Sa'iyyidship, and good
qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the
character of Masnad-i-Āli Sa'iyyid Khār Khān.

Verse.
The Sa'iyyid was a man in whom were manifested
The virtues of Muhammad, and the grace of 'Ali the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān
Daulat. He was governor of Multan 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
Multan with its dependencies was conferred upon Sa'iyyid Khār
Khān on behalf of Sultan Firuz Shāh, up to the date when the
aforesaid Sa'iyyid was advanced to the Sultanate by the Amir.
He however would not assume the title of King; but received the
title of Rāyēt-i-A'la.1

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sultan
Mahmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public
lavage and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and
territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year
of his accession he conferred upon Malik Nahīr2 (Tuhfa) the title

1 See Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 329, and footnote.
2 MSS. (A) Tuhfa.3 Tuhfa.
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 Mahābāt 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 Mahābāt Khān seized the banks of the river Ruhāb, and on arriving at the ford of Sargdawāri crossed the Ganges, chastised the infidels of Kahwar (which is now known by the name of Shamsābād) Kānpīla and Hāitāli, and passing by the towns of Sakīnā and Pādham came to Rāparī; and Hasan Khān and Malik Ḥānīra his brother, who held the government of Rāparī, and Rāi Sar the governor of Chandawār, together with the infidels of Gwālīār 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 Muḥammādān religion. Then having appointed his own agents and

1. MS. (A)

2. MS. (A)


4. Sakīnā. For this we should perhaps read Sakīta (MS. (A) lends countenance to this view).

5. Rāparī lies in the direct route indicated between Kānpīla and Rāparī, 12 miles South-East of Etah town. It was here that Bahīl Lodi died on his return to Dīlī from an expedition against Gwālīār (Ālbārī).

6. Rāparī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mānpārī town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen (Hunter, Gaz. Ind., XI, 511).

having seized the right bank of the Black water, inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etawah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khizr Khān the younger son of Malik Mubārak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firūzpūr and Sihwind, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bāirām Khān Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sādhu Nādir, having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindūstān, was appointed to this office with the rank of Nāib-i-Shāhzāda (i.e., vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik Sādhu Nādira and Zirak Khān the Amir of Sāmāua and other Amīrs and Malik, 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-l-Mulk with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khān towards Bāinā and Gwāliār; Malik Karim-u-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khān Anhādi 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 Bāirām Khān's party seized by treachery Malik Sādhu Nādira, who was holding the district of Sihwind as the Shāhzāda's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihwind. 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 Kālī Nādi or Kālindī, or Kālīni, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doāb. The name in the text Ḍālī Sīyāh means Black water, and is a translation of the Hindūstāni kālī naddu.

2 MS. (A) reads wrongly پیسر خویحض for پیسر خویح.

3 MS. (A). The text reads تحریر.

4 MS. (A).

5 Omit و after ملک.

6 MS. (A) reads تاج السادات Tāj u d-Din

7 MS. (A) reads رایات و خضر حانی.
In this year also Sultān Aḥmad, who was the ruler of Gujerat, laid siege to Nāgor,¹ but upon hearing of the march of Khizr Khān abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khizr Khān came to Chhāin,² and Alyās Khān the governor of Chhāin gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwalīr, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Baiāna where Shams Khān Auḥādi gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A.D.) Tūghān the Raʾis with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhā revoluted. Zīrak Khān was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khizr Khān went up against Kaithar, and Har Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kaithar, and took to the forest of Ānuwla, the circumference of which is twenty-four krohs. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumāon. Ṭāju-l-Mulk crossed the river Rahub and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Baiāna, and taking with him Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badāon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bajāna; then having dismissed Mahābat Khān, he himself went on to Itāwa, whence he returned to Dībī laden with spoil. In this same year, ² also, Khizr Khān³ again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitāli, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badāon. On this occasion Mahābat

¹ Nāgor. In Brigg’s translation of Fīrūzšāh this appears as Bagor (I. 509). It is Naqaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputānā 48 miles North-West of Nasirābād and 76 North-East of Jodhpur city.

² The text reads Ḫubān but MS (A) reads Chhāin

³ In Brigg’s (I. 609) we find this place called Jalwar, 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 Fīrūzšāh the name is written plainly enough Jalwar (Bombay Edn. I, 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khizr Khān to advance, Ahmad withdrew in the direction of Mālwa, and that when Khizr Khān arrived at Jalwar, Alyās Khān who was governor of the new city called ‘Arūs-i-Jahān, which was one of the cities built by ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, came to pay his homage. Evidently, then, the city mentioned in our text and this ‘Arūs-i-Jahān’ are the same.

³ MS. (A) reads here Ḫubān but MS (B) reads Chhāin which appears to be a抄写ist’s error.
Khan Badáoni being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khizr Khan for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwám Khán and Ikhtiyár Khán, and certain of the other Mahmúd Sháhi Amirs who had seceded from Daulat Khán and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khan, meditated treason against Khizr Khan: but Khizr Khan becoming aware of this state of things abandoned (the siege of) Badáon, 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 Bajwára,\(^7\) falsely gave himself out to be Sárang Khán who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khán deputed Sultán Sháh Lodi\(^8\) to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihrínd, and Sárang Khán the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sultán Sháh made Rúpar his head quarters.\(^4\) In this same year Khizr Khán sent Táju-l-Mulk to Itáwa. Rái Síjár was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Táju-l-Mulk.\(^5\) Thence he came to Chandwár, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Táju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazírship were entrusted to his older son Malik Sikandar. Tüghán Ra’ís again raised an insurrection in Sihrínd, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

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\(^1\) MS. (A) reads ٍقَطِيْه which is preferable to ٍقَطٍ which as found in the text.

\(^2\) Firúshí, (I. 295) says مَأْيَدَة نَزِيقَة near Máchivára, and in the Aín-i-
Akbarí we find it stated that Máchivára is situated on the banks of the
Sutlej (Jarrett, II 310). In Ronnell’s Map (Tief. III.) we find Máchivára
figured between Rúpar and Lúdhiana. It lies 23 miles south of Lúdhiana, and
is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahábhárata. Bajwára is further
north near Hoshiárpúr. (See Hunter, Map. Gaz., II. 439)

\(^3\) Firúshí adds, “called Islám Khán who was the governor of Sarhind.”

\(^4\) This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firúshí tells us that Islám
Khán pursued “Sárang Khán” with his own forces and those of certain
other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

\(^5\) MS. (A) راَجَمَي. Firúshí calls him Ráj Ram.
And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khan proceeded to Mewat and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwalior, from the Rai of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to Itwa. Rai Sipar had gone to hell, and his son had tendered his submission. In this interval a severe illness attacked Khizr Khan which led to his return towards Dibhi. Having arrived at that city on the seventeenth of Jamadi I-Awal 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.

Sultan Mubarak Shah ibn Khizr Khan ibn Malik Suliman,

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amir in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khukar the son of Shankha Khukar raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sultan ‘Ali the king of Kashmir, who had started with the intention of conquering Tatta and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes, 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 Dibhi, and having crossed the rivers Biash and Sutlej with a

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1 MS. (A) 2 Finlason 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 Mubarak Shah to the throne.”

4 MS. (A) reads correctly for MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.

5 MSS. (A) and (B) omit कोकर. Finlason writes कोकर Khukar and calls him the brother of Shankha Khukar.

6 Thus the text and MS. (B) MS. (A) reads simply रागो-बाई Tatta, i.e., for the town of Tatta.

7 MS. (A) 8 The text reads कुमाति.
large army, and assaulted Talaundi which was in the possession of Rāi Kamālu-d-Din Mnūn,† and Rāi Firūz fled from before him. Jarsat came to Ludhiāna ² and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rāpar; ⁵ there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar. ⁴ Zirak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jarsat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jarsat by some treachery made Zirak Khān prisoner. Sūltān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sīhrind, upon hearing which Jarsat Shāikhā ⁶ released Zirak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna. Jarsat 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 ⁶ when the river became fordable. The Sūltān then crossed the river; Jarsat fled and having

† We must read تلورندي كمال الدين. This is shown to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firīżtā which reads (I. p. 297), و تلورندی که پرای کمال تعلق داشت فارت گرد "and laid waste Talaundi which belonged to Rāi Kamāl."

² The text and both MSS. read لدیانه, but it is evident that we should read لدیانه Ludhiāna. We find in Firīżtā (loc. cit.) و ماربود بلود تانهٔ لدیانه كرده. "Jarsat having come to Ludiāna," Talaundi I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell’s map, called Talloom, this with the affixed genitive feminina termination (Panjābi) dr. would give Tulāndi or Tulūndi, etc., the village of Tulām. Talloom lies about 20 miles S. S. W. of Ludhiāna (see Rennell’s map, Tuff, III), on the opposite bank of the river.

⁵ Rāpar 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.

⁶ A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājput kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwēn 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 Kulindrane or Suliindrane, see Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, Gaz. Ind., VII. 91.

⁷ MS. (A) omits ں probably correctly as we have seen from Firīţtā’s account.

⁸ Firīţtā tells us they crossed on the 11th Shārawal (October, 8th A.D. 1421)
crossed the river Chhināb¹ and went to Talbar² in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubārak Khan followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhim³ 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; then having left there Malik Maḥmūd Hasan who bore the title of Malika-ab-Sharq, returned to Diblí. Five months later Jasrat Khūkhar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Šnīkhu-ı-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zanjānī,⁵ 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 Kalānor⁶ and fought a battle with Rāi Bhim, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

Malik Sikander Tuḫsā who had been despatched from Diblí to reinforce Malik⁷ Maḥmūd Hasan crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Puhī⁸ and encamped at Lāhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces⁹ crossed the Chhināb

¹ The Chenāb.
² In the Kashmir hill tracts.
³ Firuzeha tells us that Rāi Bhim offered his services and guided the army to Bīsāl, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.
⁴ MS. (A) reads راى سلیم both here and some lines lower down.
⁵ MS. (A) reads شکستگی و پیشگی حصار.
⁶ Firuzeha says نژادک شیخ حسین ولگانی فرود کند.
⁷ MS. (A) reads بیضیون خود نرسیده.
⁸ Seventeen miles west of Gurdāspur town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 20'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 مالک and reads از گذری بوخی in the next line.
¹⁰ Firuzeha reads لؤسی Lūsī. See however note 1 next page.
¹¹ Firuzeha says that Maḥmūd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Ralāb, Governor of Dāpālpūr and of Islām Khān Lodi, Governor of Sihriūd.
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 Mahābat Khān of Badāon 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 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 Zirak Khān and Kamāl Khār with a large force in the fortress of Kanpila 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 Ḫari, and took refuge in the hills.

¹ This in the reading of the text. Talwāra is possibly the same as Talha 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 Riśai (74° 52' Long. 33° 6' Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Poni with Riśai and Jamna ta shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), a passing Talwāra. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwāra is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Poni. The reading of MS. (A) is در کوئنلہ وقت ہوئے جو Kotla.

² Firīhīa tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sultan crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāṭhor tribe. ³ The Rāṭhors are a clan of the Bājput, and the Panwārs form another of their clans, regarding whom Abul Fazl says “In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe” Mārwar in mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāṭhor tribe. (See Ain-i-Abbas (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 Ganga river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

⁶ The text reads Dihli with a foot-note variant Dhār. MS. (A) reads Dhār. Firīhīa says, Sultan Hosain Wāli of Mālwa. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital for the legendary Hindu dynasties of Mālwa. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., IV. 24; Dhār).
marching that region; Mubarak Shah upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwaliar; when he arrived in the neighborhood of Baiana, Shama Khan Auhadi, the son of Auhad Khan Auhadi, Governor of Baiana, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubarak Khan, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiana entrenched himself in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubarak Shah left that place and marched towards Gwaliar, but Alp Khan proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river would not permit the army of Mubarak Shah to cross; however the soldiers of Mubarak Shah crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khan, and returned triumphant. This engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khan sent in many presents and returned towards Dhar, while Mubarak Shah proceeded to Dihli.

And in the year 827 H. (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kamou and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Miwât. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindustân. In the year 829 H. he again proceeded towards Miwât and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

1 MS. (A) The text omits the words Shama Khan Auhadi. Forbigha calls him Amir Khan ibn i-Dî’id Khan ibn i Shama Khan (see Bombay Edition, p 229 last line), and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

2 MS. (A) reads شامي شاه. The text reads شامي شاه.

3 Forbigha writes of this: And Sultan Hosang secured the fords of the Chambal river and opposed his progress, but Habaral Shah discovered another ford and crossed rapidly; and certain of the Amirs of the advance guard of the Dihli forces pillaged the camp of the Sultan of Miwât and took many prisoners, but insomuch as these were Muslims Mubarak Shah set them free.

4 Sultan Hosang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings, and withdrew towards Dhar. Mubarak Shah halted on the banks of the Chambal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district, and eventually arrived at Dihli 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 Mâlwa; about eight or nine miles south-west of Khow it is joined by the Kali-Sind, Parbati, and Banes, flows past Dholpur into Ujjainah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Bhânâth town. The Charanwalli of Sanskrit writers. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz. Ill, 331)
And in the year 830 H. he took Baiāna from Muhammad Khan Anṣadi, and sent the family of Anṣadi to the palace known as Jahān Numa, and assigned it to them as 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 Gwalior receiving the submission of the Rais of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihli from Qādir Khan, governor of Kālpi, bringing tidings that Sharqi was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqi; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqi had attacked Bhāngān and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāin. Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patl, and had attacked Jartauli on arrival at the township of Atrauli received intelligence that Mukhtār Khan the brother of Sharqi had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-ah-Sharq Mahmād Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtār Khan. Mukhtār Khan joined hands with Sharqi who proceeded along the banks of the Black Water, otherwise known as the Kāli, and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Barhānābād 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. Firīzhtā writes: "sent his family and relations to Dihli."
2 Sultan Ibrahīm Shāh Sharqi.
3 The text reads Bāhn gānā. (A) reads Bāhnānā. In Firīzhtā we find افراح شارقی پروکرم ان لقانخه. The troops of Sharqi attacked Bhāngān. Bhāngān is in the Mainpūrī District, 9½ miles east from Mainpūrī at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājé Bhām Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the phīl or lake. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. II. 403.)
4 Badāin lies N. of Bhāngān at a distance of about fifty miles.
5 Firīzhtā writes جبر تولی را که از مشاهیر بدان مرسند 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.
6 Atrauli, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. I. 180.)
7 Firīzhtā calls him Mukhlīr Khan.
8 MS (A). The text reads Kālī Pānī This is the Kāli, the Kaurā of the Mulsūm-ī-Timūrī (see note 3 page 300).
Kota, but Sharqi declined battle and withdrew towards Rāpri, and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Bāṁā and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as Chandwār, a space of four kōhs 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 Mubārak 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 Chaubal river and came down to Bāṁā.

Muhammad Khān Aḥbādi, 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 Mubārak Shāh. Mubārak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dihlī.

And in the year 832 H Maliku-š-Šarq Māhmūd Ḥasan, who had been left in Bāṁā by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised those insidels who had made common cause with Muhammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Firōza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādīr, governor of Multān died, and Malik Māhmūd Ḥasan received the title of Ḥimādūr-ʾMulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh went to Gwālīār by way of Bāṁā, and having taken the Rāpri district from the son of Ḥasan Khān gave it to Malik Ḥamza, and returned

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1 Firīshṭa writes مالی سکونت.  
2 Took the road to Jaunpūr (Firīshṭa).  
3 Went to Gwālīār by way of Halghāt. (Firīshṭa). MS. (A) سگن  
4 Firīshṭa says “Muhammad Khān Aḥbādi ... for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sharqi, asked for quarter and tendered his submission” and was freely pardoned.

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Text
to the city (Dihli). On the way to their Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years,¹ and held the seat 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.² Anū Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the sires 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 Rāī Haneū Bhati 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 Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after seven 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 Multān 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 sum of money by way of presents to Shaikh ‘Ali Maghul 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 Firigits write

"They relate that Saiyyid-e-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amirs."

² MS. (A) [Dārstan]. Firigits 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. Badāoni's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firigits does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.
(Fulad) together with all his family and relations from Tabarkhinda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Biāh came to Lābor. Maliku-ah-Sherq Malik Sikandar, governor of Lābor, 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 Lābor without seeking it1 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,2 and turning aside from thence came to Khūtpūr.3 (‘Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh ‘Ali but was defeated, and Malik Sulaīmān Shāh Lodi, who was with the advance guard of the army of ‘Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle;4 and Shaikh ‘Ali came to Khūrābak and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and ‘Imādu-l-Mulk).5

And in the year 634 H. (1230 A.D.), Mubārak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of ‘Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Fath Khān ibn-i-Sultān Muzaffar Khān of Gujrāt to the command of that force. Shaikh ‘Ali was not able to stand against them,6 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 Jihikān, and having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.7 Shaikh ‘Ali and Amir Muzaffar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shīwar;8 all their baggage and property having;

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1 This appears to be the meaning of the Parsīn.
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 Mali conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjāb, and also at the place where he crossed the Rāvi. (See Hunter imp. Gaz. X111 165., also Cunningham Anc. Geog. of India, 22d.)
3 Firūshtā says خالیبقر. 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 Firūshtā at Khūrābak three stages from Multān.
5 The words within brackets are not in MS. (A).
6 MS. (A) تقوائیت آورید نیازورد Text کسندُ.
7 MS. (A) کسندُ Text کسندُ.
8 MS. (A) کسندُ or مینیور Firūshtā text کسندُ.
been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Muẓaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Ali set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihli. Mūlān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khaiyūr-d-Din Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Mūlān.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander, governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jasrat took him unawares and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of Jasrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jālandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmu-d-Din the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhābr 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 Mūlān, and assaulted Khūṭpūr, taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhiālam and its vicinity, and seized Tālamba, 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 Fālād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhindā and invaded the territory of Rāi Firoz who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhindā.

In this year also the Sultān again led an army towards Lāhor and Mūlān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Ali also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jālandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nūsra Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed from Lāhor to Dihli, whether he himself returned.

1 MSS. The text reads wrongly bālāk.
2 MS. (A) omits ālāmārā.
3 MS. (A) reads Khushanjar (f).
4 At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firāshtā.
5 See note 3 page 389. MS. (A) omits rūz.
6 MS. (A) reads ālāmārā instead of alāmārā as in the text.
7 Text reads MS. (A) bālāk.
And in the year 836 H. (1423 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sāmāna to put down the rebellion of Jaṣar; when he arrived at Pānipath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Makhduμn-i Jahan (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue to Diḥī, 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 Tabnāhind to put down the insurrection of Fūlād. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Čalandhar from Nūrān Kān gave them to Malik Allahdād Kālū Lodi. When he arrived near Čalandhar, Jaṣar, 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 Kān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāhār and Itāwa, returned (to Diḥī). In this same year Shaikh ‘Ali coming down into the Panjab again caused disturbances there Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated Imād-ud-Dīn Mulk to reinforce the Amīrs of that district Shaikh ‘Ali invaded the country from Shīwar to the banks of the Biāh, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zirak Kān and the other Amīrs 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‘il under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirak Kān; 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

\[\text{MS. (A)}\]

1 MS. (A) reads خاش و عوام, the textual reading is probably incorrect, read خاش و عوام.

2 MS. (A) reads خاش و عوام, the textual reading is probably incorrect, read خاش و عوام.
remained there. And after some days, he came to Debalpur, which Malik Yusuf Surur-I-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik Imadu-I-Mulk on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Ahmad from Tabariunda to the fort of Debalpur with orders to hold it. Shaikh Ali becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sultan Mubarak Shah proceeded as far as Samana in order to quell these disturbances. From Samana he proceeded to Taland and thence to the ford of Pulhi, where he crossed the the Buh and came to Debalpur. Thence he marched along the banks of the Ravi, and Shaikh Ali crossed the Jhilam and fled. Mubarak Shah pursued him as far as the fortress of Shiwar and crossed the Ravi near Tulumba. Amir Magassar Khan, 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 Lahore sought quarter from Shamsu-I-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubarak Shah had completed the affair of Shiwar and the conquest of Lahore, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multan, and returning almost immediately came to Debalpur and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh Ali (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lahore and Debalpur to Malik I-Sharq Imadu-I-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiana from Imadu-I-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-din. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dhilli on the day of the 'Id-i-Qurbani and

1 MS (A) omits ِملك.
2 MS (A) omits ِوكان يسكنة بمانه and writes ِوني مانه for ِي مانه.
3 MS. (A) reads incorrectly ِكشلا for ِكشلا.
4 The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read ِرس الخلا. The ِو is to be omitted.
5 Besieging the fort Shiwar (Firishta).
6 The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zul-Hijjah. It is known also as the 'Idu l-aqsha, see Qur'an 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 Mhammadian festivals and is called 'Idu-l-kabir, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Idu l-Fitr which is known as 'Idu-s-saghir which ushers in the mouth of Shawwal and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramazan. (See Hughes Dict of Islam)
conferred the office of vazir upon Sarwar-u-Mulk and gave to Mubarak Shāh, who was the Military Secretary (Nāîb-i-
Lashkar), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwar-u-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two, inasmuch as Sarwar-u-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Dehālpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubarak 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 Kangū Khatri and Kajvi Khatri and Mirān Sadr Nāîb-i-'Alīz, (who for generations had been protégés of the Mubarak Shāhī family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubarak Shāh.5

And in the year 837 H (1433 A.D.) Mubarak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Janma, and gave it the name of Mubarakābād (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Khurābābād (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 Tabarhind restored the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fulad Taikbacha. Mubarak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhind and returned thence speedily to Mubarakābād. In this year tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sultan Ibrahīm Sharqi and Alū Khan, governor of Kālpi, who had re-

1 Firishta says Kamālu d-dīn.
2 MS. (A) omits ین.
3 Firishta names as the accomplices Sīdīrān, son of Kangū Khatri and Sādpī, grandson of Kangū Khatri, with Mīrān Sadr Nāîb-i-‘Alīz-i-
Mamālīk, Qārī ‘Abdul-sadr Nājjīb-i-Khān and others (Firishta. Bombay text. I, p. 308).
4 MS. (A) جو.
7 Hogg in his translation of Firishta (Vol. I, p. 520) 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.
5 The text reads here مولای مالك abut a footnote gives a variant مولای مالک and this reading is confirmed by MS (A) and also by Firishta.
6 Firishta says he returned direct to Mubarakābād.
ceived the title of Hoshang. 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, the infidels under Mu'een Sadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwar-i-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him), with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubarak Shah on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pál, the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwi Khatri, put that auspicious 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 Dajha Will continue to pass by Baghdad, while many Khalifahs come and go.

1 Finishta throughout calls him Hoshang.
2 On the 9th Rajab 837 (Finishta Bombay text 1503)
3 MS. A omits وقت.
4 The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Finishta. MS. (A) reads در محل پادشاهی در کمده سده مال... ساختند.
5 داجا Dajla or Dajla, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) لیکن lit., the swift. The old Persian form is Tigris, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliney (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Digrilae, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Moors call an arrow by this name. According to Geesnins, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر, which in the Zend becomes Tadjer. See Geesnines Thes. also Smith Dict. G. R. Geog.

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdad, 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 Baghdad and transported by camel back to Mosul."
Sultan Muhammad Shah ibn I. Farid Khan.

The brother's son of Mubarak Shah ibn I. Khizr Khan, whom Mubarak Shah had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in succession to Mubarak Shah in the year 837 H. (1433 A.D.) and Sarwar-I-Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance. Muhammad Shah, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of Khan-I-Jahân and bestowed a khil'at upon him, he also appointed Miran Sadr Mu'inul-Mulk, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels. Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamalu-I-Mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwar-I-Mulk in the vazirship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muhammad Shah. The second day after the accession Sarwar-I-Mulk made some pretext for arresting certain of the servants of Mubarak Shah, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrow of the family of Mubarak Shah; moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baisana, and Amroha, and Narnol, and Kuhrum, together with certain districts in the Doab to Sidh Pâl and Sidhâran Khatri, who were the (actual) murderers of Mubarak Shah. Ranun the Black, a slave of Sidh Pâl, arrived in Baisana with a large following, and attempted to enter the fort; but in the meantime Yusuf Khan Auhadi arrived from Hindwân, 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 Ranun the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwar-I-Mulk and his infidel horde began to commit violence, the Amirs of Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shah, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places shewed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwar-I-Mulk had the same object, namely to damage the kingdom. 30 Malik Allahdâd Kala Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahâr, 4

1 9th Ræjab 837.
2 MS.: (4)
3 The text and both MSS. read Hindwân. Firozâ reads Hindwân. Hindwân lies about 20 miles S. of Baisana, it is situated in the Jeypore State.
and Malik Chaman, governor of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Amir 'Ali Gujrāti, together with some other Amirs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihli. Malik-šah-Sharg, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim, who had received the title of Khan-i-Âzam from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the durbar to proceed against those Amirs, and Malik Yūsun, the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, together with Sidhāran and Kāngā were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihli army crossed by the ford of Kicha and came to Baran (Bulaudshahr). 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 Kamālu-l-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 Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsun Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidhāran the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihli; and the Amirs of Sambhal and Badāon joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kicha. Sarwaru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amirs having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jud while the traitors and infidels sailed 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 Shāh Amirs encamped near the fort of Sīlī, 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 Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna,

1 MS. (A) writes Malik Hamin; by Firīhta, and in Elliott's translation of the Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī (IV 82) he is called Malik Chaman
2 The word in the original is جاہد Muqta', i.e., holder of a جاہد qirāt, Firīhta calls him حاکم بدارین Hākim-i-Badoun
3 MS. (A)
died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muḥammad Khān. Muḥammad Shah, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwar-i-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in prison with his father’s Amīra. Sarwar-i-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 A.H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwar-i-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mirān Ṣadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muḥammad Shah became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-i-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muḥammad Shah were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwar-i-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mirān Ṣadr executed them in presence of the darbūr. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamālu-i-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amīra, entered the fort by the Darvāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The ḥasan Ṣidh Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the jauhar 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, and his impure soul went to hell. Sidhārān Kāṅgā and the rest of the Khatri confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the Ḥażīra (mausoleum)

1 Jauhar or Jḥār 栌 is a Hindi word derived from the words जीर and जहर signifying taking one’s own life. The custom of जौज़ा 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 Sulṭān Ḥād-Ḥān: “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 covered 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 MSS. omit ہیل. ہیل

3 The word Jauhar, 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 jauhar used above (Note 1).

4 Ḥażīra. The literal meaning of this word is an enclosure, here
of Mubarak Shāh, and Malik Husayr and Mubarak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamāl-ull-Mulk and the other noted Amirs renewed their fealty to Muhammad Shāh; Kamāl-ull-Mulk obtained the rank of vaqīr and Malik Chaman of Badāou received the title of Ghāzin-ull-Mulk, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badāon, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allahdād Lodi would not accept any title, the title of Daryā Khān however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muhammad Shāh gave durbarly to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 840 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubarakpur to give time for the Amirs of the various districts to join him. When the Muhammad Shāh’s troops were all assembled at Mubarakpur he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place he came to Dīhli. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikh Khūkhbar. Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.² In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langūhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi obtained possession of certain divisions of Dīhli, and the Rāi of Cwāllār and the other Rāis refused to pay the customary tribute. Muhammad Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprang up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānūzūdas of Miwāt, who are the ancestors of Hasan Khān of Miwāt, invited Sultan Mahmūd Khilji from Mālwa to assume the imperial power of Dīhli.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sultan Mahmūd arrived at Dīhli, and Muhammad Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid ‘Alāū-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Malik Buhūl Lodi. Sultan Mahmūd also

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1 MS. (A) omits بکیا.
2 MS (A). برسیشخا.
3 مس (A).نیا ولايت ارنا خراب کردن، مراجعات نمودند.
appointed his two sons Ghiāsu-d-Dīn and Qadr Khān to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sultān Muḥammad 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 Multān. 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 Lāhor and Detālpūr.

And in the year 815 H. (1441 A.D) he marched to Sāmāna, and having despatched Bahlūl to chastise Jassāt Khūkhbar, returned to Dihlī. Jassāt concluded a peace with Malik Bahlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sultān of Dihlī, till at last Bahlūl began to collect Afghānīs from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of pagānas, then without any ostensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muḥammad Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihlī. 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 Amir who were at a distance of twenty khas from Dihlī revolted against him, and sending for his son Alān-d-Dīn who held a jāzir in Badān, 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.

1 The text reads Qadar Khān. Firdūsī says Qaḍr Khān. So also Tabagūt-ī-Akhbār.
2 MS. (A) reads Qarharīsūr Khurūd. See Elliott IV 65.
3 Firdūsī says he made him aspire to the kingdom of Dihlī. MS. (A) instead of مصيبة عبیر.
4 Firdūsī says becoming day by day weaker.
5 MS. (A) reads شمیت وز روز بروز سختی پذیرفته.
6 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 لادره.
7 The Tabagūt-ī-Akhbār according to Elliott IV 66, says ten years and some months. With regard to this, see Thomas, Pulhān Kings, p. 836 and note 1.
Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

Sultan 'Alau-d-Din ibn i Muhammad Shah ibn i Mubarak Shah ibn i Khizr Khan.

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhilal with the other Amis gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din was even greater than that of his father, still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhilal.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultan 'Alau-d-Din made an excursion towards Badasan; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr 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 Firigha "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. 382—283." This is not Firigha's error but is the fault of his translator. Firigha says clearly that Muhammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubarak Shah was assassinated (Bo text, p. 209) that is, "on the 8th Rajab 837" (Bo text, p. 209), so that while his date as regards the death of Muhammad Shah may be wrong, his calculation harked upon the date he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sultan 'Alau-d-Din ascended the throne in 847 H. The Khams-i-Mubarak Shahi, if Elliot's translation (Elliot, IV, p. 30) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muhammad Shah the amirs and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din' and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Bedüni and Firigha as to the date of Muhammad Shah's death, he says, "Firigha seems correct in making it 819," 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 Firigha, instead of confirming it from Firigha himself, who gives 17th Jamadi I 824 as the date of Khizr Khan's death and Mubarak Shah's accession, and states (Bo text 309) that Mubarak Shah reigned fourteen 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 'Alau-d-Din came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firigha's plain and coincident statement that Muhammad Shah reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

1 MS. (A) omits خیز Khan and writes خیز Khan. See Thomas, Pathan Kings, 335, footnote.
Badāṣon 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 Shāhān-i-Shāh (City Constable) and Mir-i-Kūz (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāṣon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihli, Husain Khān who was Umduṭu-i-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. Ḥamid Khān, Vazir-i-namlukat, (vāzir 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 Ḥusain Khān in inviting Malik Bahlūl 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 Khuṭbāh, and coming a second time with his whole army seized upon Dihli. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dībālpūr, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultān 'Alān-d-Din 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 Badāṣon I resign the empire of Dihli ⁶ to you. Sultān Bahlūl leaving Dībālpūr ascended the throne of Dihli ⁶

¹ MS. (A).
² Firishta gives a full account of this, and says that the Sultān was instigated to this attempt by Qub Khān and Bāī Fartāb, the latter of whom had a blood-feud against Ḥamid Khān (see Firishta, Bombay text I. p. 315).
³ MS. (A).
⁴ His eldest son Khwaja Bāyānī. At this time, according to Firishta, the Khuṭbāḥ used to be read in the joint names of Sultān ‘Alān-d-Din and Sultān Bahlūl, who upon first marching against Dihli had written to ‘Alān-d-Din alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Ḥamid Khān.
⁵ MS. (A).
without fighting or opposition; and Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din by the orders of Sultan Bahlul was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon 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.

**Sultan Bahlūl [IBN I KALĀ]** Lödi.

Who in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,\(^1\) in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamid Khān Vazir (who, after the execution of Ḥusain Khān at the hands of Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din in Dihli, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sultan Bahlūl) ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamid Khān,\(^4\) and in the same year, proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.\(^6\)

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sultan Mahmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amirs of the party of Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihli,

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1 According to Firīṣṭa ‘Alau-d-Din died in Badāon in the year 853 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāon’s statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firīṣṭa, ‘Alau-d-Din retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihli to Bahlūl Lödi, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 853 H. (Bo. text 816.) See n. 4 page 405.

2 MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

3 MS. (A) writes خلاب خلابي بالله بون.

4 A long account of the way in which Ḥamid Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firīṣṭa.

5 Firīṣṭa gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Bahlūl Lödi, telling us that the mother of Bahlūl Lödi, 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. 917).
and after severe fighting gained possession of it,¹ and Fath Khan Barawi ² who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sultan Mahmud was killed. Sultan Mahmud ³ not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpur; and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpur to Itawa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihli as was under the sway of Mubarak Shah should belong to Sultan Bahlul, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi should revert to Sultan Mahmud;⁴ and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsabed to Sultan Bahlul,⁵ which was held by Junan Khan as the deputy of Sultan Mahmud, each of them went to his own country.

Sultan Bahlul at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsabed, took possession of it, and gave it to Rai Kiran, ruler of Bhunganw. Sultan Mahmud being displeased at this, proceeded again ⁶ to the borders of Shamsabed and fought with Sultan Bahlul.⁷ In the meantime Sultan Mahmud quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muhammad Shah, the son of Sultan Mahmud, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpur in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan.⁸

¹ MS. (A) has here a different reading (note 7) (ناقتاکی). The text seems right agreeing with MS. (B).
² Harawi, of Herat.
³ MS. (A) reads here... Sultana Mahmud was not able to bear the fall of Fath Khan and his being killed.
⁴ MS. (A) reads محمد. Firista says that another term of the agreement was that Bahlul was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khan, and should receive Shamsabed in place of Junan Khan (Bo. text p. 322).
⁵ MS. (A) omits ي. Firista tells us that Junan Khan refused to quit Shamsabed when called upon to do so by Bahlul Lodi, who consequently marched against him and drove him out, giving Shamsabed into the charge of Rai Kiran, and conquering all that country. (Bo. text p. 322).
⁶ MS. (A) درماصد.
⁷ In this engagement Qutb Khan Lodi was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him, and was sent by Mahmud to Jaunpur where he was imprisoned.
⁸ Firista says that Bibi Richi, the mother of Muhammad Shah Sharqi
Buhlûl proceeded to Jaunpur, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khân, the cousin of Sultan Buhlûl, had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shâh,¹ Sultan Buhlûl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muhammad Shâh, who also leaving Jaunpur came to Shamsâbâd and took it from the Hindus by force,² and on the borders of Râpri confronted Sultan Buhlûl. Muhammad Shâh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sultan Buhlûl pursued him.³ And in the aforesaid year Sultan Hussain Sharqi, ibn-i-Sultan Mahmûd revolted against his brother Muhammad Shâh, and seized the throne of Jaunpur with the assistance of the Amirs, and detailed ⁴ a large army to proceed against Muhammad Shâh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Râj Gâp. Sultan Hussain made peace with Sultan Buhlûl, and sending for Qutb Khân Lodi who was still in prison, from Jaunpur, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultan Buhlûl ⁵ and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpur ⁶.

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muhammad Shâh should retain his father's kingdom, while Buhlûl 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 Firîshâ (Bo. text p. 323) who writes: "When Sultan Buhlûl arrived near Dilli Shams Khâtûn, the sister of Qutb Khân Lodi sent him a message, saying, "So long as Qutb Khân remains in the prison of Muhammad Shâh Sharqi food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King." Accordingly Buhlûl broke the truce, and came to Dilli, whence he returned towards Jaunpur. On his arrival at Shamsâbâd he took it out of the hands of Râî Kiran, and gave it to Jûnân Khân who had arrived before him, and Muhammad Shâh Sharqi also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarantî facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsâbâd was taken by Buhlûl from Râî Kiran, whereas Badshîn makes it seem as though Muhammad's forces re-conquered it. Firîshâ's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

³ MS. (A) تعاقد او كرمان.

⁴ MS. (B) نامزد كرمان.

⁵ The account of the circumstances given by Firîshâ show that Husain Khân started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlûl but changed direction to Qanauj. When Buhlûl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amirs to meet Husain Khân, and himself took prisoner. Jalâl Khân, brother of Husain Khân who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khân, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p. 323).

⁶ MS. (A) تفوق نكوش نبیکنب چولک. The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.
Sultan Buhul also despatched Jalal Khan, the brother of Husain Khan, to 
whom he held in confinement as hostage for Quub 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 Buhul, and having concluded a peace for three 
years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Ahmed 
Khan Jilwan, the ruler of Bajana read the Khutbah in the name of 
Husain 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 Bhatrara, and Sultan Husain having agreed to 
peace encamped at Itawa. Sultan Buhul 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- 
Jalal] was married to Sultan Husain, passed away in Badagon, 
as has been already related, and left his kingdom to Sultan 
Buhul and Sultan Husain.

Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou 
desiredst,
Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shoulddest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered 
afterwards from loss?
Does not the azrue heaven taken away again all that it has 
bestowed?

And Sultan Husain came from Itawa to Badagon to perform the

1 A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (Firishtha).
2 Both MS. (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 
Firishtha. 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 'Alā'ūd-Dīn, took possession of them himself, and thence went to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān, the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran, and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dīlī in the mouth of Zū Ḥijjah, in the year 880 H. and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kīchā. Sultan Buhlūl coming from Sihrind summoned Ḥusain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jāhān from the vicinity of Mirath, and dispatched him to oppose Sultan Ḥusain, while he himself held Dīlī against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Qutb Khān, Sultan Ḥusain 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 Buhlūl he returned. Sultan Buhlūl seized his opportunity, and when Sultan Ḥusain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property which Sultan Ḥusain, relying upon the truce, 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 Buhlūl, and as many as forty noted Amirs of Sultan Ḥusain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qāzi Samā'u-d-Dīn. entitled Qutlugh Khān the Vazir, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

1 MS. (A) reads بَعْضَة غَيْبَتِ السِّيْف which agrees with the words of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 225) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) بَعْضَة غَيْبَتِ السِّيْف, i.e., on his account.
2 MS. (B) مَصْبَرُ خُلُقْ. Firishta calls him Mubārak Khān.
3 Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant بِشَارَانَ bā Shārān.
4 There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firishta says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.
5 MS. (A) reads جَذُورَ غُزْرِي-جَانِينَā, but the text is right. Firishta reads جَذُورٌ kākḥa.
6 MS. (A) and (B) omit طَلَبَة.
7 MSS. (A) and (B) omit وَلاَيَةً جَانِبَةٍ (Text).
8 Firishta says بِضِيْطَ بَدْرُك, to take Mīrak.
9 Firishta says بِضِيْطَ بَدْرُك. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.
10 MS. (A) reads غَوْفِنَةٌ. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.
11 MS. (A) omits وَ. 12 MS. (A) وَ (Text).
Sultan Bahlul made over Qutlug Khan in chains to Qutb Khan Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsabadi in the Doab, which was held by Sultan Husain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners of his own over that country; this occurrence took place in the year 864 H. (1469 A.D.) the chronogram for that year was Nawid-i-Kharabi (Tidings of ruin). And Sultan Husain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rapri, 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 Sultan Husain remained at Rapri, and Sultan Bahlul at a place called Dhopamaun; and after a time Sultan Husain again collecting an army came up against Sultan Bahlul, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonbar. Sultan Husain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodis party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultan Bahlul left Dhopamaun for Dihli to mourn for Khan-i-Jahan who had died in Dihli, [and having conferred the title of Khan-i-Jahan upon his son, again returned to attack Sultan Husain, and reaching Rapri fought a battle in which he gained a victory], and when Sultan Husain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

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1 Firista enumerates Khanpal (Kanpili) Baitul, Shamsabadi, Sakit Mahrana and Jallear, as the townships seized on this occasion by Bahlul.

2 Shgadun. Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces.

3 Batain MS. (A) (B). The text reads instead.

4 Firista includes this among the events of 883 H. See note 17.

5 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.

6 This passage is differently worded in the text. In both MSS. (A) and (B) it runs thus:

وَبَعْدَ آنِ مَلْعُو سِلَطَانِ حَسَنِ ولَبْنِي سِلَطَانَ بِلَلْلَهِ دَوْمَةُ دَوْمَتُ قَلْبُ وَبَعْدَ آنِ مَلْعُو سِلَطَانِ حَسَنِ بَيْنَ جَمَعِيْنِ نَمْوَهُ بَيْنِ سِلَطَانِ بِلَلْلَهِ إِلَّاْ

وَكَيْلُ سَوَاءُ دَوْمَةُ سِوَاءُ سَوَاءُ سَوَاءُ فَدَفْنَِ

7 The text reads incorrectly instead of بنعيم.

8 MB (A) omits the portion in brackets.
children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultan Husain continued his march towards Gwaliar, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkan, who are a clan of the Bhadauris, attacked his camp; Rāi Gird Singh, the Governor of Gwaliar 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 Tilūk 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 tankahs 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 leaving a hiatus, and writes Hattānt which is correct, see n 2.

Hatkan is said by Abū Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadawar a district S. E. of Agra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadauras. 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.

2 We should probably read here ملّ رَّا عُلَمً ملّات for ملّات see Firrīthā.

3 MS. (A) reads ملّات.

4 Both MS. Also Firrīthā who calls him Rāi Tilūk Chand, Governor of Khatra (K Katbhr.)

5 Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unio town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter Imp. Cor. I, 450) MS (A) reads يكسة Yaksar.

6 Firrīthā says سلطان بهلول كَم. Offered his services to Sultan Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultan Buhlūl, and not Sultan Husain.

7 MS. (A) and (B) read دِبَتلا instead of دِبَتلا Patna. Firrīthā has ثِثلا, and this seems to be the proper reading.

8 MS. (A) حني.
Sultan Husain leaving Jaunpur went by way of Bahraich towards Qasand, and engaged Sultan Bahlu, 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-Jahan, Bibi Khunza, who was the daughter of Sultan Alauddin, and the grand daughter of Khizr Khan, was taken prisoner; Sultan Bahlu treated that lady with the utmost respect and regard, and when he again attempted to conquer Jaunpur, Bibi Khunza by some artifice effected her escape and joined her husband. Jaunpur fell into the hands of Sultan Bahlu. He gave it to Mubarak Khan Lohani, and himself proceeded to Badon. Sultan Husain took the opportunity to march against Jaunpur in full force: the Amir of Sultan Bahlu evacuated it, and went to Qutb Khan Lodi who was in Mahjacli, and approached Sultan Husain with expressions of fealty, and by pretending to take his part kept him at bay till reinforcements arrived from Sultan Bahlu. Sultan Bahlu sent his own son Mubarak Shah to the assistance of these Amirs, while he himself also set out for Jaunpur, following his son; Sultan Husain not being able to stand against him went to Bihar. In the meantime tidings of the death of Qutb Khan reached Sultan Bahlu at the camp of Haldi, and having performed the requirements of mourning for him, he proceeded to Jaunpur, and after placing his son Barbak Shah upon the throne of the Sharqi dynasty, returned, and came to the Kalpi country, which he gave to Azam Humayun, another nephew, who had the

1 MS. (B) reads muqadda, i.e., met him.
2 MS. (A) reads Khurdr, MS. (B) Khurdr. Firista reads Khurdr.
3 MS. (A) reads Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit it.
4 MS. (A) reads Majhuli. Firista reads Mohjuli. A village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gandak. There are two villages forming one: Majhuli, which is Hind, on the north bank, and Srijupur, which is Muhammadan, on the south. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. IX. 213.
5 MSS. (A) and (B) read Firista says: When Sultan Bahlu arrived at the township of Haldi, he heard of the death of Qutb Khan.
6 Firista says: "expelled Sultan Husain Sharqi, again conquered Jaunpur, and placed his own son Barbak Shah upon the throne of the Sharqi Kings."
name of Bâyazîd, and having arrived at Dholpûr 2 levied several mans of gold as tribute from the Râi of that place; then passing by Bâl went to Ilâhpûr, 3 one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantâubhûr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Hisâr Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihli. Once more he went to Gwâliâr, where Râja Mân the Governor of Gwâliâr sent an offering of eighty laks of tankas of that period; accordingly Bu-hül confirmed him at Gwaliâr, and proceeded to Itâwa, and was making his way back to Dihli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakit. 6 And in the year 894 H (1488 A. D) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years, 6 eight months and eight days. 5

Verse.

Whether it be Afâsiyâb or his son Zâl,
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 پسر دیگر یک درنگ خواجہ, another son. Firâghta says "ابن خواجہ اعظم هماورین بن خواجہ پابردن" (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bâyazîd was the eldest son of Buâlûl.
2 Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خور.
3 The text and MS. (B) read Palhanpûr. MS. (A) reads بالپنپر by Ilâhpûr: Firâghta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) بجاہب الپور (بالپنپر) بجاہب الپور (بالپنپر). Brigg (p 600) says Ruttanpûr!
4 Text and MS. (B) have مکیت, Sakpat. MS. (A) reads مکیت Salib. In Firâghta we read (Bo. text 327) that "Bu-hül took Itâwa from Sakit Singh and set out to return to Dihli but fell ill on the way." Later on we read that "he died near Bhdâuli one of the dependencies of Sakit." Sakit is in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (Imp. Gaz. XII. 146), that Buâlûl Lodi died. Abû Fârû states (Ain-i-Akbari text I. 533) that he died near the township of Sakoth, but places Bhdâuli in the Sarkâr of Sahûr in the Agra Subah, while he places Sakoth in the Sarkâr of Qânuû (see Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrott) II. 309 n 3). Sakit was probably the head quarters of the Sakit Singh whom Firâghta mentions.
5 MS (A) reads پوساپ. 6 Firâghta says seven days.
Whether it be a king or a khas-seller¹
Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death.
The date of his death.²
In eight hundred and ninety and four
The world-conquering Khedive, Buhlu 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.³

SULTÁN SIKANDÁR IBN I SULTÁN BUHLU,⁴
Who was known by the name of Nizám Khán, upon hearing the
tidings of his father's decease, came in haste ⁵ from Dihli to the
township of Jaláli, entered the camp ⁶ 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 Firúz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water,
with the concurrence of Khán-i-Jahán ibn i Khán-i-Jahán, and
Khán-i-Khánán Formálí,⁷ and all the Amirs, and was addressed
by the title ⁸ of Sultan Sikandar. It is said that at the time of
leaving Dihli, he went to Shaikh Samú'u-d-Dín Kanbá,⁹ the
spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamelí,¹⁰ who was one of the greatest
among the Ulama Shaikhás of his time, on pretence of taking an

¹ Khas-furáq. Khas is a fragrant grass (Andropogon muricatu-
sum) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of
cooling rooms by the air which blows through them: commonly known as
"Khas Khas tattis" in India.
² MS. (A) reads نوائی. This is omitted in the text.
³ Prior to his death Sultan Buhlu had made a partition of his dominions,
assigning Janpír to Bhásháda Birká Sháh, and Karra Mánákúr to
Shásháda 'Alam Khán, Bahnihád to his sister's son Shaikh Muhammad Far-
málí, who was known as Kalí Dhar, and Lahluán and Kálpi to 'Ásam
Humáyún ibn i Khwaja Bâyásid Khán. (Firáhí, lo. text 327).
⁴ These same verses are found in Firáhí.
⁵ MS. (A) has no further words. MS. (B) adds لودی Lodi. The text adds
"abút Kála.
⁶ Neither MS. (A) nor (B) has this: as in the text.
⁷ MS. (B) اخلاقان دملي. KHÁN-I-KHÁNÁNI Díhli, it omits فرمالی Fórmálí.
⁸ MS. (A) omits خاطب. ⁹ MS. (A) كین. ¹⁰ MS. (A).
omen, for this reason that he feared lest the Sheikh 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 Allāh \(^8\) from the Sheikh.

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 Sheikh did so, then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

1 ٌتَفَرَّأْ. Taking ٌتَفَرَّأُ or omen from the words of a book, Sortilege, in the manner of the Sortes Virgiliane, or the oracle of Procuess. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qurān, or the works of Ḥāfiẓ in this way. The word ٌتَفَرَّأُ properly means a good omen, as opposed to ٌتَفَرَّأٌ 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 he addressed thus, O Finder!” (Maḥkātāt-1-Mafāliḥ Mathew ii. 381) see also Lane s. v. ٌتَفَرَّأٌ; also Lane’s Modern Egyptian 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the Zāryah is given.

MS. (B) reads بًددرجه another brother. Firīshța gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodi Amirs favoured Aẓam Humāyūn, and before Buhlūl’s death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihli, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of ‘Umr Khān Shīrwanī 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 Buhlūl died. The Amirs then held a consultation, most of them favouring Bārbak Bānī the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to Aẓam Humāyūn: Zobā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one ‘Īsā Khān a cousin of Buhlūl, who said, "the son of a gold worker’s daughter is not fit to be king!" Thereupon Khān-i-Khānān Farmanī rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khān-i-Khānān took his party of Amirs with him, and removed Buhlūl’s corpse to Julālī, summoning Sikandar from Dihli where they placed him on the throne of Sulṭān Firūr on the banks of the Bihār, as Buhlūn Sikandar. He then sending his father’s body to Dihli, marched against ‘Īsā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firīshța Bo. text 338-339).

As'adak allāh, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads

MS. (A) omits the words ٌتَفَرَّأٌ and reads
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 Râpri and Itâwa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma‘îl Khan Luhâni with overtures of peace to King Bârbak Shâh at Jaunpûr, while he proceeded in person against Isâ Khan Governor of Patiâli; and Isâ Khan confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rai Ganesh, the Raja of Patiâli who was friendly to Bârbak Shâh, came in and had an interview with the Sultan who confirmed him in the Government of Patiâli. Bârbak Shâh coming from Jaunpûr to Qanânj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them. Mubârak Khan Luhâni, who was with the army of Bârbak Shâh, was taken prisoner in this battle. Bârbak Shâh fled to Badûn, Sultan Sikandar besieged that fortress, and Bârbak Shâh being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultan, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpûr, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Shriqi kings, except that he divided certain parganas of these territories among his own Amirs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bâr-

1 MS. (B) wrongly.
2 MS. (B)
3 The text and MS. (B) read Nûkhâni, MS. (A) Nûhâni.
4 MS. (A) Dhrer Ghanûr.
5 MS. (A) Dhrer Ghanûr.
6 MS. (B)
7 MS. (A) omits.
8 MS. (B) reads Râi Kishâk. MS. (A) reads Râi Kishâk.
9 MS. (A) reads Râi Gennes. Firâshtâ reads Râi Kishâk.
10 MS. (A) omits.
11 MS. (B).
12 Text.
13 Firâshtâ (Bo. text 331) says that it was Kâlî Bhâr (Shaikh Muhammad Barmali, nephew of Sultan Bahlûl and cousin of Sikandar and Bârbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Bârbak Shâh, who lost heart and fled to Badûn.
14 MS. (A) Nûkhâni.
15 In Bâhr (Firâshtâ).
buk Sháh. Then he took Kálpí from A'zam Khán Humáyún the son of Khwája Bâyazid. From thence he came to Jalílán, and from that place to Gwáší, sending Khwája Muhammad Farmáli with a special robe of honour on an embassy to Rája Mán, who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Súltan and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Súltan as far as Báiána. Súltán Sharq, the Governor of Báiána, the son of Súltan 'Alí Ahmad Jilwáni the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort to the agents of the Súltan; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Báiána strengthened the defences of the fort. The Súltan proceeded to Agra where Hábat Khán Jilwáni, a subordinate of Súltán Sharq, fortified himself in the fort of Agra. The Súltan left certain of his Amira in Agra and proceeded to Báiána and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Súltán Sharq fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Báiána to the Súltan; that province was then conferred upon Khán-i-Khánán Farmáli. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis in the Jaunpúr territory had assembled to the number

1 Firísha says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service though Bádshání's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bár-bak Sháh's actions. MS. (A) omits before كمیش and after معتمدان, and میتی.
2 MS. (A) omits خان giving it to Mámúd Lodi (Firísha).
3 Briggs (p. 569) says Bhurayea, but the original text of Firísha says بیهار Jahtara. I fail to locate this.
4 MS. (A) بیهار, 5 Governor of Gwáší (Firísha).
Briggs has Mán Singh. Firísha reads Mán merely.
6 Firísha reads then سلطان شری قبل Súltán Sharq. Bádshání (text and both MSS.) reads شری Súltán Sharq.
7 MS. (B) reads قلبه instead of قلبه.
8 The text reads سلطان شری Súltán Sháh. MS. (A) B) read سلطان شری Súltán Sháh.
9 MS. (A) جیه, 10 MS. (A) (B) جیه.
11 Where he besieged Súltan Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firísha 331).
12 شری Sharq (text and MSS.).
13 A tribe of Rájpúta said to be descended from the Mánpúr Cháháns
of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, and were raising a disturbance. The Sultan proceeded thither and Bārbak Shāh 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 Jaunpūr, and arrived at the fortress of Janbār, and engaged in battle with the Amirs of Sultan Ḥasan Sharqī who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna, and having come to Ārīl, which is near ʿIrābād (otherwise called Prayāg), laid waste that district, and proceeding by way of Karra and Māniḵūpūr hastened to Dalman, and from thence came to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsābād].

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 Jaunpūr. In this expedition very many notorious for their turbulence, originally Muḥammadī, see Elliot, Races of S. W. P., I. 47.

1. MSS. (A) (B) (C) (D) (E) (F).

2. Text: Janbār, MS. (A) reads ʿIrābād (?). MS. (B) ʿIrābād. Chinār Fīrīštā ʿIrābād.

3. Chinār. Fīrīštā says, came to Rābān (P) which is one of the dependencies of Patna. MS. (A) reads ʿIrābād.

4. A footnote variant is given in the text ʿIrābād ba Arkal.

5. Fīrīštā reads ʿIrābād and Arail (or Aryan); he says ʿIrābād Arail. Arail is mentioned by Abūl Faḍl ʿAbd al-Akbarī (B) I. 425. "he held ʿIrābād and Arail (Jalāhābād) as jagirdār."

6. The text reads Payāb. MS. (A) reads Payāb. Payāb, MS. (B) Payāb, see Cunningham (A. G. 1. 391.)

7. Concerning the derivation of Prayāg the ancient name of Allahabad, see Cunningham (A. G. 1. 391.)

8. (Explanatory note) ʿIrābād. MS. (B).

9. Dalman ʿIrābād opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges, see Rennell's Map: see also, ʿAbd al-Akbarī (J.) II. 167 2. Fīrīštā (Bo. text) reads Dalpur, p. 332.

10. MS. (A) and (B).
horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive. 1 The mem-
dars of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultan Husain Shahr of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultan Sikander's army, and invited him (to advance). Sultan Husain collected an army, and marched from Behar, with a hundred elephants against Sultan 2 Sikander, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit 3 and came to Chanar 4 and from thence to Banaras. Sultan Husain had arrived within seventeen krohs of Banaras when Sultan Sikander marched against him rapidly. 5 In the midst of his march Salbahan the Raja of Patna, who was a trusty memdar, left Sultan Husain and joined Sultan Sikander.

Sultan Husain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna. 6 Sultan Sikander left the camp, and pursued him 7 with a hundred thousand light cavalry, while thus engaged he learned that Sultan Husain had gone to Bihar. After nine days Sultan Sikander arrived, 8 and joining his camp set out for Bihar. Sultan Husain, leaving his deputy 9 in Bihar, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gawn one of the dependencies of Lahaul, and Bihar fell into the hands of Sikander's troops: 10 Thence the Sultan proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A.D.) Khan-i-Jahan Lodi died, and Ahmad Khan his eldest son 11 was styled A'zam Khan Humayun. The Sultan returned from Tirhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutb-ud-Din Makhshikhi-l-Izam, 12 Shaikh Shafiuddin Munir, 13 may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to

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1. MS. (A) and (B).
2. The text and MS. (B) read mukaddar gaht, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is baghur-i-Kantit. MS. (A) or baghur-i-Kantit (Firishta). Kantit is on the S. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II, 89: 168.
3. Text: Janbhar.
4. Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit Janbhar.
5. MS. (A) reads Panna. Text reads Patta. MS. (B) reads Panna.
6. MS. (B) omits kadam wa dorusra.
7. Malik Kandhal (Firishta).
8. MS. (A) Amad.
9. MS. (A) reads asam al-xabti, or asam al-xabti, the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Gouj-i-Shakkar. His burial place is in Bihar, see Ain-i-Akbari (J.) III, 370.
Daryaspur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultan Alau'd-Din King of Bangala, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the son of Sultan Alau'd-Din, whose name was Dānīl, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultan (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contending himself with his own territories and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sultan; 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 Sāran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity, and came by way of Mahligār to Jaunpūr, and having spent six months there proceeded to Paunia. And in the year 904 H. (1495 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Paunia, as far as Bandhūgārā which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jaunpūr where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amirs during a game of Chauqān, and at last it ended in an open fight, and the Sultan
becoming suspicious of the Amir, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amir urged Fath Khan the son of Sultan Buhil to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated this secret to his mother, and also to Shahab 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 Amir. 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 Amir who had shown 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.) Aghar the Governor of Dhilli began to commit malpractices. The Sultan accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawas Khan the Governor of Machhiwara, to seize Aghar and send him (into his presence); but Aghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment, and Khawas Khan received the Governorship of Dhilli. In this year also Khan-i-Khunain Farnali the Governor of Barana died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Ahmad and Suleiman the two sons (grandsons) of Khan-i-Khunain. After a time they
entered the Sultan's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiana) was made over to Khawāṣ Khan, while Safdar Khan was appointed to the charge of Agra, which was one of the dependencies of Baiana. Khawāṣ Khan with the assistance of ‘Alam Khan, Governor of Miwāt, and Khān Khānān Luhān, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpur. The Rāi of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultan leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpur, and Rāi Manik Deo, Raja of Dholpur, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwāliār. They plundered and pillaged the district around Dholpur. The Sultan having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwāliār, and leaving Adam Lodi there, crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendakī.

By reason of the badness of the climate of that place sickness broke out among the population and a pestilence arose. The Raja of Gwāliār also came and made overtures of peace, and delivered up Sa'id Khan, and Bābū Khan, and Rāi Gaurish, who had deserted from the army of the Sultan and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son to do homage to the

2 Briggs calls him Sa'ūr Khan, but the original reads Safdar Khan.
3 MS. (A) reads یا ج ہم-ی-خان, ی-خان.
4 Native State in Rājputāna. The town of Dholpur, capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Agra and 83 miles north-west of Gwāliār; see Hunter Top. Gaz., IV. 278.
5 Firishta calls him یا یک دیو Ninayeh Deo.
6 MS. (B) reads ہی کے لیے in several other places.
7 Firishta calls this river "the Asi otherwise known as Mendakī," and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Mendakī means, frog-haunted.
8 There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river, but the Asi, in Keith Johnson (India) I. f. flowing west of Gwāliār, would answer to the Asi in position. Kennell's Map gives no name to this river.
9 MS. (A) omits ی and also یا یک دیو.
10 MS. (B) reads یا یک دیو musalla (armed) for یا یک دیو sukh.
11 Supply by MS. (A).
Sultan, 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 Dholpur\(^1\) also to Binayik Deo,\(^2\) and having spent\(^3\) the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus\(^4\) in the year 910 H (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Muliayal,\(^5\) which he took without fighting from the Raja of Mundrayal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches\(^6\) of the place; and, as he returned, rebuilt the fortress of Dholpur, then came to Agra and gave his Amir\(^7\) permission to proceed to their several jagirs\(^7\) [And in this year Amir Sa’uyd Muhammad of Junaipur,\(^8\) pray God safety,] 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 be \textit{I} answered. Here am I, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustan, at the town of Farah\(^9\) where he was buried \textit{Ajadi Hasan Zaugar ut Qandahar, God’s mercy be on him, whom, as well as the Amir himself I had the honour of visiting, with the following chronogram.

\(^{1}\) MS (E) reads वल्लभा और reads जल for ज

\(^{2}\) MS (E) reads वल्लव दिये दौर महाराज व जाना

\(^{3}\) MS, (A) द मो दिया भी

\(^{4}\) In the month of Ramzan (Ramzan)

\(^{5}\) Mandriyal. This is not marked in Bunyad’s map, but it is marked here in the map of Mandriyal or Mawak and very that it is half way up the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chenab, and is the site of the town of Madiyan (Kandahar) see Koch Johnston’s Atlas, India B 1. Mandiyar, see also Al-‘Abbar (A) II. 170, Mandiyan.

\(^{6}\) अत्तिला और याकाद काद दिया

\(^{7}\) The letter in square brackets is not in either MS (A) or MS (B).

\(^{8}\) Mir Sa’uyd Muhammad was the son of Mir Sa’uyd Khan of Junaipur, 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 Muhammad. He & it many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdi, among them was Sultan Mubarak 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 Al ‘Abbar (B) I 184 p 7.

The Sunnis believe that the Mahdi has already appeared, the Sufis still look to his appearance. Hurfey, D or I Islah

\(^{9}\) Farah in Baluchistan (Al-‘Abbar (B) I 184 p 7.)
He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh 1

Shaikh Mubarak also invented a chronogram in the words 2 Mazā Mahdí. The Mahdí has departed 3

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 Hindustān 4 that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings 5 fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared, 6 while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived. 7 We learn from the Wāqī'at-i-Bābāri, 8 and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindustān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word Qūzī, 9 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.

1 Gufū his burau iš Shaikh kun satfebr. The value of the letters of the word 2 3 4 Mazā Mahdí. These words as written in the text only total 300, but if we write more accurately, they will be 910.

5 A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firibn also has no reference to this event

6 Firibna only says in Arga.

7 MS. (B) reads daswarihā Difficulties and dangers.

8 MS. (B)

9 Regarding this work, see Elliot IV, 218. The commentaries of Bāber, originally written in Türkī were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see Jān-i-Akbari (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Bāber says “there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night.” The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muharram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Safar.

9 Qūzī. 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911
And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.

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 Üntgarh, 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 jahār 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. Whilst on route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodi, whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way, 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 Sakkār; 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 Firīqta gives this rubā’i with slight variation omitting chān in the second line.
2 Firīqta reads ٍأوبيت نكر ٍ즏 Aḏītnagar. MS. (A) Adiwanṭgarh. MS. (B) ٍذكْر ٍذكْر Üntgarh. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 42
n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see Amīr-i-Akbāri (B) I, 359 n 1. Firīqta states that the Sultan regarded Udītnagar as the key to Gwāliār which he wished to reduce (p 338).
3 Firīqta 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 Māwa (Firīqta). It lay about half way between Gwāliār and Dbār, see Tiuff I, 175 for a description and map of the fortress: see also Amīr-i-Akbāri (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwāliār city, see Hunter Imp. Gaz. X. 227.
4 Who upon the death of his father Mahμūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.
5 Firīqta says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.
6 Firīqta says Hanwanṭgarh.
a hundred and twenty horses and fifteen elephants, with a robe of honour and a sum of money upon Prince Jalāl Khān, allowed him, together with Naʾmat Khātūn, wife of Qutb Khān Lodi, who had come to have an interview with the Sultān, to proceed to Kalpi, and gave that district as a jāqīr to Prince Jalāl Khān. And in the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.) he marched from Lahāyar, and came to Hatkānth, established posts in different places and proceeded to his capital Āgra. The date of this was fixed by the following words "Lahu ẓaliknu wa ilaāhī taryā'UN?" That is to say, His is the decree and to him do ye return.

Muhammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nasīr-ud-Din of Mālāvā, fearing his grandfather, came for safety to the Sultān, and was allotted the jāqīr of Chanderi, while Prince Jalāl Khān 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 Āgra to Vholpūr, so that when he came back from his hunting expeditions he might rest and refresh himself there. In this year Muhammad Khān of Nāgor, influenced by the fact that certain of his relations had sought and obtained an interview with the Sultān, evinced great respect for the Sultān, reading the Khutbah in Nāgor in his name without raising any objection, so that in this way a new territory came into the possession of the Sultān.
In this year also Sulaiman, the son of Khan-i-Khanan Farman, was dismissed from the service of the Sultan, on the grounds that he had been appointed to perform a service at Untqzar, and in the direction of Supar, and had refused: the jagir of Indri Karnal was given him as Madat-i-ma'azkh (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year Bahat Khan of Malwa transferred Chanderi to Sultan Sikander on account of the weakness of Sultan Mahmud of Malwa, and read the khutbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the kingdom; and Muhammad Khan, the grandson of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din of Malwa, was taken prisoner, and Chanderi was (nominally) placed under his authority, but Amir's were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer his jagir, then the Sultan proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Banias, 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 Saiyid Namatu-llah and Shaikh Abdullahi Husaini, who was

1 MS. (A)

2 Firinta says Hanwantgarh, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Sulaiman 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 (kart umum diman).

3 Firinta says Daberi MS. (B) reads Daberi. For the meaning of madat-i-ma'azkh called also sayirghal, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) p. 268. Sayirghal is a Turki word meaning gifts (of land), (Parot de Courtois).

4 MS. (B) reads Bahat Chaman, Governor of Chanderi, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sultan of Malwa, on account of the weakness of Sultan Mahmud of Malwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sultan Sikander, and agreed to the khutbah being read in his name in Chanderi, see Briggs, p. 468, and Bo text, p. 311.

5 MS. (A) omits AshENDING. MS. (B) writes also does Firinta. The text reads Khan Mahmud Khan.

6 MS. (A) reads YAHENDING. MS. (B) reads also does Firinta. The text reads Khan Mahmud Khan.

7 Firinta reads JAHENDING. MS. (A) omits and MS. (B) reads.

8 See Lane s. v. 7 Werz; also Hughes, Dict. of Islam art. Miracles. The full expression is Khawariqu-l-iddat.

9 HBS. (A) (B)

10 HBS. (A) (B)
is of those famous for revelations and miracle working,¹ with whom he used to consort frequently. Shāhzāda Daulat Khān, governor of the fortress of Rantambhūr, in the service of Sultān Fāhūd of Mūwā, availing himself of the intermediary aid of Šāh Khān of Nāgor, who was in charge of the province of Siwī Siyūpūr,² came and had an interview with the Sultān, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so happened that the Šāh Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, 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 Thānkar,³ and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Hārī,⁴ 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 Zūl Q’adah 923 H. (Jan. 1518 A.D.). The words Jamārat-i-Firdaws nazālā. (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

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read ١٠٧ and this reading is preferable to that of the text.
² The text reads Sūr Sūbar with a footnote variant سیوی سیوی Sūr Sūbar. Firūhtā reads Sīyūpūr. Sīyūpūr. (F Sībi) see Ayn-i-Ākhārī (1) H. 323 n. 1.
³ Firūhtā writes Thānkar.
⁴ In the Sarkār of Agra. See Tiöff I. 166.
⁵ MSS. (A) reads ١٠٨.
⁶ Firūhtā says: Sunday, the seventh of Zūl Q’adah, and adds that he died from a disease, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. See ib. text 343, and Briggs I. 595.
⁷ MSS. (B) reads ١٠٨ and omits the letter جانات الفردوسی. The letters جانات الفردوسی make up the total 923.
verses after the ancient Hindustâni models, under the pseudonym of Gulrukh, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamâl. 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 Khatani 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 [Dünkar] who, they say, in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science. The following *magla*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most suspicions *magla*] by him in the metre of Mas'ud Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled to-day;
Had not thy look been the serpent I never had lost my way.

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultan Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-lâh Tulumbi in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azizu-lâh Tulumbi in Samhul, both of whom came

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1 MSS. (A) (B) مکتوب.
2 MS. (A) (B) جمال علی Text جمال الادین Text.
3 MS. (A) (B) عزیز Text.
4 The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read کی خاک and MS. (A) reads ما چاک or تا خاک Text.
5 MS. (A) دنکار?
6 MS. (A) و مطیع مصعود.
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit کتاب علی Text.
8 MS. (A) reads مطلب.
9 Abtur. A noxious serpent which no one goes without fleeing from it.
10 MS. (B) omits.
11 MS. (A) بوده انت Text.
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 Šurh-i-Shamāsiyah, and the Šahih-i-Sahāfī 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 Šahīkh 'Abdu-Ilāh, for example, Miyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Dihli, Miyān Šahīkh of Gwāhir, Mirān Saiyyid Jalāl of Badāon, and others. They say also that Sūlān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid Šahīkh 'Abdu-Ilāh, 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 Šalām 'alaihim and mix freely with each other.

And Šahīkh 'Azīza-Ilāh of Tulumbā, who was a man of great probity and reconvolute, 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 Šahīkh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qutbū-d-Dīn Māhmūd bin Muḥammad Rāzī, on the Shamsīyah, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu-d-Dīn Umār bin 'Ali Qazwini, who died A. H. 633 (1235 A. D.) see Ḥāji Khalīfah N. 7667. El-Sahāfī fi el-balām, fol. de metaphysica. The Šurh-i-Sahāfī must be the commentary mentioned by Ḥāji Khalīfah and by him ascribed to Samargundī. There was another commentary by Šūhrūṭī. See H. K. 7718.

1 MS. (A) (B) سرألات شديدة.
2 MS. (A) has a hiatus between the first and last letters of this name.
3 Text and MS. (B) has اب. MS. (A) āb. MSS. (A) (B).
4 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is یثربث, this means literally, making present, reme–ning. It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impression. It is not memory, or rather recantiveness, but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS. (A) (B) read یثربث.
One of his pupils was Ṣāhīf Allāh Sāhībī, who is commonly said to have read the Commentary on the Miftāḥ more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the Muṣawwīd more than forty times, from the first letter of the Bismi'llah to the last of the word Tawmūt.

Another is Ṣahīh Ḥadīyāh Jāmūnī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the Ḥudūd al-Fiqḥ, while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the Kāfiyāh in addition to these he wrote notes upon the Tafhīḥ-i-

1 MSS. (A) (B) read: مَسْرِحِينَ مَفْتَاحَ which may possibly stand for مَسْرِحِينَ مَفْتَاحَ Shāhān i-miftāḥ, the two commentaries on the Miftāḥ.

Miftāḥ al-tālim (elvis doctrinarum), see Hājī Khalīfah 15376. This book was written by Sirāj-ud-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Abī Muḥammad b. Alī as Ṣīkākī who died 628 A.H. (1232 A.D.)

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. (Regarding Ilmān-l-bayān, etc., see Garoin de Tassy Rhetorique des langues de l'orient Musulmān, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Ḥanāfī Ḥusayn-ud-Dīn al Muwaffaqī, 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.

2 Muṣawwīd (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa’d-ud-Dīn at-Talāṣī (who died 702 A.H.) on the book called Taḥkīqa-i-Miftāḥ. It was called by the name of Muṣawwīd or long commentary because after its completion in A.H. 743 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of Muḥtasar or shorter commentary. (See H. K. II. p. 404).

4 All works written by Muslims commence with Biṣm'i'llāh. In the name of God. The word تَمَمُّ تَمَم المكتوب tammat al-kitāb, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word "Fins." MSS. (A) and (B) write only بضم.

5 Ḥudūd al-Fiqḥ. (see Hājī Khalīfah 14366.)

6 Kāfiyāh. The famous grammar known by this name is Al-Kāfiyāt fi-l-naḥw (liber sufficiens) whose author was Shāhīh Jumāl-ud-Dīn abī 'Umar Usāmān b. 'Umar, commonly known as Ḥanū-1-hāij (ob: 646 A.H.) For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.
Madārīk! 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
Sheikh 'Abdu-llah, and Sheikh 'Aziru-llah, and on the other
Sheikh-i-Nadiz-yah and his son Sheikh Bhabar to discuss
difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the
former pair of worshippers were superior in oratory, while the two
latter were the better writers. The death of Sheikh 'Abdu-llah
occurred in the year 322 H; the following chronogram was in-
vented to commemorate it: Ḥāl 'ala 'a ev u-darajatu-l-ulā. And
among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the afore-
said Sheikh Jamal Khanlawi 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 submit-
ting 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 cast too rent in the skirt with my tears.

Verse.12

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words.
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close

1 Tafsa ✗ Madārīk ✗ Explanation of the sources from which are sought the
ordinance of the law. See Lane s. v. 2
2 MSS. (A) omits 'yāmān 3
3 MSS. (A) (B) write 'Alā. 4 Both MSS (A) (B) write 'Alā
4 The text reads wrongly here as 'Alāk Limm Darajatu l-Auliya'. PSS. (A) (B)
not correct. The quotation may be found in the Qur'an (XX. 77). The value
of the letters is 322.
5 MSS. (A) (B) omit 'l. 6 MS. (A) omits 'l.
6 MSS. (A) (B) write 'Alā.
7 MSS. (A) (B) write 'Alāk Limm Darajatu l-Auliya.
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
Shouldst thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a Tazkīhah (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Šāhiḵs of Hindūstān, called the Siyār al-ʿAṭīfīn (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the venerable Khwāja Muʿīn al-Ḥaqq wa-an-ʿādin Ajmīnī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Šāhiḵ Samāw-ʿādin Kauhawī of Dihli, in addition to which it contains other matter both prose and poetry. His diwān is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

Sultan Ibrahim bin Sultan Sikandar Lou,

Ascended the throne in Agra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amir, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khān ibn-i-Sultan Sikandar [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultan, while Khān-i-Jahān Lūbānī governor of Rāpī came to Agra] and blamed the Amir 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 Amir of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpi and collected a large following, and after establishing the Khuliwah and sikkah in his own name, assumed the title of Sultan Jalālu-d-Din. Aʿzam Hūmāyūn Shīrāzī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultan Ibrāhīm. Sultan Ibrahim

1 (A) omits اورہم.
2 MS. (A) omits مکتیب.
3 MS. (A) omits میں ہو رہے ہوں.
4 MS. (A) omits میں ہو رہے ہوں.
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) اورہم.
8 MS. (A) اورہم.
9 MS. (A) اورہم.
sent to the fortress of Hānāb certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhzāda Ismā'īl Khān, and Husain 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 Bhān Gān, and having settled the disturbances in Mawās came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amirs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephante had gone off in the direction of Agra. Malik Ādam Kākar was sent by the Sultān to defend Agra, and certain other Amirs 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 Kulpi district as a jāqir. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, etc., etc., to Malik Ādam with instructions to convey them to the Sultān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

1 It will be remembered that Āzām Hamāyūn was the eldest son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, Ismā'īl and Husain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

2 Text reads دوそのまま MS. (A) more correctly readا دو. 

3 MS. (A).

4 The text reads here: مانڈरावः पक्के कर्दा वासा वर अन ग्राम न सूरसा वर अन Kandārā pāk karda while MS. (A) reads مولा مولा for مولा مولा. Neither reading is intelligible.

Firīshtā reads here:

Jāni Chand, a Zamīndār of Chāntūli, a dependency of the pargāna of Kāl which was better known as Mawās, had fought against 'Umar Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsām Hākim of Banbhal 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 Firīshtā's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read مولा مولा.
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 Gwalior, and the Amir of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, and all owned allegiance to the Sultan. The Sultan experienced a revolution of feeling with regard to Miyan Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amir of Sikandar, and had been his wazir 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 Aram Humayun Shurwah, the Governor of Kairn, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwalior. Jalal Khan fled from Gwalior and went to Malwa to Sultan Mahmud of Malwa. After the arrival of the Sultan's troops Rai Vikramji, the son of Rar Mian Singh, who, after the decease of his father, held the government of Gwalior, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Badalgah, which lies below the fortress of Gwalior, a very lofty structure, was taken from Rai Mian Singh and fell into the hands of the Muslims, and a brazen animal, which was worshipped by the Hindus also fell into their
hands, and was sent by them to Agra, whence it was sent by Sultan Ibrahim to Dibhi, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Fatehpur 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 inasmuch 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 thereto 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, Azam Humayun Shihwani, together with his son Fath Khan, abandoned the siege of Gwalior Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Agra, where both were made prisoners. Islam Khan, the son of Azam Khan, gathered together a following in Karra by means of his father's

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1 MS. (B) agreeing with the text. MS. (A) reads از تاریخ این جمع.
2 MS. (B) reads جدید.
3 Text and both MSS. (A) (B). Firisha (Bo text 351) reads بروج بزوکه شنادت.
4 For an account of the Gonds, see Shering, Hindu Tribes and Castes, II 134 et seqq., see also Hunter Imp. Bar., article Central Provinces.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read نزد مستثنیه.
6 Firisha also has these same lines.
7 MS (A).
wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that district, fought a battle with Ahmad Khan 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, to oppose the Amirs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islam Khan. With him also he sent other Khans of eminence, such as Khan-i-Khānān Farmali, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bangarman, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, 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 confusion withdrew (into ambush). The Sultan by way of precaution despatched a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants showed a firm front against them, until Nasir Khan Luhān with other generals arrived from the direction of Bhiār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle 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.

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
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 `Azam Humayun Shirwani, and Miyān Bhoj, the Vazir of Sultan 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 Tur was lost; ²
This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin Which witnessed the palace of Afrasiyab. ³

Miyān Husain ⁴ Fursali was assassinated in Chanderi, at the instigation of the Sultan, by certain ruffianly Shaikh Zadas of that place, and Daryā Khān Luhani, governor of Bihār, and Khān-i-Jahān Lodī being alarmed,⁵ became disaffected. After a short time Daryā Khān died, and his son Bahādur Khān 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 Bihār, and gained possession of that country,⁶ assuming the title of Sultan Muḥammad,⁷ establishing the Khutbah and sikka 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 Khutbah was read in his name in Bihār and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khān Lodī, whose name was Khān-i-Khānān ⁹ came from Lāhor to Āgra to visit the Sultan, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court, and went to his father. Daulat Khān, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sultan, sent that same son of his to Kābul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahīru-

¹ MS. (A) reads درت. ² MS. (A) reads موجه. MS. (B) reads مرحل. For the story of Salm and Tur two of the sons of Faridān, see Shahnāma (Atkinson) pages 49 et seqg., also Shahnāma (Turner Macal) pp. 58 to 53.
³ MS. (A) reads ك دیده است.
⁴ MS. (A).
⁵ MS. (B).
⁶ MS. (A) omits و. Firmašt adds as far as Sambal.
⁷ Footnote variant مالان. Firmašt reads Muḥammad.
⁸ MS. (A) reads دبیت و قدیم. Text بیبیت و قدیم. ⁹ Firmašt saya غازی خان. ¹⁰ MS. (B) reads بحرب کو (B).
d-Din Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint against his father before the supreme King Bābar, 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. Sultan Muhammad departed to the world of permanence from Bibur, and the Amirs on all sides rebelled against Sultan 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 Amirs of Sultan Ibrāhim, sent 'Alam Khān Lodi to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahiru-d-Din Bābar Pādīshāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādīshāh appointed a number of his own Amirs to accompany 'Alam Khan, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Sīālkōt and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following qīnah was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

\[ \text{Verse.} \]

\[ \text{Zahiru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,} \]
\[ \text{In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,} \]
\[ \text{By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,} \]
\[ \text{The date of this was Fath bādaulāt.} \]

Victory by fortune.

Bābar Pādīshāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry \(^4\) in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran \(^5\) cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar’s Amirs at

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1 MS. (B) writes لازم خود instead of before it as in the text.
MS. (A) reads معاجب
2 MSS. (A) (B) اقتتاد.
3 MSS. (A) (B) omit معاجب.
4 MSS. (A) (B) omit معاجب.
5 MS. (B) omits معاجب.
Lāhor, while Amir Khusā'ū, who had strengthened the fortress of Siālkot, evacuated it as soon as Ghāzi Khān arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bābar arrived at Siālkot where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Siālkot founded Dholpur.]

1 'Alam Khān proceeded to Dihli by order of Bābar, and encountering Sūltān Ibrāhim, made a night attack upon the army of the Sūltān; and Jalāl Khān with certain other Amirs arrived in the course of that night and joined 'Alam Khān. Sūltān Ibrāhim did not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers of 'Alam Khān, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained with 'Alam Khān. Sūltān Ibrāhim, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand his attack. The faithless 'Alam Khān passing through the Doāb came to Sihrind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gungūna, one of the dependencies of Malot, at the foot of the hills. Dilāwar Khān Lūhānī separated from him, and joined the service of Bābar Padishāh, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Alam Khān also after some time came and had an interview with Bābar, 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 Kālanūr, Muḥammad Sūltān Mirzā and other Amirs came from Lāhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghāzi Khān [and Daulat Khān were, and besieged it, and Ghāzi Khān and Khān-i-Khānān] 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) ออร์ฟ ๕.

3 The text reads rightly.

4 MS. (A) (B) อินน์.

5 MSS. (A) (B) อินน์.

6 MS. (B) อินน์.

7 The text and both MSS. read Gungūna. See Erskine’s Bābar, p. 300. “The sort of Kinkīth.”

8 In Find. Dādan Khān tāḥi? Jhūlām, District Panjāb, see Hunter Imp. Gaz., IX. 263.

9 MSS. (A) (B) ไม่มี.

10 Not in text. of MSS. (A) (B) which read MS. (A) วีดีโอ ความรู้ ดูและรับรู้.
and left the fort. Daulat Khan 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 pre-
sence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that 
he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On 
the contrary, Babar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding 
him be seated gave him a place near himself.

That is (true) generosity to show kindness to the wrongdoer, 
For the generous cannot but show 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 Babar. Some few days after this occurrence 
Daulat Khan, who had been imprisoned by Babar, died in prison and Babar proceeded to the Siwalik hills in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, and encamped at the foot of the Dun, which is a very high hill, Ghazi Khan was not to be found. Babar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Sihind, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar; thence he came to the borders of Samana and Sauam, and gave orders to Amir Kittah Beg to proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sultan Ibrahim, who, after the defeat of Alam Khan, had stood fast near Delhi,

MS. (B) goes on

1 MS. (A) reads گاہان اور.
2 MS. (A) reads داندے. MS. (B) reads نشستی فرمود و.
3 Compare the account of this given by Babar himself, see Elliot IV. 245, Firishta's account (Bo. text p. 376) tallies with that given by our author.
4 In MS. (A) the word پسپلیان precedes قسمت, in the text it follows it.
5 Firishta does not mention the death of Daulat Khan, and tells us that Babar took possession of Ghazi Khan's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.
6 MS. (A) reads نزلو فرمود.
7 The text reads داوم کے گرہن تا درن with a footnote variant هندوؤن. MSS. (A) (B) read داوم کے گرہن دو ی. see Tuzuk-i-Babri, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Abkand by Milwat we reached Dun. In the language of Hindustan they call a Julga (or dale) Dun".
8 MS. (A) کھوکھ. 9 MSS. (A) (B) omit لجھرود.
10 MS. (A) omits گک. 11 MSS. (A) (B) متمکن دو.
and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Babān the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Babar). From this camp also Shāh-
zaḍa Muḥammad Umāyān Mirzā, together with Khwāja Kalān Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Ḥamid Khān the Khass-i-Khuil (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultan Ibrāhim, who was advancing at the head of a force from Hisār 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.¹ The sarkār of Hisār Firoza with a revenue of two crores,² was given as a reward to the Shāh-
zaḍa, and Babar Pādishāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhābād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Sultan Mirzā, and Sultan Junaid Mirzā³ Birlā to oppose Dā'ūd Khān and a body of Amirs of the army of Sultan Ibrāhim, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghāns a second drub-
bang, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultan Ibrāhim.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre,⁴ King Babar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun-carriages⁵ had been prepared in one day. Ustā ⁶ '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.⁷ And in the interval between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven shelter parapets⁸ were placed, so that on the d. of

¹ MS (B).
² MS. (A) (Kurāz), see however Din-i-Akbari II. (J.) 283. ³ 1183. (A) (B).
³ qubāngār, qubāngār, left wing. Jawāngār, left wing, called also jawāngul. Ḥal al qub l’qub, means the centre of an army. (See Paëc de Corrêllet Dict. Turc-oriental), see also Erskine’s Babar, p. 227.
⁴ Text writes عرٰض. MS. (A) writes this word عرٰض.
⁵ Ustād Ali Quli (Erskine’s Babar, p. 302).
⁶ Text writes عرٰض. MS. (A) writes this word عرٰض.
⁷ P. de G. does not give this word. (?) the end of a whip, i.e., the lash. See Erskine’s Babar, p. 304.
⁸ The text reads tābra-i purdāk. MS. (A) omits the words purdāk, while MS. (B) writes purdāk tufāng. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For tābra, we should read
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 Pānipath 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 Jumādul-Āakhir 6 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānipath, 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 Afghan 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 Mahdi Khwāja, Muhammad Sultān Mirzā and certain other Āmirs, with five or six 10 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 Courthoi Dict. Turk. oriental s. v. ترها تورا بئر تبلغ (B) مس. (B) 2 مس. (A) بئر تفاصیل. 3 مس. (B) بئر تفاصیل. 4 The text reads 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 مصفعة. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited. 5 MS. (B) omits بار آباد. 6 April 12, 1526. لخبمینا (B) بار آباد. 7 MS. (B) لخبمینا البیان. 8 MS. (B) لخبمینا البیان. 9 MS. (A) مصفعة for ظاهر. MS. (B) writes wrongly for جراحی. 10 مس. (A) لخبمینا البیان. 11 MS. (A) لخبمینا البیان.
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 Qarai Gurche 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 Muhammad Gokultash, and Amir Yunus 'Ali, and Amir Shah Mansur Birias, 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 Babur to reinforce the right wing, and when he got within bowshot 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 tide;
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

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1 MS. (A) writes پر اگند شد MS. (B) agrees with the text.
2 المرجب Al-murujab. 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. رجب.
3 MS. (A) omits استکندر.
4 MS. (B) کوج. Omitted from MS (B).
5 The text is wrong here: we should read در شیده تیر dar shada-i-tin on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).
6 MS (B) supplies پر بمال پیغمی after پر اگند شد.
7 We should read پر اگند شد.
qarns\(^1\) 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\(^4\) was proceeding one day at early morning\(^5\) from the city of Lābor 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.

Sūltān Ibrāhīm together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head\(^4\) was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādīghār, and\(^5\) about five or six thousand who formed Sūltān Ibrāhīm's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

**Verse.**

*It is plainly evident\(^6\) to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,*
*Thou knowest\(^7\) 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.\(^8\)*

Bābar Pādīghār after gaining this\(^9\) signal victory departed thence, and reached Dīhli\(^10\) on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the Khutbā to be read in his name,\(^11\) despatching Šāhžād-e Muḥammad Ḥumāyūn Mirzā and all the Amīrs to Āgra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure\(^13\) belonging to Ibrāhīm, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.\(^13\)

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\(^1\) The qarn is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

\(^2\) MSS. (A) (B) اوراق ر (A) (B) روق (A) (B)

\(^3\) MS. (A) (B) یا بھا (A) (B) یا بھا (A) (B)

\(^4\) MS. (A) (B) روز (A) (B) روز (A) (B)

\(^5\) MS. (A) (B) (A) (B) supply (A) (B)

\(^6\) MS. (I) reads نابیتا (A) نابیتا (A)

\(^7\) MS. (B) reads بہت (A) بہت (A)

\(^8\) Read bīrōyā for bīrōn. A footnote to the text states that is the reading of all three MSS.

\(^9\) MS. (A) (B) است ظریف (A) (B) است ظریف (A) (B)

\(^10\) MS. (B) اجملی (B) اجملی (B)

\(^11\) MS. (B) omits لمن (B) لمن (B)

\(^12\) MS. (A) (B) خربش (A) (B) خربش (A) (B)

\(^13\) MS. (A) (B) کد (A) (B) کد (A) (B)
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
Hindûs invented this date Shahid Shudan-i-Ibrâhim 2 (the martyr-
dom of Ibrâhim) to commemorate it. From that time the empire
once more passed from the Afsâhân Lodi family, and rested on
the descendants of Amîr Timûr Sâhibqirân. The duration of the
reign of Sultan Ibrâhim was nine years.

Zâhiru-d-Dîn Muḥammâd Bâbar Pâdishâh Ghâzî. 337

After this ascended 3 the throne 4 of sovereignty, and by his
justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and
glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, Ḫurâsân and Kâshghar. He also despatched offerings 5 to the sacred cities
of Makkah and Medînah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage,
and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakh-
shân and Kûbul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries
of Hindûsân. He converted the world into a rose garden. The
Amîrs of Hindûsân, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour
and efforts to improve 6 their fortunes, did not yield obedience
to him, but behaved like unruly savages, 7 and took to fortifying
themselves in their fortresses and estates, 8 while Qâsim Sanbâlî
in Sambal, and Nizâm Khân in Bâiana, and Hasan Khân Miwâsti
in Alwar, and Tâtâr Khân Sârang Khân 9 in Gwâliar, took refuge
in their respective fortresses. Itâwa was held by Quth Kân, 10 and Kalpî by ALSm Kân, while Qasâui and all the eastern
districts were in the possession of the Afsâhûs, who, in the reign
of Sultan Ibrâhim also, had refused to own his sway, 11 and having raised the son of Bihâr Kân to the throne, gave 12 him
the title of Sultan Muḥammâd; his empire extended as far as
Bihār, and Nasir Khān Lūhāni and Maʿrūf Farmâli and other powerful Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty krohs from Agra, on the further side of the river Jumna, 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 Bāyazid, the brother of Mustafā Farmâli, with other Afghâns coming and tendering their submission, were given jâegîrs. Shaikh Khūrân who was one of the Hindustâni Amīrs, 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 jâegîr upon Shâhzâda Muḥammad Humâyûn Mirzâ. The Amīrs seized Qāsim Sanbali and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Bāīâna, and had besieged Nizām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānâ Sâṅkâ having invested the fortress of Khandâr, which is in the vicinity of Rantambhûr, from Hasan son of Maḥbân, was in possession of it; and Shâhzâda Muḥammad Humâyûn Mirzâ, with a party of Amīrs who had been appointed to capture and hold Dhōlpûr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghâns of the Lūhâni faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanaúj, Both Saiyyid Maḥdî Khwâja, and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzâ, who had been ordered to capture Itâva, joined the retinue of the Shâhzâda, who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpûr. In the meanwhile Rānâ Sâṅkâ and Hasan Khān Miwâṭī raised to the throne one of the sons of Sulṭān Sikandâr Lodi, named Sulṭān Muḥammad, with the title of Pâdīshâh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast army.
Marching by way of Basūwar they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fatehpūr, otherwise known as Sikri. Nizām Khān, the Governor of Bāīānā made representations to the Court of Bābār and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafīʿu-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, who was one of the most powerful Saiyyids of Bālkh, 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 Ḥażrat-i-Mugaddas (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultān and tendered his service. Ṭāṭār Khān Sārang Khān also, after that Rānā Sānk ā 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 Shaikh Khūran and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghānq, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of daʿwat-ul-ʿasā, entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Ṭāṭār Khān whether he would or no, and sent him into the presence of Bābār Padishāh. In just this same way also Muḥammad Zaltān the Afghān gave up the fort of Dholpur to the Amirs of Bābār, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sānk ā had arrived on the confines of Bāīānā and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fatehpūr; Bābār Padishāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him, left the capital of Agra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote a despatch to summon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā, ordering him to leave Jaunpur in charge of certain eminent Amirs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war; the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Harān and

1 MS. (A) 
3 MSS. (A) (B) 
4 MS. (A) 
5 MS. (B) 
6 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 Muḥammadans. For a full account of it, see Hughes (Dict of Islam) article Daʿwah, p 72. MS. (B) reads 7 8 MSS. (A) (B) 
9 MS (B) 
10 Footnote variant to the text reads Ḥarīd
Bihar from Nasir Khan 1 Luhâni, and having appointed Khwaja Amir, Shâh Hasan and Amir Junaid Birlâs to the government of Jaunpûr, proceeded by way of Kalpi, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over 'Alam Khan the governor of that place,2 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 great3 and noble, Khwaja Khâwind Naqshbandi arrived from Kâbul, and the Amirs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rândâ Sânkâ is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Agra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islam should proceed in his own excellent person towards the Panjâb, 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 jihâd, 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 4

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 Amirs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur'ân), 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,5 and the promulgation of the

1 A footnote variant نصرت خان. So also MS. (B).
2 MS (B) reads حاکم تخاری. Hâkim-i-Bukhârâ.
3 The text reads قدرة السمع So also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that ذلك is correct.
4 MS. (A) (B)
5 The کلما . "There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God," see Qur'ân xlvi. 21 and xlvii. 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islam) art: Kalima.
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 Mivati, 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 Mivati, in form and appearance, in the year 860 H., after the death of Salim Shah Afgan Suri, raised a rebellion in Mivat, and called himself Hasan Khan, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Mivatis. Still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this Mutakhab (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 Khan-i-Chanan Bairam Khan used to say, that Hasan Khan Mivati 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 man seemed to resemble an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive. God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khan.

After some time certain of the Khansadas of Mivat 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 Bars.

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven. The words Shahr-i-Shauwal also form the date of his decease,

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1 MS. (B) reads زار دارند. MS. (B) omits میکروک.  
2 MS. (A) reads مکروک. MS. (B) reads مکروک. Text and MS. (A) omit مکروک.  
3 Both MSS. (A) (B) omit حیج.  
4 Both MSS. (A) (B) read مکروک میکروکی.  
5 MS. (A) reads سبب حصنی. MS. (B) reads مردک.  
6 MS. (B) omits میکروکی.  
7 Lit. like that of a changeling.  
8 MS. (A) (B) omit ین.  
9 MS. (B) = 937 (H).
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 Shaikh-i-Muharram.
The duration of his reign in Mawarân-âmar, Badakhshân, Kâbul, and Kashghar, as well as in Hindustân, was thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwâja Kalân 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 Khânî, who translated in most elegant style, the Waq'al-i-Bâbarî, which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him:

Verses.

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.

Verses.

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.

1 The text reads correctly تاریخ سال او فوت târîx-i-faut, the date of his death.
The letters of the words شش محرم give the date 688 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 238 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

2 MS. (A) omits تود. 8 MS. (A) reads ذین حواشم.
4 Waq'al-i-Bâbarî. This, called also Tâzakâ-Bâbarî is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Tâkî hero referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 et seq., also Erskine's Dâbar (Introduction).

Footnote variant قصید.
My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Mawlānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational and traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Mawlānā Baqā‘ī who wrote a Magnāvi in the metre of the Ṭabāk-i-Asrār. At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his.

Another is Mawlānā Shihābu-d-Din the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and at the time when Darmān Kān was appointed by Shāh Isma‘īl Šaftāwī Husainī to the Governorship of Khorāsān, that prince of traditionists, Mīr Jamālu-d-Din, 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; Mawlānā Shihābu-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‘ī is selected:

Quatrains.

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic,

Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read مَعْقِول.
2 MS. (A) supplies دمْرا. See Aīn-i-Akhbār (B) I. p. 395 n 2, also Beale, p. 67.
3 MS. (A) (B) read وَدِيِّو. See Beale, p. 243. Shihābu-d-Dīn died in the reign of Humāyūn 942 A. H. See next para.
4 MS. (A) درْدُمَانِي كِتَاب.
5 MS. (A) منصوب شَد (B) مَنْصُوب شَد.
6 Qur’ān VII. 62 X. 6.
7 See Mīḥākī xxiv. 1. 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.”
8 MS. (B) writes Shihāb only.
9 The text reads بِنَسْر جَمِيلَة فَلُطِيْر إِسْت. MS. (A) omits the word Fāṭīm and MS. (B) reads فقد possibly for نقل.
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.

Quatrain.

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment²
displaying coquetry.

Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet.
And then displayed her moon-bright face from³ one corner.⁴

The death of the Maulawi took place at the time of the return
of the Emperor Muhammad Humayūn, 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-ṣāgib.
And one of the wonderful ⁶ inventions of that Emperor, whose
shelter is the pardon of God, is the Ḫaṭṭ-i-Ḡarār (the Bābāri
script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent
it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and
Tūrki poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the
Hanifite Theology called Mubaiyyin,₇ and Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn ⁸
wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled Mūḥīn. His trea-
tises ⁹ on Prosody are also in common use.

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¹ Shihābu-d-Dīn was called Shihābu-ṣāgib (the brilliant star); these words
also give the date of his death, see post.
² MS. (A) reads  ذرف
3 MS. (A) reads  ژرف
4 The following is the explanation of this Mu'amma which is contained in
the two last lines of the Rubā‘ī. That is
to say: she took the word گل and removed from it the daira or curved por-
tion of the ی لام, thus leaving گ; to this she added  על مصرف سرف-
sulf, that is to say the last letter of the word ژلف, the letter  ف, thus
having گ...ک. To this she added  شرف of  ruth-vaḥ, the first letter of the
word  شرف, which is in Arabic  شهر. This will give the whole word گشایش.
5 MS. (A), see Beale, p. 150.
6 MS. (A) (B) omit  شرف.
7 The text reads  مبین یام بفتی بایی مثنی.
8 MS (A), see Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, et seqq.
9 MS. (B) reads,  ریل for  رسائل, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.
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.

**NāṣIRU-D-DIN [WĀD-D-DUNYĀ] MUḤAMMAD HUMĀYŪN PīDGHĀN-I-GHĀZĪ.**

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H.
(1530 A.D.), with the concurrence of Amir Khilifa who was the
agent and prime minister of the Government, ascended the
throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the
date.

**Verse.**

Muḥammad Humāyūn Shāh of suspicious 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 “Khairu-l-Mulūk.”

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he
made present of trays filled with gold, another chronogram was
invented in the words Kīṣht-i-Zar (Tray of gold). After dis-
posing of all matters of importance he led an army against the
fortress of Kālinjar, and, after quelling the insurrection of
Sulṭān ‘Ālam ibn-i-Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi, who had raised a revolt
in Jaunpūr, returned to Āgra 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, Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā ibn-i-Badi‘u-z-Zamān
Mirzā ibn-i-Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā, who had hostile intentions

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1 MS. (A).
2 The text reads خیبر. MS. (A) reads خیبر. Ms. (B) writes خیبر-الملوك.
3 The letters of the words خیبر-الملوك give the date 937 H., as do also the letters of the words
kīṣht-i-zar in the next line.
4 MS. (B) reads خیبر. MS. (A) supplies خیبر.
5 MS. (A) reads دازاي روستا. MS. (B) reads دازاي روستا.
was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Bāīnā, 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, for the cure of which the physicians declared gulqand (confection of roses) to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā begged Sultān Bahādur to send him a piece of this gulqand. He accordingly summoned his shahbadār (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, 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 so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, proceeded to Qanauj 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; he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrat. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātār Khān Lodi being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Bāīnā, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

1 MSS. (A) (B)

2 Gulqand. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see Maḥānun-l-ādwiyāh s.v. ढब्बा.

3 MSS. (A) (B).

4 MSS. (A) (B)

5 MS. (A) reads ढब्बा in the text.

6 For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, see Bayley's History of Gujerāt, pp. 377 to 380.
conflict with Mirza Handal, in which he attacked with three thousand men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sultan Bahadur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muhammad Humayun Padshah moved against him from Agra; and in the same year Mirza Kamran, proceeding by forced marches from Lahore to Qandahar, defeated Sam Mirza, the brother of Shahr Tahmasp, who was besieging Khwaja Kulun Beg, and the following hemistich gives the date.

**Zada Padshah Kamran Sam ra.**

(King Kamran defeated Sam)

Maulana 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 inquired 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 Sam.

Muhammad Humayun Padshah, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sultan Bahadur and engage his attention

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1 MS. (A) 
2 The text reads سيد$sSad$ 3000. MS. (B) reads مشهد $Sad$ 600.
3 MS. (A) writes $Mirz$ $Mirz$. MS. (A) omits $Dad$. 4 These letters form the date 942 H.
5 Footnote variant $Shukri$. The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way.
6 The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus: Has cast away the crown of gold (Taj-i-Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sam (Shukast i-Sipah-i-Sam). By Taj-i-Zar is meant the letter $j$, the first letter of the word $j$, the value of which is 7; this being cast out from the value of $Shukast$ i-Sipah-i-Sam gives 940 - 7 = 942.
while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor, halted at Sārangpūr. Sultan Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādghān (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 Amirs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr. The following verse commemorates the date of this event:—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Qhāzi, 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.""1

Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādghān pursued him, and the Mughul 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. Sultan 'Alam Loḍī, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādghān pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Aḥmadābād. Bahādur leaving Aḥmadābād went to Knabhāyat,6 and from there to the port of Dip,7 and at that time the fortress—

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1 See Bayley, History of Gujrat, p. 382. 2 MSS. (A) (B) supply ṣ here.
3 MS. (A) renders سلدر, so also footnote variant to text.
4 ملاد " \text{Zull-ı-Bahādur}. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read Zill-ı-Bahādur, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahādur."
5 MS. (B) reads كرنة يانه which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.
6 Cambay. The name Khambāt is said to be derived from Khambha or Stambhātirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., III. 271 See also Tiefenthaler I. 270 et seqq.
7 Tief I. 396, writes Duu, appelée Dip dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu'île de Soreth 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 Mozambique. Duu est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest."

See also Ain-i-Akbari I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, Hist. of Gujrat, 318 n.
of Jānpānir 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 Humayun
and discovered this,

"It was the ninth of the month of Safar." ³

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamindars of the country⁴
of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Ahmadābād.
Mīrza 'Askari who, after the return of Humayun Pādshāh towards
the East,⁵ remained at Ahmadābād with the intention of having
the Khutbah read in his own name, in which project he had the
support of Amir Hindū Bēg; however, he could not carry out his
plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānir, the governor of
which place, Tadrī Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to
the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mīrza 'Askari. But
at the time when Humayun had left Mandir on his way to Āgra
Mīrza 'Askari met him on the road and gave in his submission,
and Bahādur took Jānpānir from Tadrī Bēg without the necessity
of fighting.⁶ [And in this year Shaikh Jamāli Kanbawi of
Dīlī left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A
chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words
Khuwār-i-Hind bū'a (he was the Khuwār of Hindustan)].⁷ In
this year also Shāh Tahmāsp came up against Qandāhar from
'Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mīrza,⁸ and Khwaja Kalān
Bēg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānkhāna (Hall

1 Or Chāmpānir. Sir Bayley's History of Guj-ūr, pp. 530 et seqq.

² Nūsh-i-Shāhri-Safar bād. These words give the date 943 H.

³ MS. (A) omits Bālāt. ⁴ A footnote variant reads Burhānpūr.

⁵ The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS. (A) in this place.

⁶ MS. (B).

⁷ The letters of these words give the date 943 H.

There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in
the dates of the chronograms, and asserting that 933 represents 932 and
not 942. This is a mistake.

⁸ MS. (A) here inserts the date 962 (942) in figures.

⁹ MS. (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shaikh
Jamāli, supra n 6.
of audience) locked 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 Khwāja Kalān Bāg great praise for his conduct, saying, that in a good servant whom Kāmrān Mirzā possesses. Shāh Tahmāsp left Qandahār, in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amirs, and returned to 'Īrāq. Mirzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muhammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence of Mirzā Kāmrān to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrat, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shīr Khān Afghan Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humāyūn 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 Jalāl 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 Sultan Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma:—

[Haf bōshad nām i āu sag var zabār.
Mīkh dar jānāsh nīh o nānāsh bikhwān]²

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).

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1 MSS. (A) (B) طيارت ناز. ² MSS. (A) supplies weakness. ³ MS. (B) omits مصطف. ⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read مستمر. ⁵ MS. (A) مصْرَف مَّضْطَر. ⁶ MS. (A) مصْرَف مَّضْطَر.

7 This salma mu'ammā or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, رومي خان Rūmī Khān, contain as will be seen the word مَّضْطَر mīkh between the syllables Rū...ān. These form the word روان Rovan, 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 (مَّضْطَر روان) and you have his name رومي خان Rū mīkh ān, i.e., Rūmī Khān.
he reduced 1 that fortress, but Jalāl Khān escaped by means of a
ding a boat, and joined Shir Khān who was engaged in conflict 2 with
Naṣīb Shāh Governor of Bangāla. Humāyūn 3 Pādshāh arrived, 34
after that the Governor of Bangāla had been wounded in battle with
Shir Khān. Naṣīb Shāh 4 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-Umarā, and a golden
throne, he proceeded by way of Garhī, 5 a narrow pass separating
the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, which Quṭb Khān the son of Shir
Khān and Khwāja 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 Khānd 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 follow-
ing manner. He alleged as a pretext that he had a large number of
families 6 with him, and having placed two thousand armed
Afgānīs in closed litters 7 sent them towards the fort. The Rāja
of Rohtās being fired with avaricious designs upon the wealth and
families of the Afgānīs threw open the gates of the fort. Then
the Afgān soldiers who were concealed in the litters leapt out,
and entering the fort, 8 put them all to the sword. 9

1 MSS. (A) (B) مفتاح فرسية

2 MSS. (A) (B) read صفارة. mukhāra. The text reads wrongly
muhāra.

3 Dīlā 1 MSS. (A) (B).

4 The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning.

5 MSS. (A) (B) کرخی; see Elliot and Dowson IV. 357 n. 2.

6 The text reads بسی خود را در اینجا

and بسی The meaning is not clear, but from the Tārīkh-i Shir Shāhī this
appears to be what is meant. See Elliott and Dowson IV. 357.

A still better reading however suggests itself namely بقروم گنگ
بقرم گنگ

instead of بقروم گنگ. We should then translate: "And insomuch as he
had very many families with him obtained possession of the fort in the follow-
ing manner."

7 The محفوظ iv, as its name implies, a litter so closed in that the
curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane • حرف

8 MSS. (A) reads در آسمه و بر آسمه.

9 Regarding the truth, etc (See MS. Copy).
The climate of Bangla proved so extremely suitable to Humayun, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jaunatabad (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or) three months returned. In the meanwhile Shir Khan's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humayun, saying, 'all these Afghans are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted jagir, if the king will think about a jagir 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.'

Humayun, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by, and considering the bareness of equipment and insufficiency 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. Mirza Hindal, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongir, was despatched to Agra to put down the rebellion of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Ulugh Mirza, and Sheh Mirza, who had fled and had done great mischief in the Dihli country, and were now returning. Muhammad Zamun Mirza, after that Sultan Bahadur was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firanjis, could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humayun.

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit "
2 MSS. (A) omits the.
3 Ba'd as shariki-Bahra. After the ruin of Bahra. 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 "Fakir-i-Nahju" by 'Abdu'l-Hamid bin Ali-l-Hadid al Mu'tasili. When Ali Ibn Muhammad Sahib-n-Zanj besieged Bahra in the year 255 H. Ahmad Abdul-Abbas, son of Al-Muwafaq b-Ilih came up and opposed him, but not until Bahra was ruined. Hence the proverb See Arabum Proverbs; Freytag III, p 129, No 774.

4 MS. (A) reads "بی سامانی و پیشمانی بی سامانی و پیشمانی (B) MS. (A) omits.
5 MS. (A) omits the.
6 This happened at Din on the 3rd Ramzan A.H. 943. See Bayley, History of Gujarat, pp 308, 397.
And in the year 945 H. Mirzâ Hindâl, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators, put to death Shaikh Bahûlîî, the elder brother of Shaikh Muḥammad Chaun of Gwâliîî, 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 Khûtba in his own name at Agra. Humâyûn despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahângîr Bâg the Maghûl, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khûtba should occasion arise, set out for Agra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausâ, which is a village on the bank of the Gange’s. The Amir of Jumâpur and Chilâr came in and offered to tender their services. Shir 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 مُفَتِّحِ وَمُفَتِّحٌ.  
2 MS. (A) reads دَعَاءُ وَالصَّنَاعَةُ وَالصَّنَاعَةُ.  
3 MS. (A) reads "the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic." Da’wâh is said in the Jawshîr-i-Khamsa 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 ensure victory in battle.

By .stem is meant the names or attributes of the Deity; they are of two categories, the Āsmâ’-i-jâli’îyeh or "terrible attributes" and the Āsmâ’-i-jâni’îyeh, "amiable attributes." For a full account, see Hughes, Dict. of Islam articles Da’wâh and Magic.

Faqad māta Shahidân These words give the date 945 H. MS. (B) append the date in figures.

Footnote variant دَوَانِ جَناش.  
5 The text reads رَمِيهِ, which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given رَمِيهِ, which means water coming from the ground. This is the reading of MS (B). MS. (A) reads رَمِيهِ. We should read رَمِيهِ, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV, 370.
other, Humayûn one day sent Mulla Muhammad 'Aziz, who was an old friend of Shir Khan, as an ambassador. Shir Khan 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 Muhammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a shamiâna 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 Khâlid, one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shukkar, may God sanctify his soul, who was the spiritual guide of Shir Khan, to Humayûn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humayûn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangâla, and would have the Khutbah and sikka established in Humayûn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humayûn's mind was at peace with regard to Shir Khan.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across; but Shir Khan 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 Humayûn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humayûn's army was defeated, and the Afghans

1 MS. (A) reads محمد ميرغني Muhammad Yarqâun. MS. (B) reads محمد ميرغني Muhammad pur 'Aziz.
2 Read شامیانة for شامیانه. MSS. (A) (B).
3 Omit شامیانه in MSS. (A) (B).
4 Shamiâna, 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 Dowsen IV, 371 and note 2.
arriving first at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their
darters and archers seated in boats kept the army under a per-
fected hail of fire, drowning them in the ocean of destruction.
Muhammad Zamān Mirzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death
and Humayun 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. Shir Khān wrote a
verse upon that event:

Thou givest sovereignty to Farid the son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humayun 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:

Salamat bawad Padshah kase.

And Shir Khān after the victory turned back, and came to
Bengal, and after fighting several engagements put to death
Jahangir Quili Būg with all his following. In that country he
read the Khutbah in his own name, and assumed the title of Shir
Shāh, and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

1. Mss. (A) (B) read Mshar, in great numbers.
2. Mss. (A) (B) read Mazānī. See Sahind).
3. Named Nizam according to Firishta, who says that as a reward Humayun
permit him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II. 87.
4. Mss. (A) (B) read Gaf Kus.
5. Shir Shāh was originally called Farid Khān, and his father's name was
Hassan Khān.
6. Mss. (A) omit these words. The text has a footnote saying that the
above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is
sprung hāni bi 'amal 'aṣ'ar darān
No authority exists for such a reading.
The verses in question are by Firdausi.
7. Here the reading of Mss. (A) is followed which reads

dar guraiin shāhī yamānī dhami
8. Mss. (B) add the date in figures (945).
9. Mss. (A) (B) omit 'Yakshaka. See Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 376-378.
10. 'Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of Hazrat-i-ʿAlī.
intending to capture Ágra. Kámrán Mirzá, prior to the affair of Jauzá, after hearing of the victory of Shír Khán and the rebellion of Mirzá Hindáí against Humáyún, returned from Qandahár to Láhor, and leaving there came to Ágra, which he reached in the year 946 H. Mirzá Hindáí himself, before the arrival of Mirzá Kámrán, in the absence of Humáyún, laid siege to Díhli, in which Mir Fakhír 'Ali and Mirzá Yádgár Náṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mirzá Kámrán. Mir Fakhír 'Ali also came in and had an interview with him, but Mirzá Yádgár Náṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mirzá Hindáí separating from Mirzá Kámrán proceeded to Álvar. When Humáyún heard these tidings, he became still more despondent, till that eventful defeat took place: after the defeat at Jauzá he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mirzá Kámrán in Ágra. The Mirzá also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears. Afterwards Hindáí Mirzá and Muḥammad Suláṭán Mirzá and his sons, who had for a time shown hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mirzá Kámrán ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjáb had gathered fresh force, Humáyún should grant him leave to proceed against Shír Khán and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in case and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humáyún declined to accede to this proposal, the Mirzá put forward a claim to proceed to the Panjáb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humáyún acceded to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwája Katán Hág was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mirzá Kámrán to the Panjáb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled. In the meantime Mirzá Kámrán was taken ill with a complication

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1 MSS. (A) (B) 
2 بیشترا (B) حادث کشت (A) 
3 Text جوسا Chausá. 
4 مس. (A) 
5 MS (B) گوردن. 
6 MS. (A) (B) ابجاوت نموذن. 
7 Omit the words دارو گیار. MSS. (A) (B).
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 Haidar the Mughul and Dughlat, Karimiri 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 Usbeg, 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 Qanauj 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 Kamran also took flight to Lahore, and the Mughuls of the King’s army were scattered in...
all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humayyun's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time Shir Khan drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the Ashura, the 10th of Muharram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words Khurabi-i-mulk-i-Dilli. The greater number of the Mughal 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 Muhammad of Ghazni (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindustan with the title of A'zam Khan), escaped from the water and returned to Agra; but seeing that the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there, so made his way to the Paujâb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabiu-l-awwal of this year all the Sultan's and Amirs of the Chaghatai tribe assembled for conference in Lahore. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muhammad Sultan and his son fled from Lahore to Multan, while Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nâshir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhukkar and Tata. Mirza Kâmrân

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1 MSS. (A) (B) در کهان حسن.
2 خرگر ملک دلی.
3 These letters give the date 947 H.
4 Jang na kardun. MS. (A) omits ترتیب.
5 MS. (B) reads مردانه وار کوشش و کوشش دادن.
6 Shamsu-d-Din Muhammad Atka Khan, son of Mir Yar Muhammad of Ghazni. See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).
7 The word Atka, Atkâ, or Atkâ is a Turki word, signifying precepteur, instituteur, père de lait (Paret de Comteilles).
8 The wife of Shamsu-d-Din was appointed anakah or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amurkot.
9 For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, see Ney and Elbas Turiqii-Radhi, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes هن.
prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kābul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mirzā Haidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmir, to that district. It was agreed that Khwāja Kalān B"eg should follow Mirzā Haidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmir. When Mirzā Haidar arrived at Naushahra, 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 B"eg had gone to Siālkot. When tidings reached the king that Shīr Khān had crossed the river at Sulṭānpūr and had arrived within thirty krahs of Lāhor, Humāyūn, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirzā Kāmrūn, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahira, and Khwāja Kalān B"eg made forced marches from Siālkot, and joined Humāyūn's camp. Mirzā Kāmrūn together with Mirzā Askārī, separating from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān B"eg towards Kābul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind Mirzū Hindāl, and Mirzā Yāūgār Nāqīr 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 dirhām of the smaller miltāt could sometimes not be bought even for an acharf. 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 Jaisalmīr, and the country of Mārwār, where strange incidents

1 MSS. (A) (B) Supplied.
2 Naushahra.
3 MSS. (A) (B) supplying ل.
4 MS. (B) reads جت in company with. About two pounds.
5 غلطة جوابي. This is the Hindustani, or rather, the Panjabi name. In Persian it is called گرزان.
6 The proper average price of this grain being six dinār per man of forty min, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1:6,000.
7 Omit MSS. (A) (B).
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 Ṭahmāsp 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 Khaṅ ibn i Ḥasan Sūr**

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shīr Khaṅ, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The chronogram Kharūbī-i-Mulk-i-Dūlli 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 Būg 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 Buhūl, came to Hindūstān from Roh, by which is meant Afgānistān, entered the service of Sultān Buhūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissūr Firūza and Nārnūl. After his death (his son) Ḥasan became a servant of Jamāl Khaṅ, one of the Amīr of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the jācir of the pargana of Sahsārān 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

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1 These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.
2 MSS. (A) (B) with شد for as in the text.
3 The text reads بُغ MS. (B) ازهکی MS. (A) ازهکی.
4 The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.
5 Omit 85 MSS. (A) (B).
6 The text and both MSS. read روها, it should be روه. See Firigha Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.
7 Rohtās Sharqi. Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjāb. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII, 78.
8 The text reads بُنوارائ اخلاقی. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads بُنوارائ خلاقو. Aḥyāfi brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Bādāni means all the sons of Ḥasan Khaṅ by his four wives. (Stenggass), 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 Kāhiyā with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the Gulistān, Bustān, Sikandarnāma 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 jāaqtre. 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 Sultan Ibrāhīm, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers before the Sultan. The Sultan 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 Hasan, Daulat Khān made a representation to the Sultan, and obtained his desire in securing those parganas for Shir 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 Luhānī, who had read the Khutbah and issued the sikka in his own name in Bihār, and had assumed the title of

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1 There is a little variation in the reading here: MS. (B) reads

2 Al-Kāhiyā fi'l nahw. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shaikh Jamālud-Din, (Ibnu-l-Hājib); for an account of this work and its commentary, see H. E. No. 9707.

6 MS. (A) fürūr

8 MS. (A) (B)党的

10 Read here ایتکه پدر تاریخی باشد MS. (B).

12 MS. (A) (B) (C) بسن و.
Sultān Muḥammad. This was at the time when Sultān Ibrāhīm had taken the field at Pānīpāth, and Bābar Pādshāh had conquered Hindūstān 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 Sultān Muḥammad, the title of Shir Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sultān, who also appointed him to be tutor to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultān Muḥammad against Shir Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultān Muḥammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the parganas, sent Suleimān, son of Ḥasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādi to Khawaspūr, and Shāka, the servant of Shir Khān who was known as the father of Khawās Khān, engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shir Khān at Sahsārām. Shir Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muḥammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sultān Muḥammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and jāegir, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultān Jumaʾīd Bīlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Pādshāh. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultān Jumaʾīd, and fought with Muḥammad Khān, wrested from him the parganas of Chaund and other parganas, and took possession of them. Muḥammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās. Shir Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muḥammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over the parganas he held as jāegir to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizām his full brother in charge

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1 MS. (A) reads كُلُبْتَنَّ for كَفَّرْتَنَّ.
2 Atālīgh, this word is Tūrkī. In its Arabicized it becomes (تَلِيَ), but the other is the correct orthography. Atālīgh Atā līgh literally signifies the relationship of an atā or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité: nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestan et le Khâriaar, chef de tribu : qui élève une personne."

3 MS. (A) writes كُذَّابِتْهَا. MS (B) omits كُذَّابِتْهَا.
of the jāqīr, went again to Sultān Junaïd, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Bābār Padshāh. Taking Shir Khān with him, Junaïd enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Bābār on the expedition to Chanderi. In accordance with Mughul 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 Bābār on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure, and demanded the punishment of Shir Khān. 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 Khān 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 Sultān Junaïd, advancing as a pretext to cover his return, that since Muḥammad Khān was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultān Muḥammad to send an army against Shir Khān's parganas because of his being in service with the Mughuls, and as he could not easily and quickly obtain leave of absence from Bābār, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultān. Thence he proceeded to Sultān Muḥammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalāl Khān, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultān Muḥammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihār and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdūm ʿĀlam, the governor of Ḥājīpūr, one of the Amir of the Wāli

1 MS. (A)-supply
2 MSS. (A) (B) supply after كون ف ي و ت و ن ذ ات
3 MS. (A) reads for ن ي ف ي ل ت text.
4 MS. (A) has بحلف with no dots.
5 Omit before يا م SSS. (A) (B).
6 MS. (A) تردي. The text is correct.
of Bangāla, who despatched an Amir named Qub Khan to undertake the overthrow of Makhdum 'Alam. Shir Khan marched to the aid of Makhdum 'Alam, and after a fierce battle put Qub Khan to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khan and his tribe, who are Lūhānis, in spite of Shir Khan, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shir Khan to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālis in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Qub Khan above mentioned, against Shir Khan to wreak vengeance upon him. Shir Khan 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 Khan 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 Sultan. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khan Sārang-Khāni] Tāj Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultan 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 Sultan Muḥmūd, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, who, after raising Ḥasan 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 wresting it from Shir Khan took possession of it. Shir Khan was perforce compelled to

1 MS. (A) supplies نوحابان (B) جنگ صعب is correct.
2 MSS. (A) (B) میتکال.
3 MS. (B) ئیتکال.
4 MS. (A) (B) ساراتحانی.
5 Not in MS. (A).
6 MS. (A) omits درولاشت پنیه.
7 MS. (A) omits بعد از شکست.
submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsaram. Sultan Mahmud passing by Sahsaram, after writing and making over to Shir Khan an agreement relating to Bihar,\(^1\) thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpur and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humayun Padshah. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhman into his own\(^2\) power. The Amira of Humayun Padshah could not stand against (Shir Khan), and proceeding to Kalinjar\(^3\) gave in their allegiance to him. Humayun marched to oppose Sultan Mahmud, and Baban and Bayazid,\(^4\) who were with him.\(^5\) When the two armies met Shir Khan, who had stood aloof from Sultan Mahmud for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mir Hindu Beg Quchin, 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 Afghans, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultan Mahmud and Baban and Bayazid.

**Verse.**

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear.

"Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultan Mahmud and Baban\(^7\) 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\(^8\) he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non-existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humayun Padshah [after this victory]\(^9\) sent Mir Hindu Beg as his agent to Shir Khan with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chinor. 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 Khan render effectual assistance to Sultan Muhammad Lodi in recovering Jaunpur, the country of Bihar should be restored to him as a reward for his services. (Firishita).
2. MSS. (A) (B) omit خود.
3. MS. (B) کالینجر.
4. MSS. (A) (B) read ویس ربا پرید. Firishita says Baban and Bayazid.
5. MSS. (A) (B) read کل همراه اور پیوند موجدہ گشتند. The text is incorrect.
6. MS. (A) پین و.
7. MS. (A).
8. The text reads wrongly پورپیچ.
9. Not in MSS. (A) (B) which write also میر احمد یگ.
and lay siege to that fortress, himself also preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shir Khān wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Babān, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Babān and Bāyazid. This petition he sent by the hand of Qutb Khān, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humāyūn Pādshāh. He sent also with Qutb Khān, ‘Isā Khān Hujjāb, who was his takil with the powers of a vazir, and he fleeing from Gujrat joined his father in Bangāla. When Humāyūn Pādshāh altered his course towards Gujrat, Shir Khān himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humāyūn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shir Shāh in the early part of the year of his succession laid waste the ancient city of Qamranj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shergarh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rūsulpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dīhli, which was founded by Sultān ‘Alānd-Din, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dinpanāh, which Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh constructed, and Firozābād, an extensive city, and built round that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three krohs. On his arrival at Sultānpūr by continuous marches, the brothers of Humāyūn Pādshāh and the Chaghatai Amirs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Shir Shāh himself, not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangāla as far as western Rohtās, which is a four months' journey, and also from Agra to Mandū, at every kroh a sarāi (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a Muazzin and an Imam. A Musulmān

1 MS. (A) reads خوذه هم.  2 MS. (A) supplies و.
3 MS. (A) reads خوذه.  4 MS. (A) supplies خوذه.
5 MS. (A) (B) مندو.  6 The officer whose duty it is to call the Arūn or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. See Hughes’ Dict. of Isām, Arūn.
7 The priest who leads the prayers.
and a Hindu 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,1 I was born in the reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabi' 'n-ṣāni 2 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 chronicles 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 3 so many 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.

Ruhâ'.

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing.
Today my efforts have availed me nothing
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret;
Better had best 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 blessing of God rest, says: 4 "Would that the Lord of Muhammad had not

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1 MSS. (A) (B).
2 21st August, 1640
3 MSS. (A) (B) read نباتي كشيد for نباتي كشید.
4 MSS. (A) (B) omit صي writing simple صي.
crost "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 undacity 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 Rohītās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khwās 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 Shāh\(^2\) 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 jā charismatic upon several of his Amīrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohītās,\(^5\) Qāzi Fazīlāt the Qāzi of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzi Fazīhat.\(^6\)

In the year 948 H., he came\(^6\) to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwāliār with the intention of conquering Māluq.\(^6\) Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrench himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

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\(^1\) Cf. Isaiah xiv. 9; Romans ix. 21. See also Omar Khayyām

\(^2\) MS. (A).

\(^3\) Omit شرقي Fazīlat means excellence. Fazīhat means ignominy.

\(^4\) MS. (A) (B).

\(^5\) Omit قلم قلم Qalā, Bāgār. Bāgār Kānd (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 Mustafā “There can be no good in a slave.”

Shir Khān then nominated Hāji Khān Sultāni to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sarāwal Khān to administer the affairs of the district of Sawa; Mallū Khān fought with Hāji Khān and Sarāwal 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-Khānūn Sarwānī, who was the permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthambūr, yielded up that fortress to Shir Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basūwar. 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 has 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 Puranmal the son of Silhadi, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

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1 Supply ٖ MSS. (A) (B) 2 MS. (A) supplies ٖ.
2 MSS. (A) (B).
3 MS. (A) (B).
4 MS. (A) (B).
5 Omit ٖ before مَكْحَل MSS. (A) (B).
6 MS. (A).
is one of the chief cities of Hindustān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own harem. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege:

Qiyām-i-bāgh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate.

After prolonging the siege for some time Shīr Shāh entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūranmal by the intervention of Shāhzāda 'Ādil Khān and Qūth Khān Nāib, 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 Rafi'u-d-Din Şafewi of Ij, which was given the title of Muqaddasa (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodi, broke his word, and caused Pūranmal 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 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 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 army against Rāi Maldeo.

1 MS. (A) omits در.
2 تپم بارگھ باش مبارک. The letters give the date 940 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.
3 MS. (A) reads دیویملا Deorimal and omits ازینجا.
4 Mss. (A) (B) omit پانس.
5 Died at Agra in 954 or 957, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) I, 623.
6 The text reads erroneously لک Ichi, e. MS. (A) reads ضی فک Ijī, and MS. (B) reads لک Ichi. We should read ضی Ijī, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yaqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it لک (Muṣamul Buldār, I, p. 416).
7 Mss. (A) (B) لک.
8 Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.
9 MS. (B) omits راپ.
the leader of the Râis of Hindustân who held sway over the country of Nâgor and Jaunpûr, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims; and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shîr Shâh, from which he never departed, was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Mâldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ajmir with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shîr Shâh, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amirs. No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Mâhmmâd Khân, the son of ʿAdil Khân, who was grandson to Shîr Shâh, notwithstanding his youth said, “Let Shîr ʿAlâm order the bajânas (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round the army.” This idea highly commended itself to Shîr Shâh, 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 Islam Shâh 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 inâkhlu ʿaqîm (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 Shîr Shâh, who would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghâns were far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve
his army in calamity with the ignorant, hoar-natured, currish Hindu. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Maldeo's army to himself, couched in enigmatical language,² 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 Maldeo 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 Maldeo's hands, with the result that Maldeo 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,⁶ and that this was all the handiwork of Shir Shâh in his desire to raise dissensions between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Maldeo's mind Kanhaiyâ,⁷ who was his minister and agent, abused Maldeo 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 Shâh, 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.⁸ 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 Shâh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shir Shâh or by the superior good fortune of Islam, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

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1. with a footnote variant found in MS. (B).
2. MS. (B) omits نوشته. "MS. (A) (B)."
3. "MS. (A) omits رٔ." "MS. (A) (B)."
4. "Let to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MS. (A) (B) read درمیان ما. M S (A) reads for and Bain جمله "أبِين خیل" (Text)."
5. This name is given on the authority of Firighata (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read Goya which does not appear to be possibly correct. Briggs ii, p. 122, calls him Koombha. Kanhaiyâ is a proper name among Hindûs, and is one of the names of Krishna.
6. Firighata 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 Barahha, and with their swords. Shir Shah 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 paga 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 Basawar, whose takhallus is Faiiri, wrote this verse on that subject:

Suddenly check to the king happened to Maldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
Kanyâ protected him as ‘Irâ.

It is said that after this victory Shir Shah on several occasions used to say, “I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindustan for a handful of millet.” Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantambhur to his son ‘Adil Khân, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, whom he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source that one day while on that expedition Mir Saiyyid Rafiu-d-Din, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shir Shah, “All my ancestors were authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

1 The text reads فرطه در فرطه بالغند but we should read باغنة.
2 Barahha. A Hindi word meaning a small spear.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read پیامال کودنہ.
4 MS. (B) writes needlessly پیک کس خاص بکش.
5 See Ain-i-Akbari (B) 1 490, for a full account of the poet Faiiri.
6 I read here for گولا, see v. 7, page 478.
7 For وریع NMS. (A) (B) مریع. ‘Irâ is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a piece to protect the king from check by the piece, see J. R S A. xiii p 49, (Bland, on the Persian game of chess)
8 MS (A) (B) یبودید هذی و (A).
cities. I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān 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.

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, to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān 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 Qiraibīshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muhammad, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sultan 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 Khwāndgār from the other], may clear out the Qiraibīsh from between us, because as soon as the Sultan of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultan of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

1 Makkah and Medinah.
2 باور ایزدی تبرک و تعالی.
3 MS. (A) (B) read باور.
4 MS. (A) (B) read باور.
5 MS. (B) reads حجاب و جوار. Regarding the Ḥajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes Dict. of Islam, art. Ḥajj.
6 A footnote variant للهم انزلة المقرب بالقيامة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.
7 MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.
8 MS. (A) جه
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 considering 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 salvation 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 that 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

1 "شیب باری" MS. (A).
2 We should probably read here "میل" for "عید".
3 MS. (A) reads for "قلب".
4 MS. (A) reads "تقیس".
5 See next page for the account of Shib Shah's accident at the siege of Khiljan.
6 See Ibn Khallikan (Do Stenn) IV. pp. 301 et seq.
7 MS. (A). (B) omit يد.
8 Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, the second Khalifah of the house of Ummayyad. He, in celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Husain, who was killed at Karbala A.H. 61, see Hughes, Dict. of Islam.
9 See Qur'an XVII. 66.
10 MS. (A) reads "لی" for "نگذ". MS. (B) reads "مند".
And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shir Sháh invented the fortress of Kálijar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindústán, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions; 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. Shir Sháh 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 Shir Sháh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched, and Shaikh Khalil the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Manláná Náżímu-d-Dín also were fellow-sufferers with Shir Sháh in this explosion, Shir Sháh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness, took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion, where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little he shouted to his men encouraging them 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 Amír in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

1 The text reads here with a footnote variant. MS. (B) reads مارالا. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MBS (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مارالا, MS. (A) مارالا, and the text مارالا. See note 6.

2 *Fulma* The meaning of this word is given in Faqih-lláh Khán's Turkish Persian Dictionary as Chíz kí máye án kanda báshad, that which has lost its hair.

3 MS (A) reads مولانا ناظم.

4 MS. (B) reads دریسن مورشی و مورشی.

5 Both MSS (A) (B) read مورد ست پی و پیش گزنته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

6 The text reads مارالا. MS. (A) مارالا, MS (B), see ante n. 1.

7 MS (A) مورالا کیم, MS (B) مورالا, see ante n. 1.

8 MSS. (A) (B) read here تیزدار رده موردتا ار این.

9 MS (A) مورالا.
beheld 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. 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 plume of the same colour upon his head, 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. 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 hast not been on the side of religious law, Heaven itself would have girt its loins,

If thou hast 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 Muslims. And Shīr Shāh 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 useless to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

1 The text reads مُفَهَّلَ وَفَعَلَتَ وَصُوْرَتْهَا. MS. (A) reads for صوره - صورته. The reading of the text is adopted.

2 Faiz-ul-Ilah Khan gives a word يَلِائِد in the meaning of فَلَمَّا أَلَى, a standard or ensign.

3 MS. (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant مُفَهَّلَ وَفَعَلَتَ وَصُوْرَتْهَا. Omitting the words مُفَهَّلَ وَفَعَلَتَ and found in the text.

4 MS. (A) مَجَسمَيْنِ. يَلِائِد.

5 In the first line MS. (A) (B) read ﴿كَذَا﴾(Text) for ﴿ذَا﴾(Text). In the second line MS. (A) reads ﴿ذَا﴾(Text) for ﴿كَذَا﴾(Text).

6 The text reads ﴿فَيْلَكَ﴾ (Text) for ﴿فَيْلَكَ﴾ (Text). MS. (B) reads ﴿فَيْلَكَ﴾ (Text) but the correct reading appears to be ﴿فَيْلَكَ﴾ (Text).
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 3 to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver
of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of
his death:—

Shar 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. Zī ānāh mūr 5 (he died from the
effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sahsārām where was the burial-place
of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military
command was fifteen years, and of his Sulṭānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a
mirror, he exclaimed, “Aha! that I obtained my kingdom at the
time of evening prayer.”

1 Santalum album. Useful in headache, Sontheimer II, 158. There
are three kinds according to the Maḥzamū-l-adwiyyah. The white sandal
called in Hindi Chandan; the yellow sandal called in Hindi Kālāgir; the red
sandal called in Hindi Rakat Chāndan. This latter is the wood of Pterocarpus
santalum (red sander). It is generally called Debi Chāndan; 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 Chāndan and
Kālāgir (so called because it comes from Malayalam or Malabar) are used
as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a care
for headache. They are also used in pājā or worship by the Hindu, who have
a saying

Chandam, dhāp, dip, malaṇyāgir
From sahit Thākura malak-pān.
With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lampa, and malaṇyāgir
I will lovingly bathe the Thākura (Lord).

2 Omit महिमारती MS. (A).
3 खेक्स सरद. These letters give the date 832 H. This date is given in
figures in both MSS. (A) (B).
4 That is to say no late in life. Firetza 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) write
Verses.

My heart! like Khisr take and drink the water of life,
Like Sikandar come and conquer land and sea.
If thou entertain any longing for the cup-bearer and wino,
Take the cup of Kusar from the hand of the Huri and drink.
The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty
Has reached the Koh-i-qâf, 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, whose beauty is unapproachable
With that one, to thy heart's content, 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 Qâdiri, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,
Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment
When the hand of Death tears the sleeve of thy existence
Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God).

Islem Shân 1381 Shîr Shân Sûr, 4

Who is Islem Khan, on the fifteenth of the month Rabi‘u-i-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amir of Bhatta came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna, 5 and by the co-operation of ‘Isâ Khan Rajjas and the other men of influence and power, 6 succeeded 7 to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islem
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 'Ādil Khân and sent it to him in Ranthenbūr, 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 Kālinjar he made for Agra and in the vicinity of the township of Kāra Khātampūr, Khawāss Khân arrived from Sihrind which was his jâegir, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khân as compared with Islam Shâh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islam Shâh reached 'Ādil 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 Nāib, 'Isâ Khân Niyāzi, Khawāss Khân, and Jalâl Khân Jilwâi, all of whom were great Amirs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islam Shâh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khan to depart to his jâegir after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khân acting upon the advice of these Amirs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthenbūr to Fathpūr,

1 MSS. (A) (B) جند. 2 MS. (B) omits مشهور
3 Supply by MS. (A) See Qur'ān xx, 105.
4 Psalm xxxvii, 29. 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'
5 The date is given by the words 'سین بعد الذكر', i.e., that which follows الذكر. The value of الذكر being 551, that which follows is 932 H.
6 Kurn (Corah) Town in Fathpur district, N.-W. P., on the old Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad. See Tief, Vol I, p 235 and map, Vol, 111. See also Hunter, Imp. Gaz. vui, p 295. 7 MSS. (A) (B) جلد Juli
otherwise called Sikri, and Islam Shâh left Agra and came to 
Shikarpur, where the royal palace is at present, to receive him; 
and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and 
evolved great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for 
Agra. Islam Shâh had plotted treachery against 'Adil Kháñ, and 
had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or 
three persons should be left in the fort with 'Adil Kháñ. This 
however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accom-
paied him; accordingly Islam Shâh was constrained, in order to 
avoid suspicion, to treat 'Adil Kháñ 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 'Adil Kháñ was in the flower of his youth, and of great 
body and 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 Islam Shâh and his ways of dealing, would 
not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet, and seating Islam 
Shâh on the throne again with all honour and ceremony, swore 
allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his acces-
sion, with the customary offerings and oblations. Islam Shâh, 
in accordance with the compact which had been made, sent 'Isa 
 Kháñ and Khwâs Kháñ to accompany 'Adil Kháñ, and having 
confirmed Bânum to him as a jâegir, permitted him to proceed 
thereto. Two months later he appointed Ghâzi Mahalli, who was 
one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Adil Kháñ.

1. Omit. 2. MS. (B).
5. From Hâfîz. See ode commencing 
6. MS. (A) reads 
7. MS. (A) reads 
8. MS. (A) reads 
9. MS. (A) reads 
10. MS. (A) reads 
11. MS. (B) omits.
'Adil Khan, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiâna taking refuge with Khawâs Khan in Mâwât. Khawâs Khan then summoned Ghâzi Mahalli, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Adil Khan and having gained over to his side all the Amirs, set out for Agra with a large army. Quth Khan and 'Iâs Khan 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 Khan at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the Shah-i-barât, so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Adil Khan and Khawâs Khan, having arrived at Sikri on the Shah-i-barât, spent that night as a vigil in the service of Sheikh 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 Quth Khan and the rest of the Amirs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Adil Khan. His object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read عادمًا إنساً.
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit مصراو.
3 MS (A) (B) read نظير وما إلى نظم.
4 MSS. (A) (B) read إستبدالًا نظم instead of إستبدالًا نظم.
5 The fifteenth day of Sha'bân. A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadans. Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repent a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, Dict of Islam.

Briggs in his translation of Firdaws says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Ismael by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says و جوهر شعب براؤت يوم (Bo Text, p 481) and was much at it was the Shah-i-barât

6 MS (A) in error شعب براؤت.
7 Navefil wa ad'iyah Navefil 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.

See Hughes, Dict. of Islam, art Prayer.

8 Mâshrah Mâshâkh Mss. (A) (B).
9 MS. (A) omits و and also و after مصطفى.
10 Insert مسات ته before مسات تنها after مسات تنها. Mss (A) (B) instead of مسات تنها as in the text.
for the fortress of Chunâr, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Isâ Khân Hajjâb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amirs to his enemy and from starting for Chunâr. Eventually Islam Shah, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Agra 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 'Adil Khân 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.

The Amirs, however, who were friendly to 'Adil Khân, on seeing Islam Shâh take the field, refused to return to his side and entered the ranks of the more powerful army; a severe battle ensued before Agra, and 'Adil Khân was defeated and fled alone toward Bhattâ. Khawâs Khân and 'Isâ Khân Niyâzi, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwât and the township of Firûzpûr, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it; but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islam Shâb, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindûstân, which are called (the) Kumâon (hills), and took refuge with the Râjâs of that district. Quth Khân Naib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islam Shâh proceeded to Chunâr, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwâliâr, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kûrah Khâtâmpûr, while engaged in playing changân with Jalâl Khân Jilwâni, who was one of the married Amirs of the Afghâns, and had been an adherent

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1 MS. (A) ḍāri. 2 Omit مَنَّنَانِ. 3 MS. (B). 4 MS. (B) omits مَسْتَنَد. 5 MS. (A) جَازِي. 6 This order of the hemistiches is given in MS. (A).
7 MS. (A) فَلَامَلَه. 8 MS. (A) (B) جَانَ وَأَنَّ. 9 MS. (A) (B) چَلَنُو. 10 MS. (A) ژَارَی.
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 Gwalior 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 draughts or chess. Qutb Khan also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumaoon 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 from² Islam Shah, sent Qutb Khan in chains to him. Islam Shah sent him together with Shahbaz Khan Luhani,³ who was brother-in-law to Shir Shah, and Barmazid Kor who was the Daji⁴ of that sect, and the Hajjaj⁵ of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amir⁶ and Amir's⁷ sons, to the fortress of Gwalior, 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 Kual 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 MS. (B).
³ Firishta says who was sister's husband to Salim Shah, with Barmazid Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 432.

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking Barmazid Kor. (Briggs II, 132.)

⁴ دجال Daji. The Masihu-а-dajjil or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muhammad.

⁵ See ante, p. 12 n. 1.

⁶ The text reads بداروي تنفگ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit.

⁸ 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\(^1\) for not coming in person, and sent Saʿīd Khan his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment.\(^2\) 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 showed him the heads of the Amirs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khan Niyyāzi\(^3\) 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 Gwāhār, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khan Ghakkar, who remained under the protection of the All-cherisher safe in a corner of the room\(^5\) [It is said that the following was the reason of his escaping; the sister of Kawāl Khan, 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 Khan 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 Khan alive said: It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you].\(^6\) Then Islam Shāh having made him\(^7\) 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 Ghakkaras [where he arrived with all honour].\(^8\) In short Saʿīd Khan, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

\(^1\) MS. (A) reads متانت

\(^2\) MS. (B) reads

\(^3\) MS. (A) omits نیازی

\(^4\) 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 Agra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyyāzi faction, and Ā'zam Ḥumayūn read the Khawās in his own name in Lāhor. Islam Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Agra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb. Sarawāl 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. Ā'zam Ḥumayūn and Khanār Khān, and ʿIsā Khān, Niyyāzi 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 Winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'zam 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 ʿAdil Khān who is the eldest son of Shīr Shāh and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyyāzi faction said, The kingdom is not by inheritance, but he who conquers, takes, the booty. 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, and standing aloof left the battle field together with ʿIsā Khān Niyyāzi. The Niyyāzi faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre 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 MS. (A) (B) read only In the winter time.
4 MS. (A).
5 MS. (A) supplies .
6 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 Khān, the elder brother of ʿAzīm Humāyūn, 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 pretense of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islām Shāh, 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 Islām Shāh recognized the voice of Sa‘id Khān, 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 moved in his purpose made his escape; the Niyāzī faction fled and came to Dhrankot, which is near Roh, and the remainder were plundered by the Kauars, while some were drowned in the nullahs of Ambāla. Islām Shāh pursued as far as Western Rohatā, and despatched Khwāja Waiz Sirwānī with a large army to oppose the Niyāzīs, and returned towards Agra. Leaving Agra he went to Ghāliār, and made it his capital.

When Khwājas Khān and Ḥūsain Khān Niyāzī, who had made common cause, left the battle field, Ḥūsain Khān went to the hill country, while Khwājas Khān with five or six hundred cavalry fled to Jābor; and Islām Khān appointed Shams Khān

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1 MS. (B) reads: أخمر کارخون کزن. The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian 'پنک' which means literally salt, and secondarily spirit, courage.

2 It may also mean however that Islām Shāh's men were 'true to their salt.'

3 The text reads: اکون کو گزت ساختم. Omit MS. (A). (B).

4 Omit MS. (A). (B).

5 MS. (A) (B).

6 Omit MS. (A). (B).

7 MS. (A) (B).

8 MS. (A) (B).

9 MS. (A) (B).

10 We should follow the text here. MS. (A) omits the words and go on, omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.
Lāhūnī as Governor of Lāhūr; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking¹ to a distance of thirty krohs from Lāhūr, Khawāss Khān,² with three³ or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhūr, and encamped⁴ in the grove of Kāmrūn Minza. The inhabitants of Lāhūr shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāss Khān, having cut down the lofty trees⁵ of Safidār and Chīnār⁶ of that grove, had set about making Sāgūr⁷ and ladders, when³⁸ his cavalry brought news that Rāi Ḥusain Jīlwaṇī and other Amirs of Salīm Shāh’s party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhūr. Khawāss Khān, after a conference with Ḥasan 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 hauled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Ḥusain said to his men, leave the way open so⁹ that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly¹⁰ 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.¹¹

Rād Ḥusain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāṣṣ Khān went off in safety towards Nagarkot[1] whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kamāon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly[2] in its own place if God, He is exalted, so will it. The Niyāzi 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 Afghān named Uṣmān, 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. Išlem Shāh pursued him as far as Bānswāla, but seeing that Sazāwal Khān was hidden among the Zamindārs of Sarūr,[3] Salīm Shāh left Iša Khān Sūr with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign Išlem Shāh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief sarkārs of Hindūstān. Among them Mubāriz Khān, the son of Nizām Khān[4] Sūr, who was the cousin and wife’s brother of Išlem Shāh, and eventually received the title of Muḥammad ‘Adīlī, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajāwan in the Sarkār of Sānbal, 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 Pāshand Khāzak.[5] 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 kraā, 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 butler and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,[6] both Hindū and Musulmān, should be

[1] The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS. (B).


[4] MSS. (A) (B) read خزرج Khāzak as in footnote variant. The text reads خزرج Khāzak.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) supply خزرج خزرج Khāzak as in footnote variant.
always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the madad-i-mu'āshah and a'mah 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 Pātās should be taken by force from those Amīrs who kept Akhārās (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 dāghī system which Shīr Shāh had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the Saiyārs 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 Qāṣī or Mustī, nor was it proper to do so.

1 See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the sources of land called respectively madad-i-mu'āshah and a'mah.
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit مَالَك.
3 MSS (A) (B) omit سَاحَتْهَا دُوَّانَهَا. 4 Dancing girls, see ante, p. 250 (Text) n. 6.
5 MSS (A) (B) omit کَرَّت.
6 MS. (A) كَرَّت.
7 خَامِشُ خَوْدَ سَاحَتْهَا. MS. (A)
8 See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, 243. Under the dāghī system every Amir began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (دَلِيل dāgh signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.
9 MS. (A) omit the words مَعَالَمَاتِ و نُفَرَحَ و قَطَمَعَيْضَرَمِي. Naqīr o qismir-i-zvāri. Naqīr means the small groove on the date stone, qismir is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.
10 MS. (A) خَوْدَةَ مَوَافِقِ نَهَي. MS. (A) إِبِرَاب. MS. (A) پَامِنِشَتَيْنَيْ كُرِيَ.
Also the Amir 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 sardārs in front of the throne; and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the Mīnārī, 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 Islam Shāh. The writer of this Munītabah, in the year 955 H. (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bajwāra, one of the dependencies of Bahāna, with the army of Fārid Tārān, 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 Waiz Sirwānī, who had been commissioned to proceed against Aṣam Humāyūn⁴ [fought a battle with the Niyāzis in the

1. This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word Ṗurgha in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turki word. There is a word in the Turki language سوائی (Pāshū or Pāshqī) meaning pillar of stone (Pādeh) and it is quite possible that in copying the word Ṗurgha has been written for Ṗurgha and the Ṛ omitted by oversight. We should then have Ṗurgha as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable: eight-poled shāmisna being very commonly used.

2. MS. (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads بمارکش گی بسر داران داراشت مثل پا در کشی گی برسر داران داده بود. Sardar, instead of

3. MS. (B) omits the words from Ḩabīr to Ḩabīr, the copyist having mislaid his place after the first occurrence of the name Aṣam Humāyūn.
vicinity of Dhankot, and was defeated. 'A'zam Humayun having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrid. Islam Shah sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the Niyazis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwalior. Islam Shah dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyazis who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'id Khan, and another 'Adam Humayun, and a third Shahbuz Khan, 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 Bag-i-falakan. This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindustan, to pay their respects to Islam Shah, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King! cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khan Niyazi, and Bahman Khan are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Aghans 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 Niyazis 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 Niyazi party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkaras in the neighbourhood of Rohitas, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmir territory their asylum. Islam Shah, 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., Manbot and Rashidkot and the others. For a space of

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1 MS (A) Dhankob.
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.
3 نوث Nautat. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I 51.
4 طبل علا Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads Tabiri-ulā (nawakhtan). To beat the drum of self-conceit.
5 سك فلكم Bag-i-Falakan. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical Shir-i-jahak, the constellation Leo.
6 On the occasion of their first defeat.
two years he kept the Afghans 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 compensation. 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 'Ad, daily fought with the Afghans, 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 Afghans dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of Ruswâi (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem Shâh till at last one day Shâh Mahâmmad Farmali, who was one of the most noted Amirs for wit and good-humour in Hindustan, 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 Hindu dastari, and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islem Shâh was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwâliâr 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 today for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to Sohrâb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyâzis came to this, that when

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit دیو نزد
2 MS. (A) نگل
3 MS. (A) (B) omit Fak fals o jital na dāz. The text reads fulūs. The jital is an imaginary division of the dān, used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 31.
4 Read نا لعمر کردن تا نا لعمر کردن. The text is wrong.
5 See Sale's Koran, p. 6
6 MSS (A) (B) خان بیک کشیدن. 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 Niyyazis from Häjär 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 Islam Shâh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyyazis in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Azam Humâyûn), and fighting with the Kashmirias 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 Afghans of the tribe of Sambal invited the Niyyazis to Dhanlot 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, severing 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 Tārīkh-i-Kashmîr, the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islam Shâh had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jânob dates who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Mângah; and Kamân Mirzâ, after fighting many battles with Muhammad Humâyûn Pâshâ, fled from Kâbul and took refuge with Salim Shâh, to 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 Islam Shâh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humun Baqqâl, who in those

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1 Footnote variant صوت. 
2 MS. (A) (B). 
3 MBS (A) (B). 
4 Omit ஏகே MBS (A) (B). 
5 Aumâb agh dar Kusar-îshân bâd. Lit. The same broth was in their cup. 
6 MS. (A) supposes of. 
7 Târīkh-i-Kashmîr, sec p 8, n. 3 
8 Text Mângah. MBS. (A) (B) مانگار Mângah. 
9 با MS. (A). 
10 MS. (A) omits 
11 Footnote variant هم‌دیوری Hâmûn. The text reads هم‌دیوری Hâmûn.
days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been
promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and
sent him, with another body of Afghans to the neighbourhood of
Kohat to meet Mirza, and although Islam Shah in his own mind
thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mirza, being led
to this by the want of confidence he had in the Afghans as
a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humân, still Mirza
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 Mirza still believed that possibly
Islam Shah 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
assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Farasun or a Shaddad,9
gave orders to Sarmast Khan, the Afghan, a Dadud Zaiah,3 who held the
office of Barbak, in accordance with which he directed Mirza 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 Mirza roughly
by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying,
Your Majesty!19 Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kamran
the Muqaddam zadah of Kabul invokes blessings. Islam Shah
after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty
glance in the direction of Mirza,10 and uttered a hypocritical
390.

"Welcome." He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

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1 Footnote variant and MS. (A) omissions.
2 MS. (A) omits خان.
3 MS. (A) omits شادد the son of 'Abd, see ante, p. 361 n. 6.
4 MS. (A) omits رال.
5 MS. (A) omits بارک.
6 MS. (A) omits کورنیش.
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) 1. 265.
8 MS. (A) omits بارک.
9 MS. (A) 155.
10 MS. (A) 155.
for Mirzâ 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 Mirzâ from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzâ was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and show of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghans used to make jibes at him in the Hindi tongue, and when he appeared in darbâr used to say *Moro mi âyâd* (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzâ enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shâh, “What do they mean by Moro?” He answered, “It is the name they give to a man of great dignity.” The Mirzâ replied, “At that rate Salim Shâh is a first rate Morâ and Shir Shâh was a still finer.” Salim Shâh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again, nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mirzâ’s expense. At last one day Islem Shâh called upon the Mirzâ for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzâ recited this *maqâla* off hand:

Gardish-i-gardân-i-gardanânrâ gard kard
Bar sar-i-sâhib-lamizân nâqisân râ 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 Shâh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzâ under open arrest. The Mirzâ, however, by the help of the zamindârs,8 made an arrangement with one of the hill Râjas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

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1 MS. (A) (B) 
2 MS. (A) 
3 MS. (A) 
4 MS. (B) reads مور و صبغ یعنی. مور, that is to say, a bird.
5 MS. (A) reads مور و صبغ, so also footnote variant to text.
6 MS. (A) omits میگوند.
7 MS. (B) omits میگوند.
8 MS. (B) reads for نگوند بگویند.
9 Read اهل تمبزان for صاحب تمبزان MSS (A) (B).
10 MS. (B) زمینداری.
horses along the banks of the river Chinnāb. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's chādar drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his hārim and offered no interference.

The Mirzā crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rāja. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a burgā, and taking a jilāudār with him, was escorted by some of the Rājas' subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Gharī Khū, 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 Mughūl 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 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.

The Pādshāh wrote an order in accordance with this request of his, and sent it to him; but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mirzā, and after blinding him with a lancet.

1. chādar. A garment worn by women over the head and body.

2. Abūl-Fażl says some of them will run from 50 to 100 krohs (100 to 200 miles) a day. See Ain-i-Akbarī (B) I. 138.

3. With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS. (A) reads correctly.

4. MS. (A) reads Gharī Jū. MS. (B) reads for Gharī Jū. MS. (A) (B) reads for Gharī Jū (Text).

5. MS. (A) supplies.
sent him to the holy city of Makkah. The word nightar records the date of this occurrence. These incidents have only been briefly alluded to here, because they are related fully in the Akbar Nāma and the (Tarikh-i-)Nizāmi. Among the events which took place during the reign of Islam Shâh was the affair of Shâh Muhammad of Dîhâ, of which the following is a brief account. Shâh Muhammad, in the reign of Shâh Shâh, 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 Muhammad and just then Islam Shâh arrived. The Saiyyid pointed to Islam Shâh and said, I present

1. The letters of this word nightar give the date 960 H.

2. See Elliot and Dowsen V. 147 and 235.

3. MSS. (A) (B) read مسخرت، مسخرت، مسخرت، مسخرت.

4. MSS. (A) (B).

5. The text reads wrongly بار دوش مسخرت. MSS. (A) (B) read بار دوش مسخرت.

6. خالی بر شیدی نبود.

7. See note p. 445 n. 6.

8. MS. (A) reads سطح‌یات, superficialities.

9. MS. (A) supplies و MS. (B) reads شیرشاک.

10. MS. (A) supplies و MS. (B) reads ایتال.

11. MS. (B) reads سید Saiyyid for sabad.

12. MS. (A) (B) read در همان اذن.
you with this basket, confident in its being as a royal umbrella to you, rise, and place it on your head and be gone. Islam Shâh 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. 3

But eventually this matter became a source of annoyance to him as is generally the case. At all events, when Islam Shâh succeeded to the kingdom, during his reign two Saiyyides of good birth, men of ascetic habit, clean-living, dignified, and agreeable, one of whom was named Amir Abû ¦ Talib who was the inferior, and the other named Mir Shamsâd-Din who was his superior and brother's son to him, arrived from the country of Iraq at the camp of Islam Shâh in the Panjâb, and came to Dihli, where they took up their abode in one of the quarters of the city, and were resorted to by all classes. Amir Abû ¦ Talib 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. 3 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 Shâh Muhammed, he desired to give his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Mir Abû ¦ Talib, but he was by no means inclined to agree to this

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1 MS. (A) supplies لر after ياذغيسي.
2 Châ ni râd Jâ-l-fâr uqâ sadun
   Na bar ruqâ sadun, balka shâh ruqâ sadan
   There is a play here on the words ruqâ and furrâk, illustrating the figure known as تجيني مركب. The word ruqâ means the cheek, and also the knight or "rook" at chess.
3 MS. (A) puts از ار ار ا را. 4 MMS. (A); (B).
5 نمک. MS. (B) reads نمک.
6 MMS. (A); (B) supply علي. The ring of Solomon which was given to 'Ali by Muhammed, 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 abso-
lutely 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 there-
upon sent to Dihli Makhdūmu-I-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of
Sultānpūr, who was Shāikhu-L Islām and Sadru-s-sudūr, to inves-
tigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summon-
ing the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Ḥātim Sanbalī,
Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, 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 Muḥam-
mad, 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.

Thus 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 ار. 2 See Aīn-i-Akbari (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.
3 MS. (B) reads من يوم. 4 MS. (B) شا.
This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaikh 'Alī Mahdī of Baiṣāna,1 which closely resembles the affair of Sidi Maula,2 which took place during the reign of Sultan Jalālu-d-Dīn Firūz Shāh, in fact the proverb, One shoe is like its fellow,3 is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair: The father of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Alī was called Ḥasan, and was one of the great Sheikhs 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 Naṣru-llāh, who was one of the most eminent of the 'Ulamā', came from there to Hindustān and took up his abode in the province of Baiṣāna. The words Ja'a nasrul-lāhi wal fath,4 were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to iṣrahād5 and hidāyat, and the younger6 to fatwā7 and instruction in religious knowledge.8

Shaikh 'Alī, 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 acquisition of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character, disposition, and behaviour, and in a short time9 having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged-in-tuition and instruction.

1 See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, Biography V, segg.
3 حذر الإنفل بالقفة, i.e., one feather of the arrow is like another. See Freytag Prov. Arab I. 345. As we say "As like as two peas."
4 The letters give the date 955 H. The words mean, The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.
5 iṣrahād, Orthodoxy. hidāyat, Guidance, direction.
6 MSS. (A) (B) both omit خورود but the text seems probably correct.
7 fatwā, Religious or judicial rulings.
8 MS. (A) omits the words علم دين .
9 MSS. (A), (B).
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
defensive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consist-
tently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the
prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction
and instruction 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," 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 festival, from his excessive jealousy
and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative
and ascetic 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.

In the meanwhile Miyan 'Abdu-lah, a Niyazī Afghan, who was
at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Sahn Chishti
of Fatehpūr, 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
Muhammad of Jaunpūr, 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

1 MSS. (A) (B) write تلقين و ارشاد.
2 “That last infirmity of noble minds.”
3 Ḍaḍāni here uses غيطة غُدْثَت in a sense opposed to its classical mean-
ing which is emulation unmixed with envy.
4 MS. (A) reads مترسم for the text
5 MSS. (A) (B) read متشفش for the text
6 MSS (A) (B) read مترسم
7 See Ain i-Akbar (B) I, v.
abode in Bizarah, 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, with such a degree of
enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting
he would give him a few coins and encourage him, thus not
allowing the reward of the assembly to escape him.

When Shāikh 'Alī saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,
and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith
which Hiyān 'Abdu'llah Niyāzi has, whereas the path in which
we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity.

So long as a hair’s breadth of existence remains to thee
The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee;
Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my Zunnār, 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 Shāikh 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-mortifi-
cation and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom
he had formerly vexed, and abandoning his ma'dā', and his
alms-house and monastery, entering the valley of self-
renunciation and abnegation, bestowed all his worldly possessions

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit نمار

2 Concerning this it is said: "The prayers which are said in multitudes
increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty-seven degrees." - See
Richâlî’s Manâhîj (Mathew) xxiv. 1.

3 MSS. (B) یمسر خوش گردد.

4 Jus but خوسته و نزار داری نیست. The
term Zunnār [Gk. ξεραία (Ghīna) or ξεραίρε (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.

5 MSS. (A) reads یمسر. 7 MSS. (A) یمسر سویسی تویا هستی بانی ابست مساکن

8 Landis given for benevolent purposes, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) I, 270.

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit نکر

10 MSS. (A) (B) read نکر و اینگار کرد.
even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife, "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou cannot 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.

There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,

Just as in boldness the lionsess surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyān 'Abdu-Ilah, 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 Qurān, 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, comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God," 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

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1 MS. (A) reads جليلة. 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.
4 I read here مسـ. (A) (B)
5 Qurān xxiv. 37.
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'an. Shaikh 'Alâî had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'an almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,1 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 Najâtu-r-râshîdâ 2 which should be consulted.3

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them4 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.5 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,6 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 principles7 in carrying out his

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1 MSS (A) (B) insert [ after "service of Almighty God".] and (B) after "and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'an. Shaikh 'Alâî had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'an almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand 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.

2 MS. (A) reads اذDIST. 3 [MS. (A) reads ]

3 MS. (A) reads [after "A short account of this sect is given in the Najâtu-r-râshîdâ which should be consulted."]

4 MS. (A) reads [after "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."]

5 MS. (A) reads [after "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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4 [MS. (A) reads [after "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."]

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7 [MS. (A) reads [after "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"]
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]¹ and
entered the charmed circle of the Mahdi, voluntarily submitting
to poverty and extinction. Miyān 'Abdu-l-lah 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 gentle-
ness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot
waver with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become
more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this
rule (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine
upon a journey to the Hijāz.

Verse.

Alas¹ for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
Alas¹ 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,
Alas¹ for him if he abandons that also

Shaikh 'Alā'i,² retaining that selfsame habit and conduct ³
which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred
families, set out for Gujrat in the hope that in the companionship
of the chiefs⁴ and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs
of the inmates of cloisters⁵ At the time of his arrival at the
township of Basāwar from Bāiāna, 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 Khawāspūr which is near
Jodhpūr, Khawāsī 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 enter-
tainments and pastimes,⁶ whereas now every Thursday night
Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh 'Alā'i forbade
music and other prohibited ⁷ pastimes, and enjoined ⁸ that which

¹ MS. (A) (B). The words in brackets are omitted in MS (B).
² MS. (A) omits ³ MS. (B) omits
⁴ MS. (A) reads wrongly ⁵ Insert in the text ⁶ MS. (A) (B)
⁷ MS. (A) (B) ⁸ MS. (B) reads wrongly for
was lawful and in those 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 'Alā'i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiāna, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Agra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh 'Alā'i reached his ears, he sent for Mir Saiyyid Raffu'-d-Din the traditionist, and Miyan ś Abul-fath of Thanasar and other learned doctors of Agra, and summoned Shaikh 'Alā'i from Baiāna, at the instigation of Makkhdum-ūl-Mulk Maulāna 'Abdu-llah of Sultānpūr. 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 assembly in the manner appointed by the laws of Islām. Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased him and his courtiers.

Makkhdum-ūl-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that Shaikh 'Alā'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. 'Isā Khān Ἡ Hajjāb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Shaikh 'Alā'i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes, said to Islem Shāh: "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us, de do you imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh 'Alā'i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a
few verses of the Qur'an, 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, that it had the most profound effect upon Islam Shah and the Amir 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. Islam Shah then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions. The Shaikh, however, refused to touch the food himself, and moreover when Islam Shah entered he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. Where they enquired of him the reason for his abstinence 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 of the Law of Islam.' Islam Shah notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and refrained from enquiry into the truth of that dispute, and the decision of the contention to the ulama.

Shaikh 'Alawi vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension, and whenever Mir Saiyyid Rafiu-d-Din (who died in the year 954 H) was engaged in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdi, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh 'Alawi used to say, 'you are Shafrists by religion, and we are Hanatis, the fundamental of your traditions are different from those of ours.' How can we accept your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare 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 man...
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 glad 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 premises he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his arguments examples from the Qur'an 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, ʻAjallu-ʻjabbaḥ, on the form of the aj'alu-ʻinfaž derived from jālāl; Shaikh 'Alā became heated and said, "Good heavens! You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the delicacies;

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1 Qudus. [MS. (A)]
2 Not in MS. (B) which reads إهانت على أود.
3 MS. (A) reads ضم.
4 Trim.
5 Regarding the Mahdi, see Balsamari, 'Ali Alawi, I, iii.
6 MSS. (A) (B) إلمح خردها كه.

The text here ends.

كے بجلے الجبهة بفعق جيم وتشدد لن بم بصمة تفضيل مشتاق از جالا

MS. (A) reads more correctly بصمًا. فعل التفضيل إجلاء. بصمة فعل تفضيل إجلاء.

ʻAjallu-ʻjabbaḥ would have no accurate meaning. Jalāl meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God: أکبر Al-'Ajallu.

The form aj'alu is called the بصمة تفضيل or form of superiority, i.e., the comparative, or, combined with the article, the superlative.

Sabbān-Allāh (lit.) Prove be to God! A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment.
and subtleties and minutiae of the science of tradition. The real reading is Ajlā'u-l-jabahh which is the form Ḥa'ala'u-l-tafsīl from jala; not from jalil 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 Shâh being deceived by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," 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 'Ulamā' 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 Shâh, cared nought for

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit حديث.
2 Ajlā'u-l-jabahh. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed jala, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane. Lex. s. v. إعجالي.
3 MS. (A) reads incorrectly وديگر مید نزن.
4 MSS. (A) (B) have 2 before the word شیخ.
5 MSS. (A) (B) correctly read ست ممثلم. The text has ست ممثلم مهلم.
6 MSS. (A) (B) omit روز reading: لن و بار.
7 MSS. (A) (B) مشهد شیخ.
8 MSS. (A) (B) omit شیخ بیان.
9 MSS. (A) (B) read گذشتہ before گذشتہ.
10 MS. (A) reads پہلی for پہنچی.
11 HS. (B) reads یکم for یکم.
any ruler and addressed him in these words, "why should I change my own belief at your bidding."

If thou desirest safety, reproof is right
If safety is lost, reproof is a mistake.

In the meantime tidings reached Islam Shah daily "To-day such and such an Afghan general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations."

The following day Bahnûn and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islam Shah to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islam Shah 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.

Qasim, 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 teeta used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half his army, nay more than half, sided with him; this news was brought to Islam Shah by runners, and roused his indignation. Mahdûnu-'l-Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islam Shah so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Alâ'i. Just at this

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1 Omit MS. (A).
2 MS. (A) تَبَيِّن سَيِّدَ زِمْم.
3 MS. (A) ُقَانِ.
4 MS. (B) omita بُزَ.
5 MS. (A) بُحِرَ." ُقَانِ.
6 MS. (B) أَكْرَمْتُ وَنِعَتُ ِبُحَلُ." ُقَانِ.
7 Qur'an iv. 99. They said was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?
8 See Imp. Gaz. V. 308. Handiya is on the Narbââ in the Hooghâbâd District of the Central Provinces. MS. (A) reads سَيِّدَ وَهِدْنِي, and for سَيِّدَ and ُمُحِرَ." ُقَانِ.
9 MS. (B) سَيِّدَ.
juncture Islam Shâh had left Agra for the Panjâb1 with the
intention of quelling the disaffection of the Niyâzî faction; when
he arrived opposite to Bâisâna at the halting-place of Bahrûr
Makhdûmu-l-Mulk said to Islam Shâh "we have earned a few days
respite 2 from the lesser evil" by which he meant Shaikh 'Alâ'î;
"but the great evil, that is Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Niyâzî, who is the
instructor of Shaikh 'Alâ'î and the spiritual guide of the Niyâzî
faction, and always remains in the hill country of Bâisâna accom-
panied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped;
and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the
anger of Islam Shâh, who was thirsting for the blood of the
Niyâzîs, was fanned into flame by this breath 3 of suggestion,
and he ordered Miyan Bahwa Lûhâni 4 the Governor of Bâisâna,
who was one of the special adherents 5 of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah,
to produce the Shaikh. Miyan 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 6 all about you and never
make an attempt of this kind again, 7 and you will have met the
emergency, 8 while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

Verse.

Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it
and you.

Shaikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion 9 of his,
and said, "this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdûmu-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 krahs 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 destined will come to pass."

Man proposes and God disposes.

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1 MS. (B)
2 MSS. (A) end خالص باقیم
3 MS. (B) reads دیش.
4 MS. (A) گوریدگان (A) کند
5 MS. (A) گوریدگان (B) کند
6 MS. (B) reads جویدن
7 MS. (B) reads جویدن
8 MS. (A) باشند
9 MS. (B) omits سمینا
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 Bāīūnī, and had an interview with Isām Shāh in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with 'Peace be to you.' On the instant Mīyān Bālūza seized him by the neck 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 5 and replied: "The salutation which is in accordance with the sunna, 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." Isām Shāh, with evident aversion asked: 6 Is this the master of Shaikh 'Alī? Mulla 'Abdu-llāh who was lying in wait for him said: The very man. By order of Isām 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 Isām Shāh enquired what he was saying Mulla 'Abdu-llāh said: He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers; Isām Shāh becoming exceeding wroth waxed still sorer in his efforts to punish and torture him, 9 and kept his retinue standing an hour longer while they seduced him, and when he thought that the breath had left his body—

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1 MS. (B) omits كرودة

2 MSS. (A) (B)

3 The sunna is the traditional law of Mūhammad.

4 MS. (A) omits كرودة

5 MSS. (A) (B) insert

6 Qur'ān iii. 141. See Palmer's Translation.

7 MS. (B) omits

8 MSS. (A) (B) read  "تظلمبب و خوشت ب".

9 MSS. (A) (B) read  "صواريخ ا".

10 MSS. (A) (B) omit  "السادة ا".

11 MS. (A)
One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),
That mediator also rose and departed.
he ceased, 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 Baiana, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghanistan (Ruh), and sometime among the Afghans of Pattan in the Panjab, on the confines of Hajwara between Ambur and Amritsar, and was in the habit of saying: This was the fruit of consorting 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 Mahdawi 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 'Abdul-lah and granted him a portion of madad-i-ma'ab 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.

**Rubat.**

If the course of the sky give the reins into your hand,
And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your foot.
If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Afitun,
These are all as nought, at last you must die.

After that Islam Shah had overcome the Niyazi faction, and had

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1 MS. (A) omits مانه.
2 MS. (A) پت پتی ہیہاپ در مسعود (Pak Pattan or Ajadhaam).
3 MSS. (A) (B) read here مارین اندربر اندربر ہامی (MS. (A) adds نوین before مارین اندربیر اندربر ہامی) میں میں گزھے (B).
4 MS. (B) omits لسہدر کامیاب.
5 MS. (A) مارین اندربر اندربر ہامی.
6 MS. (B) مارین اندربر اندربر ہامی.
returned to Agra, Mulla 'Abdu'llah set about inciting him, and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh 'Ala'i 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 'Ala'i had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahar Khan had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shown 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 Islam Shah summoned Shaikh 'Ala'i thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitions nature of Shaikh 'Ala'i, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men of Delhi and Agra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaikh 'Ala'i to be sent to Bihar to Shaikh Buh who has been a learned physician, in whom Sher Khan had the utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the *Iqraad-i-Qazi*, and bade him act in accordance with his directions. When Shaikh 'Ala'i went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Buh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and to religious law also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Buh was very infirm and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustan are of

1. MSS. (A) (B) شرک شد. Khud. VS. (A).
2. Omit خود. VS. (A).
3. MS. (B) omits ج after دیگر and inserts ج after دیگر...
4. MS. (A) reads شیخ بهد shaeikh Badih (?)
5. See Najj Khalifa 1523. *Iqraad*.
6. MS. (A) reads دیگر MS. (B) reads شریعت.
7. MS. (B) درنده.
8. MS. (A) reads لایه which in the exact opposite of the reading in the text.
9. MS. (B) omits مناسبت and reads لایه for لایه and for لایه.
such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual 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.\(^1\) Shaikh ‘Alā’i said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,\(^2\) as is proved by the fact that, whenever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference 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,\(^3\) why should one regret the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all.\(^7\) That class therefore stand condemned. Shaikh Būdh the physician however,\(^8\) having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising Shaikh ‘Alā’i and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islam Shāh in the following terms, “Seeing that the Mahdawi question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as to the veritable signs by which the Mahdā is to be distin-

\(^1\) The text varies from the MSS (A) and (B) which read بنامہ رئیی و رئیی و جامعہ while MS (B) omit بنامہ.

\(^2\) We should read here نبیح بالدر نویسی مسیح لزیجود کافر یہ کسی بھی کسی بالائی.

\(^3\) MS (A) reads تیحار for تیحار.

\(^4\) MS (B) reads wrongly نجیاب for نجیاب.

\(^5\) Nikāh. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur’ān. 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 كرود for كرود.

\(^7\) MS (B) reads لا for لیا and omitu در میان انسان.

\(^8\) MS (B) reads نومید for نومید.

\(^9\) MS (B) omits باب.
guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh 'Ali of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books 3 are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many 4 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 Makhdūm-i-Mulk 5 was the Sadru-s-suds 6 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 Badh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdū-Ilāh, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūm-i-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 803, Shaikh 'Ali arrived at the camp of Bin Bāū; when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Badh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Ali to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only 9 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 10 and do as you please." Shaikh 'Ali then refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him; Islem Shāh in despair 11 said to Mulla 'Abdū-Ilāh, 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 'Ali's

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1 MS. (B) omits كاها 2 MS. (A) reads عشي 3 MS. (B) omits 4 MS. (A) reads 5 MS. (B) reads 6 MS. (A) reads 7 MS. (B) reads 8 MS. (A) reads 9 MS. (B) reads 10 MS. (B) reads 11 MS. (B) reads 12 MS. (B) inserts نجع شمزلا. Lit.: You know and this fellow, i.e., the matter is one between you and him.
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.\footnote{The bābonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.} This wound had to be kept open by a tent,\footnote{MS. (A) reads قِبَلَةٌ.} 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”\footnote{Qur’ān liv. 55. The full quotation is: “إِنَّ الْمُقَدِّسَينَ فِي جَنَّةٍ وَنَعْرِفُهُمْ مَنْ تَعْرِفُهُمْ عَلَى مَلَكٍ مُقَدَّدٍ.” Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with 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\footnote{MS. (B) reads بِأَقْصَرِ.} to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces\footnote{MS. (A) reads وَمَلَٰمِتُ.} in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,\footnote{MS. (A) reads وَمَلَٰمِتُ.} and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehemence whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,\footnote{MSS. (A) (B) read كُبْتِ الْكُبْتُ.} and great lamentation and mourning\footnote{MS. (B) omits هَمْتُ بِذِلَّةٍ.} was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early\footnote{A footnote to the text reads: “فَقُضِيَ دُولَةٌ إِسْلَامِيَّةٌ شَامِيَةٌ.”} downfall of the power of Islam Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shāikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event\footnote{MS. (A) omits اَل اً.} the power of Islam Shāh lasted barely two
It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultan Jalālu-d-Dīn Firuz Shāh Khilji after the execution of Sīdī Manla,1 so that the decay of the kingdom of Salīm Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālu-d-Dīn. People considered Mulla 'Abdulāh, who was always vexations 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 Sagāhūm rabbuhum sharābān.6

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islam Shāh was the murder of Khāwāq Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khāwāq Khān, after the battle with the Nīyāzīs fled to the foot of the hills, Islam Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleiman Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bānī, that they were to induce Khāwāq 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 Khāwāq Khān the message of Islam Shāh promising him safety.6 He, relying upon the word of a Musliim, came5 and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly6 had him put to death and sent his head7 to Salīm Shāh at the township8 of Bin (Bānī), 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 chronot-

1 MS. (A) reada.  
2 Zākiru-llāh. 
3 Sagāhūm rabbuhum sharābān. 
4 The mindful of God. 
5 Nay their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine. 

Each of these gives the date 957 H.

6 MSS. (A) (B) insert. 
7 MSS. (A) (B) insert. 
8 MS. (B) omits. 
9 MS. (B) omits and reads. 
10 MS. (A) (B) omits.
graphical record they invented the words *Musibat ba‘llam 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 Shâh he gave two lacs of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugar-cane to Rautanbhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Bâiâna, so that they might send mangoes day after day to the sailing-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shir Shâh died, and Salim Shâh 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-Jabîyy, the son of Shaikh Jamâli Kânabâvi 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 Islam Shâh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shâh Mir of Agra invented the following chronogram:—

He said—

My name in itself would furnish the târîkh
At such time as ‘abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it?

Among the events which happened during the time that Islam Shâh was encamped at Bin was the following. One day in the

1 A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 969 and that therefore there is some mistake.

2 It appears that the real reading should be *musibat ba‘l îm 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.

3 MSS. (A) (B) Ruz Bûroz

4 MS. (B) omits and reads اُم جائزة instead of اُم جائزة as in the text.

5 MS. (B) reads شمیر for شمیر, MS. (A) reads صاحب سخاوت a generous man.

6 MS. (A) reads صاحب سخاوت for صاحب سخاوت

7 The lines run thus: 

If we take the name *Sheikh ‘Abdul‘lâmi* and remove from it the centre word *abd* which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 969 H.
interval between two times of prayer Islam Shâh was sitting at ease upon his roadster, 1 and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Man Gâr, 2 which lies at a distance of five or six kâhs 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 amput like the proverbial Taâbâta Sharrân, 3 under pretence of seeking redress 4 (for some grievance) came forward and aimed 5 a blow at him. Salim Shâh, 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 Shâh sprung forward and hurled himself upon that Russian, and wrenched the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khân Ajyâr, the son of Sayâwal Khân, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islam Shâh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salim Shâh did not approve of this 6 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 Iqâbî Khân. This Iqâbî Khân was one of the scum and off-sourings of Hindustân who had rendered Shâh Shâh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured, 6 mean-looking, and catch in appearance that they used to call him Rahmatu-lâhî, which in Hindustân is the term

1 Read رضاع
2 MSS. (A) (B) 3
3 MSS. (A) (B) 4
4 MSS. (A) (B) 5
5 MS. (B) omits دبیر MS. (A) omits inserting it after 6
applied to a weaver. 1 Islam Shah himself 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, 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 4 he made him an example 5 of the saying: Everything returns to its original state; but in spite of the incitement of the Amirs of the Afghans that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training." 6

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why? It is ashamed 7 to destroy that which it has reared.

Islam Shah, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghans, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine, 8 and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison, 9 and thirsting for the blood of the Afghans, became more than ever 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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1 jūlāha. MS. (A) reads جوالسا. Either reading may be accepted.

2 If we read جوالسا as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted.

3 See Fallon's Dictionary s.v. جالفها.

4 If we read جوالسا the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

5 MS. (A) inserts خد خد inserting this after A عرزة.

6 MS. (A) inserts خد here.

7 MS. (A) omits مغطر.

8 MS. (A) omits ترث for ترث.

9 MS. (B) omit ز for شرعيت.

10 MS. (A) reads سوب.

11 MS. (A) (B) مارزة. 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.

12 بیشتگورت بیشتگ.
After these events Islam Shāh returned towards Gwalīār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihīk when tidings arrived that Muhammad Humayūn Padshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindūstān. Islam Shāh 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 hinding up his throat with linen rags ordered his army to proceed, and the first day covering three lehs, 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 Shāh 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 Shāh that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks for the gun-carriages had been left at Gwalīār, 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

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1 MS. (A) omits here and inserts it after in the next line
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit. MSS (A) (B) read
3 Read. Dr. An Samā'at. MS. (A) (B).
4 Zulwar Gali. MS. (A) reads Zebar probably a copyist's error for Zulwar or Zulbar
5 Omits Chap. MS. (A).
6 Omit. MS. (A) reads(lata) (7)
7 Invert. MS. (A) (B).
8 MS (A) insert before. MS (A) insert in the text.
9 MS. (B) omit. Bāraqshāh.
10 MS. (A) reads. MS. (A) (B) read. MS. (B) omits. Bāraqshāh.
11 MS. (A) reads for MSS. (A) (B) read. MS. (A) reads. MS. (B) omits. Bāraqshāh.
12 Text. MS. (A) reads. MS. (B) omits. Bāraqshāh.
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. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar, 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.

Ismā’īl Şah also upon hearing this tidings fled with all haste from Lāhor to Gwālīār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anber, 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 Ismā’īl Şah of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road, and after putting to death a number of men, among whom were Bahā’u-d-Dīn and Maḥmūd and Mādā, who were the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

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1 Omit مکتوب. MSS. (A) (B), MS. (A) reads معیار کرده.
2 The text reads که گرفت کوش آب هزار هزار کس دو دو هزار کسی کمتر رو بنشتر. MS. (A) inserts after کسی and omit the second کسی replacing it by که.
3 At the foot of the Alidek range: See Rennell’s map, Tiff., Vol. III.
4 Behsbur. MSS. (A) (B) read پنجم پنجم Banbhar. The text reads پنجم Banbhar.
5 MS. (A) omits لازم حد کشیدم. 6 MS. (B) reads to Kabul.
6 MS. (A) inserts between خروج and and مذکرKhwar between Khwar and and مذکر.
7 MS. (A) omits خروج.
8 MS. (A) omits دنیار.
9 This is the reading of the text, but MSS. (A) (B) read انگوری Antari.
10 Text MS. (B) reads لوانین. 11 MS. (A) reads برهانی دیگر.
12 MS. (A) (B) رسانیده.
13 MS. (B) omits these last names and reads and others.
14 MS. (A) reads for for دو.
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, 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.

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.

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 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,' 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.

Verse.

Mahmud gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death),
Until he sees him in the form of Ayaz.

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and then open his eyes, and these words would

1. MS. (B).
2. A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing سیابه کا after اسکار instead of before these words. This is the reading found in MS. (A) and is obviously correct.
3. A proverbial saying of this kind is-

جب چہل نہ تھا، نہ تھا جہب داتیں نہ تھا جہب عالم داتیں نہ تھا جہب نہ تھا

When I had peace I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no peace.
5. Insert.
6. MS. (A) (B).
7. MS. (B) omits دو before کاہی MS. (A) renders جاہنہ for جاہنہ.
come to his lips 'Where is Ajyārā?.' 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 Khan 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 Khan 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 Khan arrived and Islem Shah quoted this verse:

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am
Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shah had ordered the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khan 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)
2 Daulat Khan Ajjāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read حيارة Ajyāra, but the text reads حيارة Islem Ajjāra with a note of interrogation Ajjāra is the right reading.
3 For مسالم MS. (A) read جام. حكم كودة دور (B) مسالم.
4 MS. (A) (B) read نا ليرسوم لع ليرسوم for نا ليرسوم.
5 For MS. (A) (B) read نا ليرسوم.
6 Qurān 11, 51.

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, Be, and it is.

7 The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadīdī thus (1) ماسک mask or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels (2)
The foot of Aflatun himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,
The Qunun of Bā'Ali 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 Sahsrām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H., and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self-same) year Sultan Mahmūd of Gujrat, who had adorned the throne with justice and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Burbān. Nigomu-l-Mulk Bahri, the king of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non-existence, and Mir Saiyyid Na'mat-al-Lah, whose poetical name was Rusūli, who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islam Shāh, wrote this chronogram:—

Verse.

At one time came the decline of three emperors,
Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety.

mugha'īpūr or variable, such as age, sex, sleeping or waking; exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, forerishness, and inflammations. The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispensing vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers. See Sadidi, p. 58, et seq.

Qunun-i-Bā'Ali. This is the famous گنون بابع 88. Qunun f-f-ffib, canon physician, by the celebrated Shuikh Abū 'Ali Ḥusayn bin 'Abdu-llah commonly known as Ibn Sina (Avicenna). See Haji Khalifeh, No. 9354.

Abū Sina was a famous Muhammedan physician who was born in Bahra, and died at Hamadān in July 1087 A.D., 427 A.H. (H.K. says 428 A.H.). See Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 20.

MSS. (A) (B) both write ویک نه مد و شهبت which is added in the text.

The text reads 7 ل رهفان ل ا punning comment on the servant's name which will not admit of translation.

MSS. (A) (B) for an account of the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty.

MSS. (A) (B) the text reads Rishwati.
One was Mahmūd the Emperor of Gujerat, Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth; The second was Islem Shāh, that mine of beneficence, Whose beloved son \(^1\) was Sher Khān; The third was Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan. If you ask of me a tāriḵh for the death of these three \(^3\) Emperors? I answer Zawāl-i-khsūrūn \(^5\)

Islem Shāh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amir Saiyyid Naʿmat Rusūlī, \(^6\) 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 ʿAbdu-llāh of Sultānpūr \(^6\) who was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his attendants he said: "Have you any idea who this is who is approaching." They replied: "Who is it, please inform us." \(^7\) 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." Sarmāst 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 ʿAbdu-llāh 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

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\(^1\) MS. (A) reads مزیری. 
\(^2\) MS (A) reads ابن هومنا. 
\(^3\) The letters of Zawāl-i-khsūrūn give the date 961 H. See note 2 supra. 
\(^4\) MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads Rishwati. 
\(^5\) MS. (A) omits و. 
\(^6\) MS (A) omits ٹ. 
\(^7\) MSS. (A) (B). مزیرا. 
\(^8\) MSS. (A) (B). جغارت. 
\(^9\) Text reads متنفی. MS. (A) reads سنتنفی. MS. (B) reads متنفی. 
\(^10\) MSS. (A) (B). گفت. 
\(^11\) MSS. (A) (B). یاد. 
\(^12\) Omit ڈیہ before بیت. MSS. (A) (B).
a present from some place. He never missed the public prayers, and never touched any intoxicants [and Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpūr and Husain Nizām of Bādān were both of them his imāms].

Firūz Shāh ibn-i-Islem Shāh,

Who was called Firūz Kān, was raised to the throne in succession to his father at the age of twelve with the title of Pādshāh. The affairs of the kingdom did not prosper in his hands, and Mubārīz Kān the son of Nizām Kān Sūr, who was brother's son to Islem Shāh, after three days attempted the life of that innocent one, and although Bibi Bā'ī, who was the sister of Mubārīz Kān, 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 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.” That pitiless tyrant would not heed her, but entered the palace and cut 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

1 MS. (A) reads وازکفیت معنایی چیزه‌هم. A variant given in a footnote to the text reads وبلیف کفیت معنایی چیزه‌هم. On the whole the textual reading seems the best adding چیزه‌هم as in the two readings given.

2 Jauzu makl. Datura, sp alba. D. fastuosa N.O. Solanaceae called in HIndustani मक्कल dhatārā, and in Sanskrit थार मक्कल, and सुर injurious. (Wilson) Used as a narcotic and intoxicant. According to the Mahābhaṭṭa-advayā a wine is made from the juice of the leaves. An overdose is said to produce symptoms resembling delirium insomne, 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. The text reads یک دوزه‌ی.

5 MSS. (A) (B) read خیاری عثمان سر نام ترکیه. (B) reads خیاری عثمان ترکیه.

6 K. (B) reads شیرها و عمدتا رودره از اسلام شهر. K. (A) reads شیرها و عمدتا رودره از اسلام شهر.

7 MS. (A) reads Who was brother's son to Šer Shāh, and uncle's son and wife's brother to Islem Shāh.

8 MS. (A).

9 MS. (A) کسی به یکم که کسی (A).

10 MS. (A) omits هم‌زور

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 robes of royalty is in no way suitable to his standard of ambition; give up the idea of destroying him." Islem Shāh however, 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 confirmed to the letter.

Verse

Whatever the young man sees the mirror,
The old man sees that same in the unbaked brick.

Sultān Muḥammad ‘Adil commonly known as ‘Adil,

Who was the son of Niẓām Khān Sūr, and went by the name of Mubāriz Khān, ascended the throne with the concurrence of the principal Amiru and Vazirs, and caused himself to be addressed by the above title. The general public however used to call him ‘Adil, and that name even they perverted to Andhuli which has the commonly accepted signification of "blind." At the commencement of his reign, having heard of the conduct of Muḥammad ‘Adil ibn Tughlaq Shāh, he used to imitate him in lavishing money, and having opened the doors of his treasury he

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3 MSS. (A) (B) omit  دلَّواً.
2 Omit  دلَّواً. MSS. (A) (B). 2 MS. (B) omits اَم.
6 In MSS. (A) these words precede the verse, and read 
وَقَالَتْ السَّرَّاءُ لَهُمْ جَعَلِيْنَ شَهِيدُ الْقُلُوبِ  MSS. (B) omits ما.
MS. (A) reads تُرَبُّتْ عَلَى الْقُلُوبِ كُلَّها كَنِيَةُ شَهِيدٍ (tensed) (old) for تَرَبَّتَ عَلَى الْقُلُوبِ, a footstool variant reads كُنَّةُ شَهِيدٍ (nominative) 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 An-n-Albārī II, (J.) 221 n. 3
1 MS. (A) reads  بِنَبَتُمْ عَلَى مَهْرٍ  كَم and  بِنَبَتُمْ عَلَى مَهْرٍ كَم
2 MS. (B) TR.  مَهْرٍ كَم 9 MS. (A) omits
10  اللهُمَّ يُلفِيَ means "a hidē woman.
11 MSS. (A) reads  مُمَّا أَفْتَقَ رَأْسُهُ
nioned at securing the goodwill of great and small: and he had made arrows tipped with gold of a money value of five hundred tahnahs 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 sifful 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 Shamshah Khan, a slave who was the younger brother of Khwass Khan and Daulat Khan, the "new-Muslim," a protege of the Lāhārī faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to Himūn the greengrocer, of the township of Rewārī in Miwāt, whom Islem Šāli had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bazārs and confirmor 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 ostentatious 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 Himūn. Accordingly these Amirs who were of true Afghān descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

1 MS. (A). مانحت (A)
2 Text. (B) كنه بظي (A) كنه بظي (A) مس. (B)
The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read كنه بظي in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firzah's reading is quite clear he says کنة بظي که پیشکان که پک تریل طالب بود... 438 م.

That is, 'Adli, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one ton of gold.

3 MS. (A) reads سیته عش آلمی (A) زود بطور شه (A) مس. (A)
4 MS. (A) مانحت (A) مانحت (A)
5 MS. (A) بیشه (A) مس. (A)
6 MS. (A) بیشه (A) مس. (A)
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 Islem 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 Amīs to the
darbār hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adli was engaged in distributing
jāgīrs, he ordered that the Sarkār of Quinnaj should be transferred
from Shāh Muhammad Farmali, and given in perpetuity to Saimast Khān Sarbani. [Shāh Muhammad was ill],
whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well built youth
spoke scornfully with regard to this jāgīr. Shāh Muhammad 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 Islem
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 in-
famous design; thereupon he began to abuse Saimast 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." Saimast 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 Saimast 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
2 MS. (A) adds the words in brackets
3 MS. (A) omits the words in brackets
4 MS. (A) reads
5 MS. (A) reads
6 MS. (A) reads
7 Text. Mss. (A) (B) read
and sleep-stricken that they will never wake 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.

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 the dagger was first invented in Hindustān no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Ḫān 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 others, at last made towards 'Adli and 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 Amir of 'Adli's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day, as most of them cast away their swords and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast, they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours, when Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrāhim Ḫān. Sūr, sister's husband to 'Adli, and Shāh Muḥammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Ḫān Lūhānī, 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 Tāj Ḫān Karrānī, the

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1 MS. (A) صغران و خواب خزينة. MS (B) read صغران.  
2 MS. (A) بیدار نشرد.  
3 Read here بعضی دیگر شیرگیر صلیمہ. This is the reading of MSS. (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text.  
4 MS. (A) reads ازاق زمان که. MS (A) شرحو صاخبت.  
5 MS. (A) صادق و. MS (B) نادر و.  
6 MS. (B) reads اولی فز نیز دور هی خوردرا اندخڅه. Most of them threw themselves from the walls. This is also the reading given in a footnote variant to the text.  
7 The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers.  
8 MS. (A) (B) خان.  
9 MS. (A) خان.  
10 MS. (A) خان.  
11 MS. (A) و.
brother of 'Amād and Saleimān, who eventually became the autocratic ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title of Ḥayrat A’alā, having left the audience hall of 'Adlī was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muḥammad Farrānī. They asked after each other’s affairs, and Tāj Khan said: “I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle, and am going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead, 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, he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adlī.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befell him. Tāj Khan in full daylight fled from Gwāliar towards Bengāl and 'Adlī sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapanānu in the district of Qamūj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adlī, and his army

1 MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب إستقالة and MS. (A) reads لیکاَہ for صورتة بِنگالہ.
2 MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read پرسند which is better than the textual reading پرسیدنے.
4 MSS. (A) (B) read میدونو لئین دا غیر بدر نهادہ بیدرون (A) میدونو (ب).
5 MS. (A) reads wrongly مکسن for بِکن.
6 MS. (A) reads شالہ and MSS. (A) (B) read کشک کھان.
7 MSS. (A) (B) و خرود نیاُ.
8 MS. (B) خلیل و. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads جہیدی مری Chherānū.
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 Hāyā who held away over certain parganas on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. ‘Adli arrived at Chhinār, and the Karrānis on the banks of the river Ganges came out to fight with him. Hīmūn asked for a hālka of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And ‘Adli while in Chhinār intended to seize Ibrahim Khān, the son of Ghāzi Khān Sur, 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 Bādāna and Hindūn which was his father’s jāgir: ‘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 Jum, Ibrahim Khān made overtures, and sent a message saying: “If Rāi Husain Jilwān, and Bihār Khān Sarwānī, to whom Islam Shāh gave the title of Azam Humayūn, 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) (B)
3 MS. (A) (B)
4 MS. (A) (B)
5 MS. (A) (B)
6 MS. (A) (B)
7 MS. (A) reads which is better than the text.
8 MS. (A) (B)
9 MS. (A) (B)
10 MS. (A) omits
11 MS. (A) reads
12 MS. (A) omits
13 MS. (A) reads
14 MS. (A) reads
submission to you."  `Adli accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Khān, giving him the title of Sultān 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 Khān 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 Khān 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 Tūtār Khān Kāsī and Ḥabib Khān, and Nasīb Khān Tughāji, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh, declared open war against `Adli, and assuming the title of Sultān Sikandar 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 Sikandar at Farah, which is situated at a distance of ten krohs from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amirs, such as Ḥājī Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāī Ḥussain Jilwānī and Masʿūd Khān and Ḥusain Khān Ghulzāi were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal

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1 Omit ۷.  MSS. (A) (B).
2 MSS. (B) قرار داده ادامی ۵.  بسوی.
3 MS. (B) omits در تصرف داشت خرده.
4 MS. (A) (B) omit خرده شدند ملک.
5 MS. (B) omits both خرده.
6 MS. (A) ۷.  شب.  شب.
7 A footnote variant reads کالپی.
8 MS. (A) ۷.  شب.
9 MS. (A) (B) و.  Mesh.
10 MS. (A) reads in error: مطابق شب.
11 MS. (A) ۷.  حسروی (A).
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 jagir. In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him; and on the day when Ḥāji Khān came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with sagirlāt of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Ḥāji Khān 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 Afghān 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 Dīlī to the eastern extremity of Hindustān as far as could be arranged, should belong to Ibrāhīm Khān, and that the country of the Panjāb and Mūltān as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughuls came to Hindustān. The Afghāns of both

1 The text here reads طرق. MS (A) however reads توج. The true reading should evidently be توج which according to M. Fawet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the قافس or Tibetan yak, fixed to a pole.

2 MSS. (A) (B) sagirlāt. Dory, however, gives no such form of the word and the word is probably طرف, meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold. See Dory s. v. See also Yule and Burnett Glossary s. v. Suclāt also, Skeat Etym : Dict. s. v. Scarlet.

3 Another instance of Badāoni's use of في غاية in this unusual sense.

5 We should apparently read here كنینا ک ترند پشون. MS. (B) omits the words altogether. MS. (A) agrees with the text, which however does not seem satisfactory.

6 MS. (A) omits خال.
armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kūlā Bārī the brother of Sikandar, and the Amīr 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 Amīrs 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 Husain Khān Ghīlānī with some of the new Amīrs 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.”

1 MSS. (A) (B) read Kīlā Palār. 2 MS. (A) reads Bīn. 3 MS. (B) adds Khān. 4 MS. (B) reads which seems better than the text. 5 MS. (B) reads for. 6 MS. (B) reads Rāy for. 7 MS. (B) reads Bīn. 8 MS. (B) reads. 9 MSS. (A) (B) read. 10 MSS. (A) (B) omit. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence. 11 MS. (A) reads but the textual is better. 12 MS. (B) reads. 13 MS. (B) omits. 14 MS. (B) reads. 15 MS. (B) reads.
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 Kān put off fighting till after the arrival of Mīyān Yāhūs Turān, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Mīyān Yāhūs in the year 961 H. during the disturbances, gave battle in Bādān to twenty of ‘Adlī’s Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them; he then fought a great battle on the plain of the township of Kandarkhi with Rāja Mātar Sen Kahtariya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this Muntahāb, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age, and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram: Chi has khūb karda and. (How well have they done)! Before that he could convey the news to his teacher, the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent, the master of masters, the Mīyān Ḥātim of Sambhal, this tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the Kanz-i-Fiqh, he said, “Count the letters of this tārikh, which I have spoken without forethought, Fathḥā-i-āsmānī Shud.” I replied nine hundred and sixty, which is one unit short. He answered. I said it with the hamza of Ḩūfat, 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. He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

1 MS. (B) reads درح وضع and 1 recurse 2 MS. (B) reads درست and 1 تمت. 3 Chi has چه خوب کرد. 4 Read مدرمی. MS. (B).
5 MSS. (A) (B) read ملتادی جهانی instead of ملتادی جهانی.
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 گ. MS. (B) reads ک.
9 MSS. (A) (B) read میقر موده ك.
10 MS. (A) reads wrongly 3 حمزة. According to this the value of hamza is 1, and it is taken as equivalent to Alif. The hamza of Ḩūfat is said to be
a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had written containing the instruction of the Qādi, gave them to me as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyan Shaikh Abūl Ta'ī, the son of Shaikh-allahdiyah of Khairābād, 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 Miyan Yahya after taking forcible possession of the country of Kang-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badān had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār, and had gone towards Ibrāhīm Khan, I accompanied my father, now departed, may he rest in peace, to Amroha, and was thus separated from that army; and being introduced to the presence of the late Mir Sniyid 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 Miyan Yahya joined Ibrāhīm Khan, on that very morning Ibrāhīm Khan had drawn up his army and placed Miyan Yahya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hāji Khan to the command of the left division, and Rū Husain Jilvānī with the Ghilzais to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated م (Platts Persian Grammar, p 43), but if this were the case its value would partly be 1 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of ḫāfat is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original م.  

1 MS (A) reads بضغط آردة.  
2 MS (B) reads بضغط.  
4 Ahār Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I G i 81.  
5 Amroha Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I G i 266.  
6 MS (A) reads ازای لشكر جدا شدی وبا مروهغ فیتن.  
7 See J. A. S. B., 1869, p 126, and Amin-Albani (B) I p 268. The Mir 'Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qa'i, see Amin-Albani, III, (J) 41.  
8 MS (A) reads رجحه إلإله علیه.
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 force, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal and Palwal, shouting, Prosperity to Ibrahim Khan Häji 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 Miyân Yahya Paran who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Miyân Yahya and two of his fingers were cut off. He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrahim Khân 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 moles 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 Janat Ashiyâni had reached Hindustân:

1 MS. (B) بدر کرد.  
2 MS. (B) reads برد.  
3 MS. (B) reads برد.  
4 MS. (A) بدل.  
5 MS. (A) reads بدل.  
6 MS. (A) reads بدل.  
7 For Hodal and Palwal, see Hunter, I. G. v. 437 and xi. 21.  
8 MS. (A) خان.  
9 MS. (A) خان.  
10 Read with MSS. (A) (B) (B).  
11 Supply 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. MS. (B) شد.  
15 MSS. (A) (B) (B).  
16 MS. (A) reads خبر.  
17 MSS. (A) (B).  
18 MS. (B).
retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrid, he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sumbal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three thousand sowārs by the ford of Kisti, and (?) made towards Kalpi in order that having collected a fresh army, he might fight 'Adli again. At this juncture 'Adli had appointed Himūn the grocer, who was his vazir and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhār with certain eminent Amiris, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhī.

Himūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him; Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him ready for battle, and taking up a strong position showed 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)  
2 MSS. (A) (B)  
3 MS. (A) (B)  
4 MS. (A)  
5 MS. (B)  
6 MS. (A)  
7 MS. (B)  
8 MS. (A)  
9 A footnote to the text says that the word  is superfluous, MS. (A) omits  
10 MS. (B) reads wrongly for and  
11 MSS. (A) (B)  
12 MS. (B) reads again for  
13 MS. (A) supplies  
14 A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or reductance. See Lane s. v. حورية. 
Ibrahim Khan after this defeat, leaving Kalpi made strenuous efforts at Baiana, with all speed, and Himun pursuing him arrived at Baiana. Ibrahim Khan taking a body of the Nuhani and Afghani cultivators and landholders of Baiana, again went out to meet Himun, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khanwah, ten krohs distant from Baiana, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Himun 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 Baiana, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Himun thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment; Ghazi Khan the father of Ibrahim Khan kept the fort provided with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiana. Himun kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiana on all sides, pillaging and destroying. Nearly all the books which my late father possessed in Basawar were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern position of Hindustan, especially in Agra, Baiana, and Dihli. It was so severe a famine that one ser of jawari 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 Hindus also were in the same

1 MS. (A). 2 MSS. (A) (B).
3 We should read here yak and dés MS. (A).
4 MSS. (A) (B).
5 The text reads افرغون which has no meaning.
6 MS. (A) (B).
7 MS. (A) (B).
8 MS. (A) (B).
9 MS. (B) reads خان
10 MS. (B) omits
11 MS. (B).
12 MS. (B) omits
13 MS. (B).
14 The ser is approximately two pounds. Jawari is the Hindustani name for the small variety of millet also known as chhata jawari. (Andropogon egyptium).
15 MS. (A) reads in error for نگر مذکور.
plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds
of the Mughaln thorn \(^1\) and on wild herbs,\(^2\) 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\(^3\) and they
died. As a date for that year the phrase Khazm-i-Izad\(^4\)
(Divine wrath) was invented.\(^5\) 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,\(^6\) and
desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and
two years continual anarchy\(^7\) and terror, was utterly ruined, the
peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked\(^8\)
the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange\(^9\) incidents of the
year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and
Ibrahim, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Agra. The
following is a short account of this incident. During the time
when Agra\(^10\) was emptied of the troops of 'Adli,\(^11\) one of the
Amirs\(^12\) of Ghazi Khan Sur entered the fort of Agra and took up
his abode there,\(^13\) to make certain preparations and to take charge
of the supplies, while he was engaged in inspecting\(^14\) the rooms
of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one
of the rooms,\(^15\) and was going round\(^16\) carrying an open lamp,\(^17\)
a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

\(^1\) Mughaln for Mughaln. According to the
\(^2\) MS. (B) adds pomegranate.
\(^3\) MS. (B) adds "thus.
\(^4\) Khazm-i-Izad. Gives the date 962 H.
\(^5\) MS. (B) adds "his.
\(^6\) MS. (B) omits reading.
\(^7\) MS. (B) omits "and.
\(^8\) MS. (A) omits "reading.
\(^9\) MSS. (A) (B) "in.
\(^10\) MS. (B) omits "when.
\(^11\) MS. (B) reads "Adil Khan.
\(^12\) MS. (A) reads "Ghazi Khan.
\(^13\) MS. (B) reads "in.
\(^14\) MSS. (A) (B) "in.
\(^15\) MS. (A) "of.
\(^16\) MS. (B) "in.

\(^17\) Giovani 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 Ta‘hid (Declaration of Unity), and Ta‘ba (Repentance), and Istighfār (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 Agia was originally Badaal Gah, the words Alā‘-i-Badaal gah made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Himūn blockaded the fortress of Baisa 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 Himūn'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 decree.

On one occasion Himūn was one day presiding at a public banquet, and summoning the Afghān Amīrs 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 Afghan 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 forces 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 brim me with your boot 1

In the meanwhile news reached Himun that Muhammad Khan Sur, Governor of Bangala, had assumed the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din, and was marching with an army like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangala, and having reduced Jaunpur was making for Kalpi and Agra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons arrived from ‘Adli to Himun in these words: "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Himun thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Mandagar, which is distant six klihs from Agra, Ibrahim (Khan) 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 مسر.
2 MS. (B) omits فرکه می نیند.
3 MS. (A) reads پریامیل کرائو (Text).
4 MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.
5 I read here جهان دستبند جالب-دشتیرد instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads جهان دستبند which making allowance for conversion of س into ژ in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.
6 MS. (A) (B) omit دشمان اور. 7 MS. A omits ژہ (Text).
8 MS (B) omits سلبنان.
9 MS (A) omits عظم.
10 MS (A) می. 11 Omit می. MS. (A)
12 MS (A) reads مندیکار. MS (B) مندیکار.
13 MS. (A) (B) omit خان. 14 MS. (B) reads خان. 15 MS. (A) (B) omit خان. 16 MS. (B) reads خان.
battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining reinforcements from Hāji Khān Alwārī, he again sat about accomplishing his own objects, and Hīmūn detailed his brother's son named Thār Yāl with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thār Yāl marching with restless haste pursued Ibrāhīm for two stages, and joined Hīmūn; 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 Beānā, 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!

Magnāri.

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.

As much 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 43 with the army of Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, but was

**Notes:**

1. **MS. (A) reads كورمك (Kūrmak).**
2. **MS. (B) omits كورمك (Kūrmak).**
3. **MS. (A) reads لم (lum).**
4. **MS. (A) reads تومود (Tūmūd).**
5. **MS. (B) reads نامود (Nāmūd).**
6. **MS. (A) reads صحل (Shahl).**
7. **Read here لعد (lūd) instead of لجتن (ljān).**
8. **MS. (A) reads لين (līn).**
9. **MS. (A) reads ستيم (Sīm).**
10. **Read مل (māl) instead of لين (līn).**
forced to flee and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chaud, 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 Sāzawal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the Khutbah in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Mīyāni 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 Katahka 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 zamindārs. Saleimān Karānīn, 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 placest at first,
Death will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

1 MS. (A) omits مورودہ.
2 MS. (B) reads است است میشابدہ.
3 MS. (B) omits وراداب MS. (A) reads ادب.
4 MS. (A) (B) دید.
5 MS. (A) omits خان.
6 MS. (A) omits خان.
7 Read مسند. MSS. (A) (B); for سند (Text).
8 MS. (B) omits ویلاط.
9 MS. (A) برخاست و.
10 MS. (A) reads استیاق.
11 MS. (B) reads wrongly در مقدمات و.
12 MS. (A) reads محل.
Himūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adli. 1

'Adli and Muhammad 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 ka‘ahs from Kulpī. 2

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 expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Himūn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna, 3 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 Amirs 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 5 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 Himūn, 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 MSS (A) read در سیدان. The text reads در سیدان.
2 MS. (A) omits یاپ
3 Literally: Crying, where shall I put the cup, where shall I put the case?
4 MS (A) omits سلطنت.
5 Qur’an II. 4
6 MSS (A) (B) read بیک معاصر بیک لکشتہ بیک دم. MS. (B) reads لکشتہ
7 MS. (A) reads لکشتہ
8 MS. (A) (B) read بیک معاصر بیک لکشتہ بیک دم.
and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughals which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Agra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khizr Khān, the son 1 of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Khorasan, issuing the currency and reading the Khutbah in his own name, with the style and title of Sultān (Muḥammad) 2 Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against 'Adli, who notwithstanding his distress 3 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, bīkūht 4 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 Nūr. 5
Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize 7 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 2 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 و for وله.
2 MS. (A) omits در کور.
3 MS. (A) (B) omit گوریه، کنندگی.
6 The text reads با وجوهر کنندگی (sic.) MS. (B) reads کنندگی. The meaning is not very clear.
5 A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (Pathān Kings, p. 410) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adli's death.
6 A footnote variant gives چرخ. 7 MS. (B) reads دست for دنیا. 8 MSS. (A) (B) read بعلام for بعلام.
'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Fāsun, the well-known kalān-wat¹ who is a past master in this art² used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sarāwāt 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 pakhtīwaj,⁶ which is in length and 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 Dīlī 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 feet. 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 jaqir,⁸ 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 Badīn, and used to play.¹⁰ '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 Muṣāhīd Khān.¹¹ When he attained to kingly power

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¹ See A'in-i-Akbarī I, (B) 612, note 1. Kalān-wat or Kalāvānt is a Hindi word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads Kalān-wat.
² Badīnī uses the word Wālī a valley or desert, apparently to show his disapproval of the art.
³ A large kind of drum. See A'in-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 255.
⁴ MS. (B) reads for Kalātī.
⁵ MS. (A) reads for Mirdī.
⁶ MS. (A) omits ushima.⁷ MS. (A) omits tashmī.
⁸ MS. (A) reads here Ahāwan. MS. (B) reads Ādāwan. So also footnote variant to text.
⁹ The Bhagatīyas are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276
¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) Chārī Kān.
¹¹ MS. (A) (B) Khān.
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 Badsan he said, "I am hungry." Ghazi Khan Sur 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 smelled 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 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 Afghans and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

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1 The text reads "راجوت" with a footnote variant "بدر". MSS. (A) (B) read "بدر".

2 MS (B) omits "كرب".

3 MS. (A) omits "فليت بريت". The text reads "برت" meaning scraps of meat.

4 The text reads "شاكين". MSS. (A) reads "شكتان" "شكتان". If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

5 "شكتان". MSS. (A).

6 MS. (A).

7 He was, as has been described, killed in battle.

8 MS (A) reads "خدار" in the first line, and "خدار" in the second. MS. (B) reads "خدار" in the first and "خدار" in the second.
Nasiru-d-Din Muhammad Humayun Padshah Ghazi.

Returning from Kabul, a second time fought a fierce battle with Sikandar, and being favoured by fortune 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 Hindustan slipped from the grasp of that Padshah glorious as Jamshid, like the ring from the hand of Suleiman, and the opposition and strife between his brothers was not changed to amity and concord, 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, Humayun crossed from the Punjab and attempted to seize Bakkar, making his camp at the township of Lohri, which is near to Bakkar. Mirza Hindal having left Sind proceeded to the township of Pancer, which is fifty krohs distant from Bakkar, on account of the abundance and cheapness of grain. Humayun sent a robe of honour and a horse with a message to Mirza Shahr Husain Arghun, governor of Tatta, saying, “I have arrived here driven by necessity and have fully determined upon the conquest of Gujrat, and this undertaking is dependent upon your advice and guidance.” Mirza Shahr Husain spent five or six months in tempering, and brought Humayun by specious pretexts from the Bakkar territory to the neighbourhood of Tatta, with the intention of doing whatever might be advisable later on.

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1 A footnote says that one copy gives خلاص. MS. (B) has this reading.
2 See ante p 205, note 8.
3 Read دلیل for دلیل, MSS. (A) (B).
4 MS. (A) omits در.
7 MSS (A) (B) read در. I can find no mention of any place of this name.
8 MS. (B) reads فتح میں مصیم وابن مرقوف الف. Firuzta says “asked for assistance in the conquest of Gujrat,” Bombay text, p. 400.
9 Omit میں ششی MSS. (A) (B).
In this year, 948 H.,\(^1\) Humāyūn married Ḩamīdā Bānū Begam, and coming to Pūntar returned to Lohrī. Mirzā Hindūl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,\(^2\) the governor of that district, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā,\(^3\) who had encamped at a distance of ten krohs from (Humāyūn’s) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mir Ābūl-Baqā,\(^4\) 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 in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram Su'rūr-i-kāināt \(^5\) was invented to commemorate it.

Mirzā Yādgār 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 Husain kept sending \(^9\) reinforcements.

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\(^1\) The text reads 947 H. (٨۷)، 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 Roza Shah. Firīshtā, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

\(^3\) MSS. (A) (B) read . MS. (A) omits .

\(^4\) MSS. (A) (B) read . MS. (A) (B) read .

\(^5\) MSS. (A) (B) read .

\(^6\) Su'rūr-i-kāināt. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

\(^7\) MSS. (A) (B) read .

\(^8\) Firīshtā says Siyāhwān. Siyāhwān or Schwān is in the Karachi 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 Schwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XII, 305; but Tiefenthaler (1, 123) attributes it to Husain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn.

\(^9\) MSS (A) (B) read .
and supplies to the garrison, and embarking on a boat, and coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humāyūn). 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 unedible).

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 Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain 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. Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the Khushnād 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 Firuzi saya: "The siege lasted for seven months Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain Argān 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.

2 MSS. (A) (B) 4 MS. (B) 5 Footnote variant 7 MS. (A) omits.

3 Footnote variant 6

4 Footnote variant 8 Text reads. MS. (B) reads 9 MS. (B) omits 10 MSS. (A) (B) read.

5 MS. (B) 11 Footnote variant
opposing Humayun. He further took possession of all the boats belonging to Humayun, 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 zamindars recovered two boats which Mirza had sunk, and reached Bakkar. Mirza, as a means of covering the shame he felt, before he came to pay his respects, marched by forced marches against Mirza Shah 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 Humayun) 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 Mirza Shah Husain, prepared for war. Munir Khan who eventually became Khan-i-Khanan also meditated flight. Both of them, however, became aware of the folly of their design, and realising its hainousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humayun's force were day by day going over to the side of Mirza Yadhgar Nasir. In the meantime Maldeo, Raja of the kingdom of Marwar, who was distinguished above all the zamindars of Hindostan on account of the strength of his following and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons Humayun not thinking it advisable to remain any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmer towards Marwar. The Raja of

1 MS. (A) reads بیام.  8 MS. (A) omits  2 Thus the text: MS. (A) reads کی کدام علیئی مستقل بون از برای ودرانی لشکر از سر قلعہ  3 MS. (B) رستم  4 MS. (A) (B) دفع  5 Footnote variant بدنع  6 MS. (A) reads از کشتی چودرا حمیدہ یوردند  7 Footnote variant تالیفی  8 MS. (B) reads از کشتی چودرا حمیدہ یوردند  9 MS. (B) reads  10 MS. (B) ادارہ  11 MS. (B) مطلع شد  12 MS. (B) جانب  13 MSS. (A) (B) ملک  14 Omit و read قوت جمعیت  15 MS (A) omits خود after بودین.
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 around the wells blood was spilled in place of water among his followers, and most of them 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 maf'a, 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 of Jodhpur, awaiting his arrival. Inasmuch as in those days Nagor had fallen into the hands of Sher Shah, and had inspired Maldeo with the utmost awe of the majesty and power of Humayun; accordingly Maldeo, fearing the wrath of Sher Shah, 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.

1 MS. (A) چنانکہ
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 لیان.
3 MSS. (A) (B) نظر (R) نظر
4 MS. (B) omits نواحی
5 MS. (A) omits پر
6 MS. (A) writing در ایام ہور MS. (B) ہور
7 A footnote variant to the text, agreeing with MS. (B) runs thus:

This is the reading adopted. It seems preferable.
8 This is according to the text. A footnote variant (and MS. (B)) reads

Sent...with treacherous design, and guiding the loins of rebellion.
aware of their treachery from its outset] 1 returned without asking permission, and informed Humayün of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Maldoo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humayün 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 Humayün's charger: Humayün thereupon asked Tardi Beg for a few horses and camels, 6 he however behaved meanly, and Humayün mounted a camel. After a while 7 Nadim, his foster-brother, 9 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. 8 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 Maldoo, [and with intense labour and distress. 12 In the middle of the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hinds of Maldoo's army 13 pursuing them through the night, missed their

1 The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).
2 Read گان یکی و خنجر دیگری کشیده. MS. (A).
3 هالک سخندند و بفتل رسنیدند. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.
4 Read معانان for جانداران. MSS. (A) (B).
5 آید. MS. (B). MS. (A).
6 This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads جنید امست شیر (sic).
7 Text پنا ابتکا. MS. (A) omits. Furisha writes پنا ابتکا whereupon.
8 Furisha writes چند کوچک کرده.
9 Furisha 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) آب راز می‌زر. MS. (B) reads یک راز می‌زر.
11 MSS. (A) (B) omit 7 و دردمن 7 مشقت راز. MS. (A).
12 Omit 7 و راز. MS. (A).
13 All this passage from پنا 7 گرفت 7 شابش 7 8 9 پنا is omitted in MS. (B).
way; and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mun'īm Khān and Koshân Bēg, 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 Hindus 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 Humayūn 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 (Humayūn'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. "Humayūn returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amir who had lost their way came up."

2 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

3 MS. (A) reads خشیر تویه.

4, 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 unprocureable, and the people were in great distress; on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read بدریشک. Putting up with the want of water.

5 MS. (A) omits ب." 

6 MS. (A) reads دک. 

7 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 دک. 

8 MS. (A) omits ب. 

9 MS. (A) reads دک. 

10 MS. (B) omits غابت.
drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drought, died from surfeit of water. And insomuch as that desert, like the midday mirage, was as ineradicable 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 fathoms 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 Tādī 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'azzam, the brother of Begum, he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.

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. Tādī Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name, proceeded
with all haste towards Bakkar. At the camp of Chaul \(^1\) 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 times, were one by one, including even Mun‘im Khān, de-
serting.\(^2\) At this time Bairam Khān \(^3\) came from Gujrāt and
tendered his allegiance. Considering it unadvisable to remain in
that country Humāyūn determined to make for Qandahār. Mirzā
Shāh Husain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in ac-
cordance with a requisition \(^4\) sent thirty boats and three hundred
camels, and Humāyūn crossed the river Indus. At that time
Mirzā Kāmrān \(^5\) had taken Qandahār \(^6\) from Mirzā Hindāl and
had left it in charge of Mirzā ‘Askari, and having given Ghaznīn
to Mirzā Hindāl had read the Khutbah in his own name. After
some time, however, he changed that also.\(^7\) Mirzā Hindāl having
given up all royal dignity in Kābul used to live like a darvāzāh,\(^8\) and
Mirzā Kāmrān yielding to the instigation of Mirzā Shāh Husain
wrote to Mirzā ‘Askari saying, “Seize the road by which the
Pādshāh will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can
contrive.” Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shāl
Mastān,\(^9\) Mirzā ‘Askari\(^10\) marched by forced marches from

\(^1\) Chaul or Chora, a village situated on the route from Amarkot to
Jaisalmīr, eight miles north-east of the former place. See Thornton’s
Gazetteer, I. p. 163, and map Lat. 25° 25’ Long. 69° 61’. See also Keith
Johnston’s Atlas.

\(^2\) MSS. (A) (B) says “But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing
could be accomplished, Mun‘im Khān also fled, &c.”

\(^3\) See Khīn-i-Akbarī, I. (B) 315, No. 10.

\(^4\) MS. (B) omits حسب.

\(^5\) MS. (A) omits خان.

\(^6\) MS. (A) omits خان.

\(^7\) MS. (A) reads من نیز تغیر نمودند. MS. (B) reads خان نیز تغیر نمودند.

\(^8\) The text reads شال Mastān, but both MSS. (A) (B) read سل Mastān manzil-i-ʿUrdū bād. Firuzīa Bo. text,
p. 411, line 10 reads سل مسیح سل وہسائان, which is probably a copyst’s error for شال Mastān. We should therefore read ʿShāl-o-Mastān, understanding by it Mastūng which lies S. S. W. of Quetta or ʿShāl, at a distance of about 25 miles. See Thornton’s Gazetteer, II.
pp. 65 and 168. The distance from Qandahār to ʿShāl is about 150 miles.

\(^9\) A footnote variant reads معز Hindāl Not in MS. (A) or (B).
Qandahār and sent Chūli Bahādur Uzbaki to reconnoitre. He however, went straight off and informed Bairam Khan, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairam Khan went with all haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kōbul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula of separation, took the road to Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairam Khan and Khwāja Mu'azzam. 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 Khan 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 Sistān.

Mirzā 'Askari 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 Jūkī.
2 MSS. (A) (B) omita. MS. (B) omits Gori.
3 MS. (A) omits Kāfī. See Qurān xlvii. 77.
4 MS. (B) reads for Keshida Kāfī.
5 atabāk. The word atabak or atābak is a Turki word signifying "grand-père, prêtre, instituteur du fils des Sultans." (Pavet de Courteille).
6 Shamsu-d-Din Muḥammad Atgah Khān. See Šāh-i-Akbār 1. (Bl.) 321. No. 15 where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qamānji. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (anāghah) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī 'Anāghah."

The word 朕 atē means a mother in Turki, while 朕 atēk or 朕 atēkā means a nurse, as 朕 atē means a father; the word 朕 atēkah would mean foster, father, and this is probably the name given to Šamsu-d-Din Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

7 MSS. (B) omits after. MS. (A) (B) read for گوزندگان. Dīwan Khāna-i-'Ali.
8 The words لائیک do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read به هیم.
Prince to Qandahār, and handed him over to Sultan 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 Sistan and journeying to the city of Khurāsān, he had an interview with Sultan Muhammad Mirza, the elder son of Shāh Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage of Muhammad Khan Taklu, and receiving all the necessaries of royalty, and requisites for his journey, with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Mesbed); 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 showing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairam Khan 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-Suriq 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 Mirza, the brother of the Shāh, who was

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit ی. 2 Omit , MSS. (A) (B).
3 Omit , MSS. (A).
4 MSS. (A) (B) یا. That is to say, in the Tabaghi-i-Akbari. See Elmot and Dowson, V. 217, et seqg.
5 سیلیقی. The termination لیق, لیق, or لیق, indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in قبر فریق, abundance; or possession. See Paret de Coerelle s. c.
6 Called by Nirama-d-Din, Ahmad Muhammad Khan Sherfa-d-Din Ughli Taklu (B. and D., v. 217). The word تکلیع تکلیع means "au qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne; lieu aux humides et verdoyants" (P. de G.).
7 M. (B) reads . This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text.
8 The text has (Sic) ( ) ? یلیق Sārtaq, but both MSS. (A) (B) read Pulāq Sārīq.
9 MSS. (A) (B) omit the article, reading .
present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humayun in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [may more to overthrow Humayun himself as well],2 and impressed upon Shāh Tahmaesp saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbash soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trapped under foot by the Özbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive." 3 This was a reference4 to that affair in which Bābar Pādahāb took Najm-i-Awwal from Shāh Ismā'il with seventeen thousand Qizilbash cavalry,5 and led them as an auxiliary force against the Özbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Naskhab, otherwise known as Kash,7 (?), wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Özbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met6 he withdrew7 to one side, and the Qizilbash troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance10 is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sulṭān Begam11 the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

1 MSS. (A) (B) read  "الآن روز باز طربعنج صابح سالخت"  
2 MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads cf. Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar, Elliot, v. 218.
3 MSS. (A) (B)  "زنه بدر نهاد"  
4 The text is correct  "تلهم" MS. (A) reads  "بلهم".
5 In the Memoirs of Bābar, (Erakine, p. 243), he is called Nijm Sulṭān Isfahāni. (Najam-i-Ṣāni Isfahāni)
6 MSS. (A) (B) omit  "سوار".
7 For an account of this see Erakine (Memoirs of Bābar), pp. 242, 243.
8 MS. (A) reads  "کس (م)"

Naskhab. "In Ma'varin Namh between the Jahân and Samargand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samargand, also called Nasif, situated three stages from Samargand." See Yaqūt, s. v., and  "فتخسب"  لست in Bokhārā, see Kash (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shēh-i-Sabz.
9 MS. (B) reads  "ثلاثی"  for  "تقویتی"
10 MSS. (A) (B) Text reads  "قصه"
11 MS. (A) reads  "سلطانام"  Sulṭānam. So also Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar.
promised Mahdi, (who in the belief of the Shi'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Sāmirah, otherwise known by the name of Surra-man-ra'ā, 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 (Humāyūn) 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 Miskhāt al-Mashā'īl, xxiii. Also Hughes' Dict. of Islam, 395.


Its name was changed by Al Mu'taṣim for the sake of good augury into Surra-man-ra'ā meaning 'Who sees it rejoices.' Sāmirā 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 Bughdād, 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. 30, for the article from which this note is abridged, a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Saḥriyān, by Mr. Lo Strange.


Verse. Humā, see p. 57 of this work, and note 2. There is an allusion here to the name Humāyūn in its etymological sense of relation to the Humā or bird of royal augury.

Salāmīn Sāvānī. Jamāla-d-Din, a native of Sāwāh. Shāikh 'Ala' ud-Daulah of Sāmān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salāmīn or the pomegranates of Sāmān." He died in the year 669 H. Majmu'a-İ-Fuṣūḥ, II. 19. See Beale O. B. D., p. 235, where Salāmīn is said to have died in 770 A. H. See also H. K. 5946 Frīqūsā. The date of his death given in the Majmu'a-İ-Fuṣūḥ must be incorrect, as Salāmīn was the panegyrist of Amir Shāikh Ḥasan and of his son Sultan 'Awān Jalāyār the latter of whom died in 770 A. H. See Lin-i-Akbār, I. (B) 100 n. 8.
Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,
As ‘Ali treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.1

The Shāh 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 Humāyūn’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 Humāyūn after3 much ado said “Bring them written upon a sheet of paper.” Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence4 in the Khuṭbāh, after the custom of ‘Iraq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.5 Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand5 cavalry under the command7 of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afahār,8 was nominated5 to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

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1 One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzlan which is between Būshār and Shīrāz and awars 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 Muqām-i-Salmān. He is buried at Mudām. See Jābab, II. p. 221. Salmān Abū ‘Abdi-llah al Fārī, called in Persian Kūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

MS. (B) reads

2 Omit and read 3 and read 5 and read 5 and read 5 for 6 and read 6 and read 6

3 Read here 4 and read 4 and read 4. MSS (A) (B).

4 The Shi’ahs apply the term Imām to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imāmes. They are on this account called the Imāmiyah and the Ismā ‘Ashariyah. See Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, 203 and 672.

5 MS. (B) reads 6 and read 12,000.

6 Bidāgh Khān was according to Tabaqāt-i-Albari the Prince’s tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

7 See Tārīḫ-i-Raghibi (Elias and Ross), p. 214 n. Afahār is the name of one of the seven Turki tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shāh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

8 MS. (A) 9 and read 9 and read 9.
by one route and Humāyūn by another,¹ and that Humāyūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shāh Murād. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Ardabil and Tabriz, (Humāyūn) again went to Mağhab the holy city,² and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain-head of light.³

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice ⁴ to his fellow, "This is not Humāyūn Pādshāh." ⁵ The other replied "Yes it is." Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyūn "So! you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humāyūn used generally in Bangāla to cast ⁶ a veil over his crown, and when he removed it ⁷ the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said ⁸ "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 Mir Abūl Baqā with the Amirs and Vazirs paid the due respects, and the Amirs of the Qizilbash coming (by another road) ⁹ arrived at Garmār and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view ¹⁰ of Qandahār, when ¹¹ after five days Humāyūn arrived, and Mirzā ʻAskarī was besieged, and for three months continuously ¹² fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides. Thereupon Bairām Khān was sent to Kābul as an ambassador to

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¹ MS. (A) reads صرخة. It was settled that Humāyūn should hand over Qandahār (to Shāh Murād). MS. (A) omits صرخة.

² MS. (A) inserts مقدس.

³ At Mağhab (Meshed) is the tomb of ʻAli, son of Mūsā ar-Ruḍā. See Maynard Dict. de la Perse, p 396 s. v. طوبوس. See also Kiu-i-Akbari (J.) III. 86. Firista reads (Bo. Text, p. 212).

⁴ Insert چنسته after زیرإزاه instead of after مس. (A) (B).

⁵ MS. (A) reads این ست نیست.

⁶ MS. (A) (B) می‌نگاشتند. ⁷ Read برمی‌داشتن. MS. (A) (B).

⁸ Supply ک. MS. (A) (B). ⁹ MS. (A).

¹⁰ MS. (B) reads وصله دار در خام and مکان. ¹¹ Omit درسن این. MS. (A).

¹² Insert پیایی after نامه ما. MS. (A) (B).
Mirzā¹ [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā 'Askari was fighting and
Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Suleimān Badakhšāhi and Mirzā Yadgān
Nāṣir² who had arrived from Bakhtar in a wretched plight;³
and [since]⁴ the idea of the Qizilbash was that no sooner would
Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him⁵ and
would all come in.⁶ This, however, did not happen, and the siege
became very protracted, and a large⁷ 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.⁸ It so happened that
just at that very time certain Amirs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān,
namely, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Husain
Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to
Humāyūn. Muʿyad Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of
Qandahār, escaped⁹ from the fort and had an interview with him,
meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā 'Askari in his alarm,
sued for quarter, and joined¹⁰ the ranks of Humāyūn's followers;
his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial
marks of favour.

¹ The words within brackets occur in both MSS (A) (B) which read
میرزا کامران که میرزا عسكیری از جانب ار صداریه
می کرد فرستاد و میرزا هندال ومیرزا سلیمان ال
This also tallies with the Ṭabaqāt-i-Abhari. See Elliot and Dowson, V.210
² MS. (A) reads ۹ but it seems to be in error.
³ Omit فرستاد in this place, MS (A).
⁴ MS. (A) omits چوج. ۲۱۰ MS. (A) omits اب و ۲۱۰ MS. (A) omits اب و
⁵ اب ول ۲۱۰ MS. (A) omits اب ول ۲۱۰ MS. (A) omits اب ول
Il šudan. To become submissive.
⁶ See Pavel de Courtelle, L. v. ۲۱۰ MS. (A) (B). The word
⁷ بیعت seems unnecessary and tautological, possibly it is an interpretation by a scribe
⁸ پنهان خواهند در آمد who failed to understand the word یل اب it, taking it in its ordinary sense
⁹ of "tribe"
Regarding the Chaghatai, see Tārīḵ-i-Rashidi, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)
¹⁰ MS. (A) گیش. ۲۱۰ MS. (A) omits سی before خواستند and reads
که دیباد خود مراجعه نمایند.
¹ The text read یلاخ ۲۱۰ having come down The Ṭabaqāt-i-Abhari says
"managed to escape by strangling, and let himself down from the walls by
a rope." E. and D. loc cit.
Verse.

There is 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 Chaghda tribe, and the inhabitants of the city, so as to allow of their all coming out, and although Humayun had no territory in his possession, yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidagh Khan and Mirza Murad 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 Bidagh Khan and two or three other Amirs, no one remained in the service of Mirza Murad, while the remaining Amirs of the auxiliaries, all returned to Iraq.

Humayun was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidagh Khan to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers. On this account some of the Chaghdaite Amirs began to take to flight towards Kabul; among them was Mirza Askari, who was seized in the way and brought to Humayun, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events happened in those days, which led to the delivery of Qandahar from the hands of the Qizilbash. First among these was this, that the Chaghdaite Amirs urged upon Humayun the necessity of seizing Qandahar, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying...
that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhsān he ought 1 to
bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbash
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 Qizilbash
canaille 3 on the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the
Chaghatai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever. 4

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce 1 Tuburrā, in accordance with

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit يأب، but it seems to be necessary.
2 MS. (A) inserts قرار و روز of 3 MS. (B).
4 MS. (B) omits
5 MS. (A) reads بدرائ ندی. The word here seems to mean one who is
another i.e., a Sunni.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word
Taburrā. This word means enmity (as opposed to تعاون, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shi‘ahs. In defining
Taburrā a distinction is to be made between مخالفة opposition, and عدوان 'adawat enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter,
for instance two men may be in opposition (makhalaferat) on worldly matters,
yet be in thorough amity (mahabbat) 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 مَحَبَّة mahabbat, affection,
and عدوان 'adawat enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that
عذور 'adawat is of two kinds, religious, as for instance the 'adawat of
Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the
fundamental differences in their faith: and, worldly, as the 'adawat between
one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly
interests. Thus it is conceivable that 'adawat and mahabbat may co-exist. Or
again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim quā Muslim, but
entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a kāfir
(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 'adawat and mahabbat in one person due to one con-
sideration is however impossible.

Again, the 'adawat 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 'adawat in religious matters is كفر
(infidelity), therefore one must consider every kāfir as an enemy: thus
although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (mahabbat) 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 imān (faith of Islam), and we must
therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith
whether they are obedient or transgressors.

Muḥābbat and 'adāwat between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kāfir)
have 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 (imān), or guilty
of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with
the dictates of the Qurān become worthy of 'adāwat (واجب إعدامه ویاف شبیع)
they are excepted (from the rights of muḥābbat) and enquiry should be made
into their faith or absence of faith. . . . Imān as fīda (immorality)
do not necessarily exclude imān (faith), 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 imān it is lawful to entertain
muḥābbat for him, and 'adāwat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as
tabarrā and ṣaḥīh (reviling) are only justifiable when muḥābbat 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 convention regarding the Khilāfat of ‘Ali as kufr, according to
the words of Khwāja Naṣīr Ṭūsī “Muḥāṣṣəli fiṣṣū wa muḥāṣṣəli
ṣafarā.” “Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against
him are infidels.”

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are
not deserving of tabarrā, because their extreme fault is fīda (immorality) and
the ṣaḥīh (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the Tuhfa-f-Iṣnād ‘īkhāsiyāt of Shi‘b ‘Abdul-
‘Azīz 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 ṣaḥīh of the Christian Code. It is more than
recommunciation, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of tabarrā
which thus implies final separation and cares.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet
would be held to be loss of imān (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 Mirza Vādīgīr Nāṣir he is called tabarrā
occurred.
their notoriously brutal manner, in the presence of Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā [who had fled in concert with Hindāl Mirzā from Kamrān Mirzā] and some 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 Nāṣir 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. 5 Hāji Muḥammad Khān Kūkī 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 Bārām Khān were of that number. 6 The Qizilbāsh were astounded, 6 and utterly confounded, 7 and the proverb was exemplified, 8 "Qāzi, I am an old woman, 9 and if you don't believe me, I can scream just like one, listen!" Their haughtiness was humbled, and Humāyūn 10 entering the fort allowed Bīdūgh Khān, who had come to him 11 in trepidation and anxiety, to proceed towards Irāq. Notwithstanding this, all the inhabitants of the city, who were heartily sick of them, killed the Qizilbāsh in every street. After he had settled Qandahār to his satisfaction, 12 he made over charge of that district to Bārām Khān and determined to attempt the conquest of Kābul. Mirzā Kamrān also came out to meet him with the intention of fighting. Every day one or two 13 of his noted Amira deserted and joined the army of Humāyūn. In very truth the greater

1 MS. (B) omits the portion in brackets.
2 MS. (A) omits ی ناش. 5 MSS. (A) (B) omitilla.
4 MS. (A) reads لزار بزرگ رست. MS. (B) reads لزار پیچک 6 MSS. (A) (B) read لزار چماقہ 5
6 Omit گ 8 MSS. (A) (B).
7 Literally, lost their hands and feet.
8 The text reads قور بقہ, a footnote gives two variants قور بقہ and قاری من قور بقہ. The latter is the reading of MS. (A). I read for qūrbaga, the word which is Turkish for "an old woman."  See Paret de Courteille.
10 MS. (A) omits یاودشہ 11 MS. (B) insert د پس 32 after خاضر
13 MS. (A) omits ی و دیدہ 14 MS. (B) omits بعزبت گنج باستقبال برآمدہ
15 MS. (B)
part of the inhabitants of the world are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow. Mirzā Kamrān, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the Shaikhs and Ulama to sue for pardon. Humayun, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mirzā, in accordance with the saying "The traitor is a coward," would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kabul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghazni. The whole of his army came over to the camp of Humayun, who appointed Mirzā Hindal to pursue him, and came himself to Kabul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "Verily, He who hast ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place" 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 Ramazān the blessed, in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545), and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:—

Bojang girist mulk-i-Kabul az wai.

"He took the kingdom of Kabul from him without fighting." And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this Muntakhab has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,

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1 MS. (A) عالم حكم "MS. (B) omits علم عالم"
2 MS. (B) صي كورندة
3 MS. (B) إلخابين و إلخابيف "MS (B) reads إلخابين و إلخابيف"
4 MS. (A) صیہانیش_tree reads MS (B) reads صیہانیش
5 Qur'ān xxviii. 85. MS. (A) omits المبارک
6 The Tabagat-i-Abdul (Elliot and Dowson, v. p 222) arrs. "The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 953 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-nāma (vol. 1. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.
7 بی جنگ گرفت ملک غلاب ایزغم. These records give 952 H. Pirinctha also given this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 413).
8 Text كے طالب اطلاع را کوشیدہ دارد "Lit. to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit ڑ") "MS. (B) reads سکین for سکین"
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 Ghâznîn and was unable to enter it, he departed towards Sâkkar, and Mirzâ Shâh Husain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

Humâyûn put to death Mirzâ Yâdgâr Nâsir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshân. Suleimân Mirzâ gave him battle, and was defeated, and 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 Mâhamân Anâka 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.

1 MS. (A) omits مي اختيار MS. (B) omits مي اختيار.

The proverb is Al-hadîth Sâbîn, 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 سباين and a footnote calls attention to the correct reading. MS. (B) reads سباين.

2 MS. (A) reads وس نعمات بالحبوبات عاليات بيكام.

Bar hadârât-i-tâliyat-i-Begamân.

3 MS. (B) reads for شير مادر.

4 MS. (B) reads for مدروسة.

5 Mâhamân Anâka (or Anâkah) was one of Akbar's nurses and attended on Akbar from his cradle to his accession. See Ain-i-Akbari, I. (B) p. 323.

Anâka or Anâkâ in Turkî signîfies 누새 (P. de C.) Fazlu-llâh Khân gives Anagah in the meaning of foster-mother. Read the account given by Niékâmî-d-Din. (Eliot, 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, Mirza, having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise, and when Hājī Muḥammad Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mirza, Mirza said to him "What if I have killed your father Bābū Qaḥqās?" Hājī Muḥammad Khān, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Humāyūn 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 Mirza 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 Mirza and his son Ibrāhīm Mirza, and took possession of them; and Qurāsh Kān, who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping Amirs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humāyūn, 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  b ; i.e., to make foibles.
2 Read  MS. (A).
3 Mirza Kāmrān.
4 Text "by the NAŞĀNA SATAN.
5 MS. (A) (B) read  
6 MS. (A).
7 Text reads  . MS. (A) has the better reading  .
8 A footnote variant reads  " for a thousand objects, as also MS. (A)."
9 Text, MS. (A) (B) read  .
10 MS. (A) reads  .
11 Text, This admits of translation also  " a certain
The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;¹

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kamrān 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,² 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,³ and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khān and ‘Abu-l-'Aziz Khān, the son of ‘Abdu-Ilāh Khān,⁴ the Ozbek king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But, following the bad advice of his Aṭma, who were treacherous hypocrites,⁵ and in alarm about Mirzā Kamrān, he turned back and came to Kābul.⁶ Mirzā Kamrān ⁷ once more broke his treaty obligations, and insomuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way,⁸ and he had to fight numerous battles,⁹ he eventually sought

Zarit." There was a poet of that name, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Ispāhān.

See Mojmā‘ul-Fuqā‘ā, II. 345.

¹ کیورین. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.
² See ante p. 352 n. 1.
³ وصیت مانند شدن.
⁴ See Elliot, v. 229, 230.
⁵ MS. (A) reads "عبد الله خان "Ubaid-Ilāh Khān.
⁶ MS. (A) reads "صغری کراچی منافی.
⁷ The account given by our author is explained by that of the Tabaqāt-i-Kubrī which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Ghachtal chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mirzā Kamrān had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humayūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Dārā Gas taking up a strong position; then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humayūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Osbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humayūn was personally engaged, but out his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. See Elliot, v. p. 231.
⁸ MS. (A) omits کاغذات.
⁹ MS. (A) reads "عور" for "موجود" MS. (A).
aid from Islam Shah, but, meeting with disappointment, and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humayun by the machinations of Sultan Adam Ghakkar at Pashala. 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.
Khwaqnil! 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 اسمهم شاه مارس كمشته.
2 Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v, 222 to 234. MS. (A) reads پرچالکa تارحیا.
3 Mirza Kamran was blinded by the stroke of a lance, see Elliot, v, 134 and 235 in the year 950 H. Firishta gives the tarikh written to commemorate it. ہیشمن پرچالک زیدان سپهر. He closed his eyes to the injustice of heaven. It is clear that Humayun in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghati leaders clamouring for his death. Firishta also says that he made the pilgrimage (Hajj) three times, dying on the 11th of Zu Hijjah 964 H. (Bo. Text, p. 455), October, 1557 A. D.
4 Khwaqni, whose name was Afzalu-d-Din Ibrhim ibn Ali an-Najjar, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abu-Alla Ganjavi; he took the name Khwaqni, as his tarikh, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, as his tashkhat and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab, and entered the service of Shirwan Shah, the great Inqilab.
Maulana Qasim Kahi wrote this tahríkh.

Verse.

Kâmrân, than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,
Went from Kabul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul to God, and his body to the dust.
Kâhi spake this as a tahríkh to commemorate his death,
Pâdshâh Kâmrân died at the Ka'bah.

And the poet Waisi wrote:

Verse.

Shâh Kâmrân the renowned Khusru,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwân.
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 Surkhâb in Tabriz in the year 582 H.

Majinâ'-i-Fuzûla, I, p. 209. See also Beato, obd. & v. Khâqânî.

1 MS. (B) reads ﴾ ﴿. MS. (A) reads ﴾ ﴿
2 This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

3 Pādshâh Kâmrân bâka'bah bimurâ. The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 964 H.

Maulana Qasim Kahi otherwise known as Miyân Kâli Kâbuli. 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 Sânûsan, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badâ'uni laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kâhi spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The Aâtâr-Kâda (p. 180, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulista Na Saiyíds; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Timûr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyíds aforesaid in Turkistan. He was brought up in Kabul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustân in the time of the Emperor Humâyûn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No dâte is there given for his death, which occurred in 968 H. See Aín-i-Akbari (B) I, 566 n. 1; also Beato, O.B.D., p. 144.

4 MS. (B) reads ﴾ ﴿ Waisi (Text).
One night as Waisi was holden with sleep,
He visited him and called him towards himself,
And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
Reply, "The pardoned Šah remained in Makka.""¹

Mirzā Kamrān 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. Ail's well that ends well.²

This event took place in the year ⁵ 961 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 Jalālu-d-Din ⁶ Mahmūd Diwān conveyed
him to Budakīshān and made him over to Mirzā Suleimān. He
was kept in confinement for some time,⁶ and then was released,
and Mirzā Suleimān despatched him to Balkh, by which route he
purposed journeying to the two sacred cities.⁶ When he reached
a valley which lies between Sham ⁷ and the sacred city of Makka,
without accomplishing his object he hastened from ⁸ that desert
to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The
following is the tārīkh of that event:—

'Askari pūdšāh-i-daryādī.⁹

Verse

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?
For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison.¹⁰

¹ Shāh-i marām da Makka wān. This line gives the date 904 H.
² al-‘umārū bi-l-‘arbāqīd. Lit. Fruits are according to
their terminations.
³ MS. (A) omits Sāl
⁴ MSS. (A) (B).
⁵ MS. (A) ⁹ wūd.
⁷ Syria. Ni‘āma-d-Din Ahmad says: "in the country of Rūm," Elliot
v. 234.
⁸ MS. (A) reads ی[ل]
⁹ i.e. 'Askari the bountiful king. These letters give the date 923 H.
¹⁰ In the Ḍiḥlā (xxi. Part 1) we read that honey was prescribed by
Muhammad. "A man came to his majesty and said 'Verily my brother has a
The end of Mirza Hindal was on this wise; that after Mirza Kamran had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghans, and Haji Muhammad Khan 1 Kuki was executed 2 on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirza Kamran made a night attack upon the camp. 3 By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirza Hindal in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 958 H. and Shabkhun 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 twice: 'Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said: 'It increased 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 Hbqbanu-l-Adwiyah that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absinthium (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 Heraclides, 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 gelisamine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, Kalima latifolia and Rhododendron Asalea 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 Asalea 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) omit 2 MSS. (A) (B) omit 3 MS. (A) 4 Road 5 Rose zoro (A) 6 Shabkhun. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The Tahqal-i-Aktari gives another tariq. See Eliot, v. 234, which however gives 959 H.
Verse.

When Fate made such a night attack¹ with the forces of the world
That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
Hindāl the world-conqueror left the world,
And abandoned the world to Shāh Humāyūn;
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 ṭūrīḵā of his death,² I said,
Alas! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a night attack.

Mirzā Amānī also wrote³ the following:—

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose-garden of beauty,
When he left this garden for that of Paradise,⁴
The wailing ring-dove uttered this ṭūrīḵā,
“A cypress has gone from the garden of glory.”⁵

And Maulānā Hasan ‘Alī Khārās⁶ wrote:

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad Shāh of auspicious title
Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night; ⁴⁵⁵.
Since a night assault (ṣabḵān) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the ṭūrīḵā of his martyrdom in ṣabḵān.

Humāyūn bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindāl
upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznīn with its dependencies as Iqṭā’a grants.⁷

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read شیء خونی.
² MSS. (A) (B) omit و.
³ MS. (A) reads مانی مانی Mānī for Mānī (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read یانگ for یافته (Text).
⁴ Read بیجنت for بیجنت. MSS. (A) (B).
⁵ صوریه آب و بسیار شد. Sarve as bāstān-i-daualat raft.
To arrive at this ṭūrīḵā we take the value of the words Bāstān-i-daualat
which is 959, and then take from this the value of the sarve (a cypress) used here for the letter ḏāl, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value, 1, thus we obtain 958 H.
⁶ MS. (A) reads ہمگی.
⁷ See Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett) II. 115.
The Afghans could no longer protect Mirza Kamran, and it so happened that Mirza went to Islam 1 Shah; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islam Shah, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghans of Hindustan and the tribal chiefs, Humayun definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustan. 2 In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairam Khan, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humayun, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahar. Bairam Khan came out in person to receive 3 Humayun and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humayun was furnished, by the good offices of Bairam Khan, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Wali, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandi 4 sect, Maulana Zainuddin Mahmid Kamangar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavi was from Bahlâ, 5 which is a village of the dependencies of Khurasan, 6 and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, may God sanctify their spirits, especially Maulavi Makhdumi 'Arif Jami, and Maulavi 'Abdu'l-Ghasiri Lari, may God He is exalted 7 sanctify their spirits, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairam Khan 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 Salim Shah. 2 MS. (A) reads Banaras. 3 MS. (A) reads Bostan. 4 The Naqshbandi Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwaja Bahlau'd Din Naqshband of Bokhara. See Ain-i-Akbari (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 Kaunaks adorned with figures (naghe). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandi School. Ain-i-Akbari (J.) III, 358, et seq.

Kamangar means a bowmaker.

5 Footnote variant Bahlawan. 6 MS (A) reads Qandahar. MS (B) omits تعلالي. 7
“Oh, Bairam what is your wish! You yourself are as Yusuf and Zalikha in the world.” And Humayun having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the seal of prophecy, may the blessing and peace of God be upon him, invited the Akhund, and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairam Khan took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands; seeing this the Akhund indicated Mir Habibullah, the grandson of Mir Saiyyid Jamalu-d-Din the traditionalist, and said, “Do you not know who that person is?” Humayun 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 Akhund without scruple washed his hands, to their heart’s content. At this time Humayun enquired, “How much water is enjoined by the Sunnat to be poured over the hands?” They replied, “as much as is necessary to clean the hands;” then first Bairam Khan poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khan the relation of the Mahdi, son of Qasim Khan. At last the food was eaten, and Humayun found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby. Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairam Khan, 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 Bairam Khan caused a garment to be made of handsome Kashmir shals, and brought it to him. He took it in his hand and praised it saying, “What a valuable thing this is!” Bairam Khan said, “As it is a suitable garment for a darvesh, I have brought it as an offering for you.” He thenceupon 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.
Many miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'inu-d-Din, the grandson of Moulana Mu'in Waez, who by the order of the Khalifah of the time was for some time Qazi of Lahor, 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 Bairam Khan to practise archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first defeat of the Afghans occurred in the fight at M秋hiwara, 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 Bairam Khan, after making over Qaudahar to Bahadur Khan the brother of Ali Quli Khan Sistani, came to Kahlul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkoman, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Akhund, till he became all 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 Akhund. At last one day, as one of them was saying "He has risen from his bed," the Akhund 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 theirs 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 خليلي مقوى است.
2 MS. (B) reads روزي روژ. 3 Read روزي for موژي. MSS. (A) (B).
4 MSS. (A) (B) read مچمی واره كه شکست.

At page 316 of Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairam. He gained the battle of M秋hiwara and received Sambhal as jagur."

6 MS. (A) omits ضي. The hint given by the Akhund was in true Oriental fashion.
7 MS. (B) reads مین مین. MS. (A) reads مین for مین and omits بهتر.
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.

Humayun, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahar from Bairam Khan and giving it to Mun'im Khan. Mun'im Khan, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustan 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 Hindustan, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahar was confirmed to Bairam Khan, and Zamindawar to Bahadur Khan. Then coming to Kabul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zu Hijjah 961 II. set out from Kabul to march against Hindustan. And the following qita'h was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qita'h.

Khusrū Ghāzi Nasiru-d-Dīn Humayūn Shāh
Who without question excelled all former kings,
Advanced from Kabul for the conquest of Hind;
The date of his advance is mh sād wa khust wa yake.

At the halting-place of Parshāvar 4 Bairam Khan arrived from Qandahār 5 and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus 6 and Bahām Khan and Khīr Khwāja Khān, with Tādī Beg Khān and

1 MS. (A) (B) Manzūmah (A) (B) (B) 2 MSS. (A) (B) (B)
3 MSS. (A) (B) (B) 4 The text reads Parshādur, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read Parshāvar.
5 MS. (A) omits (A) 6 MS. (B) omits سند.
Iskandar 1 Sultan Osbalk forming the advance party, went forward 2 and Tutur Khan Kusi, governor of the fortress of Rohia, evacuated the fort 3 and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion. 4

When they arrived at Lahir, the Afghans of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard started off towards [Lahir and Thanesar] 6 Jalandhar 7 and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbaz Khan and Nasir Khan Afghan however fought a battle near Dipalpur with Shah 8 Abul-Ma'ali and Ali Quli Shaibani, who was eventually Khan-i-zaman, 9 and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands 10 upon thousands of Afghans would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lahoris), and never looked behind them. Before Humayun's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghan Suri gained the upper-hand of Ibrahim Suri, and having conquered him 11 formed the intention of leaving Itawa and marching to attack 'Adli. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humayun had crossed

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1 MS. (B) adds خان.
2 MS. (A) reads سبص می کمده MS. (B) reads بپس بیش می کمده.
3 Read فعل omitting the hamza.
4 The Tabaqat-i-Nabiri says "Adam Ghakar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.
5 عمرالدین منگالدین. MS. (A) reads عمرانم منگلی. The text is correct. منگالدین منگالدین manqalad or منگالدین or manqalad is a Turk word signifying forehead (front) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de C. e. v. so also Fairullah Khan who gives only the meaning پیشانی forehead.
6 These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the Tabaqat-i-Akbari which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lahir.
7 MS. (B) omits جلانبرہ Jalandhar.
8 MS. (A) reads شاہدیور شیا ابتلاعالی in error.
9 'Ali Quli Khan was the son of Haidar Sultan Osbak-i-Shaibani, who had been made an Amir in the Jam war with the Qirilbash.
10 MS. (A) reads ہزار ہزار 11 عامب ہم MS. (A).
the Indus, and the Afghãns, 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 Islam Shah 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 Khán Kāsi with Ḥabīb Khān and Ṣaḥib 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 Afghãns 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 fired from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghãns, 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 Afghãns remained in the light, while the Mughuls were in the darkness and riddled the Afghãns 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
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 Punjāb and Sirhind and Hissār Fīūza was entirely 2 subjungated. 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 Shīr Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Atim 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 side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Aḥūl-ma'ālī, 'Ali Qālī Khān and Babādur Khān made manifold onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able, 9 behaved with due bravery and valour, 10 but could not contend 11 against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled. 12 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 after Shāh Reza. MSS. (A) (B)  
2 MS. (A)  
3 MS. (B) reads for  
4 MS. (B) reads for  
5 MSS. (A) (B) omit  
6 The Tatbāq-i-Akbar states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.  
7 MSS. (A) (B) read for  
8 MSS. (A) (B) read  
9 MS. (A) omits  
10 MS. (A) (B) read  
11 MS. (B) reads  
12 MS. (B) reads  
13 MS. (A) (B) read

وي بقراز نباه و
to which Bairām Khān 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 Suleimān brought thither by the wind.

Another says:

Verse.

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away May be either a Fāridūn or a Kaiqubād.

The words Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this Rubā‘ī.

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 Hindustān, He sought the date in the words Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn.

Sikander then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills, while Sikander Khān Osbak turned towards Dihli, and the royal camp went by way of Samana to the direction of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghāns 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

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1 MS. (A) add after هنام نهائ. 8 MS. (A) adds خم after. 9 MS. (B) reads أسم for مسم. 10 MS. (B) reads and. 6 MS. (A) reads غوين. 6 MS. (B) reads ياد for باد. 7 Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay May stop a hole to keep the wind away. 8 Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn. The sword of Humāyūn. These letters give the date 962 H. 9 MS. (B) reads بلدة. 10 MSS. (A) (B) omit the. 11 Read پنا. MSS. (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text. 12 MS. (B) inserts 5 after معركة. 13 Supply سر MS. (A).
when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his son” ¹ became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli was detailed ² to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramazān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dibli 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 Mustafābād, 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 Fīūza 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 Ḥumāyūn, 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 rebellions.

¹ Qur'ān lxxx, 34-35. ² MSS. (A) (B) (C) (D) (E) (F) (G) (H) (I) (J) (K) (L) (M) (N) (O) (P) (Q) (R) (S) (T) (U) (V) (W) (X) (Y) (Z). ³ The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads. ⁴ A footnote variant reads: Meraj e Diqar Khar Pāzīl Hāman. ⁵ Text. ⁶ Faizullah Khan gives this word as jilad in the sense of In'aín. In the Fathang-i-Anandraj the word is given as jilād or julkā in the same sense. Pavet de Contiello does not give the word. ⁷ MS. (B) omits. ⁸ MS. (B) reads: ⁹ Text.
intentionous, as will shortly be described, if God He is exalted so will it. And since Abū-1-Maʿāli had treated badly the Amirs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally) interfered in their Agā'is, 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; Bairūm Khān was appointed to the office of tutor (Atālīq) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shāh Abū-1-Maʿāli was appointed to Hīṣār Fīrūza, but had not yet started when Qabū Khān Gang was appointed to Āgra, 'Ali Quli Khān to Mīrāth and Sambal, and Qumbar Diwānā to Bādāon, and Haidar Muhammad Khān Aḥlīta Begī to Bāiāna. Haidar Muhammad Khān kept Gḥāzi Khān Sūr, the father of Ibrahim Sūr, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Bāiāna. And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afgānī 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 Rātanbhor and hence to Gājrāt, he would not listen to them, and full like a fish into the net.

Verse.

God carries the vessel whither soever He will.

Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The zamīnūs of the fortress of Bāiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Haidar Muhammad Khān, binding themselves by oaths to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Gḥāzi 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, sending the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this; accordingly he despatched Mir Shihābu-d-Din Nishāpipūrī Bakhshī, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Din Ahmad Khan, to Baiānā to verify the wealth of Ghāzi Khan. Haidar Muḥammad concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary things. Qambar Diwāna had collected a following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sambal, while 'Ali Quli Khan has a lien on the revenue of Sambal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'

And before that 'Ali Quli Khan could go to Sambal Qambar Diwāna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola he fought with Rukan Khan Afghān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn, but was subsequently defeated by the Afghāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort arrived at Badāor, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Ali Quli Khan sent to summon him, he refused to yield to him and said, 'My relations with the Pādshah are more intimate than yours, this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown.' 'Ali Quli Khan upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman

1 MS. (B) reads 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
2 MS. (B) reads 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
3 MS. (B) reads 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
4 MS. (A) omits 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
5 MS. (B) reads 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
6 MS. (A) omits 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
7 MS. (A) omits 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
8 Read here 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
9 MS. (B) omits 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
10 The text reads Malāūnaw (?) MS. (A) reads Malāūnaw. MS. (B) reads Malāūnaw. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malāūn (See Hunter, Imp Gaz. ix. 237) is a hill fort in the Panjāb lat. 31°12° N. long 76°52° E.
11 MS. (A) reads 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
12 MS. (B) omits 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
13 MS. (A) reads 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
14 MS. (B) reads 'ṣīr khwāyāra. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.
(Diwâna)\(^1\) 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\(^2\) in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night\(^3\) from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,\(^4\) 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\(^5\) room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going on\(^6\) 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\(^7\) ears, dig up\(^8\) the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine\(^9\) which 'Ali Quli Khân had laid from outside the fortress.\(^4\)

The people who saw those\(^9\) mines said that from the side\(^11\) of the fort in whatever direction they struck\(^12\) into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of wood arranged under its foundations, bound together\(^12\) 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 Khân would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Ali Quli Khân was

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1. The word Diwâna means a madman.
2. MS. (B) reads اهتداي. The text reads اهتدائي. An incorrect form by imala.
3. MSS. (A) (B) read خود بشبا before ميکشیت. خود بشبا after omitting ميکشیت.
4. This appears to be the meaning, though the word خرد 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. Both MSS. (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct.
5. A footnote variant reads بغل before خالی. The text is correct.
6. MS. (A) omits فسر. Text. MS. (B) omits نت. Text. MS. (A) reads نت.
7. MS. (B) reads طرف. Text. MS. (A) reads طرف.
8. MS. (A) reads نموند. MS. (B) reads نموند for for نموند.
9. MS. (A) reads نموند for for نموند.
10. Text. MS. (A) reads نموند for for نموند.
11. Read پیر. MS. (A).
astonished at this degree of vigilance,¹ and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to ‘Ali Quli Khān 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 Khān, Shaikh Rabīb Badāsoni, 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,⁴ who were the relations of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpūr, 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,⁵ came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although ‘Ali Quli Khān spoke gently to him,⁶ saying “Bow thy head,⁷ 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 Badāson. 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 Diwānī is the cook of God.”

When the despatch from ‘Ali Quli Khān 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., when⁸ Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dīpanāh in Dīlī, as he was coming down, the muʿazzin⁹ uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

¹ MS. (B) omits ای.
² MS. (A) reads حبیلة for حبیبة.
³ Text reads عز المیا. MS. (A) reads شیخزاده.
⁴ MS. (A) reads باربلایش گفت.
⁵ MS. (A) reads باربلایش گفت.
⁶ Text reads که از گلیم بیفت و گی نشانه برد گلیم, but it seems as though we should read بد in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بد.
⁷ Text reads فرشود آر. Supply که مس. (A) (B).
⁸ Supply مس. (A) (B).
⁹ μu'azzin. The crier whose duty it is to utter the azān or summons to prayer. The Azān was instituted at first when the Moslems came from Makka to Madīnā; 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 Ḍān; 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, Nazar Šaikh Jūlī 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 tōriḥā was written to commemorate the event.

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Rūwān
Bihisht āmad maqūm-i-pāk-i-ū gives the date.

and Maulāna Qāsim Kāh 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.
Kāhī made a calculation for the tōriḥā of that event,
Humāyūn Pādshāh az bām uftād 9

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billāl was ordered to repeat Allāhu Akhbar twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.
The foresingers were ordered to be put into the car while repeating the Ḍān to strengthen the voice; probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external mentus is closed. The Ḍān 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’azzin seven years to please God, will be redeemed from hell-fire” See also Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, etc., see Mīndkāt iv, Chapter 5, 6.

1 MS. (B) omit پی آی. 2 Firāshṭa says that he was taken up unconscious.
3 Footnote variant جمعی Jumā’ālī. 4 MS. (A) بیان شب. 5 Firāshṭa says the eleventh. (Bo Text 459).
6 MSS. (A) (B) omit پاداتش گرفتن پا. 7 MSS (A) (B) داریغا.
8 دیشت کم مطام پاک نم. These words give the date 963 H. The meaning is, Paradise became his pure resting-place.
9 همیلین پاداتش از نام ضیافت. 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!

Humāyūn kujā raft wa iqbal-i-ā.2

The following tāriḵh was also found:

Ai! Ah! Pādshāh-i-man az bām uftād.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 Muḥammad 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 console with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign 4 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 6 of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the wuzū,7 nor did he ever

1 MS. (A) reads here إیضا.

2 The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is “What has become of Humāyūn and his good fortune.”

3 MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding tāriḵh. Its value is also 963 H. and its meaning is “Alas! Alas! My king fell from the roof.”

4 We must read  "الثأر" as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has  "الثأر".

5 MSS. (A) (B) insert  "سلطنتش".

6 MS. (A) omits  "و".

7 Wuzū. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muḥammad “Wuzū is half the prayers,” and another, “When a Moslem uses Wuzū it washes from his face these 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 1 the name of God nor of the prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, without Tihārat; 2 and if it chanced 3 that the necessity arose for mentioning a name 4 compounded of this word ‘Abd, or one of the Asmān-ī-ḥasna 5 such as ‘Abdu-Allah or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word ‘Abd (servant), for example he would call ‘Abdu-l-Haiyy, ‘Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word “huwa” 6 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 ablation.” Again “The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablation.” The prophet also said “Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wusā’.

For a full account of Wusā’ and the acts requiring its performance, see Mīkhālīn-ī-Musābīh II. 34, also see Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, art. Wusā’.

1 MS. (A).

2 Tihārat. This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law.

See Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, art. Purifications.

3 MS. (A).

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:

قَطَعَةٌ

يعتقادي درست دار جناتك - اعتجادات بدنك نجرد ست

بندة راي بين شك إز ذلاب خداي - نرهان جر اعتقاد 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 (II) reads

{لاذاه بوسود دار جناتك - إعتيادات بنوع ذنوب مسبت هراغ

5 Asmān-ī-ḥasna The best of names. See Mīkhālīn, xxii. 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are ‘Abdu-Allah (the servant of God) or ‘Abdār-Rahmān (the servant of the Merciful One).

6 Huwa. The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslīmīn, 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 Ismāl-azām or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. See Qur’ān III, 1. La Allāhu illa 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 vakīl, 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 ever very much 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 Saubal, 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 Ṭāfiḍi (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 Ṭāẓ ‘Ali (friend of ‘Ali), or Kafāḥ ‘Ali (Shoe of ‘Ali), or Haidār ‘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

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1 The value of 8 being 5 and of 9 being 6, the word Ḥam 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 "Niyarodi".

4 MS (B) omits "Jābī.

Maṣṣīṣī. This term was originally applied to the Shi‘as who joined Zaid ibn ‘Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, the first two Sunni Khalifas; but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shi‘as. MS (B) alone reads Ṭafṣīṣī. The Text and MS (A) have "Ra‘ṣīṣī.

5 MSS (A) (B) read "Ein Mi‘āma" omitting "Qalam-ī-tausī‘ir." Text and MS (A) MS (B) has "tahūrī" taken writing, instead of "tausī‘ir (drawing), so also a footnote variant."
name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikhi and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the havam and returning, with great gentleness and kindliness informed the Shaikhi of the purity of his faith.  

Verse.

'Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not fail,  
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 poets, the wonder of the age, spung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign. Among these, in Badakhshān was Maulānā Junūni  Badakhshī the enigmatist, who composed a qasidah made up of thirty-eight couplets in honour of that 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 Mīr Saiyyid Žāl-i-fqār Shīrwānī composed in honour of Khwāja Rashīd Vāzīr and the qasidāh of Salmān Sāwajī which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghias Vāzīr, this poet seized, for example the mu'āmīnā, and Ẓahr-i-muzma, the lārikh, and other tricks of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable kārnāma (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it:

1 'Umar Shaikhi Mirzā, second son of Timūr, was the father of Bābar. See Amī-Abbas (B) 1 269.  
2 MS. (A) reads بکلمات ورثة شیخ را بر حس عقیده خوشی بحث چنان دادند.  
So also MS (B) except that اذ is omitted.  
3 MSS. (A) (B) read بیشمار از دامن دولت اور (A) 7 MS (A) reads جنوبی Junūnī.  
4 Text reads جنوبی Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads جنوبی Junūnī.  
5 MS. (B) omits گان.  
6 MS. (B) omits ام.  
7 Luc. Garin de Tassy, Rhetoric et Prosaic, p 165.  
8 See Garin de Tassy, op cit., p 191.  
9 Several examples have been given, see page 601, n. 8.
Verse.

Shahanshah ruth-t-tu la'la o nasrin lab-i tu jān
Hami binam lab-i-tu phuncha-i-rangin shuda khandān
Namī guyam khāt-t-tu salza o raihān khad-i-tu gūl
Shavad zāhir qād-d-t-tu fitna-i-daurūn dam-i-jauān.

And by taking all the verses of this qasida after the manner of an acrostic, the following opening couplet is formed:—

Shahanshah-i-din pādīshāh-i-zamān
Zi bakhsh-i-Humāyūn shuda kānrān.

While again, if the hashw 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) قصيدة qasida.

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 توشیح Taushih. The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are forming Shahansh. See Guren de Tagay, op. cit., p. 163.

3 The couplet 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 Kamrān will be observed.

4 The first foot of the first mazā (hemistic) is called sadr, while the last foot of the same hemistic is called urūz; similarly the first foot of the second hemistic is called sbtulā, while the last foot of this hemistic is called zarb. All the feet intervening between the sadr and the urūz, or between the sbtulā and zarb, are called hashw which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (i.e. a bolster). In the above the hashw of the verses is printed in red ink.

The scansion is as follows:

Shahanshah ruth-t-tu la'la o nasrin labītā jān
Mafī'ī lunu Mafī'ī lunu Mafī'ī lunu Mafī'ī lunu

The metre is thus Hazaj-i-Muṣsamman.

5 The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(i) Hazaj-i-Muṣsamman. See note 4 above.
Rukh-i-tā lāla o nasrīn khatt-i-tū sabzā o raḥān
Lab-tā ghuncha-i-rāngīn qadd-i-tū sitnī-dānān.¹

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,² and with a change of Qāhīyāk ³ and radīf ⁴ in the following manner: ⁵—

Khatt-i-tū sabzā o raḥān, rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn
Qadd-i-tū sitnī-dānān, ⁶ lab-tā ghuncha-i-rāngīn.

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained. ⁷ Other tours de force also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

'aj) Ramāl-i-muṣammān makhbūn, and the scansion is:

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Rumiing) pp. 49, 67, 90.

¹ MS. (B) reads مسکن in place of دوران as also footnote variant.
² The three metres are those given in note ⁵, on the preceding page.
³ Qāhīyāk. This signifies the rhyme of which the essential letter is called the rācī rā, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following.
⁴ Radīf is the name given to a quiescent alif following a fathā, a wādī quiescent following a sāma or a yādī quiescent following a kasra, in other words it is one of the letters I, ⁵ which is placed as a letter of prolongation before the rācī. It is more accurately called رادیf. Radīf.
⁵ Thus in the lines now cited the Radīf is the letter yādī in the words rāngīn, and rastān, whereas in the former verses the radīf was alīf, as in the words rāhīs, and darān. MS. (A) omits و رادیf. See also Garcín de Tasey, op. cit., p. 370
⁶ MS. (B) omits پایه طویق
⁷ For example, we can read

Khunāshāhā lab-tū jān
Ha-ri baṇam shuda khandān,
Nāmī gīyān kha-đī tū gūl
Shāhād zahār dānī-dānān

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 four⁴ couples of a qaṣīdah⁵ some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following qaṭa'ḥ⁶ containing the conquest of Badakhšān may be obtained, and the qaṭa'ḥ also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two qaṣīdahs.

Qaṭa'ḥ.

Tū-i Shāh-i-Shāhān-i-daurān ki shud
Hamisha turā kār fath o zafar.
Giristī Badakhshān o tārīkhī shud.
Muhammad Humayūn Šah-i-baḥr o baš.⁷

Rubā'ī.⁸

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 happily at that time that king might summon him.

⁴ MS. (A) reads چیہر.
⁵ MS. (A) ۱۳۳۰.
⁶ The ۲۲۵⁵ qaṭa'ḥ. Must contain not less than two couples 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 ۲۲۸⁵ qaṣīdah. In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty five couples and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also García de Texy, Rhetorique et Prosodie for an explanation of these and other terms, and Ghāwin, Dissertations.

⁷ The reading in the text, and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read کی‌ئندا ایس دو for کی‌ئندا ایس دو. 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.

⁸ 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 reize Badakhshān, and its tāriḵ was
Muhammad Humayūn king of sea and land.

⁹ MS. (A) adds ۲۲۸۸ muṣāḥar.
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 2 Death, this qasida, together with all the qasidah 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 Nofatu-r-Rashid 2 which I am anxiously longing to complete, should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it.

Another poet 4 is Wafai, by which tukhallus Shaikh Zainu-d-Din Khafi 5 is commonly known, who was Sadri-mustaqill (Judge-plenipotentiary) 6 during the reign of Babur Padishah. There

1 Gushwara. Lit., earring. The first line of a ghalal or gafida, following immediately upon another.

2 The following is the correct reading. Immediately after the gushwara و اگر عمر روزی چند از غریم منفی ره مشت یافت این قصیده مع سایر قصاید و قوایید که در مدینت ایام سیاحی در بخاری علیه نوشته شده یک فراوان فرایند را یافت یک نماینده از ایالتات

3 Nofatu-r-Rashid. There is a MS. of this work of Badani, belonging to the College of Fort William in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 204 (See J. A. S. B. xxxviii. p 126). The title of the work gives the tarih of its composition on the second and last pages. The "second daftar" here mentioned by our author does not appear over to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work.

4 MS. (A) reads دیگر، ونیاکی کا

5 One Zainu-d-Din Khafi, was a famous saint. His life is given in the Nofahatu-l-Unz, Calcutta edition, p. 559, but the one meant in this passage is the Shaikh Zain who read the Khudaq in Dihli in Babur's name after the battle of Fainipat, see Firshta, No. Text, p. 351 and Erskine, Memoirs of Baber, p 306.

Khafi or Khowi means 'coming from Khwaf' which is a district and town in Khurasan. Our maps have Khaff or Khâf one west of Herat. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. p. 445 and footnote, also p. 332 and footnote.

6 مضرع مستقل. Sadri-mustaqill. 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.
‘a a mosque in Agra to my 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, Qabl azin ba panj sāl chil sāla bādam, wa hūlān chihal sāla am, wa ba’d az dū sāl-i-dīgar chihal tanām mi shavād.5

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this Muntakhab saying: Pish azin ba yek sāl panjāh sāla bādam, wa hūlān panjāh sāla am, wa ba’d azin ba dīh sāl panjāh sāla mi shavām.3

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmud-Dīn Auliya may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about “Al Hidāyā mushitarak wa tanāh khushfurak,” repeated this qītāh on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the Qāfī and the Mīr ‘Adī. See A’in-i-Akbārī, (B) 1. 268–270.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read اورزا instead of اورزا مسجدیست (Text).

2 That is to say “Five years ago I was chil ( усп) years of age and now I am chihal ( усп) years of age, and two years hence my chihal (forty) years will be complete.

ل (chil) stands for 33 thus 30

ك (chihal) stands for 38 thus 35

while усп chihal is the Persian for forty.

MS. (B) completely loses the point by reading усп chil throughout.”

3 That is, A year ago I was fifty (panjāh) years of age, now I am fifty-one (panjāh with the addition of Alif) years of age, ten years hence I shall be ( усп) panjāh years of age.

4 Pānā (Panjāh) stands for 60; thus

2 150 3 5

Apparently we should read. ب (Panjāh) which would give 61.

4 This refers to a visit paid by Amir Khuršād of Dihi to Nizāmud-Dīn Auliya, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizāmu-
Qiṭ'ah.

Oh our Šaikh! may there come to thee from God gifts without ceasing,
What am I that I should say "Al Hidayā mushtarak"
Thou sayest "Tashā khushṭarak" as thou didst say before
Make it "Mushṭarak" if thou dost not say
"Tashā khushṭarak."

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 tāriḥa dealing with the circumstances of the conquest of Hindūstān, and explaining its wonders, in which he did full justice to the claims of reputation.

His death occurred near ʿānāb hār in the year 940 H. and he was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had founded,

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nādit-i-Samarqandi, who was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compendium of perfection.² 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 lamba,

Din Auliya. Amir Khusha explained "Al hidayā mushṭarāk" "The gifts are common" whenupon Nizam al-Din Auliya replied," Al hidayā mushṭarāk lišin tashā khushṭarāk [b] "The gifts are truly common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy them alone."³

¹ MS. (A) transposes the last two lines.
² MS. (A) omits حُواض.
³ MS. (A) reads جامع بون. See Ain-i-Allāh, (B) ii. 603 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.

Gūshwāra.
I sing the praise of the looks 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.
Nādirī! go towards the wine-shop,
And pledge thy head and tongue 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 نائب, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

2 غزل. 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 Bijdah, 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 Nādirī, what is thy condition in that road,
At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy there.
He also wrote this Qasīdah in honour of the deceased Emperor.

Qasīdah.
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. Miṣḥatu-l-Masāhib, Cap. xvi. part i.
See Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, art. Ka‘bah.

1 MS. خوشنویم از نیا
2 The text reads معاصر contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاصر
intimate.
3 MS. (A) reads بی جان. Text میریه. MS. (B) reads میریه.
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,

By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both accidental and essential 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 passages will be revealed in thy glory.

Every subtlety of science which thy ruby lip pronounces Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted tradition.

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 disputant will deny self-evident truths.

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1. Givām in the way or support of anything, that in virtue of which it subsists.

2. Arāz o jaquāhir. By Arāz, Arāzun, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to jaquāhir, "an essential," see Lane, s. v.

3. Also kashāhū, s. v. "Flower" and jaquāhir.

4. MS. (A) reads preferably Ayāt al-Dirzm al-Qāhidah, "the hidden lessons," as well as in this place.

5. Mūnī. Founded on certainly, equivalent to "in its established place, known to be false, etc.

6. Māktāb. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he
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 Kibr is also by him:

Verse.

That face is the Qur’an, 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  in MS. (A).
2 MS. (A) reads  and MS. (B) reads  in MS. (B).
3 The text reads  with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads  in MS. (B).
4 The text reads  in MS. (A), MS. (B) reads  in MS. (B).
5 The verse in the original runs thus —

Mushaf ast  and  in  and  in  and  in bahra as  and  in

The word  here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages  written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur’an, (2) affected by  which is a technical expression for 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  the letter  which is first dropped leaving  then  is changed into  by transposing these letters we get  which is the sign of tyranny and oppression. Now  means cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represented by its root  which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable  gives the word  thus completing the enigma or enigma.
The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H. and Mir Amānī Kābuli wrote the following tārīkh of the event.

Verse.

Alas! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtilties Nādirī has departed,
That rare poet 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

Another is Shaikh Abul Wahid Farīghī, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a darveṣh and was 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.

1 MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.

2 This we may read An Nādirī ki. That Nādirī who, or, An Nādirē ki.

3 رفت یکی از سخن و راه. Rait yake az sakhun varan. If from sakhun varan the value of which is 967, we remove یکی yekī that is one, we have left 966.

4 Footnote to text says that the Naṣīḥu-l-Maṣāfir reads Abūl Wājd.

5 MS. (B) reads Abūl Wajd.

6 MSS (A) (B) omit پور after مشهور and insert it after شهر.
The following is also by him.

Verse

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companionship,
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 Fa'irghi 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 pleantries." He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure.

1 Siprud. Rub is said in the Qbianu-l-ughāt to be burned to avert the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in sorcery.
2 Omit پیش. Mss. (A) (B).
3 Mss. (A). 4 A sheepskin coat.
5 Mss. (A) (B). Mss. (A) reads إبیرواحة.
was ready to give five shahrubhis but Shaikh Zain kept demanding more. At last Shaikh Abul-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 shahrubhis 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 Abul-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāḥi 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 tarkīb.

1 The shahrubhi 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 Sultān of Persia, A.H. 807-830 Thomas, Pathan kings, p 327. The purhisher 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 بئین بئین. In the text this word is followed by n (?) MS (A) has what may be read بئین, 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 بئین. (B) B Amād. (A) بئین. 4 MSS. (A) (B) بئین.

5 MS. (A) reads و دیگری حامی نمی‌گذارند Jāhi-yatmädān. A footnote to the text gives and says that Naṣīrīn l-Mudīr writes "Jāhi Yatmiyān was from Bukhārā, his father Yatmiyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name."

6 MS. (A) reads 5 Sind.

7 MSS. (A) (B) read مالار Shāhārīr, but in a footnote gives مالار. 8 تاریخ مصور لاسی.

9 MS. (B) reads for تاریخ مصور لاسی.
band lampooning Sālū, and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muhammad 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 Ḥumāyūn 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 Ḥumāyūn 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 soldiers,
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 استماع فردیده (A) (B).
4 The Text reads خسر Khusur, father-in-law.
5 MSS. (A) (B).
6 MSS. (A) (B) read be Ḵūrade. The text reads qasba zenc. Whoremaster.
7 Text بره with a footnote بره for بره.
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.
Jâhi 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 misqal
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 for the camel of Laili?
Or was it the bowed body of Majnûn who had become pale and wan through grief?
The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants.

1 مسقَل or مسقَلَت, called also مسَلال, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., Tâjû-‘Arâs.
MS. (B) reads مسقَل which suits neither metre nor sense.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read خيَّاب, خيَّاب for خيَّاب. A footnote variant in the text is خيَّاب.
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 rā dar silk-i-huddâmi tū mikhwâhad falâk. (The very heaven wishes to enrol self among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the asâdâh of Nizâm Asârâbâdî, which runs thus,—

Shâb mujâm az majmâ-i-mardum mîshânâ divânda and
Waz mah i nu返还 tâzâ harfe darwîyân divânda 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.

Rudâ'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 4
The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent-moon as the hook. 5

Text. MS. (A) reads بھر بر گدار. MS. (B) reads بھر بر گدار. MS. (B) reads بستہ ژگ کہ باسٹن. The dâr 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 رنک رنک. ژگ. ژگ.

4. MS. (A) reads اپنہ پوچ را ہک. ژگ بازی 9 qabâq bûzi. Qabâq signifies in Türkî a gourd; in ancient times the Turkomânîs used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd.
5. کپاک. The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of qabâq audâzî. (Qârân.-Jughâz.)
Bairām Khān 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 qabqāq¹ 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 Niṣārī Tūnis. The death of Aīnulā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Hādīdār Tūnisī, 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 Malikul-Muʿjamīmin² of the time of Humāyūn Pādeṣhāh, 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,² accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure Fatimah, upon them be peace,³ is read during the ‘Askūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Hussain.⁴

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¹ The text reads كاب and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kāf-i-kalim (ك). MS. (A) however has qabqāq. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife.
² Prince of Astrologers.
³ Husain, the second son of 'Ali by his wife Fātimah, daughter of Muhammad, was slain at Karbalā, A. H. 61. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam.
⁴ Al-Batil. The word batil literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article al, in its application to Fātimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. See Lane s. v.
⁵ عليهم السلام 'alaihamas-salam. MS. (A) The text reads لله السلام, with a footnote variant لله السلمي, 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.
⁶ معركة māʾarīk 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.  

Rûdā’î.

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 Ḥaidar Tûnî was an arrant coward and spiritless;  
accordingly in the months of the year 985  İl. he had entered the service of Ḥumâyûn; 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.  I asked saying, May be you regret having gone on the Hajj?  and I repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals said to the poet Qudâl.  

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1 The pathetic story of the death of Ḥusain slain in his attempts to quench his thirst, forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muharram. See Hughes’ Dict of Islâm, art. Muharram, and Al-Ḥusain, where a full account of Ḥusain’s death is given.

2 MS. (A) reads مبشر, MS. (A) (B) omit مبشر.

3 MS. (A) omits وکام.

4 Text دهانش, MS. (A) دهانش, MS. (B) دهانش.

5  Hajj or greater pilgrimage.

6 Mr Ḥussain Qudâl of Kârbalâ, see Amīr-Akbarî (II) I. 602.
Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns, 1
Of the coming to the Ku'tbah you are probably repentant

He repined instantly, "Yea! verily." The king said, why should he repent of having visited the Ku'bah, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathīn 2 Khan, 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 Hādīr, 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 attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustān. Another is Shāh Tāhir Khwāndī 6 Dākkānī, the younger brother of Shāh Jāfār; the Ulāma of 'Irāq, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from Khwāndī 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-tawārīkh of Ibn Asir Jazari, 8 and also in the Lubbiu-t-tawārīkh 9 of Qāḍī Yahyā Quṣwīnī, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with Shāh Tahmasp, but

1 Kharīntī: See ante, p 530 n 1.
2 MSS. (A) (B) reads Mathīn: See ante, p 530 n 1.
3 MS. (B) reads Shāh Tāhir Khwāndī: See ante, p 530 n 1.
4 MS. (A) reads Shāh Tāhir Jumāī: See ante, p 530 n 1.
5 MS. (A) reads Hādīr: See ante, p 530 n 1.
6 MS. (A) reads Khwāndī: See ante, p 530 n 1.
7 MSS. (A) (B) reads Ḫāzīn: See ante, p 530 n 1.
8 The author of this celebrated history which is also called Al Kāmil fi ṭarīq (the perfect history) or more commonly Al-Kāmil, was Shāhīb Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abū-l-Karān Mūhammad ibn Mūhammad ibn 'Abdū-l-Karīm ibn 'Abdū-l-Wāhid aṣ-Ṣūrānī, commonly known as Ibnu-l-Asīr.
9 He is called Al Jazari (the islander) from his birthplace the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born 655 H. (1259 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1233 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson, II, 244, and Hājī Khuṭbah, 973.

The text reads 'Abdū-l-'Uḏbīqī: See ante, p 530 n 1.

9 The author of this work was Yahyā ibn 'Abdū-l-Latīf Quṣwīnī (Dimāḥqī) who died 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson IV, 293 and Hājī Khalīfah, 11076.
eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship, and the excessive annoyance caused him by Mir Jamālūd-Dīn Sadr Astarabādi, to proceed to the Dakkān, 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 dignities ² reached the rank of ʿJumlatu-l-Mulk (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shiʿah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tāhir.³ Nizām Shāh Bahārī, who was afflicted with an incurable ⁴ malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue ⁶ of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Jeʿfar, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of Istiʿāraj, he attributed to the miraculous powers (kavāmāt) of Shāh Jeʿfar, ⁶ and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

¹ MS. (A) reads ⁸ MISS. (A) (B) ² Shāh Tāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son ʿAbdu-l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of ʿAbī Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUṣmān, who are the three first Khalīfatūs of the Sunnis, from the Khulūbah, and to substitute those of the Ināmā, thus proclaiming himself a Shiʿah. See Firishtā, Bo. text. II. 220 et. seqq. Briggs, (III. 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

³ Read ⁴ MS. (A). ⁵ Bāṭī il-nisr kawālī. ⁶ Mariānī. This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MISS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read ba-fazlī. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of ʿirk, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the Ḥizkāt 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 jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil-eye. See Mīshātū-l-Mūsābī, XXI. Part II.

² MS. (B) reads ⁶ صنعتي مي دار. ⁶ ʿIstāraj. In the Koṣkhāj this is defined as follows: “A supernatual 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 Ṣuḥaibū-l-Muḥāmādīyah. ʿIstāraj is a supernatual occur-
tenets of Sunnat and Jumā'at, which he held as one of the Mahdawiyyah, and became a fanatical heretic. What cruel and vexatious treatment as accused 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 Tahir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Nizām Astarbādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his qaṣīda written in eulogy of Humāyūn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwārī.

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 mu'ājira, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called Thānat. 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 karāmat; that performed by the ordinary believer is called ma'tanat, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called istidrāj.

Kashfī 1. 463.

1 The word Sunnat means literally ‘a path’ and the Sunnis are known as Ahl-i-Sunnat “the people of the path.” The Sunnis have claimed 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 Jumā'at, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of sunnatun mu'ākhdadun an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called Ahl-i-sunnah wa jumā'ah.

5 For an account of the Mahdawi sect, see Aḥnā-Akhbāri (B.) I., pp. iii. iv.

4 mutarrafi-ri-phāli. The meaning appears to be “became more of a Shi'ah than the Shi'ahs themselves.” The form of the word mutarrafi requires some such translation.

5 māshā'īm MSS. (A) (B) read.

6 Rūfī lit. forsaking. The Sunni Muslims call all Shi'ahs Rifi or heretics.

7 Ḥamal, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.
Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by Bahman and Dai,  
And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal.  
The following Qasidah in praise of the Prophet is also his, although the gurz-gah,  
may 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.  

Qasidah.

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 Naishan, with the keen blood-hued dagger of the lightning
Erase the word "ice" from the pages of the earth's surface.
The close-eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Gabaka?
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 Bāhman-o-Dāi. Dāi is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh month of the Persian year: they answer to December and January. See Al-Birūnī Chronology, p. 52.

2 صنبل Sandal. Santalum album, N. O. Santalacæ.

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 Ḥakīmat-al-Adwīya recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose-water. See Ibn Bajlar II, 138. See ante, p. 424 n. 1, also Drury, Useful Plants of India, p. 283.

3 مانغوبه This word is used to connote eulogy of either the Prophet or holy men (Waiz).

4 گوریکا Gūrīq-gāh. Point of departure. This name is given to that portion of a qasidah in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant upon the qualities of the person eulogised.

5 MS. (A) omits علیه السلام also حضرت and -

6 Text حرف فرق harf-i-harf. MS. (B) reads حرف هرف harf-i-harf.

7 The Turks are called tace-chapīn close-eyed, and the red petal or rood cap of the Qisilbāgh.
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\(^1\) 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 Jew 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 tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touch-stone.
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\(^3\) 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\(^4\) nightingale,
And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

---

\(^{1}\) Text reads كپانک. MSS. (A) (B) read كپانک, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. \(\text{قہنیات}\).

\(^{2}\) Read رابوری قمیش. MSS. (A) (B).

\(^{3}\) Text reads ستھرک but we should read ستھرک. MS. (A) reads ستھرک for ستھرک.

\(^{4}\) MS. (A) reads ستھرک for ستھرک.
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 48
talons,

1 boštân efrûz. A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-
Kharūs (Cockscomb) and Gal-i-Yūsuf. (Burhān-i-Qātī) Amaranthus caudatus
Love-lies-bleeding or Celosia cristata (Cockscomb) N. O. Amaranthaceae.
2 Siprâk a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Stein.azz). This
line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the
rose.
3 MS. (A) reads گد for دی.
4 This couplet is in MS. (A), as follows.—

زود باشد گد از زین کلک شجعه دی
گرجرنگ رعایتی راگنجین یک یک
The text reads گد یکشین instead of.

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,
Birjas 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 tyrannical strangers,
The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise and glass beads;
Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of Fadak.
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 is also well-known:

Verse.

In this grief-populated world joy has departed from my sorrowful heart.
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 of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.
The following qasidah also 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;

touchs the skin may fall from any height without injury, as the stone attracts to itself the whole force of the blow. Mani Malā I., p. 88. It is also supposed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Turquoise is commonly worn set in an amulet.

1 Fadak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muhammad. After his death, when his daughter Fatimah 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 ام.

4 Text reads در غم اولادت عشق از دلم ناشنا رفت. In grief for her the joy of love has left my sorrowful heart.

5 MSS. (A) (B) read قصيدة از دلم ناشنا رفت for قصيدة. MS. (A), 6 Insert شرارة after MS. (A)
His death occurred in the year 952 H. in the Dukkan and for the tāřīkh of his decease the words Ṭābi‘u ahl-i-l-bait were devised.

Another is Khwāja Aiyūb ibn Khwāja Abūl-barakāt, who was one of the hereditary grandees of Mawarā-an-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 Hindustān. 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 maṭla‘ of one of his own poems on the learned men of the age.

Verse.

The field of my hope became parched, and a famine of faithfulness followed. 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 homistich was meaningless, and in its place he should have written tā (ت). The Khwāja repeated the following qī‘ah extemporae by way of excuse:

Qī‘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.

1 MSS. (A) (B) Tābi‘u ahl-i-l-bait. Follower of the people of the House. See Qur‘ān, xxiii. 33. The text omits the article الل before البیت, which is correct, as the date required in 952
2 Text reads ایواب. 3 MS. (A) reads ابو الیکرک Abū-l-barakāh.
4 MS. (B) reads مکتتبی for مکتتبی. 5 MS. (A) again reads Abū-l-barakāh.
6 MS. (A) omits خوئه here. 7 MSS. (A) (B) omit خوئه here.
8 MS. (A) reads خشک شد کشت ابید ما و شد تخت ونا.
9 There is great cleverness of construction in the original qī‘ah, in the last line we should read نکنند hū-lumand for نکنند na ‘umand, and in the last but two lūmū for lūmū. 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 Qāżi 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 Qāżi, 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 *takhallus* of *lyūb* and sometimes that of Fīrāqī; 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,
Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened],
And thine eyebrows are extended like the madda over the Alif.
Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou has 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.

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of
that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the Khwājā.

Accordingly, so desirous was he of his society that he joined
him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begams, in the hope that
he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and
rectitude, but the Khwājā was held so close a prisoner 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

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 Khwājā what sort of manners are these!" The Khwājā
sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,
and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

1 An Alif 1 with a curved line written across it horizontally is called Alif maddāda. This cross line was originally the word م، mudd which means lengthening or prolonging.

2 MS. (B) transposes the two last lines.

3 MS. (A) omits از بـس ک۰ شاید کۤ

4 MS. (A) reads غرفتار

5 MS. (A) reads ممطحه مبارکة

6 MS. (A) omits MS. (B) omits ممطحه
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 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. Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed him a daily allowance of one ashrafī for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bazaar of Ahmadabad, seeing the Khwaja in the Tirpuyla mosque, he reined back and with great kindness and empressement asked “How is the Khwaja 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?” Sultan Bahadur notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.

Just at that time too Shah Taher Dakkani came to Gujrat with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassage from Nizam Shah Dakkani, and having heard such high praise of the Khwaja, 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 khil'at, a horse, and a bag of coin and valuable gifts in his own lodging, sent the Khwāja an invitation. In the warmth of their meeting and the enthusiasm of their conversation, suddenly the conversation turned upon religion and sects. The Khwāja enquired of the Shāh, 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'īn) is an element of faith (Imān). The Khwāja rejoined, 'Curses on a faith of which cursing is an element.' The Shāh 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 Dākkan, and had an interview with Nīzām Shāh, who likewise sent all that was necessary to his honourable reception, and received him cordially, but neither there could the Khwāja 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 rein of my restive, basty and audacious pon 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 مضغب.
2 مصتفدهین Mujahid. Mujahid (one who strives) is the highest attainable unto among Muslim divines. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s. v. and Jāmā'ī.
3 MS. (A) مقالات نمودنی.
4 MS. (A) reads گچت for گچت.
5 MS (A) reads خوی کشید for تندرو.
6 MS. (A) reads For نشیند for خوی کشید.
Verse.

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
Even 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 time² 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 himself³ 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. Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author.

Qīnaḥ

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent;
If I should die,⁴ 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 كل إناء ينذم ببابته. Every vessel exudes what it contains.
² MS. (A) (B) which omit "بما و اختصار" تعالي و تقدم مسب "بما و اختصار" تعالي و تقدم.
³ MS. (A) (B) which omit "بما و اختصار" تعالي و تقدم.
⁴ MS. (A) (B) which omit "بما و اختصار" تعالي و تقدم.

The end.
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Fakhrud-Dīn Kūjī, Malik, one of the Malikas of Sultan Shamsu-Dīn Iyāltimāḥ, 120 n 2.
Fakhrud-Dīn Kāsh, Imām, a doctor.
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of the Shāfi‘ite sect, contemporary of Sultan Ghayūn-ud-Dīn and Mū‘izzu-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, 73 and n 1 and 2.

Fakhr-ud-Dīn Sulhād, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muhammad Turhāq Shāh, 308, 309.


Fakhr-ud-Dīn Khwāja ‘Amid-u-Dīn, 99 n 4, 138 n 1. Same as the above.

Fal, a good omen, 412 n 1.

Fallon’s Hindustāni Dictionary, 528 n 1.

Fals, a coin of small value, from the Latin folis, 18 n 2.

Faran, weasel or stoat, 158 n 4.

Farākhtī, the Historian, 10 n 1.

Lāqēr, vertebrum of the back, 74 n 2.

Lāqērā, a vertebra of the back, 74 n 2.

Lāqērā, a sort of waving ornament on the blade of a sword or else a notch on its edge, 75 n.

Lāqirā, various religious orders of, 510 n 4.

Lārī, one of the two chief divisions of ‘Ima‘u-l-Figāh, 5 n 4. [and n 9.

Farag, town of, in Bīlūchisṭān, 420

Farah, a town at a distance of ten krohs from Agra, 542.

Farahbād district, N. W. P., 155 n 1. See also under Farukhābād.

Farā‘ūn (Fir‘aun), the Pharaoh of Egypt, 137, 501.

Farazdaq, Abū Firās Hammām ibn Ghālib, the celebrated Arab poet, 286, 297 and n 1 and 2.

Farhād, the lover of Shīrūn, in the romance of Khusraw-u-Shīrūn, 279 and n 3.

Farhang-i-Anandarāj, a Persian dictionary, 506 n 6.

Farhat-ud-Mulk, Malik Mufarrīh Sul- tānī, Governor of Gujarāt, under Sultan Fīroz Shāh, 334 and n 3.

Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shāikh, the famous Muḥammadan Saint, 233, 460. See under Farīd-ud-Dīn.

Farīd Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān Sūr, original name of Shīr Shāh, 481 and n 5, 496, 467 and n 6.

Farid Khān, infant son of Sultan ‘Alān-ud-Dīn Khilji, 289.

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Farid Tāran, one of the Amirs of Islam Shāh Sūr, 497.

Farīd-ud-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shāikh, grandson of Farrah Shāh of Kābul,—a famous Muḥammadan saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6, 133 n, 135 n, 355 n 1, 382 n 2. See also under Farīd.

Farīd-ud-Dīn Has‘ād Ganj-i-Shakkar, 132 n 6. Same as the above.

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Fārīghī, a poet of the time of Humā yūn, 616, 617. See under Abū-l-Wāhid.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amirs of Sultan Bahlul and also of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, 411 and n 7, 412 n 2, 414, 418.

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Farukhī, Ḥakīm, a famous Persia
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Fathabād, founded by Sultan Firuz Shāh, of the Tughrī dynasty, 324 n 2, 325 n 2, 365.

Fatapur, otherwise known as Sikri, one of the dependencies of Multān, 80 n 5, 97, 325 n 5, 363, 366, 376, 433, 442, 443, 445, 446, 456, 508, 535, 600.

Fatpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 456 n 6.

Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad and wife of 'Ali, 151 n 5, 156 n 5, 303 n 4, 622 n 3 and 4, 631 n 1.

Fatees, legal decisions by a Mufti (q. v.), 317 n 6, religious or judicial rulings, 507 and n 7.

Farihat, Qāzi, or Qāzi Ignammy, 474 and n 6. See under Qāzi Faqīlat.

Faqīlat, Qāzi, the Qāzi of the army of Shīr Shāh, popularly known as Qāzi Fāqihat (q. v.), 474 and n 4.

Farīn ilah Barkhī, Malik, styled Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amirs of the Tughrī Shāhī dynasty, 351 and n 2.

Farīn ilah Khānīr, Turkish Persian Dictionary, 382 n 2, 483 n 2, 497 n 1, 573 n 1, 580 n 5, 592 n 3, 596 n 6.

Fāzz, the first arrow in the game of masr, 369 n 1.

Ferashīta. See under Ferāshīta.

Fida, the—disciples of the chief of the Mulahudah borettas, 73 and n 2, 122 and n 3.

Fībānūn, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 n 2.
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Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 n 4.

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Firâq, tasnîmah or poetical name of Khwâjâ Aiyûb ibn Khwâjâ Abûl-Barakât (q. v.), 633, 634.

Firâqnamah, one of the poetical works of Salmân Sawaij, 571 n 9.

Firdâsî, the celebrated author of the Shah-nâmâh, 17 and nn 1 and 3, 32 and n 1, 88 n 2, 461 n 6.

Firdûsî, Hâkim, 17 n 3. See under Firdâsî.

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Firoz Nāhī Barbak, Malik, one of the Amirā of Sultan Muhammad Tughrāl Shāh, 312.
Firoz, Rāi, a contemporary of Sultan Mubāarak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382, 390. [535, 537.
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Firūza, fortress of, 384 n 6, 375, 378. See under Hissār Firūzah.
Firuzābād, on the Jamna. See under Firozābād.
Firuzi Amira, the.—purism of the house of Sultan Firoz Shāh (q. v.), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352.
Firūz-Koh, capital of the country of Ghur, 60 n 2, 63 and n 1, 68, 78.
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Fulad, a Turkbacha slave, servant of
Saïyid Sâlim of Tabarhindah
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Fumâ, in Chinese, equivalent to the
Mongol Gurâan, which means
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Furruckâbâd, N.-W. Provinces, 218
n 3. Properly Farraâbâd.

Furû', one of the two chief divisions
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Futâhû-i-Buldân of al-Bilâsari, 11
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Futâhû-s-Salâtín, an historical work,
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Gabriel, the Angel, 68 and n 2, 93,
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Gajratâi, or "the Lords of Elephants,"
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Galkhârs, the,—a tribe of the
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Garin de Tassy, Rhétorique et Pro-
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Gardaiz, a district lying between
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Gahr-Katinka, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 n. 2.
Gahr, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihâr and Bengal, 437 and n. 5.
Garmir, a province of Khuristan, 48, 65 and n. 1, 81, 68, 573.
Gahspâh, Shâh, of the first dynasty of Persian kings, 84 and n. 2, 85.
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Gurila, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spoken or nd, 374 n.
Gatwînâ, the, a tribe of the Jats, 122 n. 1.
Gaur, old capital of Bengal, 82 nn. 3 and 4, 83 and n. 2, 458.
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Gauria, See under Muhammad Khân.
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Gova, the, a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n. 7.
Gavan, village of, on the banks of the Jumna, 327 n. 6.
Gayberth, the Adam of the Persians, 290 n. 3.
Gaz, a measure of length, three kinds of, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n. 5.
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Geo, one of the heroes of the Shahnameh, 116 n. 5.
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Gurâwârî, one of the attendants of Afrâsinâb, in the Shahnameh of Firdawsi, 160 n. 2.
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Ghâblu Khân, Governor of Samana under the Taghiya Shâh dynasty, 319, 352, 360, 465 n. 6.
Ghalla-t-jûwarî, the smaller millet.
Ghânîn ibn 'Ulwân, one of the three chief lords of Shaddâd ibn 'Ad, 262 n.
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Ghāzī-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 283 n 5. Called also Badra-i-Sākūn.

Ghaur, a province lying between Herāt and Ghurjastan, 43 and n 4. See also under Ghur and Ghur.

Ghawan-l-‘Alam Ḥazrat Shaikh Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyā‘ī, the Mul-tānī, 133 and n 2. See under Bahāū-d-Dīn Zakariyā‘ī. [6 n 4

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Ghāzī Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodi, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 435 n 9, 436, 437, 438 and n 5.

Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghān, 549, 650, 553, 557, 597, 598.

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Ghāzi, one who fights in the cause of Islam, 356 n 4.

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Girat Singh, Rāi, Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sultan Bahlūl Lodi, 408.

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Goban, a district of the N.-W. Provinces, 122 n. 1.

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Goliard, Dictionary of the Arabic Language, 609 n. 5.

Gonde, the,—a tribe of Hindūs, 438 and n. 4.

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Qurān, seven mansils or divisions of the, 6 n 1.
Qurči, armed soldier in Turki, 215 n 3.
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Ṣīffin, a celebrated battle between ‘Ali and Mūʾāwiyah, 157 n 2.

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Sipār, Rāī, Governor of Itwā, contemporary of Khirr Khān of the dynasty of the Bahyids, 339 and n 5, 381.

Siprak, a herb, 629 and n 2.

Sīpra-river, the,—in Māliw, 25 n 4.

Sīprā, a herb, 629 n 2.

Sīqāz, a sullen stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 5.

Sir, Rā, ruler of Ba它可以 contemporary of the Firuz Šahī dynasty, 460 and n 5.

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Sirāt-i-Mastagim, the hair-like bridge over Hell, 672 and n 2. See also the above.

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Sohhā Nath, or Lord of Beauty, name of the idol of Somnath, 28.

Soghdī, the name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.

Sohrūb, son of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Iran, 499.

Solimān (Solomon), 143 n 1.

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Soma, name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 n 2.

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Somavātuḥ—or

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Sonipat Bāngar, district of Hindūstān, 122 n 1.

Sonorgong; same as Sunārgān, 185.

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Strabo, the Greek geographer, 23 n 1 and 3.

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Subhān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 n 7.

Subha-1-Abir, one of the poetic works of Maulūn ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Subh-1-Kāzb, the false dawn, 115 n 3.

Subuktigin, Nṣira-1-Diu, ruler of Kābul and Ghaznīn, 13 and n 1.

Sura, a silken stuff, brocaded with gold, 643 n 8.

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Ẓīāl-d-Dīn Khayānī al-Fārsī, the Poet Ẓīāl, 33 n 1. See under Ẓiāl.

Ẓīāl-d-Dīn Qāṭī Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultan Qutbu-d-Dīn Khaljī, 238, 259, 280.

Ẓīāl-d-Dīn Tahkīl,—or Ẓīāl-d-Dīn Tahkīl, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Ghori dynasty, 69 and n 3.

Ẓīāl-i-Mulk Shamsu-d-Dīn Abū Rūjā, one of the Maliks of Sultan Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 and n 13, 331.

Ẓikr, a religious ceremony, 510 and n 4.

Ẓimānī, Shaikh Hasan, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.

Ẓīrak, a name of ʿUlārid (the planet Mercury), 630 and n 3.

Ẓīrak Ḳhān, the Amir of Sāmāna, one of the Maliks of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378, 379, 382, 384, 391, 396.

Ẓīrquān, name of a place in Khurāsān, 43 and n 3.

Zodiac, signs of the, 75 n 2, 76.

Zorāwar Singh, Rāo, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the old city of Rāparī, 377 n 5.

Ẓū-bahrcīn, in prosody a line of two metres, 245 n 2.

Zubaidah Khītan, wife of Harūnu-r-Rashīd, 288, 287.

Ẓūrah, the planet Venus, 138 n 3.

Ẓa-l-Faqār,—or Ẓa-l-Fiqār, famous sword of ʿAlī ibn-Abi Ṭālib, 74 and n 2, 75 n 1, 106 n 5.

Ẓa-l-Fiqār Shīrwānī, Mir Saiyyid, a famous poet of Persia, 605.

Zūmār, the belt or girdle worn by Christians or Magians, also the Brahmanical thread, 509 and n 5.

Zu-n-Nūrān, title of ʿUsmān the third Khalīfah, 59 and n 4.