A HISTORY OF INDIA
MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARIKH

By
ABDUL-QADIR IBN-I-MULUK SHAH
Known As
AL-BADAONI
English Translation
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 Subuktagin (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work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor’s life-time and could not be published until after Jahangir’s accession.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 Badāoni'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 similar metrical renderings in English.

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

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

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

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

Calcutta:  
GEORGE RANKING.  
July 18th, 1898.

For a life of Badáoni 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:—


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 Nāẓim. It bears no date.

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

MULLĀ ABDUL QĀDIR BADĀYŪNĪ

(A. D. 1540-1615) ¹

(a) Badāyūnī’s Biography

Mullā Abdul-Qādir Badāyūnī was the son of Šaikh Mulūk Šāh² who was the pupil³ of saint Bēcū of Sambhal and was born at Todā or Tādābhīm⁴ on August 21, A.D. 1540.⁵ Some days after his birth, he was taken to Vasāwar,⁶ 18 miles north-east from Bharatpūr in Rajasthan, where some members of his family had taken their abode. At the age twelve, he was taken by his father to Šaikh Hātim Sambhalī to receive his education at the feet of the last-named at Sambhal.⁷ He went to Agra in A. D. 1558-9 and studied under famous Šaikh

¹ J. N. Sarkar, Personal History of some Medieval Historians, published in “Historians of Medieval India” and edited by Mohibbul Hasan, p. 188, 1968 edn, Delhi.
³ Sarkar, Supra, p. 188; E & D, V, p. 477.
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.
Mubarak Nagori along with Faiz and Abul Faizi. As Abdul Qadir's father died at Agra in A.D. 1562, he went to Badayun, 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 and 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 Badiyūnī lived for forty years in company with Saikh Mubarak.
8a. E & D, V, p. 477, recorded the Hijri year of the death of the father of Badiyūnī 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 sūfis 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 Jamal Khān Quračī and Ḥakīm Aīn-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. 105-7

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid; Luniya, p. 164, has wrongly recorded the name of Jalāl Khān Quračī 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 Şadr and Akbar was smarting under great discomfiture at the overbearing dominance of the former and other ʿulamāʾ of his brand.\textsuperscript{16} "As learning was a merchandise much in demand", wrote Badayūnī,\textsuperscript{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 ʿulamāʾ who blew the trumpet of profoundity 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.\textsuperscript{18}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Mohammad Mujeeb, Supra, p. 107.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid; Badayūnī, \\textit{Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh}, edited by Lowe, Vol. II, p. 172, Calcutta edn.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Sarkar, Supra, p. 188.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Mohammad Mujeeb, Supra, p. 107; C. H. Philips, Supra, pp. 147-8.
\end{itemize}
forgave Akbar or Abul Fazl for the fact that he failed to get due recognition for his merit which he deserved. The result was the severe castigation of Abul Fazl, his brother Faizi and emperor Akbar at the hands of Badayuni in his work "Muntakhabu-T-Tawariikh." Badayuni, 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 Badayuni was a bigoted Sunni Muslim and had nursed a deep grudge and hatred against liberal Muslims and Shiias. He narrated with interesting details the religious differences between the Sunnis and Shiias during the reign of Humayun. He had a passion to partake in the fight against Rana Pratap of Cittor and even sought emperor Akbar's permission for it, as he took it to be a jehad (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-Tawariikh 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 Badayuni began writing Muntakhabu-T-Tawariikh shortly after the death of his friend patron Nizamuddin Ahmad, and completed it in Feb., A. D. 1506. This date is wrong as Badayuni in the third volume of Muntakhabu-T-Tawariikh trans., vol III, p. 536, recorded the date of completing this work as Jamadi-us-Scan 23, A. H. 1004, or March 5, A. D. 1595.
death in A. D. 1615 (A. H. 1024) and, according to Khafi Khan, its publication was suppressed by Jahangir.

Badayuni's *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh* 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 Subuktigin (A. D. 977-97) down to the death of Humayun (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 Sufis (religious leaders), sixty-nine scholars, fifteen philosophers and physicians and sixty-seven poets. Badayuni 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

3. Luniya, Supra, p. 167, wrote that the *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh* was kept concealed for a long time and it appears that it was made known during the reign of Jahangir. E & D, V, p. 479, wrote that this book was kept secret, and, according to a statement in the *Mirol-ul- Alam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahangir who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badayuni's children, that they had been unaware of the existence of the book. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* says nothing about the circumstance; but Badayuni's work was certainly not known in A. H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahangir's reign, in which year the *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* was written whose author complains of a want of history besides the *Tabaqat-Akbari*.

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 *Akbarnama* about Akbar.

(b) Badāyûni’s Works.

An account of Badāyûni’s works, some of which are extant, is as follows:

(i) *Kitāb-ul-Ahadīs*. It is a work on the traditions of waging holy war, better known as jehād. 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 translation in prose and verse, entitled *Namāh-Khirad-Afsā*, 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 *Mahābhārata*, made at the instance of emperor Akbar in A.D. 1582-3 by four translators, viz. Abdul Qādir Badāyūni, Ibn Abdul Latīf Husaini surnamed Naqīb Khān, Muhammad Sultan Thanesri and Mullā Sirī. Each of the four had his
respective share in the translation, but it is not possible
to determine the exact quantum of the share\(^{26}\) of each,
as conflicting statements are found in the various copies
on the subject. According to Elliot, Badayuni translated
only two out of the eighteen sections (parvas) of the
Mahabharat.

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

(v) *Tarjumā-i Tārīkh-i Kashmir.*\(^{27}\) Probably it is
Badayuni's Persian translation of the Rājatarangni,
made in A.D. 1590.

(vi) *Najāt-ur-Raṣīd.*\(^{28}\) Composed in A.D. 1590-1,
a treatise on ethics in Sufi literature, abounding in

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26. E & D, V, p. 478, however, wrote that Badayuni translated
two out of eighteen sections of the Mahābhārata.

27. E & D, V, p. 478, wrote that Badayuni 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 Shāh
Muḥammad Sāhābādī but apparently not from the Rājatar-
angni, for its translation is attributed to Maulāna Imāmuddīn.
XV, p. 2, there were frequent remodellings or translations of
the same work but amongst these which he notices he does not
mention one by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad Sāhābādī.

28. E & D, V, p. 478, recorded that *Najāt-ur-Raṣīd* 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 Munlakhābu-T-Tawāриkh is
mentioned in it.
historical anecdotes and controversial discussions like those throwing light on Mahdavi movement.

(vii) Tārikh-i-ʿAlī 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 Badayūnī. It comprises four volumes, out of which the final revision of the first two volumes was undertaken by Badayūnī in A. H. 1000 (A. D. 1591-2).


(ix) Another work of Badayūnī, now not extant, is Yāqūt’s geographical dictionary. Its translation was undertaken at the instance of emperor Akbar and it was at the express desire of the emperor that Badayūnī epitomised Yāqūt’s geographical dictionary to form a part of Rasidīs Jāmī-ut-Tawārikh.

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

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

30. E & D, V, p. 478, however, wrote that Bahru-ul-ʿAsmār is a work on Hadīs.
31. E & D, V, p. 480, gave the following accounts of Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh in the words of Badayūnī himself: “The writer Abdul Qādir Mūlūk Šāh Badayūnī, in obedience to the orders of His Majesty Akbar, finished the abstract of the history of Kashmir in the year A. H. 999, 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 Badayuni. It was completed on March 5, A. D. 1595.

(xii) Mújamu-Buldain.\(^3\)
(xiii) Jāmi-uri-Rasidi.\(^3\)

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-Ṣāhi and Nizām-ul-Tawārīkh 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 Muntahhabu-T-Tawārīkh. 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 Mújamu-l-Bahrain, Jāmi-uri-Rasidi and Rāmāyan.
TRANSLATION

OF THE OF AL-BADAEONI.

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 desilement 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-Badini. Vide Preface.
2 This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are
commenced.

That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-exist-
ing state or object, opposed to حرف،Particles, which alone convey no
intelligible meaning—حرف،also signifies a letter which is also pur et meaning-
less.
This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the cloak of meditation on men and regions should open the eye of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works and unfading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality, should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the Unity of God, so that I may see with the eye of certainty—nay more that I may recognize that

In thy excellency 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;

1. حديث which is A thing's being preceded by non-existence, and حديث ذاتي which is A thing's being dependent upon another for its existence. Vide Lane, art. 1.

2. Lit. Collar or hood.

3. Cf. Qur’an xli. 53. We will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves.

4. The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islam.

5. سورة الآتيح - قال هو الله أحد إله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كنفاز أحمد. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begoteth not, nor is begotten—and there is none like unto him Qur’an—Surat-ul-Ikhlaṣ.

6. That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellency of Qur’an xxvii. 61.

7. أَلِلَّهُ يَدْعُونَ لاَ إِلهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْقَبِيلَةَ وَلَّدْنَا عَلَى هُدًى مُّبَارَكٍ Is there a God with God? Nay! but they are a people who make pears with him.

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

8. محمد—the literal meaning of which is "Praised." He was thus named by his grandfather ٌأَبُو مُحَـَّل*, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraish to which he belonged, said, "I wish that God who has created the child on earth may be glorified in heaven" and he called the child Muhammad. Vide Hughes, Dictionary of Islam Art, "Muhammad."
Lord of the promised fountain, 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) 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 M.S. (A) has, &c—a river in Paradise.
2 Verily we have given thee al-Keumr. Qurán cxvii. 1. literally means “abundance.”
3 The coronation ceremony of Muhammedan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the ḥudba and issuing coin (ṣiṣna) stamped with his name.
4 Muhammad was said to have no shadow.
5 Thousands upon thousands.
6 The four immediate successors of Muhammed, Abû Bakr, A. H. 11, 'Umar, A. H. 13 'Ughmán, 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.
7 Cf. Qurán xxvii. 51. Rely then upon God. Verily thou art standing on obvious truth.
of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of
the kingdom of the sacred law. 1

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protestor of
the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his
family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination),
we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a
lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the
fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source
of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the
writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to
this present time in which we live, have completed reliable com-
positions and comprehensive works, and have proved the ex-
cellence 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 dis-
sent, 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 Muḥammad (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 con-
stitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading
of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and "a
healing and a mercy for the worlds," 2 becomes a cause of misery

1. The sacred law. Cf. Qurān v. 62

For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law
is always called At-Taurāt (Hebrew אֶת-תּוּרָת).

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurān
is divisible into five sections: 1. beliefs—2. morals—3. punishments. Cf. Kashshāf. Inti-
liḥāṭ-ul-Furān, art. 337.

2. Qurān xvii. 84.

We will send down of the Qurān that which is a healing and a mercy to the
believers. Vide also Qurān 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, 6
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony."

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

1 Qurán 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.

8 I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase

μεθυγχολία. The orthography of this word in Saddi (الشرح في الموحر) gives the etymology of the black humour, but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease. Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so-called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The Bahr ul-Jawahir says

إِنَّما يَتَقَالُ مَالِخْوَلِيَّةُ لِمَا كَانَ حَدَّةً عَن

السوداء غير صدرقة وهو تغير الظنون والفكر إلى غير الطبيعى إلى الفساد والخوف لمشاج سودوري يوحش الروح. It is only called "مَالِخْوَلِيَّة" where it is the result of the humour called "سَوَدَة" (black bile) which is not inflammatory. It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind.

The two chief divisions of Jurisprudence. According to the Istilâhât-ul-Funûn علم الفقه treats of the soul and of all that upperains thereto, thus including all theological science; (Kashshâf Istilâhât-al-Funûn art. 35) cf. al Ashâb wal Nagâr by Zainul Abidin bin Nojîm, (H. K. 774)

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

"And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your heartes" 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 and Qázi Baizáwi up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthraling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and inopportune 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 xv. 67. The number seven relates to the mazils 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 Baizáwi. This quotation is correctly given.

Hájí Abú‘Abdullāh Muhammád ibn Abí Ḥasan Ismá‘íl ibn Ibráhím Ibn-al-Mughair Ibn-al-Ahnaf Yezdibáh, or Yezdezbáh according to Ibn Makún a Musul of the tribe of Jáfí. (Slane Ibn Khalilíqán, ii. 595 ) The last named was a Magán and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islám.

He was the author of Sahih-ul-Bukhári, 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 Khartang near Samarqand leaving no male issue. The is held in great esteem by Musulmán.

Qázi Néṣír ud-Dín Abúl Khárí Avoid Abdullah Baizáwi, ibn Umar ibn Muḥammad, was born at Baizá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qázi. He was the author of many works, among others Alkáyátu fil fíqih, Sháhul-Madhab rash mandáh. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called Anwáru-t-tanzíl. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz.

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

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

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection.

1. is the plural from an inf. e.g. 会让你 会让你 会让你 会让你 会让你

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

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 会让你 More ill-omened than a crow.

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

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind, 'Abdul Qádir 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 Khalifah 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 metropolis of Dehli, 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 conspectus 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'jam-ul-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 translation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imád-ud-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 السواد الأعظم من المسلمين The collective body of the Muslims.

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

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

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

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

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends; accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts, until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the Tārikh i Nizāmī 2 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. Lit. used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on.
2. Khwājā Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, son of Khwājā Muqīm Harāwī diwān of the household of Bābar, is said in the Zarkārāt-i-Qawānīn (E.D. v. 178) to have been appointed diwān of Akbar's household. He was subsequently appointed bālīsh of the province of Gujrat.

The history referred to in the text is one of great reputation and authority, it was called by the author Tabaqāt-i-Akbar-shāh by which title Badānī himself also styles the work. Its name is also known as Tabaqāt-
"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 sparrow's portion on the ground;"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan from the Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhī and the Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh of Nizāmī 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 i-Albar. Firdshta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178)

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

1 The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to rotten. 2 The days.

2 This work was written by Yahyá Ibn-Ahmad Ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindí according to Firdoshta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubārak Shāh. It commences with the reign of Muhammad Sām, founder of the Chori dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultān Syyid Muhammad, 852 A.H.—(1448 A.D.).

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

The name Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh is generally restricted to the work by Baizāví (vide Elliott and Dowson II, pp. 252-253) Its date is about 671 H, (1273 A.D.)
imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition Muntakhabu-Tanwarikha. 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 an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge.

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

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

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

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

1 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-Ádili ash-Shirazi, completed A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D.). The work of Badonsi is known better as Tarikh-i-Badonsi.

2 There is a play on the words ָּלֹתָה tonge which cannot be preserved in translation.

3 The incidents of Muhammad Qásim’s engagements and victories are related in the Ghosh Naam, extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol. i. pp. 181-211.) See also Fatūha-i-Buldán of Al-Bulzurī (E. and D. i. 1. 25). His full name was Muḥammad ibn-Qásim ibn-Muhammad ibn-Hakim ibn-Abi Ṭūqail, and he was sent during the Khilafat of Walid ibn-Abdul Malik 705-715 A.D., to command on the frontiers of Sind. (E. and D. Al-Bulzurī Vol. i. p. 119.)

See also E. and D. Vol. i, Appendix 432, &c.
country lost all order) were Nasiru-d-din Subuktigin\(^1\) whose son was Sultan Mahmud 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 Khalifah Walid ibn-Abdul Malik, he became enann of them and desired to retain them. They however assured him that Muhammad Qasim had kept them with himself for three days before sending them to the Khalifah and that consequently they were not worthy to become his concubines. Walid being very indignant wrote a letter commanding Muhammad Qasim at whatever place he might have arrived when he received the mandate, to suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the Capital. Muhammad Qasim received the letter at "Udhaba" (Oedyper) obeyed its orders and was brought before the Khalifah dead.

The Khalifah taking a bunch of green myrtle in his hand, showed the corpse to Dahir's two daughters, who thereupon told him that they had falsely represented the facts in order to be revenged on the slayer of their father. They were accordingly by his order "enclosed between walls" (Elliott and Downson, Vol. I, pp. 210-211, Appendix 437, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, 345, and footnote). Muhammad Qasim was succeeded in the sovereignty of Sind by the descendant of the Banu Tanum Ansari from whom it passed to the Sumer Ranyds.

\(^1\)[In A. H. 107 (A. D. 725-26) under the Khalifate of Hisam b-Abdul Malik Amin b-Abdullah Kasbar, governor of Khurasan, conquered Ghor Gharyan, the territory of Nimroz and Kabul, and made the latter his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyad and Abbas it was held by the governor of Khurasan until under the Samanids, Alptigin, a slave of that house, withdrew from their obedience took possession of Ghazni and Kabul and asserted his independence. On his death Subuktigin, father of the great Mahmud, 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-Akbari Vol. II 414, because it shows in a few words the changes which occurred during the period intervening between Muhammad Qasim and Subuktigin.

Nasiru-d-din Subuktigin is affirmed by historians to have been a Turk of descent who was brought by a merchant as a boy to Bukhara where he was sold to Alptigin, who from being governor of Khurasan had by revolt against Mansur (A. H. 351) established his sovereignty over Ghazni.

Subuktigin some fifteen years later married the daughter of Alptigin and was acknowledged king by the chief of Ghazni, Alptigin having died two years previously, during which period his son Abu Ishaq was governor till his death. He then became founder of the Ghaznavide Dynasty or the Kings of Lahore. (See Briggs Ferivita, Vol. I, pp. 11-25) also (Elliott and Dawson, Vol. II, 207-221) See also Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Raverty) page 70 and footnote.
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 GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY.

From Sultan Nasir-u-d-din Subuktigin to Khusran Malik, who,
prior to the conquest of Dehli, 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 Turk origin, the slave of Alptigin who was a servant of
Amir Mansûr-ibn-Nâh Sâmâni.1 In the year 367 H. after the
death of Abû Ishâq, the son of Alptigin, by common consent of
the soldiery and populace he succeeded to the imperial throne
in the city of Bâst3 and raised the standard of conquest, and

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

The Sâmâni dynasty was founded by Assad bin-Sâmâni. It held
sway over Khurâsân and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhârâ—from
Amir Abû Hîrî Mansûr died at Bukhârâ 366 A. H. and was succeeded
by his son Abû Qâsim-i-Nâh. (Tabagût-i-Nâsirî, Raverty 44.) For an account
of the Sâmâni dynasty, see D'Herbelot III. 193. Abû Ishâq was
appointed by Mansûr as governor of Chârmin upon the death of his father
Alptigin in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the Tabagût-i-Nâsirî, Alptigin died in 362 A. H. and Ishâq
in 355 A. H. upon the death of Ishâq Balk-âtîn, the slave of Alptigin
succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pîreî obtained the govern-
ment, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subak-
tînî. (See Raverty Tabagût-i-Nâsirî, pp. 71-73.)

2 The Tabagût-i-Nâsirî states that Subuktîn succeeded Alptagîn in
Ghaznîn (Raverty pp. 46-74.)

3 Bîst, the capital of Zâbalistân (vide Abul Feda II, ii, 201) which in-
cludes Khâbul and the adjacent territory as far as Châzma and even beyond.
Derived by Yàkût from Zâbul, grandfather of Rustam. (Ains-i-Albârî
Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 403). “According to the Qâmûn Bîst is
situated in 91° 30' long: and 32° 15' lat.; according to the A'twâl in 90° long,
and 33° lat. Third climate [see Ains-i-Albârî, 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. Jaipal, 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 Amir Násiru-d-dín, the army of Jaipál suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustán. Thus Lamghánát came into the possession of Amir Násiru-d-dín, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name. Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amir Nūḥ-ibn-Mansúr Sámání and was the means of procuring notable victories in Khurasán 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.

YÁMÍN-D-DÁULAT SÁLTÁN MAHMÚD IBN NÁSIRU-D-DÍN GHÁZNAVÍ.

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 Hændmand and is part of Sijjátán. From Bost to Gházná one reckons about 14 marches (Abul Feda ii. ii. 103) Abul Feda further states that at Bost on the Hændmand (Hiémand) 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 Ghaznáh 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 Gházná (See Abul Feda L. ccxivii ) Lamghánát. Long 104°50’ Lat 34°93’ Aín-i-Albarí iii 89.

3 The reading of the خَيْنَة (Khutba) and striking the يَيْكَ (Sikka) 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 Suyútí (Jarrett) pp. 432-433.

5 —— A. Yaqút in his Mushárík, Tárún 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 "Hero am I," he appointed his young son Isma'il as his successor. When this news reached Mahmud who was the older 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 Ghaznin to Mahmud, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh. Isma'il refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Mahmud was victorious, and after defeating Isma'il, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznin 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 Mahmud, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamanu-d-Daulat Mahmud. After this a quarrel arose between Mahmud and Manṣūr ibn-Nūh Sāmānī and also his brother ‘Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Nūh. Eventually Mahmud got the upper hand. The Amirs of ‘Abdu-l-Malik also, Fāiq and Baktūzūn, who engaged in contest with Mahmud, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurasān, of Ghaznin, and the frontiers of Hindustān came into the hands of Mahmud.

Mahmud’s mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zābul.

1 The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigin to nominate his younger son Isma’il. The author of the Taght-i-Nāṣrī ignores Isma’il’s succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigin died in 387, and Mahmud succeeded according to Fandketi in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma’il held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Mahmud in Ghazni, represents his whole reign.

2 The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Mahmud against the nomination of Bak-Tūzūn to the governorship of Khurasān (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, Taght-i-Nāṣrī, pp. 49, 50).

Manṣūr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fāiq and Baktūzūn who then by agreement with Mahmud were to hold Merv and Nishāpūr.

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

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

3 She was the daughter of Alptagin, governor of Ghaznin, which is here meant by Zábul, the words "that is Qandahár" only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.
Tae
sy [ehae ds toceay Qandahar® e} acoiningly, be is called. Mahi

"aba a5: 'Birdanalt 'ebye! ee

Ney boy |

we nes Phe -anspicions 'court of Mebmid mabatt i ie att ogean,

BeNS wa wan ocean: such that zie shore-can be found for re

fae weetit +46 the, ocean——J dived bné found no pearl

oe rae othe faults ig may fortune' g—not that of tite ocean,

ar ohé early part. "of his reign he had 'some nnpleneané cor-

Hesfrondence' with' 'ihe' Echalifah of Baghdid Al-Qadicr -hihahi

: 'Abbaei,®: eventually, the Ehalif despatched a magnificent robe of

2 hoveary: anid many présenta of precious things and gems, and con-

foie, ow 'hint the. title of Amíru-l-Millat Yaminu-d-Daulat.

Leaving Ghaznin he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A.H.,

(997 A.D.) he returned to Ghaznin after having settled those pro-

vinces, and thenne made repeated incursions and forays into

Hindustán, and took several fortresses. 'Asjadi™ composed the

following gasida in honour of this expedition:

When the king of kings marched to Somnát &

He made his own deeds the standard of miracles.

In the month of Shawwád, 391 A.H., (1000 A.D.) Mahmúd re-

turned to Hindustán from Ghaznin with ten thousand cavalry,

° Not in MSS (A) or (B).

† Firdausí. For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32
Note 1, and Mejma’al Fasahá I. 382.

‡ Al-Qadir billáhi Abul ‘Abbas Ahmad-ibn-Ishák ibn il Muqtadir was born
in 326 A.H. His Khalifate lasted from 381 A. H. to 422, the year of his death,
a period of forty-one years. As Sayúfí quoting from Al-Khatib says that
he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character. (History of
Caliphs (Jarrett, p. 481.)

§ Hakim Ábá Nagár, Ábdul ‘Aziz ibn-Mansúr contemporary of Hakim
Ansuri, Hakim Farrukhí, and Hakim Firdúsí. He died in 432 A. H. (Majma’al
Fasahá Vol. I. p. 340.) The gasida in which the lines quoted occur is given
at length in the Mejma’al Fasahá, loc. cit. MS. (A) quotes them wrongly,
MS. (B) is the same as the text which reads عَمَّاً for ج. ‘Asjadi was a cele-
broad poet of Marr. The ‘Tabagát-i-Násiri’ gives another couplet in addition
as the above and attributes the poem to ‘Ansuri (p. 32, note 1).

& Somnát. Situated according to the Qáinún in 27° 10’ long. and 22° 15’ lat.
Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India. Ibn-
Saíd says that travellers often speak of it, and it forms part of Gujerát or
the country of Lsr. (See Bayley, History of Gujerát, p. 18, etc., Alh-i-Álbari
Vol. II. (Jarrett) 245, etc. Abul Feád II, ii. 116.)

See also Alháridi, Indis (Sachau) I. 205, and Index Somanálha.
See also p. 27 of this volume, etc.

[that is to say ‘Qandahár®] accordingly, he is called Mahmúd
Zábuli—en Firdausí™ says!
and reduced Peshawar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipal who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sultan Mahmud gained the day and Jaipal 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 Ghazis, among them a pearl necklet which was on the neck of Jaipal, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand dinars, and the necklets of the others too, on the same

1 Note 1. Dinar.

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

It was during the Khilifate of Abdul Malik ibn Marwan (A.H. 73 to A.H. 80, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Say光 gives the following account: "Yahyâ b Bilâr narrates:—

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

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

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

The denarius, a silver coin was worth approximately 81 or 82, 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 8:5 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 dinar and the dirham, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another dinar mentioned in the Raja Tarangini and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman denarius aureus of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchi inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.
scale. This victory was won on Saturday, the 8th of Muharram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Mahommed proceeded to the fortress of Tabarhindah, which was the residence of Jaipal, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muharram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznin and proceeded to Hindostan by way of Seistan and assaulted Bhátia which is in the vicinity of Multán. The Raja of that place, Beji Ráf, fearing the punishment of the Sultan killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultan. Many Hindús, more than one can number, were harried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Mahommed took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Dáud ibn-Nasr, the renegade ruler of Multán, being reduced to submission by the Sultan, 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 Dáud 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 Afn-i-Akbart (Blochmann i. p. 38) that "the Dinár is a gold coin weighing one miqud, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but as both the dirham and the miqud were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.


Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muharram.

Tabarhindah. Firishta calls this Batiná which is also the name given to Jaipal's capital in a history of the Baja of Jamá. As to the identity of this with Waind, see Raverty's Tabagát-i-Akbari, pp. 76-80 footnote; see Tifffenbacher's map, Vol. III. See also E. and D. II. 438.

MS. (A) has جاپي برون Text has which is evidently an "improvement" on the author.

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

Grandson of Shaikh Hamid Lodi, first ruler of Multán. (Brigge, p. 40.)

Firishta says 20,000 golden dirhams. According to the Afn-i-Akbart, Vol. I. 35, the dirham is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishta. (see note 1 p. 18).
As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of 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 Those events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Baltá between Mahmúd and Ilák Khán, king of Máwán an-Nahr.² Sultan Mahmúd was victorious; Ilák Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkís, pursued Súkhpál³ Nabá, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Ali Sinjúrí but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahomd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhimnager⁴—which nowadays is known

¹ Firishta says by way of Batindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 488) we should here read Bihand or Waihind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

² See Raverty Tabaqat i Nauri, p 62 and note. Ilák son of Bughrá Khán took Buhkár 10th Zí Qa'dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, footnote 9.

See also Briggs' Firishta, pp 42-44.

³ Transoxiana

⁴ Firishta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkhpál Nabá. According to Elliott his name was Sukhpál-Nawáza Sháh, the name Nawáza denoting his relationship to Jaípál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App 444.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilák Khán had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, Hist. of Indiæ, p. 280.

⁵ This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tieffenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol I, he says, "Côtgangra nommée aussi Nagar c'est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 34 and App. 645.

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

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

1 A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose
about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and
in the year 310 H. under Abu Taher, took the city of Mecca with fearful
slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they
retained for twenty years.

(Elliott and Dorman II. 573). (See also Salo’s Qurán, Prof. Discourse, pp.
130-181) D. Herbolet’ Carmate).

2 MS. (A)

3 Firishta. MS. (A)

4 Thánesar. 75°62 E, 20°30 N. ride Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III.

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length,
having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus 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 ridicuole car celui
qui y jette son or n’en recouvre rien.” The water is accounted holy.

He places Thánesar at a distance of 66 miles from Delhi giving the stages,—
Nárpol 12 miles, Sonipat 6, Honor 6, Paupat 12, Carnal 14, Asamabad 7,
Thánesar 9. It lies N.W. of Delhi and is now called Thaneswar. See
Cunningham, Anti. Geog. of India, pp. 330-332. See Alberuni, I. 199.
on account of which the Hindus had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled underfoot 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 Sultan heard that he was of the Batini 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 Bālnāth. Jaipāl II left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmir pass. The Sultan gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sārēgh Kotwāl to defend it, while he pursued Jaipāl. 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 Ghaznin.

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

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

"The city of Tanoshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Chakra svāmin, i.e., the owner of the Chakra."

2 Ghurjistán, or Gharshistán, the country bounded on the west by Herat, cast by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghuzni. See Jācut in voc. Gharshistán.

3 Esoterics, a sect of the Shi'a Muslims. For an account of them see Curton's page 147 — They were variously called "الكرامة" لابانية المزركية تشهير كردن. Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

4 Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tiefenthaler I. 105, in lat. 32° (Alberuni, Sachau trans. 317). In Rennell's map (1782) the Belnāth 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.

5 Son of Anandpal, grandson of Jaipal I.

6 Called also Lohkot by Firishtā. MBS. (A) (B) have ليحموركت.
with Abul Abbás ilm Mánún Khwárazm Sháh, and sent her to Khwárazm.

In the year 407 H. (1016 A.D.), a band of ruffians murdered Khwárazm Sháh, and Mánhád leaving Ghaznin, proceeded first to Bakh and thence to Khwárazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khmártásh, the commander-in-chief of Khwárazm. The Sultan's forces gained the day and Mánhád appointed Altán Tásh governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwárazm Sháh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwárazm Sháh, and returned (to Ghaznin) 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, Kán, the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

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1 For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's Tabaqát-i-Násiri, pp. 231 &c. (Note 2.) Khwárazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gorgang (Jurján) see Abul Fodá II. ii. 200. Chorasmii of Strabo, Herodotus, &c. The Chorasmii are coupled by ancient authors with the Dace, Massagetae and Soghdi. (Smith's Dict. of Geog.)

2 Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hindú capital of Northern India. Firishta states that when Mánhád 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. 67). See also Albarání (Sachau tr. i. 109). (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham op. cit. 376, &c).

Tieffenhaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called "Cannia caesadaj" ce qui signifie la vierge bousse. Vol. I. pp. 193, 194.

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

Indus Sket Sindhu Gr. "Indus incolis Sindus appellatus." (Pliny.)
Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes Sket. Vistáta (Vihat) or Viyatta.
Chenáb Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga.
Biáh Hyphasis or Hypanis Sket. Vipása.
Jamuna Jassion or Yamuná.
(Sec also Alm-i-Albarí (Jarrett), ii. 310.) Albarání, Chaps. xxiv, xxv
MSS. (A) (B) Káñ Kán. According to Firishta the name of the see of Qanauj was Kúpwar Kái, 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 Mahmúd's assault sent a present of a lakhd and fifty thousand\(^3\) rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Mahmúd proceeded to the fortress of Maháwun\(^2\) 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 Sultán arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

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

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra\(^6\) which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and raised 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 Sultán, a golden idol, the weight of which was

\(^1\) Barnah. Firishta gives Harâdat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mirath. Bara. See Elliott II. 468, on the reading بِرَة. Bartah and gives میراث Bartah as the name of its ruler.

\(^2\) According to Firishta 250,000 silver dinars. This gives the value of the silver dinár as \(\frac{3}{4}\) of a rupee. In the Afn-i-Akbart we find no mention of a silver dinár, but the dirham is stated to be \(\frac{1}{12}\) of a dinár; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dinár were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

\(^3\) Vide Tieff. 166. Mahabán avec une forteresse en brique.

\(^4\) The river Juna. Alberuni "the river Jumna (Yamuna)" p. 199.

\(^5\) Kal Chand (Firishta). Elliott I. 462. MS. (A) كُلُهْا ٨ كُلُهْا Kulchand.

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

Mathra or Mühurá, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudhara, —see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 199; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rájá Kansa. Arrian calls it Methura, while Pliny states that the river Jomana (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methura and Clisobora (Kalikavarta or Yrindávana) Cunningham, op. cit. nn. 374-375.
had with him 36,000 cavalry and 45,000 infantry and 640 elephants, and who had put to death the Raja of Qananj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultan, and who had also come to the help of Jaipal, 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 Jaipal, 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 Ghaznin.—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 Jalām.

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

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

He also composed a poem in Hindi in praise of the Sultan, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sultan read the poem, in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the 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. Nanda also sent large quantities of property and jewels,

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

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

2 Abul Fazl (Afn-i-Akbar, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.
minds 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 Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmans of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindi language, is really Sobha Nath, 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 Naharwâla, a city of Gujerât, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnât where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Mahmûd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznin, where it was placed at the door of the Jâmi' Masjid and trodden under foot.

At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairâm Dev, one of the mighty Râjâs of Hindustán who stood in his way, Mahmûd turned towards Maltân by way of further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. Qazwîni died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1284.)

1 Cf. Qurán LIII. 19, 20. Zamâkshârî in the Kashídâf states that Manât was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Ruzail, Khûrás and Saqif, and that it was called Manât (Calcutta Edn., Vol. II., page 1422).

2 Patan. Tichenthaler I. 385, states that Patan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerât, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerât. Its ancient name was Nehroâlîa. It was originally called Anhalpur. See Ans-i-Akbar (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' Firishta, I., 69, 82, Anhalwâra (Elphinstono).

3 Cf. Akbari II. 103.

4 Firishta calls this Râjâ Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Mahmûd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (Kandâmâ Firishta, Ali). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tichenthaler 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 Ghaznin in the year 417 H.

In that year Al Qādir billāhi the Khalifah, despatched a flag with a letter appointing the Sultān to the Governorship of Khorasān and Hindustān, Nimroz and Khwārazm, and conferred titles of honour upon his brothers and sons, and in the same way assigned the titles of Kāhfn-d-Daulat wal Islām to the Sultān, and to his elder son Amīr Mās′ūd that of Shahāb-d-Daulat wa Jamāl-l-Millāt, and to Amīr Muḥammad his younger brother that of Jalāl-d-Daulat, and to Amīr Yūsuf that of ‘Azdīn-d-Daulat—and so forth.

In this year by way of punishing the Jats⁴ of the vicinity of Multān, who had committed many acts of disrespect, Māhmūd brought an army to Multān—and four thousand (some say eight thousand) boats belonging to the Jats laden with their families and property, were sank 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,⁵ 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 Ghaznin.—

In the year 418 H. (1027 A.D.) marching towards Báward⁶, he

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

Elphinstone Hist. of India, 239.

In the Tabagdt-i-Akkār this rājā is called Parama Dev.

¹ For particulars of this march see Briggs' Firishta I, 78. Elph. 290, and note. Tabagdt-i-Nāzir (Raverty) p. 83, cf. Elliott II, p. 103 from Jāmī'ul-Ilkhānī.


³ See Elliott II, pp. 450-451 on the assumption by Māhmūd 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 fschē of ancient warships. This instrument the origin of the modern ram is said to have been invented by the Tyrrhenian Phorcus. (Smith, Dict of Antiq). See also Elph. 291, and note.

⁶ Báward. MS. (A) has ليكاس∂η Νηρ∂βη Βαράρεη RN Μs. (B) is same as the text. Ahward ville du Khorasan est altitude selon l' Afrod 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 values of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amir Mas'úd his older son. He then returned to Ghaznín 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 Ghaznín, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Babi-ul Awwal, 
tude at 37° 20' de latitude. On la pomme encore, dit le Lobáh, Abáward ot Béward (Abul Feda (Reinard) II. ii. 185-188). Firishta calls it Bedward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Pére) p 13, Abiward).

1 A district of Persian Íráq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the Íwad, in long. 76° 20' and latitude 35° 25'. Its original name was Reyy. Ibn Hánqal in his article on Dallam, speaks of Reyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbajían. It is the ancient Rhagos or 'Fardá of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya Ar-Rázi, familiar to the medical world as Rhazes who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles was published in a Greek translation υπó λουτής in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Grosnill. (Sydenham Society, 1647.) It was ten days' march from Esbatana (Hamadan). It was called at different periods Europas and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Isfahán. The famous jurisconsult Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, and al-Kiráfy the reader of the Qurän, are buried there. Persian Íráq comprised the regions of Bevy, Qásán, Isfahán, and Hama-

Ghin. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhagm), (Abul Feda, (Reinard) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 811 et seqq.

2 Briggs, Vol. I. p. 58, states that Muḥammad died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shows that this is not the case. The words are مرض سوء للغة يأ سل يهم رضائنا.

The disease سأ-ul qinya which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vuller sub voce قلت: "pravus habitus corporis, gr. ἦκάλα, while the following translation from the MS. copy of Bahá-1-Jáváb 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 dropsy, but inasmuch as the term dropsy is specifically
421 A.H., and was buried at Ghaznin. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was restricted to another disease, this term ʿul qīyā is made applicable to this condition.

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

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids, become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities, and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is fatuleness and lassitude, 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 dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products, and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and anis and cardamom is beneficial. The food must be appetising 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 sapoents, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add aperients and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease." (Al Muğānt fi Sharḥi Mijas by Sadīḍ).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which ʿalāmād died was not either hectic fever (Radānū) or phthisis ʿum (Firīṣhta), but an anaemia, very probably "idiopathic anaemia" or "progressive pernicious anaemia." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malana 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 anaemia. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV. 168, note 1.

4 This date is the same as that given by Firīṣhta.

Rawley in the Tabaqat i-Nasirī, 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 Firdausi¹ the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí² 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.

Rabfn-asanf, 431 H. (A.D. 1080) quoting the Maqâmât of Amīr Abū Nafâ' by Al-Dahuqf as his authority.

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

¹ Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the Šahī Namah, wās a native of Tūs in Khorasan where he was born about 839 A.H. (920 A.H.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Gusida). He was appointed by Maḥmūd to complete the Šahī Namah. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand mîngâls of gold for every thousand distichs. However, by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Maḥmūd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmūd as being a sobirmatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver dirhams instead of the promised 60,000 mîngâls. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sultan in the very copy of the Shāhnamah which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Maḥmūd's court to Māzanderān and thence to Baghdad. Maḥmūd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 dîndrs with a robe of sana and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See Atashkâda 'Aṣūr p. 92 et seqq, also Atkinson's Shāhnamah, Preface: also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's Indian Empire, p. 318. and Beale's Dict. of Oriental Biography.

² Mulla Nārūd-Dīn Abdur Rahmān (Jamī) author of "Yūsuf and Zulaikha" Bohfritān, &c., was born at Jām in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See Atash-kadâ-i-'Azūr p. 78.

He was called ١٣٠٣ the holy from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vāzīr Amīr Alī Sher. He performed the Hājj in 877 A.H., and died at Herāt twenty years later.
And in the Tazkira of Muḥammad Ufi,¹ the following Qīaḥ has been attributed to the Sultān Mahmūd.

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 last assault, naught then did my splendour avail me
Nothing continues but God, God’s kingdom alone is a kingdom.

Sultān Muḥammad ibn Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī,

Who was styled Jalālu-d-Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father’s will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalān² a relative of Sultān Maḥmūd, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznin, and a month and a half after his accession Amīr Aiyāz³ came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables, took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahābu-d-Daulah Mas‘ūd who was at

¹ Muḥammad Ufi, author of a biography or “Tazkira” Lubālu-l-Albāḥ, and of another work called Jāmiu-l-Hikāyat. The latter he compiled in 1228 A.D. (625 A.H.). He was a native of Merv which under the Saljūq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Nāruddin Muḥammad Ufi. (Beale, O. B. D.). See also J. E. A. S., Vol. IX. 118.

² Called in the Taẓkīrat ul-Mulūk, ‘Ali son of Iyl Arsalān a relative of the late Sultān Mahmūd (Raverty, Tabagdt-i-Nāpur 89 note 8).


Abūl ‘Alam Amīr Aiyāz (Firīshtā).
Sipáhán. 1 Amir Muḥammad despatched Súndlí 2 Ráí the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them, Amir Aiyáz 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 Aiyáz joined Amir Mas’úd at Nishapúr, 3 and four months later Amir Muḥammad moved his camp in the direction of Bust, 4 and came out in full force from 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 Bağıvî 8 it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the 9 Lubb-t-Tawárîkh writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghazna for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas’úd, and after the murder of Mas’úd he reigned for another year and then died.

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

1 Ispáhán, see Abul Feda II, ii 170 (Reinaud).
2 Suvand Ráí (Furishta).
3 The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghán. See Abul Feda II, ii 189. (Reinaud).
4 Fourteen marches from Ghazni in Bajistán, between Herát and Ghazni. Abul Feda II, ii 108. (Reinaud).
5 Takínábád, see Elliott II pp. 271, 293, iv p 193 note 1. Biquetz places it 20 miles N. of Ghazni; see Air-t-Akbar (J) III 68 Long 101° 5, Lat. 33°.
6 The reading with the ab above absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS I have before me. These both read, در قلعة ه 主کت از نور سیب میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this, but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, however I have translated, as it stands; faute de mieux.
7 Variously called Welaj (Furishta) Mangásal (Nizám-u-Tawárîkh). See Elliott IV 193 note 3.
9 Yahyá ibn Abúl Láṭif Qazwíní Dimishqí. Died 960 A. H. (18th December, 1552) (Hájí Khalfá).
Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslán reach the sky in its grandeur.

Come to Marv that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslán 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 Harí to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi whom Sultan Mahmud kept a prisoner in the fort of Kalanjor, made him a Vazir. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghazni and thence started for Sipahén and Raii, and arriving at Herat engaged in war with the Turkománs, and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkománs increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.  

In the year 423 H. Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi died, and in the year 424 Sultan Mas'ud having undertaken to conquer...
Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsati which is situated in the way to Kashmir, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznin with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultan Maš’ud reduced Amal and Sári and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there and sent Tughdí Beg and Husain ibn ‘Ali ibn Maikál with a large army from Nishápur against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Husain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amir Maš’úd.

Amir Ahmad Niyál Tígin the treasurer of Sultan Maš’úd whom Maš’úd had fined and had sent to Hindustán, on arriving in Hindustán revolted and the Amir Maš’úd nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir to oppose him. Ahmad being overcome in battle fled to Mangirá in Sindh and was drowned—his head they sent to Ghaznin. 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
Sultán took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this same year he bestowed upon Amír Maudúd ibn Mas'úd (his son) the drum and ensign, and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindústán—captured the fort of Hánsí and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat. Deipál, 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 Rám who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non-appearance. Amír Mas'úd accepted his excuses and giving the Amír Abúl-Mujáhid son of Mas'úd the drum and standard of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznín.

In the year 428 (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

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1 As tokens of his commission as a general of the army.
2 According to Baláhi, 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'-ll Awwal. Hánsí, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hisár. Tieffenbhaler I. 151.
3 Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress. Tieffenbhaler I. 133. It lies North of Delhi. MSS. (A and B). read

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5 MSS. (A and B)  
6 Firishta's account is almost identical here.
7 Firishta writes فرزند خوشن ابَى لمجیدج ابن مسعود His son Abúl Majíd. See also Raverty p. 95, note 7. In the text we should read إبَى لمجیدج ابن مسعود.
8 Here I follow MS. (B). The readings of the MSS. vary here very considerably. MS. (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان ازب جلیلون (Sultán izb Jalilün) كنیه تهام مکارا انتهرا مخصف شده و داود ترکمن کی تغذیه بیگ و اسیوهسن را قبل ذیل شکست داده و لیشیت تقام قتم قتم قلم نمرد. MS. (B) reads

Preference must be given to MS. (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first نمای and instead of continuing صاورا انتهرا را he has gone on سلما that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shown by the next line where he writes قبل ذیل شکست داده و لیشیت تقام قتم قتم قلم نمرد.
crossing the Jihân occupied the whole of Transoxiana. Dâûd
the Turkomân, who had previously defeated Tughdî Beg and
Amir Husain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amir
Mas'ûd thereupon returned from Transoxiana to Balkh and Dâûd
the Turkomân¹ leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime
Tughdî Beg² had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood
of Gurgán. When the Amir Mas'ûd perceived the symptoms of
his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amir Mas'ûd
then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghû³ the Turkom-
ân who was the chief of that tribe, that hencforth 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'ûd,
 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'ûd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghû. Béghû
apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghû
in praise of whom the poet Ziáî⁴ 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
then,
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 ٢١١٣٠٤٥٣٠ not بیگی.
³ Izráîl-i-Béghû. See Raverty (Tabaqût-i-Nâşirî) p. 94, note 2, page 116,
note 8, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqiyah dynasty. See also Ibn
Khêlî: (Slane) iii. 226 and regg.
⁴ Šidû-î-Dîn Khâjandî Al Fârsî, a native of Shîráz who left Shîráz in
his youth and took up his abode at Khâjand. He was a contemporary and
panegyrist of Sultan Malik Shah Saljûqî, and died at Herât in the year 622 H.
(In the Majmu'-ul Fusûhû from which these particulars are taken, the date
of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Shah died in 401 H.)
Bealé (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?

Bégá Malik Sháh, he who by his sword made the brave warriors to weep openly on the field of battle.

The King Nizám Dín to whom at the time of his conflict came from the tombs of Rustum and Dará the sound of weeping.

The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his eloquence.

The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep, cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath.

From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its zenith,

The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens.

Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl-scattering hand the ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!

Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep over the corpse of thy enemy?

Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood over thy enemies in the field of battle.

What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?

There is the torture of hell, here he must weep.

Lo! one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep.

Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects.

But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest.

I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind.

After all what use is praise to me with weeping.

When I recite any poem in separation from thee...
Both the first and last verses weep for anguish. Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep like Wámiq and 'Azrá.
May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life, May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

The following is also by him —
Oh thou whose lip distils sugar¹ 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, Lamáf; and the other by Mu'íd, a native of Tarjhan. (D'Herbelot).
² لب شکوریز must be read here.
Conqueror of infidelity, Nizâmî-ud-Dîn, 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) The world. Birth and death are the two doors

2) Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally.

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

With regard to Saffron the says.

Actions and properties of Saffron. Exhilarating and tonic to the senses, expectant and digestive, laxative and corrective of the impure humours of the phlegm, and preventing and preserving them from alteration and badness. It is diuretic and constipating, aphrodisiac and strengthening to the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory
Then Amīr Masʿūd marched from Herāt to Nīshāpūr and thence to Tūs ¹ and a body of Turkomans giving him battle met their death, the people of Bāward gave up that town to the Turkomans and the Sultān having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Nīshāpūr. ²

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Toghral ⁶ 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 Abū Feta gives a further account of its properties.

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 debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

Sadī, p. 148, says of Saffron: ³

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

¹ Tūs, a district and city of Khorāsān, one of the dependencies of Nīshāpūr, distant from the city of Nīshāpūr about 10 farsakhs.

² See Abū Feda II. ii. 190. Dict. de la Perse, p. 336. According to Ibn Khallīqa the Saljuqs gained possession of Tūs in 429 A. H. and in the month Ramadān of the same year they took Nīshāpūr. I. K. (Slane) iii. 236.

³ MS. (B) has گنیفینده showing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustān. A line or two lower he writes یک از دیالکت نجران. This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

⁶ Toghral Beg. Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad Ibn Mīkāl Ibn Saljuq Ibn Dukkāk Bukhān-d-Dīn Toghral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljuqs (cf.
Turkoman, who had raised a rebellion in Baward, when Tughral took to flight, Amir Mas'ud turned back and came to Sarakha\(^1\) by way of Mahnah\(^2\) and gave orders to raise the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and then went in the direction of Zirqan\(^3\) 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 Ghazin mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultan remaining all alone on the field, felled 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 soldiers from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghazin by way of Chaur,\(^4\) and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance 'Ali Daya and Hajib-i-Huzurg,\(^5\) and Beg Tughdi to Hindustan and imprisoned\(^6\) 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\(^7\) Amir of

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1. Sarakha or Sarakhe (Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kairan, a city situated between Nishapour and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda II. ii. 198.

2. Mahnah. Tirishita says Aliyo Mahtaka but Zide is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt "مینا" Mahana, a small town of the district of Ehabar between Abiward and Sarakhe. See Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 568.

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 Dandagan a town in the vicinity of Herr, cf. Bavery, p. 94, note 5. Also Abul Feda II. ii. 197. Meynard, p. 223. It seems to me most probable that we should read "میدان" though all MSS. give "میدان". "میدان" is a fertile town situated at the distance of one farsakh from Sarakhe (Meynard, 223).

4. Abul Feda II. ii. 201. A province lying between Herat, Kuhavan and Gurjutun.

5. Tirishita—١. زینب خانه

6. دَرْيْليها حَجَّبُ خَان

7. Shihab ud Daulat Maudud his eldest son. Compare the account given by Tirishita.
Balkh, and having appointed Muḥammad ibn Abūd Ṣamad as his Wazīr despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amīr Muḥammad with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multān, and sent the Amīr of that district to the foot of the hills of Ghaznī to restrain the Afghāns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Mahmūd’s treasures which were stored in Ghaznī and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustān, and despatched messengers en route to bring his brother Amīr Muḥammad who had been blinded and was then confined in the fortress of Bazghand. When Sultan Masʿūd arrived at the frontier fort of Mārikala, his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amīr Muḥammad arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed perforce, approached the Amīr Muḥammad, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultan Masʿūd who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amīr Masʿūd from within the fort of Mārikala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kīrī, till at last in Jamādiu-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

1 Firishta says Amīr Majdūd—the second son of Masʿūd MS. (A) has Amīr Majdūd, which should in all probability be read Amīr Majdūd. MS. (B) agree 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 Amīr Izad Yār was Masʿūd’s fifth son. Both MSS. however have

3 See page 21.

4 MS. (A) and (B) agree.

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

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

7 In the text read این تعذي از پیش این تعذي از پیش in MS. (B) and MS. (A) in MS. (B) MS. (A)

8 Firishta reads Kīrī. Cl. Raverty, 95 (6). MS. (B) MS. (A) See Elliott II. 273, note 3.
message purporting to emanate verbally from Amir Muhammad ordering him to kill Amir Mas'úd, and to send his head to him. The Kotwál in obedience to this order severed Mas'úd’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 Nizámi, but the Qázi Baizáwi relates that in the year 432 Mas'úd fled defeated from before the Seljuqs to Ghazin, and Amir Muhammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'úd’s absence sent him to a fortress whether his son Ahmád ibn Muhammad followed him and murdered him. The Government of Sultán Mas'úd ibn Mähmúd lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qázi Baizáwi (may God’s mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 as the date of the death of Mas'úd, and writes that Múhammad ibn Mähmúd reigned in Ghazin 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 Nizám-d-Dín: Ahmad, author of the Tabaqût-i-Akkár; Elliott, v. 177. Died 1003 H.

2 Baizáwi’s account is as follows:

Mas'úd after his arrival at Ghazin sent Yúsuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljuqs crossed the Jíhán and invaded Khurásán. He fought with them and made peace with them several times, but being defeated in A. H. 432, he returned to Ghazin where his brother Múhammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival, he was consigned to a fort, and Aühmád, the son of Múhammad, 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'úd. Mähmúd died in 421 A. H. Mas'úd was murdered on the 11th of Jamádi-al-'Awwal, 433 H. (Haverty, pp. 95-6.) Múhammad was put to death by Mándúd in revenge for his father’s murder in the year 434 H. Mándúd reigned seven years and died in 441 H. (1049 A.D.)
the time of Sultan Mas'ud is Manuchihri 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 Mahmud,

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

4 Manuchihri Dâmahânî. Hakim Abunajâm Ahmâd, a pupil of the poet 'Unsari, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called shemât gallâ because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma'ul-Fasih i).

5 Naushirwan. Chosroes I son of Kóbad, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A.D. to 579 A.D. (See Dict G and L. B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muhammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 671 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A.D (Caussin de Perceval i 283). Muhammad 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 Bamiyan. “Situated ten days’ march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznín, there is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called surâh bud, the Red idol, and kahing bud, the White idol.” Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

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

2 Text laid Dipâr (MS. A. 'In Dinár). For the locality of Ghaznín Raverty 96, note 2. The name is in all likelihood Dinár as in Balkh that
named Fathabad. 1 This victory was gained in the month Sha‘bán of the year 432 H., or according to another account in the year 434 H. 2 And in the year 433 H. being angry with Khwája Ahmad ibn Abd as Samad he imprisoned him in Ghaznín where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abú Náṣr Muhámmad bin Ahmad towards Hindustán to fight with Námí ibn Muhammad, 3 and Námí was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H. Artágin at the order of the Sultán proceeded with an army to Tabaristán against Dá‘úd 4 the Turko-
mán, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Bákhl and established the coinage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amir Mauđúd. Afterwards when the Turkomans attacked him several times in force not being able to con-
tend with them, he quitted Bálkh and came to Ghaznín. Then in the year 435 H. Amir Mauđúd imprisoned Abú ‘Ali the Kotwál of Ghaznín for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Diwán of the kingdom and Kotwál of Ghaznín, and imprisoned Yásúrí ibn Iyamghúr the Diwán, till at length he died in confinement. He also punished Al-tágin 5 and in the year 436 H. Khwája Táhir who had succeeded Khwája Ahmad as Wazir, died, and was succeeded by Khwája Imám ‘Abdu Fatf û’ Abdur Razzáq. 6 In this same year he sent Túghrá-l Hájib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abú Mánṣúr Zangi, 7 the brother of Abú Fazl and brought him to Ghaznín, he then departed for Sisírán and having

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1. Raverty 60, note 2.
2. The latter date must be the correct one as Man‘úd was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 45.
3. The Tarikh-i-Mau‘údí, however, writes as follows —

و امیر صورود درس شیبان گهل شاه مجلس خلفتی و گزالیه (۱۴۲۳); بلند و

آم و چنگ کرده و عما و گرفته با پسرانش و کسانی که با ایان پادشاه;

بودن همه گذان وا بکشت.

4. Firzátí describes him as عول وصل مککیل the son of the Blinded Muhámmad.
5. See note 1, p. 86.
6. Al-tágin Hájib.
8. Firzátí says also Zangi. Brigge in his translation has said "Oszbuky."
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 Ghaznin.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takinábúd who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Ali bin Rabi' 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 Ghaznin. In the year 439 H. the Amir Qazdár raised a rebellion and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Báltagín and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qasim Mahmúd and Mansúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr and he sent Abú Ali Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznin to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznin after having done good service Maudúd 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 Vakil who had murdered Abú 'Ali Hasan without the orders of Amir Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to


2 *Firishta* also says and does not mention the word though Briggs translates *"called Kuzil Básch, owing to their wearing red caps"* Briggs, Vol. I, p. 121. Qızıil Red in Turkish Bāsh. Head is Turki.

3 In one copy we find *"bursting with rage and pride, so we should read here..."* *Firishta* has the following

4 According to *Firishta* *MS. (A) reads Báitigín, *MS. (B) reads Bābtigín.* Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of *Firishta* we find these words: which looks as if *Emir Qazdar was his name.* Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khosdar of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchítán."

See pp. 557-569 from which the above is quoted.

5 Parshúr, the modern Pešáwar, called originally Parásháwar. *Cunn.-Anc. Geog. of India,* p. 73.
proceed to Kâbul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amir Maudûd reached the fortress of Sîalkot he was attacked with colic and was forced to return to Ghaznî, and ordered Mirak to release Abû Ali Kotwâl. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amir Maudûd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A. H 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The Lubbu-t-Tawdârikh states that Sultan Maudûd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz Beg Saljûqi, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'ûd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khurâsan to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

1 Turshita writes Sânkot. Both MSS read very plainly written.

2 Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term of which there are stated by Sadîdî to be five varieties. Of True or spasmodic colic.

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

4 Flatulent colic

5 An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys

6 Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine. Volvulus.

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

Defining the Colon the author says: أكثر توليد القولون فيها و توليد ينثبط منها.

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

3 Lubbu-t-Tawdârikh, “The marrow of History.” The author was Yahyâ ibn Abdul Latîf Qazwînî who composed it in 1641 A.D.


4 Jaghâr Beg. See Bavorty Tabaqdt-i-Adfâr p. 97, note 3-4.

MS (A) Chaghâr Beg MS (B) Chaghâr Beg.
Sultan Mas'ud ibn Maudud ibn Mas'ud ibn Manhum.

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

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

Sultan 'Abdu-r-Rashid ibn Manhum.

Came to the throne; and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzaq proceeded to Ghaznin. 'Ali ibn Mas'ud died without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hajib who was one of the household slaves of Sultan Manhum having conquered Seistan turned his steps towards Ghaznin. Amir 'Abdu-r-Rashid fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1052 A.D.) put the Amir Abdur Rashid with all the descendants of Sultan Manhum\(^3\) to death and married the daughter of Manhum 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,

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

\(^2\) MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfinān which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapūr, see Meynœrd, p. 24. (Abul Feda II. ii. 183).

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

**Sultān Farrukh Zād ibn Mas‘ūd ibn Mahmūd.**

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljūqs came up against Ghazīn, and Farrukhzwād put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghazīn. Alp Arsalān 2 the Saljūq king brought an army against Ghazīn from Iraq and Khorasan, and being victorious in sight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghazīn 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 Sultān remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness. He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer. He died of colic in the year 450 H. 3 The period of his reign was six years.

**Sāliyidu-s-Salāţīn Ibrāhīm ibn Mas‘ūd ibn Mahmūd.**

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

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1. Firishta says "less than one year." Zubagāt-i-Nāṣirī says two and a half years.
2. Alp Arsalān son of Dāud, son of Mikāil son of Saljūq was the second Sultān of the family and dynasty of the Saljūqs. He succeeded his uncle Tughrul Beg in 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.) He was born in 431 A.H. and was murdered 466 A.H. and was buried at Mev.
3. For a full account of this prince see D’Herbelot, pp. 198-203.
4. See also Ibn Khalliqa (Slane) iii. 230 and seqq.; where it is stated that Alp Arsalān was born in the year 424 (A.D. 1032-3) and died on the 10th of Rabi‘-i Awwal 465 A.H. (1072 A.D.)
5. 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 the inhabitants of which were of Khurásání descent, whom (Afraşiyáb) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons, and sent them to Ghaznín, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khairábád, and Imánábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátí and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wáli. In his reign in Ghaznín, the Déru-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H, after a reign of thirty years. Qázi Baizáví says that his reign extended from the year 450 H to the year 492 H. Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

1 Named "Darra." (Firishta) where we read كه إفراسياب 7 7 سر کشی which is evidently corrupt. The words in the Tabaqáti Albar Sháhí are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word إخرایشان 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 Islám, according to Firishta.

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

6 Firishta says 482 H, or 492 H. Tabaqáti-Mášri 482 H, with a reign of forty-two years.

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

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

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

Ode.

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded the loins of conquest,
Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the doors of conquest,
Maṣúd, the world-conquering, for whom the age of fortune Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,
Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direction of battle,
Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred years hence
In Hindustán in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest.
So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests.

High distinction in the service of Maṣúd bin Maḥmúd and Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazin but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nāi, owing to the spiteful rancour of Abūl Faraṣ Rūmī. He obtained his release upon the death of Maṣúd ibn Maḥmúd. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghazin where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the Majma'ul Fasaḥá, Vol. I. pp. 614 and segg. See also Beale (O B D p. 173.) and Aṣūkhado-i-Āṣur, p 162.
Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of conquest
When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abúl Fardj Rání 1 too was eulogist of Sultán Ibrahim, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas’úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Diván, and Rání 2 is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following quatrains in praise of Sultán Ibrahim is by the Ustád Abúl Fardj.

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 ‘an years, he wrote this rubá’í (quatrain) in prison. 3

1 Abúl Fardj Rání, a celebrated poet. The name Rání is from the village of Rána (Rája) in Nisapar. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahim, and we learn from Mas’úd Sa’d Salmán Jarjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Náh by the calumny of Abúl Fardj, as is stated in the text in few lines further on. Abúl Fardj lived for some time at Lahore, so that he is known to a few as “Lábori.” His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwari. A Diván of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma’al Fushá’I, 70). See also Atashkáda-i-Azur, pp. 137, 138.

2 Rána (O B D, p. 15) says that he came from “Rána a place near Lahore” It would appear from the text above that Badáíni attributed his name of Rání to his connection with the village of Rána. The author of the Majma’al Fushá’á 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 Mahmúd ibn Ibrahim in the fortress of Náh. (Majma’al Fushá’ loc. cit.). See note 5, page 52.
For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Shah is necessary
So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs.¹
That one who springs from the loins of Sa'd Salmâr
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 Divâns by him in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

‘Alâ‘û-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 Shâh revolted against him and killed him in the year 509 H. (1115 A.D.)

Sultan Arsânâh Shâh ibn Mas‘ûd ibn Ibrahim,
Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole of his brothers with the exception of Bahram Shâh who fled and went to Sultan Sinjar ³ who was the son of his maternal uncle.⁴ In spite of all the apologies for Bahram Shâh which Sultan Sinjar

¹ Cf. Revârtî, Tabagât-i-Nâsrî, page 107, note 7. Firishtâ also mentions the accession of Kamâlu-d-Daulah Sherzâd, and calls the preceding monarch ‘Alâ‘û-d-Daulah also Elliott II. 278.
² Sultan Sinjar Mu‘izzâd Din Abu Hâris Sinjar was the third son of Sultan Malik Shâh and the last of the Saljuq dynasty in Khurasân. He was born A.H. 479 (1086 A.D.) in the environs of Sinjâr and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name, See I. K. (Blâna) 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 devoyement." D'Herbelot.
³ See also Beale (O.B.D., p. 235).
⁴ The sister of Sultan Sinjar called "Mehd-i-Irâq" was married to ‘Alâ‘û-d-Dîn Mas‘ûd father of Sultan Arsalân Shâh. Cf. Revârtî Tabagât-i-Nâsrî, 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 IJBAHÍM

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanáí ² was his panegyrist.
KalílahDanuňâ and many other books were composed in his
reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznáví ³
declared 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 Tabaqát-i-
Nasrí says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years.
Firīshta says three years. Baizáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which
Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D’Herbelot).

² Abú Muhammad ibn Adam Sanáí, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.)
A celebrated poet, author of the Hadīqatu-l-Haqīqát, a Persian poem commonly known as Fakhrí-namáh. Among his other works were:

³ According to Majma’u-l-Fusáhí (L. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1
p. 35.

² Ashrafu-l-Dín Hasan ibn Náṣirí-l-ʿAláví, died 565 H. Majma’u-l-Fusáhí I.
192.
Bahrám Sháh for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom.

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king.
The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king.

Another

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

And the Hadīqat-l-Hağqat\(^1\) of Shaikh Sanáí is written in honour of Bahrám Sháh, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznévide fanaticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Baghdád received the imprimitur 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 Hadīqat, 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 companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditional sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird which wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

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\(^1\) The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is Hadīqat-l-Hağqat wa Sharī'at-l-Ta'jīqat (hortus veritatis et lex-vie), and it treated among other subjects of the Imáms Abú Hanífa and Sháfi‘í, the founders respectively of the Hanítite and Sháfi‘í sects of Sunná.

كِي لَا يَابِدُ بَرِيزٌ شَأْيَةٌ بْوَمُ وَهُمَا إِلَى جَهَانٍ شَيْءٌ حَدِيدٌ

No one would go under the shadow of the owl, even if the Humá were extinct from the world. See Boobuck, Oriental Proverbs p. 327. The loc
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 Ibráhím Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgment of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and 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 Báyázid and Humá.

Hamé, 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.

2 Expunge from line 6 and read

6 By this tree is meant the lotus tree of Paradise, Síratu-\(\text{Muntahá.}\) See Mihkát, XXIV. vii.

8 Eixpunga as from line 8 and read 93 E ala. 35 eons Gaaht qgls fy ALS BF 93 agile

4 O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs pp. 140, 339.

Cf. Qurán II, 90-95.

 Báyázid Antári also called Pir Roshan, founder of a Súfí sect, called the Rooháníyyíyáh 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. 139 and, seqq.
Shibli: these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the Al-i-Marwān contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, may the peace and blessing of God be upon it, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Ali, may God be merciful to him, above the other companions, may God be graciously pleased with them, and they do not see that he has been placed below Siddīq 2 and Fārūq 3 and Zū' Nūrān 4 on the ground of descent and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muḥammad Mustafā, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, with reference to the vices of the Al-i-Marwān and the virtues of the Al-i-Muḥammad Mustafā, 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 Abū Bakr Dola' Ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) Ibn Yūnūs (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed An-Shiblī, a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Baghda'd, but his family belonged to Khūrāsān. This highly respected Shīfī followed the doctrines of the sect of Mālik and had for masters Al-Junnūd and the other holy men of that epoch. An-Shiblī died at Baghda'd, A. H. 334 (A. D. 946), and was interred in the cemetery of Al-Qaẓwīn. He was born at Su'rā-man-rān (Samarrā on the Eastern bank of the Tigris). Shiblī means belonging to Shiblī a village in the dependencies of Orūshān, a large town beyond Samarkand in Transoxiana. I. K. (Slace) I. 513. See also regarding Samarrā J. E. A. S. 1895 p. 36.

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

3 The second Khaliṣfah 'Umer, A. H. 13 to A. H. 28. Called Fārūq or "the Discerner" as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islam.

4 Ummān. The third Khaliṣfah, A. H. 23 to A. H. 35. Called Zū-Ḥānī "the possessor of the two lights" because he married two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqayyah and Ummu Kulām.

The above three Khaliṣfahs, the first three successors to Muḥammad according to the Sunnī Muslims, are rejected by the Shi'ahs who assert that 'Ali was the first legitimate successor, the others having been usurpers.
And for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and his verse is from the Hadigat.

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

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

Masúd S'ad Salman wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahrám Sháh,

Bahrám Sháh became the world conquering king,
He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.
His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.3

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

KHUSRAU SHÁH IBN BAHRÁM SHÁH.

successed the throne after his father, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain
ibn Hasan Ghori came up against him. Khosrau Sháh fled and
came to Jahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hind-
dústán, and when 'Aláu-d-Dín, as has been related, returned from
Ghaznín successful, he went back and recaptured that country,
and after that the tribe of Ghuzz seized Sultán Sinjar he turned
towards Ghaznín. Khosrau 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) and (B) read "بذاشـت" as in the text.
2 MS. (A) and (B) read "مسرفارشـت" as in the text.
3 MS. (A) reads "دين ورز حکی پلاز".

3. The text has حسن بحسین which is the correct reading. 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain Ghori Jahánsoz, the first of the
kings of Ghor.

5 A tribe of Turks. They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H. From them sprang the Seljúc dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu-d-Dín Tughral Beg. Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tüs in the year 429 A.H., when under the leadership of Tughral Beg and básd they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'úd ibn Mahmúd. Ravaging Armenia they entered Diárbakr 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 Nasbín, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azerbaján.

6 Ct. D'Herbelot, art. "Gaz", who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah; from Bulgár, 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 of the kind called Tarjī'ī-band and was written by one of them in his honour.

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

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qasí Baizáwi and others it has been written that when 'Alán-d-Dín plundered Gharnákh and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Abul-fath Muḥammad and Shiháb-u-d-Dín Abú Maṣfír who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusraw Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusraw Sháh was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghánzvíde family came to an end. After a time Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shiháb-u-d-Dín, but since Khwája Nizám-u-d Dín Ahmad deceased, has written in the Tārīkh-i-Nezámi copying from the Rauzátu-s-Sáfí that Khusraw Malik ibn Khusraw Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghánzvíde dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.

Khusraw Malik ibn Khusraw 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 Tarjī'ī-band consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhymo, recurring at regular intervals.

2 See Am-i-Akbar (Jarrett) iii. 341. See also Elliot ii. 258.

3 The Rauzátu-s-Sáfí however states that Khusraw Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghanzín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusraw Malik.

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

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

Baizáwi states that the Ghánzvíde dynasty ended with Khusrú Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the Tabaqát-i-Akbari, but its author called it Tabaqát-i-Akbar-Sháhī, and Badáoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name Tārīkh-i-Nezámi. 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 Ghaznóviyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sám, who is well-known under the title of Sultan Shihbánu-d-Din Ghorí, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznín his capital, brought an army against Hindústán and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore. Khusrav Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask quarter in a personal interview. Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sám took him to Ghaznín, from thence sending him to Sultan Ghíyásu-d-Din, who imprisoned him in Fíroz Koh and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction.

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation.
It is a newly wed bride entangled with many a lover.

This event took place in the year 583 H. (1187 A.D.). He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghaznóvide 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

HEMISTICH.

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

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

And Kárí-1-Naví states that Khwája Nizímu-d-Dín Ahmad was the son of Khwája Muqím Harawí Diván of the household to Básbár, he subsequently served under Akbar. (Elliott V. 177 et. seqq.) The real facts are that the son Khusrav Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H) (1187 A.D.), as is stated by our author.

1 The Fábdét-i-Nasir states that Khusrav Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balawán in Ghurjítán. Fúrax Koh was the capital. The story of the treachery by which Shihbánu-d-Din Ghorí took Khusrav Malik prisoner is told by Fírúshtá.

See also pág. 44 where the author states that Ghíyásu-d-Dín imprisoned Khusrav Sháh in one of the fortresses of Ghurjítán where he died a prisoner.

2 Qurán III. 25

"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 Ghaznévide dynasty from Sultan Mahmud to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qázi Yahya Qazwíní, may God's mercy be upon him, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the Tarikh-i-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 GHORI DYNASTY.

Who reigned in Dehli. This dynasty commences with Sultan Shihábu-d-Din Ghorí² who is known as Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad ibn Sám.

Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad ibn Sám Ghorí.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultan Ghiyásu-d-Din, king of Ghor and ʻIráq and Khorásan, in the year 569 H, in Ghaznín, had the khutba read and the currency struck in his own name,³ and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

¹ None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the Tarikh-i-Nizámí is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.), a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

² It is difficult to see how Baizawi arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Mahmud in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve Kings reigned.

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

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznévide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 180 years.

Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyásu-d-Din to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Aláu-d-Din Husain Jahánsor.

As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyásu-d-Din and Muizzu-d-Din, and as Thomas remarks the respectful (Góš) "The greatest" is applied to Ghiyásu-d-Din while Muizzu-d-Din is only styled (Góš) "Great" (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli, p 13).
In brief, Sultan Ghiyas-u-d-Din, when he had seized Taginabad 1 which was one of the dependencies of Garmsir and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultan Shahab-u-d-Din, used continually to bring up armies against Ghazvin, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultan Ghiyas-u-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 Muhammad, the title of Sultan Shihab-u-d-Din. 2 Sultan Shihab-u-d-Din after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

1 Taginabad which was one of the chief cities of Garmsir. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 115, line 9, (Cal. Edn.), see As-Sikht (J.) iii. 68, also Elliot, II. 292, 293.
2 The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihab-u-d-Din is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu-u-d-Din popularly known as Muhammad Ghori. (see Raverty's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri p. 446 note 5). It is true that the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri states that Muizzu-u-d-Din was originally called Fergi while Ghiyas-u-d-Din was called Habsi—both of them being called Hanuman. He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyas-u-d-Din's accession to the throne Ghori he was called, Shamsu-u-d-Din and that Muizzu-u-d-Din was called Shihab-u-d-Din. The actual statement is

3 Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu-u-d-Din and the title of his brother had been Shihab-u-d-Din. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultan Ghiyas-u-d-Din." From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri 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 "Shihab-u-d-Din" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muhammad Ghori, as is the name "Muizzu-u-d-Din," and Badarzi evidently hold this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as

4 "Shihab-u-d-Din."

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-Muazzam (or Al-A'zam) Muizzu-u-d-Dunya wa DIn Abu-u-Muazzar Muhammad ibn Sam. It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.
for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardiz 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 Bhati tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh, and having entrusted that country to Ali Kirmáj returned to Ghaznín.

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

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

1 Kardiz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yaqút. Or Gardaiz, the name of a large “darak of the Tájiks, Tabaqát-i-Násirí Raverty, p. 449, note 9.

2 MSS. (A and B) agree with the text جماعة إثنية. For a full account of this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p. 453, note 2. Raverty’s translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín’s conduct in a wrong light. Bhatia a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and A or. The Rájé referred to according to the Mir’át-i-Jahání-Numá was chief of the Bhati tribe. See Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násirí 451, note 2 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p 61.


According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff. I 118.

4 So also Firishta على كرمج امبراطور كه در کتاب ملف دکرام و پرشور و پرشور مشهور است (Firishta) cf. Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násirí, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr.

5 In the text read زرگر ملکان Firishta says, “came again to Uchh and Multán.”

6 پهلوان پرشاور که در کتاب ملف دکرام و پرشور و پرشور مشهور است (Firishta) cf. Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násirí, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr.

7 Siálkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers, Tieffenthaler. "Un château très fort bâti par Mahmoud
Tattah¹ and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahoro and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Sialkot retraced his steps, and from Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Sialkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the Mubārakshāhî² from which we learn that the building of Sialkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies; and in that year Khusrau Malik with the assistance of the Khūkhars³ and other tribes, besieged the fort of Sialkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Din again besieged Khusrau Shāh in Lahore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasnavi... La petite riviere d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse au conchant.” Firishta states that Muizzu-d-Din founded the fort of Sialkot which lies between the Chonāb and Rāvi and left Hussain Kharmil as governor, in the year 580 H. (1182 A. D.)

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

The position of Debal. Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karāchī and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karāchī and N - W. of Tatta. It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mohrān (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 Lāri Bander which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South; the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward.

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

² By Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Abdullah Sirhindi. Elliott, IV. 6.

³ The Khūkhars. This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, cf. Atn-Abkari (Bl) Vol. I. 456 note 1, and Vol II. (J) 383 note 1, but see also Raverty (455 note 4), who says 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 Ghiyasu-d-Din at Firoza Koh. Ghiyasu-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 turns 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. Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of poverty should court a favour from the sun? Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom, that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish. What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merriment quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of luxuriousness? What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of toil? At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to the brink of the pit of death. Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.
And in this year Sultan Muizz-u-d-Din left Ali Kirmaj who was governor of Multan, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H. coming from Ghaznūn he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah which was the capital of the great rājas of Hindustan, and left Malik Zia-u-d-Din Tukili with a corps d’élite consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rāi Pathūrā the Governor of Ajmir, and Khandi Rāi his brother who had been Governor of Delhi before Pathūrā, arrived with a vast army at a place called Tarāyan on the banks of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven krohs from Thānesar. It is now known by the name of Tarawari and is distant forty krohs 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 Rāi 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 Rāi’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 Ghāznūn, and Rāi Pathūrā took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Zia-u-d-Din Tukili on peaceable terms after a

1 Tubagāt-i-Naṣirī says Ali Karmakh. Ali Kirmaj, MS. (A) علي کرمخ علی. MS. (B) علي كرمخ

2 Both MSS. A and B have تہرمان. Jarrett (Afn-i-Albarī trans., III. 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah, and Raverty (Tubagāt-i-Naṣirī p 457 note 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist’s error for Bāthindah apparently relying on the Lābhu-t-Tawārīkh-i-Hindī. From Rennell’s map in Thiessenthal 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 Bikanir and Jhunjhunū in Rajputānā, that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmir.

See also Raverty 465, note 3.


4 MSS (A) and (B) read لارس. See Renvett; Tubagāt-i-Naṣirī 559 note 7. Thiessenthal mentions this place calling it Narain, but it is not to be found in the map he gives, see Vol 1. p 155.

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

5 The škr. लोक्र is equivalent to about two miles.

sieg of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultan 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 Sultan then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsútí and Hánσi 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-Dín 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 Sultan, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultan Malik Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son, and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy krohs from Dehli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznin. In the same year too Qutbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Ráí. Then in the year 589 H. (1193 A. D.) Sultan Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Ráí Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwir³ and A táwah, ² killed him and went to Ghaznin. The fort of Kol⁴ fell into the hands of Qutbu d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sultáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

¹ The country south of the Himalaya between the Satluj and Ganges as far south as Hánσi. (Raverty).
² Khwájá Muínu-d-Dín Hasan Chishti was the son of Chiráu-d-Dín Hasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán.
³ He died in A. H. 633 and is buried near Ajmir.
⁴ Tiewenthaler I. 168 mentions Atáwá and Chanoái as belonging to the Serkár of Agra. (See Raverty (Tubaqání-Násir) also p. 470 note 1).
commenced in the reign of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Altamash ¹ 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 ² and Badéon. And in the year 593 H. he conquered Gujorát and took his army to Nahrwálá which is known as Pattan, ³ and having taken vengeance for the Sultán on Bhim Rai Dev, and having taken much spoil returned; and in that year Sultán Ghíyáu-d-Dín removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode, ⁴ and Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín having heard this news when on the confines of Tús and Sarakhs, ⁵ turned towards Bádghis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred ⁶ came to Ghuznín and brought an army against Khwárazm, and on the first occasion Sultán Muhammád Khwárazm Sháh suffered defeat, and the Sultán pursued him and fought the Khwárazmíns at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jālhún, and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwárazm; he also fought a great battle with an army of Khítánt kings of Turكístan who had come to the help of Sultán Muhammád, ⁷ on the banks of the river Jālhún—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andkhúd where he entrenched himself, and

² MS. (A) 9933 Thankar, but it should be apparently, as in Tiefenthaler and Banzhar described as "un Fort triangulaire, construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indon nommé Harcann ... Bhangar est à 20 milles d'Aunía à 40 de Barúli et à 8 de la rive alterieur du Gange."
³ Banzhar, "ville ancienne ... elle à une forteresse au debors de laquelle sont des raisons ... Lilo est à 20 milles de Baidi, à 10 d'Aunía et à 5 de Bhangar."
⁴ Baidi was the birthplace of the famous Nizám-u-d-Dín Aúbya, called "Al Bakhús" or the contínuo revoltist, and "Mauli-shílan" the assembly-router.
⁵ 20 miles from Rudhánpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N.W. Tieff. I 383. See also Bayley, Hist of Guzerat 25 &c Abul Feda (Reinaud) II ii. 117. Ain-ul-Ákbér (J.), II. 262 and III. 59.
⁶ He died at Herat.
⁷ See Raverty "Tolui i-Náqít" 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 6.
⁸ The details of this partition are given in the Tabaqít-i-Náqít (Bav. p. 472.)
⁹ Sultán Muhammád Khwárazm Sháh applied to Gürkhán of Qará Khís for assistance. See Raverty "Tolui i-Náqít" 473 note 2.
having asked for quarter returned to Ghaznīn; 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 Qutb ud-Dīn Aībak from Dēhli, and having given the Khūkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznīn, and while on the way back was martyred at Dāmīyk, which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznīn, at the hands of Khīkhār bandits—the following gītā 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 1st of Shā'bān, in the year 602 Happened in the road to Ghaznīn at the stage Dāmīyk.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznīn 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 maunds of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindūstān nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

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

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

2 A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznīn. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty. Firishta (Bombay text) has بہتک! Pohtak.

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

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

The Aḥn-i-Ākbarī makes no mention of the man as a weight unit for jewels. Two zīrās are equal to half a man. As the ser was nearly two pounds this would make the man equal to eight pounds nearly. (See Aḥn-i-Ākbarī (Jarrett) 11. 303 note 4).

The Tebaghti-i-Nāṣīrī says 1500 maunds 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 Fakhiru-d-Din Rázi ¹ may God be merciful to him who wrote the Latáif-i-Ghiyásti and other books in honour of his brother Sultan Ghıyástu-d-Din Abá-l-Feth. He remained with the army of Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammed Sám, 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-Din, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rázi: The following qaṣīd 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 mischievous out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis, ² and asserted that the Imám was well aware of their

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¹ Abú Abdallah Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Hassín Ibn al-Hassín Ibn Ali al-Jeimi al-Bakrí at-Tabarestání Ar-Rázi (native of Rai in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Shafiite sect, he was born at Rai A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150) and died at Herát A. H. 606 (A. D. 1210). (Ibn Khalliqán). See D’Herbolet at Rázi. See also Majma’ul Fussah I. p 374, where he is called Al-Quräishí at-Tarümi, Ibn Khalliqán does not mention the Latáif-i-Ghiyást among Ar-Rázi’s works, while on the other hand Haji Khalifa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows. “1124 El-Latáif El-Ghiyáthiyeh, subtilitates Ghıyástu-d-Díní Liber persoros in quatuor partes disvisus, quaram prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiá, tertía de ethica, quartá de praecatione sít.”

² The term Fídá is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Mulkhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu-d-Din met his death according to the express statement of the author of the Tabaqát-i-Nápîr. (See Rawerty 485 note 3). This attempt to implicate Rázi in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the Jámí’u-t-Tawáshīh, and the Táj-u-Maksīr. See Elliot II. p. 236.
hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imam and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarî 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 Shah Ghazi whose sword in the world has become like the famous Zulfiqâr of Alî Murtazâ.

The true Sultan Muhammad Sâm; he whose love for the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafâ.

1 Ṣabagat-i-Nâṣirî states that he held the office of Vâzîr, and was put to death by the Turkish Malik and Amir of Ghaznîn, together with Malik Naṣîru-d-Dîn Husain the Amir-i-Shikâr.

2 Zul-Faqâr. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqân (Slano) Vol. IV, p. 220.

"It is related that Hârûn ar Rashîd on lending Yazîd ibn Mazîyad against Al Walîd gave him Zul Fâqâr the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazîd, by it you will be victorious" To this Muslim Ibn al-Walîd alludes in the following verse of a kâfîda composed by him in praise of Yazîd:

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

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

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishâm ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqân states that Zul Fiqâr belonged to Al-Âsî son of Nâbî, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Âsî being slain by Alî who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that Zul Fiqâr was given to Alî by the Prophet" I must observe that faqâr—with an a after the f is the plural of Faqâra which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced Zul Fiqâr the word fâqâr is the plural of fâqâra (Vertebra).

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

"Zul fâqâr was borne by Muḥammad ibn Abd Allah ibn al-Hasan ibn Alî ibn Abî Talib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abû Ja'far al-Mansûr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave Zul fâqâr to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dinars 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abû 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 Sulaimân ibn Alî ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbas ibn Abî-ala-Muṣṭâlab obtained the governments of Yemen and
Another poet says:—

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

And Názuki Marághaí too says in praise of him:—

Shéih 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.  

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dinârs.
From him it passed to al-Mahdi the Son of Al Mańṣûr (Khalifah from 776 A.H. to 785 A.H.) from him to Músâ al Hádi and from Músâ to his brother Hádâr ar Rashíd."

Al 'Aςmâí relates that he saw Háđâr ar Rashíd at Tús wearing a sword and that he said "Asmâí would you like to see Zâl figâr" and on Asmâí expressing a wish to see it Háđâr ar Rashíd bade him draw the sword—on doing so he found on it eighteen faqîras—The word faqîra 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 Zâlfigâr 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 صرسيلا 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.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Spring</td>
<td>21st March</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taurus</td>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>21st March</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aries</td>
<td>Spring</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capricornus</td>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>21st December</td>
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"The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac. It was known to the earlier Greek astronomers as κηλαι 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
Bo the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qârî Hamîd 1 of Balkh says:

Ghâzi Muizzu-d-Dîn wâd-Dûnyá with whom
On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious standard,

Qua loca Erygonon inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called Zvâds (the yoke) by the Latins Jugur and was
first formally called Libra in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name
seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol
of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of
the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. “In the
commentary of Theon on the Almagest Libra is frequently represented by
Îrpa (a pound) or Îₚᵢₚᵢₚ, 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 Âm-i-
Akbâr (Jarrett) III. p. 18 and notes. Also Albirûnî (Sachau) p. 173, where a
table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones’
Works Vol. I. p. 334) leant to the opinion that “both Greeks and Hindus
received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation” and there can
be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the
nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to
a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a
pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in
different languages. Thus we know that the sign Libra was first known as
χριάς to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then
this name was changed to ήγγις 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 Albirûnî [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

1 Fakhru-l-Ulamâ wa Zinâ-l-Fushâh Hamîdu-d-Dîn Umar ibn Mahmûd
Balkhi, a celebrated writer whose Maqâmât called forth the praise of the
poet Anwârî. 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 Mejmâ-ul Fushâh I. 187.
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 chaugán at Láhor 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
Hindústán, 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
Muizzú-d-Dín reached princely power in Hindústán and Ghaznin
and Bengála, and other places, whose affairs are written in their
proper places, among others Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz on the confines
of Tarávarí, otherwise known as Tarávarí, having fought with
Sultan Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltamísh was taken prisoner. Another
is Sultan Násiru-d-Dín Qábácha, who is also one of the slaves of
Muizzú-d-Dín, and had married one of the daughters of Táju-d-
Dín Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sultan Qúthu-d-
Dín.

The word ḥāqal, though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in
reality the Persian word ḥāqal (cf. kaláb) in an Arab dress.

The game of chaugán is the origin of the modern game of “polo,” the
chaugan, called in Arabic صلجان شكلاجán is a name applied to a
stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called
چورگان، سلیم (Burhán-i-Qáti’). In the Ajáibú-l-Makhthúqát of Qazvíní we find that the astrologers
considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers
and troops. The moon is his Yásir and Jupiter the Qázi. The planet
is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it
صد اکبر (Burhán-i-Qáti’).

The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the
Hindús Somágraha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was
called Aditya, i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things. See
Albírání (Sachau) I. 217 and seqq.

Who on the death of Qúthu-d-Dín proceeded to ussur Uchh and Multán
according to Raúraví (530, note G). The Tabaqát-i-Náfrí states that Núshúrú-d-
Dín, Qábácha, married two of the daughters of Qúthu-d-Dín. (See note 1,
p. 520) (note 2, p. 522).
Din and Sultan Muizzu-d-Din during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multan. After the death of Sultan Quṭbu-d-Din, he brought the whole country from Uchh to Sarsuti and Kulhám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táj-u-d-Din who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Mu'áiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjári being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sind in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

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

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

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syád Bukhári Tieff. I. 118 In Rennell’s map, Vol. III. Surnesty is shown as in Long 74°5 Lat. 28°6, Korni Long. 75°4 Lat. 29°4.

2 See note 1 page 74.

3 In the year 612 H. according to the Táju-l-Mudásr, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

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

4 Both MSS, but according to Tubaqát-i-Náṣírī and Alfi the name of the fort was Thankūr or Thangīr. (See however Reverty 544 note 1).

5 MS (B) has Bhásiyána, MS. (A) has Bhayána. Tubaqát-i-Náṣírī says “the fortress of Thankūr which is in the territory of Bháina.” This fortress he built was called Sultán Kot (Tubaqát-i-Náṣirī).

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

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

6 Cf Tubaqát-i-Náṣírī where this fort is called Sultánkot.
harass the environs of Gwáliár, and Sultán Muizzu-d-Din at the
time of his return from Gwáliár had promised to give that for-
tress to Malik Buháu-d-Din who accordingly strongly fortified a
position at a distance of two krohs from Gwáliár and harassed
the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending
messengers and presents invited Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín and sur-
rendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between
Malik Qutbu-d-Din and Baháu-d-Din. Malik Baháu-d-Dín died
a short time afterwards.¹

Another is Malik Muhammad Bakhtyár Ghúr³ He was one
of the great men of Ghúr and Garmsir, a man adorned with all
good qualities who came to Ghaznín 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-Dín,
and joined hands with Malik Husainu-d-Din Ughul Beg⁴ ruler of
the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country
beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpílah and Patíáli ⁵ were allotted
as his reward. He proceeded to Ondh and conquered that coun-

¹ No date is given of these events.
² Called also Muhammad Bakhtyár Khilyf, the first to lead a Muslim
invasion of Bengal in 596 A. H. He belonged to the Khily tribe of Ghúr, a
Turkish tribe. Regarding him the Afn-i-Akbar states that the astrologers
had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muhammad
Bakhtyár Khilyf. He destroyed the city of Nadiya (in 1203 A. D, 600 A. H.)
and transferred the Capital to Lakhnautí. From that time Bengal has been
subject to the kings of Dehli. Afn-i-Akbar (Jarrett) II. 145.

³ He was a nephew of Muhammad son of Mahmúd. (See Tabaqáti-i-Násíř
629) Ráverty 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
Ráverty, p. 660 note 6).

Malik At-Muizzam Husainu-d-Dín Ughul Beg hold in fief a considerable
tract of country in the Doáb, independently of Qutbu-d-Dín.

⁴ A. MSS. (A.) and (B.) Kánpílah. MS. (A.) Pánadí. MS. (B.)
Banyalí Pántílá. Ráverty p. 650 note 6, says Pántílá (Lat. 25° Long.
82 59') and Kántílá - Kánpílah [Lat. 25° 7' Long. 82° 35'] the Kantil of the
Indian Athar.

See the note above for a discussion of the question.

In the text Kánpílah is evidently a copyist's error for
try, reduced Behar and Munér, and having taking large booty, Sultan Qutbuddin sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultanship. He then brought many presents to the court of the Sultan, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sultan to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant, but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultan was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnauti in Bengala and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muhammad Bakhtyar brought an army from Behar towards Lakhnauti and arrived at the town of Nudiya with a small force, Nudiya is now in ruins. Rai Lakhmiah (Lakminia) the governor of that

1 Munér ville assez distinguée située sur la rive extérieure (du Gange) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l’embranchure du Son (Soane) se trouve entre Munér à l’ouest et Scherpour à l’est. Le Son jette dans le Gange de cosso avant Munér. Tiefs. 1. 423 note (a).

2 Behar the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadhi is situated on the Panchanan river. Tiefsenthaler describes it thus "Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd’hui qu’elle ne l’a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahometans (Shaikh Shyafuddin Muniri is buried there).

3 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.

4 On the occasion of a public audience held by Qutbuddin in the Qasr i-Safed.

5 The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanawati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jammatabad by the Emperor Humayün. See Afn-i-Akbar II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz, art Gaur. See also Raverty Tabaqat-i-Nazir, 559 note 2.

6 Both MSS. Nudiya. Also Tabaqat-i-Akbar. See Imp. Gaz. Nadiya; Nadiya or Nabdwip is on the west bank of the Bhagirathi, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballal Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadiya owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhagirathi at Nadiya. The name was called Nudiya until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty op cit 559 note 2.

7 Afn-i-Akbar II, (Jarrett) 149. Tabaqat-i-Nazir, 555.
town who had heard from astrologers the fame of Muhammad Bakhtyar and his great power, fled thence to Kāmrān, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muhammad Bakhtyar 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 "Allāhō akbar"

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

1 For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see Tubaqṭ-i-Abbar 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 Tubaqṭ-i-Naṣīrī, p 555).

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

3 The recitation of the ḥuṭbah 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 559 note 3. See Thomas Pathán Kings of Dehli p. 37 and p. 110, and notes. It appears unlikely that Muhammad Bakhtyar issued coins in his own name, as he was nothing more than Sipahsālī of the Sultan Muzzu-d-Din Muhammad Shan; moreover no such coins are known.

4 A chief of the tribes of Kūnch and Mīj called Āli Mīj (Tubaqṭ-i-Naṣīrī) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti.

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

Sháh Garshasp when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Khámrúd and went on his way. Muhammad Bakhtýár 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 Kúch-Mij-and Tibárú who are all of Turkish countenance (وَهُوَ نَزْلَةٌ حَدِيثة) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islám and agreed to act as guide to Muhammad Bakhtýár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Kot (or Bardhan kot) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Mati 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-Náfirí 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.

Bádání's statement has more prima facie probability, the statements of the Tabaqát-i-Náfirí moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

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

MS. (A) Grd pil Abantin; OS (B) worl Abordban, 

Tabaqát-i-Náfirí says Bardhan (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has مَرْدَحَن كُوْط.

1 Tabaqat calls this river the Bog-Mati (see Raverty 561 note 1.)

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

2 See Raverty p. 561 note 8 and Ibn-i-Abúl II (Jarrett) 328 note 4.
which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the build-
ings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muhammad Bakhtyär. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city ¹ from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muhammad Bakhtyär 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 Bakhtyär had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.² They passed the night there by some stratagem and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muhammad Bakhtyär 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 Bakhtyär, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever ³ and used to say “no doubt Sultan Muhammad Muiz-ud-Din Šām has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me.” And when weakness took possession of him ʿAli Mardān one of Muhammad Bakhtyär’s greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Nārānli ⁴ and finding him

¹ Called Karpattan (Tābihāt-i-Naṣirī) See Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyār’s retreat and disasters.
² See Raverty 570 note 9, regarding the possible locality.
³ I take this to be the meaning of the word بحثـت دَيْ مَنْبِر كَشَـت.
⁴ MSS (A) and (B) call it Narān kōk. See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this Nārān kōk.
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 Qatbu-d-Din this same Ali Mardan eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the Khutba 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 Turan 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 Isfahan" then he ordered them to write a document to Isfahan which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazirs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Isfahan, 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 Amirs 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 Garmsir and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtiyar. The reign of Ali Mardan lasted thirty-two years.

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Din aforesaid who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengal and Jajnagar and Kamarud and gained the title of Sultan Ghayyagu-d-Din, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iylaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

1 Cf. Zbdaat-i-Nasir 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 527 8 but as a matter of fact Ali Mardan reigned only two years and some months (see also Ravery 580 note 7.)

3 Malik Husainu-d-Din 'Iwaz.
seventy thousand tankahs in cash as a present and acknowledged the Sultan's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (be He exalted) will it. And in the year 621 H. Malik Nasiru-d-Din Muhammad ibn Sultan Shamsu-d-Din went from Oudh to Lakhnauti at the instigation of some of the Amir, and Ghiyasu-d-Din who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnauti to Kâmirûd turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Nasiru-d-Din and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years. The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustân incidentally with the affairs of the Sultans of Delhi was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyeh kings who attained to the Sultanat of Multan and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places.

Sultan Arâm Shah Ibn Qutbu-d-Dîn Aibak

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 Amir, he marched from Lahore to Delhi. In the meantime Malik Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son-in-law of Sultan Qutbu-d-Din,

1 Tankah For the value of this see J. B. A. 3, New Series Vol. 1. p. 363 also Raverty 584 note 2. Thomas Chr. Pathân Kings of Dehli pp. 161 and p. 49 note
The silver tankah weighed 176 grains. There was a coin known as the lâns which was of a tankah, while another coin was introduced under Muhammad Tughlak known as the black tankah which was of the silver tankah.

The value of the silver tankah was about the same as the rupia. See Albari 111. (Jarrett) 362, note 3

2 The text should read بن سلطان شمس الدين MSS. A. and B.
3 Malik Izza d-Din Jâni. See Raverty, p 694, note 1.
4 Ghiyasu-d-Din Iwan ... Hüssin Khîjî.
5 He was the last of the Muizz Sultans according to the Toblogh-î-Nâsîrî.
and had tributary relations with Malik Nasiru-d-Din Qabachah, at the invitation of Sipah Salar Ali Isma'il, had come from Hardwar and Badau to Dehli and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Aram Shah arrived in the vicinity of Dehli Malik Shamsu-d-Din came out against him in battle array, and Aram Shah 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.

Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish 2

Called by the title of "Yamin-i-Amir-al-Muminin"
(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

1 Minhaj-us-Siraj mentions that at Aram's death Hindustan was divided into four principacies. Sind in the possession of Nasiru-d-Din Qabachah; Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish; Lakhnauti was held by the Khilj chief 'Ali Maradun having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Din, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli and Ghaznin. See Thomas' Pathan Kings, p. 40.

2 Not in either MS. These verses are from the Shahnmaah of Firdausi. (vide Shahnmaah, 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.

5 In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written 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 Khalif of Baghdad [Al-Mustansir bi'llah, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muhammadan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdad of this new Indio-Muhammadan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).
born under these circumstances Iyaltimish. His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkestán. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from there he happened to be taken to Rekhurá, and thence in the time of Sultán Muhammad Sám to Ghaznía; and in these days Sultán Quṭbu-d-Din after the conquest of Nahrwálah and the taking of Gujrát had gone to Ghaznía, 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 Dehli and sell him there. Sultán Quṭbu-d-Din after his return from Ghaznía bought a slave named Ibak, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 tangáhs; at first he called him Amír Támghách, and appointed him to the Amirship of Tabarhindah, and at the time when Sultán Quṭbu-d-Din fought with Táju-d-Din Yaldús, Ibak his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwáliár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Barán and its environs, and since he began to shew signs of extraordinary hardiness he entrusted the country of Badaún to him, and in the war of Muizz-D-Din with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Baddon and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizz-D-Din in the service of Sultán Quṭbu-d-Din, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river engaged the enemy bravely several

1 Concerning the origin of the name see Th. mns, 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 has become displaced and that the word should really be written ay-tululmash — eclipse of the moon.

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

2 جلاو MS. A. جلیط MS. B.

3 Tabarhindah in MS. A is written تبرنها.


5 See Thályat-u-Nufíl. It was the river Jhilum.

12
times: Sultan Muizzu-d-Din bestowed on him fitting 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-Umar (Chief of the Amirs) till his affairs reached the height they did. And in the beginning of his reign certain of the Muizziyeh and Qutbiyeh Amirs rebelled against him and suffered punishment and became food for the pitiless sword. And Malik Taju-d-Din Yalduz after he had suffered defeat by the Army of Khwárazm obtained possession of Lahore; Sultan 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. After a severe battle Sultan Taju-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. Sultan Shamsu-d-Din came into conflict with Sultan Náṣiru-d-Din Qabácha who had married the two daughters of Sultan Qutbu-d-Din one after the other, and was in possession of Uchh and Multán, and victory rested with Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, and for the third time Sultan Shamsu-d-Din went up in person against him. He, having fortified the castle of Uchh, himself went to the fortress of Bhankar, and Nizám-ul-Mulk Wazír Jándí pursued him while the Sultan reduced Uchh. After hearing the news of the capture of Uchh, Náṣiru-d-Din sent his own son Bahhrám Sháh into the presence of the Sultan and sued for peace. Bhankar also was captured. And in the year 615 H. Náṣiru-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 Sultan turning back came to Delhi. In the year 618 H. Sultan Shamsu-d-Din raised an army against Sultan

1 Of Ravery, p. 608, note 8.

2 According to the Ta'kirat-ul-Mulúk this was the first occasion in which Sultan Shamsu-d-Din had shown hostility to Náṣiru-d-Din Qabácha. On the other hand the Tabibqát-i-Náṣirí states that there used to be constant contention between them. Badání is very likely correct in his statement. See Ravery p. 609, note 1.
Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburni son of Khwārazm Shāhī who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changiz Khān after Tājū-d-Dīn, came to Ghaznīn and thence from fear of the incursions of Changiz Khān had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultan Jalālu-d-Dīn not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Sīwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Mākrān arrived at Kīrmān and Iṣāq.

And in the year 622 H. Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn, took an army towards Behār and Lakhnauti and brought Sultan Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Khilji, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned, established the khutba and sīkka in his own name and having given his eldest son the title of Sultan Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Māhmūd made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Māhmūd having fought with Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn on the confines of Lakhnauti 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 Delhi.

1 So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 255, note 3). He was the last of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty. It is said to have turned devout and to have lived till 683 H (Raverty 299, note 1) There is some question as to the orthography of this name. Thomas p. 90, note 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mankburain, as he considers the final letter to be उ not ए. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word मेंबरेन (meng) in Turki means grain de beauté while पुरातन (pūrātn) means "nefs" (Dict Turk. Orientale Pavet-de Courteille) the word originally being मेंबरुरङ् मेंबरुरविण् in Persia have become altered in pronunciation मेंबरुरङ् मेंबरुरविण् and with the addition of the या-ि-निशब मंथुरभुरण मेंबरुरझ मेंबरुरण मेंबरुरण.

2 For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also Afn-i-Akbār, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D'Herbelot art. Gulaleddin, Vol. II. p 67.

3 Mistake in text of text where 422 H. is in figures.
4 "Thirty elephants and eighty lakes of treasure." (Fābadīt-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 The word मेंबरेन in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word हदी. MS. (A)
7 The word مال in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word مال.
It is well known that a poet name Nasiri arrived in the service of Hazrat Khwaja Qutbu-d-Din Ushī may God sanctify him and said I have composed a Qasida in praise of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din. Read the Ğātība that I may get the accustomed reward." They read the Ğātība and he having been admitted to the Sultān's presence read this Majla

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

The Sultān by the mere reading of that majla learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qasida contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs.

Sultān Shamsu-d-Din in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthanbhār and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

MS. (B) reads as follows Soe... and 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 Kēkī from the "Kēk" or Kakes which were supplied by the prophet Khizīr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See Ain-i-Akbār II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A H. 634, and is buried in Dehli. See also Haveri p. 621, note 6, third para. [Ain-i-Akbār II. (Jarrett) 279.]

3 The silver tangah piece of 175 vīnās.

4 A figure of this fortress is given in Tieffenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plate xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poignée de soldats" having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down
detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Maudâr, brought that fort together with the Siwalik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Delhi, and in this same year Amir Rühâni who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Delhi from Bulghâr in the affair of Chângiz Khân, 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 Shâhanshâh of Islam
Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky;
The Shâh, holy warrior and Ghâzi, 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 Bbennell’s map).
Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rock in the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

1 Or Mandâwar (Tabagid-i-Nasr, p. 611, note 2, Mandwar MS. (A)).

See Bbennell’s map. Monopour Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandâ or Mandwar. Tissfenthler I. 323, mentions “Monopour ville de marques avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djipour” This is probably the fort here called Mandâ.

2 Hâmîm Abu Bakr ibn Muhammâd Ali Samurqandî.

3 MS (A) we have instead of كيلمة فربردین which appears a better reading, “the canopy of adornment,” I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has كيلمة نوزن which is evidently a copyist’s error for

4 is a name of ‘Ali who is called Asad ‘Ullâb or by the Persians Shîr-i-Khodâ, The lion of Grâd.
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 Mansúr bin Sa'id 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 Násiru-d-Din, Governor of Lakhnauti, and the Sultan, after completing the duties of mourning, gave his name (i.e., Násiru-d-Din) to his younger son after whom the Tabqát-i-Násiri is named. In the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnauti and quieted the disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the government of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Aláu-d-Din Kháfi³ returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress of Gwáliar. Malik Táju-d-Din the Secretary of State, wrote the

¹ MS. (A).
² This must have been from Bagdhád from the Khalifah Al Mustanṣir b-illah. See Bayruti 616, note 2.
³ MS. (A) مالک علایل-الدین خالی. As in the text, Tabqát-i-
Násiri reads Aláu-d-Din Ján. See p. 618, notes.
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 Kálewar and that strong castle
He took in the year six hundred and thirty.

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

1 26th of the month Safár 630, A. H. (Tubagíšt-i-Náfrí, 1232 A.D.
2 632 H (Tubagíšt-i-Náfrí) p 621, note 6.
3 Bhilsa on the Betwa, is a place of Hindú pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist tobes.
4 Ujjain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Málwâ, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramâjít. See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., and Tieff. Vol. I. p 345.
5 Aín-i-Abhari (Jarrett) II. 15, notes 2, 3. Alberuni, (Sachau) II. 6, 6. The Samvat era commencing from 57 B. C.
6 1504 A. D. and 1594 A. D. Al-Badóní died according to the Tubagíšt-i-Sháh Jahání in the year 1024, A. H. (1615 A.D.). I can find no mention of the Náma-i-Khírád Afzá, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was of one of Kálidás’s poems. می و دو تلث و لث (B). The text (C) agrees with MS. (B).
8 See Raverty 623, note 8, who holds that this should read بانیان. Banian.
Both MSS. (A and B) have ملتان. as also has Firuzí. 
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-enthraling palace became cold.
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you Rise

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

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

1 Nizâmi.
2 Mir Khusrâ Dehlavi A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yaminu-d-Din 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 Atash Kada his death occurred A H. 752 (A.D. 1351).
3 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, 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 Ghiasu-d-Din Balban and they said that when the Sultan wished to have connection with that girl her catamenies used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].

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

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Budaoon, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore as his ir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorites 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,
Yaminu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Din
Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamani from its suspiciousness.

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence 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 دا Ill.
4. The south corner of the Ka'aba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims.
5. Burton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 162. Hughes Dict. of Islam, 548. See also Munt's Life of Mahomet, II. 36, note.
And his mother Türkân Khatūn, who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultan against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Quṭbu-d-Din the eldest son of the Sultan by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultan, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik ʿĪzzu-d-Dīn and Kabir Khaṇ Sultanī governor of Multān, and Malik Sāfu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānei, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultan Ṣuknū-ṣ-Dīn Fīroz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Manṣūrpur and Taṛīyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Niẓām-uṣ-Ṣalāḥ Junaidī the Vizir and Agent of the territory of Hindūstān, fearing the Sultan had fled to Kīlūghārī and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik ʿĪzzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusted Amirs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Manṣūrpur went to Dehli and having sworn fealty to Raẓẓiyyah Khāṭūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultan Shamsu-ḍ-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to his father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Türkān Khāṭūn. When the Sultan having returned from the army, arrived at Kīlūkhārī, the troops of Sultan Raẓẓiyyah 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 Türkān, styled Khudīwāndā-i-Jahān.
2 The Ṭabaqūṭ-i-Nāṣīrī says, "Malik ʿĪzzu-d-Dīn, Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budhān broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik ʿĪzzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khaṇ Ayūz seoffice of Multān, Malik Sāfu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānei, and Malik ʿAlān-d-Dīn Jānī who held the fief of Lahore united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.
3 Kīlūkhārī, a suburb of Dehli.
4 MS. (A) برضخ خاتون.
5 In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabiʿu-l-Awwal.
6 His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāj-a-Sirāj 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] of Raknu-d-Din was Shiháb Muhamra Badáoni as Mr Khánrū on him be mercy says in one of his opening odes

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

And Maliku-l-Kalám Fakhrú-l-Mulk 'Amid Túlaki mentions him as a master 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 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 Shihábun-d-Din ibn Jamála-d-Din Mutmara. He was known as Shiháb-i-Mutmara. The verse here quoted should be as follows:

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

3 Mr Khánrú, the celebrated poet born at Páliá 651 A.H. Died 725 A.H. the author of 99 poetical works (Bené) (Majma’u-l-Fuṣahá) see note 4, page 69.
4 MS. (A) Lúyáki We should read 'Amíd Lámálí. Fakhrú-l-Mulk Khájsa 'Aṣídun-d-Din commonly known as 'Amíd Dáilámi, the panegyrist of Sulájá Muḥammad Yámín, said by some to have been a native of Gilán, called also 'Amíd Lámálí. Majma’u-l-Fuṣahá I 358.
5 MS. (A).
6 The seven poems. The well-known poems of the Jâtiliyat or pre-Islamic age.


See also Nöldke (Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber, pp. xxi and seq.

See also Arabian Poetry (Giaucho) 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 incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellences of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfill the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihābūd-Dīn Muharrmā (Badā'ūnī) then says as follows:

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.  
My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.  
I stand at the end of the row 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.  
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.

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1 See note 5, page 70.  
2 Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.  
In its literal value also it is  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  or a syllable as in  . 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 nightingale and to remain speechless, cf. Ḥārī."
Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues?
Since I can seize it a 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. Hälg.

The text should read—

چوگنی‌یوم (B) چوگنی‌یوم (A)
I am not made out of these four elements. I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.

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

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

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

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.

1 For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see Sadidi, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 124 A. H., page 7.)

2 Bahu-l-Asrān, 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) (C) (D) (E) (F) (G) (H) (I) (J) (K) (L) (M) (N) (O) (P) (Q) (R) (S) (T) (U) (V) (W) (X) (Y) (Z)

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

5 The bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called dās, (Burhān-i-Qāt').

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-designing, from your youth hating 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.

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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. B. A. S. XIII, p. 11.


3. Gûrkân, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kân Khiât, the meaning of the title being “universal king.” It must not be confounded with the title of Gurkân which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied by marriage with the house of Chingiz Kân.

See Tûrîhâ-i-Râshîdî, Elias and Ross, p. 278, note.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 MS. (A) coyls.

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

3 When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him Kalāmash yād ast. His speech is ice.
The King of the throne of "Kun" is Muhammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahani. 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 coal from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

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

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

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

In the technical language of Sufi philosophy, "Kun" is called عالم خلقى. This is called عالم-امرك the world of creation, or the material world.

Ummahani, daughter of Abu Talib, the uncle of Muhammad, and sister of Ali. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muhammad called مساج (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahani. When Muhammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahani 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.

The text as it stands is meaningless.

The text and MS (B) have which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the لينسي between and 75—14
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 Qābahā 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 Qaṣīda, may his life like my Qaṣīda be ornamented with the jewels of meaning.

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1 Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdul Ka'bah Ibn Abi Qābīfah. He was the companion of Muḥammad in his flight to Medina.

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

3 انسان حق را. If we read قسما حق را, we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart."

4 عثمان. "Uṣmān the third Khalifa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy the good things of this life.

5 علي إله شد كين. "Ali the fourth Khalif whose sword Zūl-faqār. (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muḥammad from heaven, and by him given to 'Ali.

6 Text Hāmzah Wārida and MS. (B) both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qaṣīd is given in the Majmā'ul Fāsahā.

7 Text زس (نفخ). MS. (A) (B) have.
The following Qasida also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words “hair” and “ant,” in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, may the peace of God be upon him.

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

And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike locks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.
And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar-lipped ones, in my fancy I have bored the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial.
That I might have a store like the ant,² in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jet 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,³ 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,⁴ 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.⁶

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.
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 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 (Hašāt-i-Hašāt). 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'ān, xxvii. 16-20.

³ MS. (A) ١٠٣

⁴ Qatţāl-i-Naisān. The drop of rain falling in the month of Naisān are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (Qāyākā-i-lugiš). Naisān (Burrān-i-Qāš) or Nīsān was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4, Albirūnī, Chronology (Saḥṣān) 62, and aeqq.
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 e 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
Arghawan.
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.

The reading in the text is preferable.

Arghawan, or (Arabic) Arjawan is according to the Makzunu-
Arriya, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of
beautiful hue but slight colour, having a sweetish taste. It is used as a
dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as
eating 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].

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with
Arjawan.
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 like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

5. The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muhammad.

6. The ms. (A) shows this reading to be right.

7. This story is related as follows in the Haiatu-l-Qilab.—

   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 Lêt 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 does." Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying; "Oh thou lizard." The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying; "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied; "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire." The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, "Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee." The Arab said — "I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother!" (Haiatu l-Qilab by Agha Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi)

8. See Qur'ān, Sūrah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the Haiatu-l-Qilab a MS. copy of which dated 25th Zul Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D) is before me. 1 find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muhammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qoreisā 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 Hādiṣ by Ḥārat 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.

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 perisheth 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 'ul 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 halves, whereupon it split into two parts, and the prophet knelt to show his gratitude to Almighty God. All authorities relate that this took place in Makka, and further it is related that when certain travellers arrived they said in answer to questions 'We too saw on that night that the moon was in two halves.' Consequently the infidels believed that it was a true miracle and not merely magic.' He also relates that these infidels imposed upon Muhammad the task of restoring the moon to its original condition, and also of turning one-half of the orb of the moon black while the other half was bright.

1 MS. (B)
2 MS. (A)
3 MS. (A)
For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision
that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence
of that bounty for ever and ever.
Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet
like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness
to sing thy praise.
If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread
of hair, without the permission of thy mercy this caravan
would not have passed.
I am like an ant in water, or like a hair in the fire, because
this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this relation.
I have the foot of effort: 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, Shihâb 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 Sâlih showed him (Shihâb)
that path of rectitude.

1 MS (A) نعمة
2 MSS. (A) (B) بی جوز
3 MSS. (A) (B) داسان
4 MSS. (A) (B) چون مرر دارم یک مور مس ماند
5 MSS. (A) (B) لر حروس پیش این و رک
6 MS. (A) و حالم
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 Ruknu-d-Din Firoz imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things as follows:

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infanticidal
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 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.

The Širāt or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Širāt or bridge crossing infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briers 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 Širāt. See also Qur'ān 7:5.

MS. 2

The words karg rhinoceros, gurg wolf, shir lion, fil elephant.

MS. 3
A maddened elephant in this wolf-haired rhinoceros.  
Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he effects their ruin.  
The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life of Rustam a strong move like "pilband."  

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MS. (A)  

A stratagem in the game of chess. See Al biruni (India) I. 163-164. The 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 Pirada-Ali or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once— "forking" them as chess players call it. Under certain combinations this pawn was utilized to give mate. Thus in Auhade's Life of Khwaja 'Ali Shatranji we find

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

This (pilband) was explained to me by a Muhammadan 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 Bohr-'Afas 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 (Pil).
The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof jiko s Hon, if the elephant of this coarulean castle me made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.
The lion of the sky; like the elephant in colour, a wolf by nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience like the hide of the rhinoceros.

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs 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 cheked 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.

Hazan Dehlavi also says:

Also! that the "pilbwd" 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.

2 * it, when it became dark countless stars appeared. See Qur'ān XII. 1-15.

3 The morning Zodiacal light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also شمی می بیس. Sukh-i-Kābīb the kāboz dawn; see J. R. A. S., July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شوئل * Shaula. *Būhān-i-Qāṣi.

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

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

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

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

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

His elephantine club empties the forest of wolves, his wolf-swift horse seizes the meadow from the lions.

His rhinoceros-like staff of office is in the heart of the wolf of the sky, his club 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 Gurgsār from the sword of the brazen-bodied one.

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

1 MS. (A) 458.
2 Istaudiyar at the conclusion of the seventh stage of the Haft Khwān.
3 Gurgin-i Milād one of the chief warriors of Kai Khushnān.
4 Bizhan, son of Geo, and nephew of Rustam, was the lover of Manijeh daughter of Afrāsiyāb, Gurgin being jealous of his prowess plotted against him and treacherously betrayed the secret of his amour, and Bizhan was condemned to be confined in a deep pit head downwards. He was eventually released by Rustam, Gurgin was punished by Geo, and then imprisoned. For an epitome of the story, see Atkinson’s Shāh Nāma, pp 300-324. See Shāh Nāma, Vol. II, pp 771-797. (Turner Macan Edition).
The reflection of thy elephant coloured sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes of Gurgan to become like the pomegranate.

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

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

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

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

1. MSS. (A) (B)

2. مَكَابْ 'Umnāb, Zivephyr jaujba (N. O. Rhamnaceous), 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-I-Jawāhr the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs; also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit. (Burhān-I-Qāhl).

3. MSS. (A)

4. The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The Malā'izanu-I-Adwiya says:—Hajāv u-I-Hayyān (حَبْر اِسْبْحَة) called in Persian مَعْرِج مَوْر is of two kinds: one a mineral which is known as مَوْر مَعْرِج, 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 misgāls.

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 unsclos 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.

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 and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

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

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

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

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

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

Another test. When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, show the same phenomenon. (Makhzanul-Adviya).

The Bahru-l-Jawahir says only

\[ \text{حبش ελήσεια حبض إثاذءر مده ما هر ثقيل إسورد و منه مده رمادي و منته ما فيه نله خليطه} \]

Hajaru-l-Hayyah. The stone Padzahr (Besar stone,) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

1 See note 3, page 115.

2 कर्की, MSL. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi जालू मकड.
For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf-natured sky select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and rhinoceros?  
For that purpose again and again, this old wolf from the elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.  
The she-wolf drives away the he-lion as a good omen,  
If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros-conquering elephant.  

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badān;  
Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and rhinoceros and the lion.  
As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe, and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in writing; so long may your wolf-crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros-destroyer and elephant-like in strength, be humbled in the dust before the lion of your portico.  
May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the story, line in the public baths.

SULTĀN RAZZĪYAH BINT SULTĀN SHAHSU-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 pursuit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Nizāmu-l-Mulk...

1 MS. (A). Nūrī. MS. (B) has روز.  
2 Text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has درسکون. To sight a jackal when going to the chase is considered a good omen. A snake or a sheep is considered a bad omen. The she-wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the lion represents strength. The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem over force.  
3 MS. (A) and (B) have بیل التماثل.  
4 These words are exactly alike in writing.

+ 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 Pamweil are an example of this.
Jundi (Junaidi) Chief Wazir. Antagonism and strife shewed itself among the Amirs, and Sultan Razziyah 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 Nizam-ul-Mulk retired to Sir Mūr and took up his abode in the secret place of death, and Khwaja Muḥazzab the Deputy succeeded him in office. The kingdom of Razziyah gained considerable power, she despatched an army to relieve Rantambhūr, which, after the death of Sultan Shams-ud-Dīn, the Hindus had invested continually, and liberated the Muslims from their captivity, and Jamālu-d-Dīn Yāqūt, the Abyssinian, who was Master of the Horse, became her confidant and trusted adviser, to such a point that Sultan Razziyah 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 Razziyah came out from the curtain of chastity and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety, used to wear a tunic and ḫullāh when seated on the throne to rule the kingdom.

And in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.) Malik 'Uzzā-d-Dīn Ḥayz, Governor of Lahore, displayed hostility. Sultan Razziyah proceeded against him and having reduced him to obedience added Multān also to his jāgīr, and in the same year she brought up an army against

1 See Thomas, Pathan Kings, p 104 and seqq. Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī 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 Mūr Bardār.

2 Malik Saifū-d-Dīn Kūjī and his brother Fakhrū-d-Dīn were taken prisoners and put to death. Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī, p 640

3 MS. (A) در کورن مورفیت. Retired to the hill country of Sirmūr.

4 The fortress of Rantambhūr in the province of Ajmūr, 75 miles south-east of Jaipūr, see p. 92, note 4

5 The text has بازویی اور می کردن but this is a misprint for پازویی او می کردن which is the reading of the MS. (A).

6 In the MS. (A) we have the following از پردہ پریشانم came out of retirement, that is simply abandoned the habits of purdah-nishātī generally imposed on Musalmaūn ladies. This seems the latter reading (see Raverty, p. 642, note 3, with reference to this subject).

7 Theī gāba and (IConfiguration) ħullāh were a tunic and hat worn by men.

8 After making over Multān to Malik 'Uzzā-d-Dīn, Sultan Razziyah returned to the capital on the 10th of Shābān 637 H. (Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī)

A jāgīr was land held in fief, generally bestowed as a reward for some service.
Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turkī Amīrā witnessing her
immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sulṭān Razzīyāh
and Jamālū-d-Dīn Yāqūt the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the
Chief Amīr, 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.

SULTĀN MU'IZZU-D-DĪN BAHRAM SHĀH⁵ IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN.

Next succeeded to the throne, and came to Delhi. At this time
Ṣulṭān Razzīyāh, and having gained over certain of
the Amīras and a body of the Jats and Khūkhrs, and all the land-
holders, brought an army towards Delhi. Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn
Bahrām Shāh, sent the Maliḳ Balban the younger (who event-
tually became Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn) with a vast army to oppose
Razzīyāh, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razzīyāh were
defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time col-
llected her forces and rallied her scattered troops, and arrived in
the neighbourhood of the village of Kaṭībal with the intention of
conquering Delhi, and again being defeated at the hands of the

¹ Razzīyāh-Ṣafā calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent
events up to death of Razzīyāh see Tubagēt-i-Nāpirī.

⁵ Tubagēt-i-Nāpirī states that they put Jamālū-d-Dīn to death.

⁶ Ḥefz. Ode beginning

[Further text continues with historical and geographical details.]
Malik Balkhan the younger, took to flight and both she and Altuniyah fell into the hands of the Kawarā and were put to death by order of Sultan Bahram Shāh.

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

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

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sultan Bahram Shāh, Malik Ightiyār-ud-Din Itkīn who was formerly Ḥājib and was married to a sister of the Sultan, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Nizām-ul-Mulk Muḥazzab-ud-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 Muḥazzab-ud-Din Wazīr, by certain Fidāis, by the orders of the Sultan, and in this year the Sultan dealt with a party composed of Amirs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

1 The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have كوارار Kawarān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The Jubaqāt-i-Nāsirī says “Sultan Razgiyah with Malik Altuniyah fell captive into the hands of Hindū” (See Ravertey’s translation page 645 and note 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawarān here spoken of were a tribe of Jāts otherwise known by the name of Gātwarās. They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonīpat Bangur and in the Dob in the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliott, Races of the N. W. Provinces of India: Vol. I. page 120).

2 638 A.H. Tubaqāt-i-Nāsirī. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firīsta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi‘ al-Awwal 637 A.H., and that Razgiyah and Altuniyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Razgiyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Ravertey, p. 648, note 2.

3 ديني چندی is the reading of MS. (A). Firīsta says “two Turks in a state of (frightened) intoxication.” Minhāj-ut-Sirāj writes, p. 103, Cal. Text

4 حضرت ترك مست و برسم قدمني از بالای قصر فرو فرسام. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāis, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāi is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (Burhān-i-Qalī) see Ravertey Tubaqāt-i-Nāsirī p. 651 n. 7.
And in the year 639 H the troops of the Mughul Changiz Khan came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qarajash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Debi, where the Sultan pledged the Amirs to his loyalty, and having summoned a conference sent Nizamul-Mulk Wazir, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultan, to oppose the Mughul force in the Panjub. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sultan and made many complaints of the Amirs who were with him, and begged the Sultan to come. The Sultan, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, “those recalcitrant Amirs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility till then.” He showed that despatch in original to the Amirs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultan Mu'izazu-d-Din Bahram Shâh sent Hazrat Shaikh-ul-Islâm Khwaja-i-Khwajagan Qutbu-d-Din Bakhtiyâr Ushî, may God sanctify him, to the Amirs to put

1 Who had been appointed Amir Haajib when Ikhtiyâr-d-Din was murdered.
2 The MS. (A) reads قاضي شمش السحاب قاضي قاضي صرخة وبقى على نيل which reading I follow Ferishta writes قاضي شمس السحاب قاضي قضية مار مرة ور دويا فيل إدثيغت

Tahqâl-i-Nâsirî gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Dervish who was jealous of Qâzi Shamsu-d-Din and had sufficient influence over Bahram Shâh to compass an enemy’s death.

He calls the town Mâhir. (Raverty 657 and note 4), MS. (A) has ماهر Mâhir.

3 Tahqâl-i-Nâsirî states that the Sultan nominated Malik Qutbu-d-Din Hasan ibn ‘Ali Ghûri, together with the Wazir the Khwâjâ Muhazzabu-d-Din for this purpose, and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him. (See Raverty 657, 658)

4 MS. (A) reads توبابيد کلا انزوقم با إياشان سراري بكني. Carrying into effect the maxim بادوبكي تلفب با دمختا مدارار.

5 See Raverty, p 658, note 2. Qutbu-d-Din Ushî after whom the Qutb minar of Dehli is called died in 633 H. See Raverty 622, note 6.

6 See also note 92, note 2. This was another man Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Din.
matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhu-l-Ilaah returned and came to Dehli, and just at this juncture Nizâmú-l-Mulk and the Amir also arrived and besieged the Sultan in Dehli, and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world 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.

Sultan Alâu-d-Din Mas'ûd Shah ibn Ruknû-d-Din Firuzshâh

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultan Nasîrû-d-Dîn Mahmûd and Sultan Jalâlu-d-Dîn, the sons of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dîn Iyâltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that ‘Izza-d-Dîn Balban (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Malikis or Amirs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sultan ‘Alâî-d-Dîn, and appointed Malik Qâfîbu-d-Dîn Hasan as Deputy, and Malik Mubâzî ibu-d-Dîn Nizâmû-l-Mulk Wâzir of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amirs of Sultan ‘Alâî-d-Dîn Mas'ûd put to death Nizâmû-l-Mulk the Wâzir.

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

The Wazirship was conferred upon Şadru-l-Mülk Najmu-d-Dîn Abû Bakr, and Malik Ghiyâşû-d-Dîn Balban the younger who had first been called Ulugh Kân and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultan, became Amir Ḥâjîb and in succession to him the governorship of Nâgôr and Sind and Ājmir was conferred

1 On Saturday the 19th of Sha'âbân 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zî Qâ'dah (Tabaqât-i-Nâsîrî, p. 659).
2 On the 13th of Zî Qâ'dah 639 H.
3 Malik 'Izza-d-Dîn Balban-i-Kashlû Kân, see Raverty p. 776 and 660 note 1.
4 Malik Ghiyâşû-d-Dîn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khân and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H. but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amir Akhûr till 642 H. when he became Amir Ḥâjîb.
See A'in-i-Akbar (Jarrett) II. 298.
permanently upon Malik Izzu-d-Din Balban, the elder, Budain was conferred upon Malik Taju-d-Din; and in this year 'Izz-ud-Din Tughä Khan who had advanced from Karrah 1 to the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti sent Sharfu'l-Mulk Ash'ari to the Sultan 'Alau-d-Din. With a written despatch, the Sultan then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh 2 for 'Izzu-d-Din Tughä Khan who was in Lakhnauti, and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jalâlu-d-Din, and Bahrâij to Malik Nâşiru-d-Din Mahmûd, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 642 H, the Mughul forces 3 arrived in the district of Lakhnauti, the assumption is that the Mughuls must have come by way of Tîbat and Khîta, and Sultan 'Alau-d-Din sent Timur Khân Qarä Beg 4 to the assistance of Tughä Khân and the Mughuls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughä Khân and Malik Qirân, 5 Tughä Khân came to Dehli, and Lakhnauti remained in the hands of Timur Khân. 6

The printed text has گرگری but MS. (A) has گرگری 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.

1 Qiţî Jalâlu-d-Din Kasânî (Tabâqât-i-Nâsiri)

2 This is an error which has according to Râverty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p. 665.

The original reading was چفکر جاجک جاک چرگار Jânjagor which by some strange perversion became چفکر جرجگر خان and so to our author's statement.


The infidel hordes of Jânjagor were of course Hindûs and not Mughul; hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnauti is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

1 The real name of Timur Khân Qarä Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qâmarru-d-Din Qirân-i-Timur Khân and he is the Malik Qirân referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qirân and "Timur Khân" are the same person. In the text چیروان is a misprint for چیروان. MS. (A) See also Râverty 666, 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 Biali, 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 Mahmud ibn Shamsu-d-Din from Bahrai, and upon his arrival at Delhi in the year 644 H, they threw Sultan Alau-d-Din Mas'ud 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 Mahmud ibn Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish**

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H, (1246 A.D.) and the Wazirship was conferred upon Ghiyasu-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 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughul force, under the command of “the accursed Mangatah” (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri).

2 On the 23rd of Muharram 644 H. (1246 A.D.).

3 Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Iyaltimish.

Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud son of Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish was born at the Qasri Bhash in Delhi in the year 626 H. (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nasiru-d-Din, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 626 A.H. (see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, 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'an. Thomas (Pathan 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 Hatim in generosity and a Rustum in energy.

Naṣir-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

Or how compute the exaltation of the Khubak at the mention of his happy name.

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

The Sultan entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyāšu-d-Dīn Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khān said, "I deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority; beware lest thou commit thyself to any evil action; for tomorrow thou wilt be at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring blame upon me and upon thyself." Then the Sultan himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion, and reading the Qur'ān and in repeating the sacred names of God may He be glorified and exalted; and it is currently reported that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used to wear an old ragged garment; and they also say that he used to devote his time to the copy of the Qur'ān which he was writing,6

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

An Sultan-i-A'zam-i-Manṣūm, Naṣira-d-Dunya wa-d-Dīn, Aḥū-i-Muṭṭathar-i-Mahmūd, Shāh ibn-i Sultan Iyāltimish Yanīn-i-Khalifatn-illah Naṣir-i-Andi-i-Manṣūm.

The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Minhāj-u-Sirāj was written in his court and dedicated to him; hence its name.

2. Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Minhāj-u-Sirāj is a general history up to 658 H. composed by Abū Uniar Minhāj-u-Dīn Uṣmān ibn Sirāj-u-Dīn al Jāzānī. See Elliot II, 259. An English translation by Major Raverty has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.


وكان ملكًا صلحاً ومنهج نحلاً من الكتاب الدؤور وردته فرقاته وشهها

وقد وفغفي القاضي كنال إدن علي مهين تحت منفسي مسمكة الكتلة
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 Bazar. They relate also
several other strange stories about him, which resemble the narra-
tives 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
Huri 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 acces-
sion, took an army towards Multan and in Zul Qa'dah having
crossed the river of Lahore (Ravi) and having appointed Ulugh
Khān as leader of the forces, sent him towards the Jud hills and
the country round Nandanah, and he himself halted on the banks
of the river Indus. Ulugh Khān 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 Kadhī
Camīl ḍandin m'a fait voir un Koran copié de sa main, artistement et élégam-
ment écrit.

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

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

3 The Kohī 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-Akbarī
(Jarrett) II. 405, note 2).

Treffenthaler (I. 105), places Nandanah or Nandanpour (forteresse en
brique sur un montagne) between the Behāt and the Indus: it must have lain
somehere near the line Jhelum to Peshawar.
he Khūkhars 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 Doāb, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehli with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A.H., he proceeded against Rantanbhūr, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, and in the year 647 H., he married the daughter of Ulugh Khān.

Then in the year 648 H., he took an army towards Multān, and after some days Malik Izzu-d-Dīn 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 Chandārī and Mālwa, and Jāhir Dev the Rāi of that

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1 Khūkhars, see Tieg, I, 104 and 105. Lo district des salines est habité par les Khocares ce sont ceux qui tirent le sol des mines, c'est un nation qui a quitté l'islamat 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 Tabāqat-i-Nāṣiri, it is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbardī (I. (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Nasrāt 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, Mērāt est un canton assez étendu, borné par les provinces de Dehli et d'Ajmer et par les Districts de Dżopour et de Dīk. It extends "north and south from Badshāpur to Harṣana, 47 miles, and east and west from Dīk to Nārnol, 67 miles." Alwar is about the centre of it now.

Tieffenthaler goes on to say "Cette contrée est habitez par beaucoup de Mahométains qui étaient ci-devant gentils. Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le temps qu'ils regnent a Dehli. Le Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols. Maintenant le Dżat (Jata) s'en est approprié la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Bājah de Dżopour (Japūr) qui on a expulsé beaucoup d'habitants mahométains."

He speaks of the abundance of Nim (Melia azedarach) and Bisoo (Dalbera tree) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country.

He speaks of Nārnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing. See also Ronnell's Memoir (1788), p. 75.

3 Tabāqat-i-Nāṣiri says this occurred in 649 H., which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a contemporary historian.

4 This Rājā is called in the Tabāqat-i-Nāṣiri, Chāhār Ajārī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A.D. 1246 (644 A.H.) under the name of Chāhār Dāra, his coins bearing the inscription श्री चाप्त देव. He was a very powerful Rājā (see Thomas 67 et seqq. and Raverty 690 note 1)
country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the 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 'Izzad-Din Balban who had left Nagor with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khan remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzad-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 Kashlu 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 Kashlu 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 زر is a misprint for ناروار MS. (A).

Narwär. Tisch. 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 20° 21' N. Longitude taken from the Islands of the Blest 03° 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 (Tubaqut-i-Nauri). In the text instead of
the ford of Miṣāpur 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 Kaṭihar going to Badāon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amīrs, namely Ulugh Ḵān-i-Aʿẓam, and Arsalān Ḵān and others, in concert with Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, the brother of the Sultan, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindāh. The Sultan thereupon marched from Dehli, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindāh and Kuhrām and Kaithal, by the intervention of a party of Amīrs, the Amīrs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths sworn for pardon came into submission to the Sultan; and the Sultan conferred upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 Ĥ. the feelings of the Sultan underwent a change with respect to his mother Malika-i-Jalān. He gave Qatulgh Ḵān, to whom Malika-i-Jalān was married, a jāegir in Oudh, and a short time after turning against him also sent him to Bahrāj. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mūr, and Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Kashtū Ḵān and certain other Amīrs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt; the Sultan...
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-ul-Islam Siyyid Qutbuddin and Qazi Shamsuddin of Bharaij and another party of men incited Qutlug Khan to come into Dehli, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country; the inhabitants of Dehli 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 Qutlug Khan and Malik Izzuddin Kashlu Khan after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred krohs in two days and came from Samana to Dehli, but did not find the party which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlug 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 Dehli, and at the end of this year the Mughuls arrived on the boundaries of Uehh 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 Jelaluddin 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 Mahdum Ganjshakar, may God magnify his power and exalt his

1 This account differs from that given in the Turbar-i-Nasiri. (See Raverty p. 708 and seq). 
2 The word تعمیم is omitted in Calcutta text.
3 About 180 miles, see Ain-i-Akbari II, p 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.
The ancient Kraa of Magadh was about 14 miles, the ke of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than 21 miles The Akbari ke was rather less than 14 miles and this is the standard referred to above.
4 These Maliks (Qutlug Khan and Izzuddin Kashlu Khan) retired towards the Sivalik territory failed in their object (Turbar-i-Nasiri).
5 Compare the account in Turbar-i-Nasiri according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.
6 Shaikh Fariduddin Mas'ud Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shih of Kabul, and son of Kamaluddin Suleiman 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 cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnauti, as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik Izzu-d-Din Khashlu Khān Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Qābażu-l-‘Ālam Hazrat Shaikh Bahān-d-Din Zakariyā, 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) and the other perished (khān).

Multān in the reign of Shihabu-d-Din Ghārī. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahān-d-Din Zakariyā, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also Áín-i-Ákbarí [Jarrett] III. p. 383).

His tomb is mentioned in the Áín-i-Ákbarí (I. 325) as being at Ajūdhan (Pāk Patān or Patrān-i-Panjāb).

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates, Bādāwi gives 656 H. as the date of Faridu-d-Din Ganji-shakar’s death and 657 H. as that of the death of Bahān-d-Din Zakariyā, while according to Firishta the latter should be 656 H. and the former 657 H. The Áín-i-Ákbarí gives 656 H. as the date of the death of Faridu-d-din Ganj-i-shakar and 657 H. as the date of the death of Bahān-d-din Zakariyā.

The printed text is wrong here.

Shaikh Bahān-d-Din Zakariyā was a famous Muhammadan saint of Multān. He was the grandson of Kamūla-d-Din Ali Shāh Qureishi who left Mecca for Khwāzam and thence came to Multān, the Qubbatu-l-Islām, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahān-d-Din was the son of Shaikh Wajihun-d-Din by the daughter of Hūsam-d-Din Tarmādi and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 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 Sadru-d-Din ‘Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahān-d-Din. He did so and retired, but returned on hearing voices in the room saying...

The 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 Áín-i-Ákbarí (Jarrett) III. 382 and note.

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

The word 656 H. gives the date 657 H. the word 657 H. gives the date 656 H. See page 133, note 1.
And in the year 658 H. Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud, chastised the country of Miwat and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom. He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehli, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse.

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalam (Lord of Eloquence) during Nasiru-d-Din's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Din Dibir whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mir Khusrù, 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-Kamal and at the end of the Husht Bihisht greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

1 The Jabaqat-i-Naโทรศ (Cal. Text, p 227 reads:

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

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

2 On the 11th Jamu'u-l-Awwal; as he came to the throne on the 23rd Maharram 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 Khan having died in infancy.

3 There is no mention of this poet in either the Majmu'a-l-Futuh or the Atashkade. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the Husht Bihisht in praise of one Abu Hanifah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-din.

4 Amir Khusrù (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amir Mahmud Saifu-d-Din was born at Patiala 651 A.H. and died at Dehli in 725 A.H. (Scale p 151).
abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his). And Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-Din Balban having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangāla and Kāmruḍ had left him in the service of his elder son Naṣīr-u-Dīn[1] Bughrā Khān, and these few couplets are from an od of his.

Oh thou of whom this work of my heart is unworthy through 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 Naṣīr-u-Dīn died. The Majma‘ul Fuṣūḥā gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehlī from Turkistān in the time of Changīs Khān’s invasion, and obtained great distinction in the court of Sultan Mahmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels, when his son Amir Khurān was appointed as his successor in his Amīrāhī, 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 Sheikh Shakarganj (Farīdu-d-Dīn Gānchakar see note 1, page 133).

He was the author the celebrated Qirān-u-Sa‘da‘īn the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sultan Naṣīr-u-Dīn with his son Sultan Kāi Qubād on the banks of the Ghagra, and of several other works (see Elliot, III. pp. 523 and sqq).

1 MS. (A) reads correctly Sultan Naṣīr-u-Dīn Bughrā Khan second son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tughral.

He married a daughter of Sultan Naṣīr-u-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh by whom he had a son and successor Kāi-Qubād. (See Baverty, Tabaqāt-u-Naṣīrī 716 n.)

In Thomas, Pathan Kings of Dehlī there is given a copy of an inscription of Naṣīr-u-Dīn Mahmūd which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligargh bearing the date 10th Bajab 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 Naṣīr-u-Dīn himself, (cf. Thomas op. cit 129–130).

2 MS. (A) عی

3 MS. (A) و

4 MS. (A) دل
I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said "no Muslim will eat raw flesh," but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion?

You call me "raw," if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready. So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king, that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second Khusrū, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusrū—Conqueror of the world and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleimān 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.

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1 MS. (A) {Išq

2 MS. (A) خشایم ارزویش خود بشگاهم

3 MS. (A) ناکب درنیا. The text has which is meaningless and spoils the scansion.

4 MS. (A).

5 MS. (A).

6 This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide, page 12, note 2. Mūhammad Qasim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209)
for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is it for you to fit a raw-hide.

Thy enemy bathes in blood, instead of the collar of his garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a raw-hide.

Every deed of thine is like perfected gold, and those who wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from frivolity and the assurance of shame.

Thy enemy is that naked demon 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 what fear is there? although he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he is helpless though impotence.

Of what avail is the sorcery of Fara‘ūn since the drago of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent.

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

He himself is experienced 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 for thee—Oh Lord

1 MS. (A) بخشانی خام.
2 MS. (B) agrees with the text. MS. (A) reads خل خصم است لکچون چای قاز پریام.
The textual reading is adopted with زر in place of زر
3 MS. (A) جرم.
4 MS. (A) ان گول که از کلم جهان (Durhān Qāh,)
5 MS. (A) درواز.
6 MS. (A) بیکینه درویز کشکیان.
7 MS. (A) بارد جو.
8 MS. (A) شمسی الکوریان دیا.
9 MS. (A) هست اروا چخما.
10 MS (A) بیه تر ملکت یارب.
11 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 Fakhrud-Din 'Amid Lūmākī writes in a Qasida, of which this is the opening couplet.

When my loved one takes the lute, and binds the plectrum on her fingernail
Her nail strikes Nāhid with a hundred wounds in the heart through envy.
Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhid at that instant.
Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.
Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.
If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed at that,
Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.
Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.
Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness, because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.
Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

1 Fakhrud-Dīn Khwāja 'Amīdud-Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dālāmī or 'Amīd Lūmākī said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sultan Muhammad Yūsuf.
2 MS. (A) reads ... چوافتاراگ تکرم چنگ و بندز زکه بر تالش ی ... MS. (B) reads ... چوافتاراگ ی. i.e. plays the lute.
3 Nāhid. The planet Venus زهرة, zahrā whose seat is in the third heaven (Burhān-ī-Qātib, called also رقاب فلک. raqqās-i-falak. (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.
4 لازهمبرون تب. MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.
5 لازهم مشکن. MS. (A).
6 بیمار ده بانلف. MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.
of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshāh Nāṣir-i-Dunyā wa-Din Muhāmūd, 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 Hādīs.

1 MSS. (A) (B) 
2 MS. (A) (B) is the better reading as in the text.
3 Compare the Arabic proverb. In capite orphani discit tensor.

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

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 copyist's error.
5 MSS. (A) (B) 

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

Also,

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 Isrā'il.

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 bléar eyes. It is also said in a Ḥadīs by Ḥamīd ibn 'Abdūr-Rahmān.

"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.
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.  

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world, if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well.

If the envier 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 (nakhun) as radif 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.

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 Hindustan, it is essential to reproduce some thing from poems of his which are rarely met with:

Arose ‘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 (A)
2 Radif. The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word nakhun is the radif, the rhyming letter or qāfūnah being (r). In MS. (A) these verses are in the order given here.
3 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.R.A.S., Jan. 1892, p. 165.
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 tired woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.\(^1\)

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (i.e., fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.\(^2\)

His skill has caused the crimson anemone\(^5\) to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī and Rāhū\(^7\) to blossom in the garden.

---

\(^1\) The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are:

1. Falaku-l-qamar (Moon).
2. Falaku-l-utāred (Mercury).
3. Falaku-z-Zahra (Venus).
4. Falaku-al-Shams (Sun).
5. Falaku-al-Mirzā (Mars).
7. Falaku-z-Zuhal (Saturn).
8. Falaku-z-Zawābit (Fixed stars).
9. Falaku-l-Atlās (The plain sky).

N.B. Means an un stamped coin.

See the Ghilijū-l-Iqāhu.

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

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

\(^2\) The constellation Libra, called तराशी चार (tarāshī-čārā) or तराशी (tarāshī-falāk) or सौर (sūrān).

\(^3\) "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic.) Steingass. In the Hasht Bihisht of Amir Khusrau, we find لب لبر رازو بختیئً جون کل سوی (one red rose). 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.

\(^5\) "being likened to the flashing of lightning or from the colour in the sense of "blood," resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood." (Lane) s. u.
At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty he has limned the form of the mouth: at another with the pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows. The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness. The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of blackness.

The kings of the earth with submission and humility, in search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of his threshold.

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one time curved like the 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 Khâta the perfume of the bag of the musk deer.

Hear from me oh. friend, since you have heard the declaration of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp. Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers, such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company?

(Qalâfîn-i-najâzi) So-called kings, as opposed to Qalâfîn-i-laqiqi true kings, i.e., the prophets.

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

Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'ân, II. 216 and 23.

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 those many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet
natured loved one.

Do thou 'Amid again lay hold of the thread of confession of
unity.
And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearl.

Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever
living
Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,² an
eloquent without a (material) tongue.

1. The song of the dove, Where? Where?

You palace towering to the welkin 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 ring dove’s note is

Subhān tāli quadrat, Subhān tā quadrat. Praise be to Thes for thy power.

² Ruḥ is the vital principle the “breath of life” (Gen. ii 7),
distinguished from the nafs or conscious manifestation of life, or the
consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qurʾān XV, 29.

In kunto qulluha faqad 'alimtahu tālamu mā 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
nafs and a ruḥ.

It would seem as though the word nafs connotes the same idea as
the word mind, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by
By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul. Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary influence of a husband.

Compared with thy ancient order what is Kistā and what is Qaṣar.

In face of thy decree what is the Khāqān and what is Halakū? 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 rūḥ or vital principle upon matter: the highest form of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call mind: the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifestation than those which come within our present experience is obviously possible. A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force self-existent would be خُوْلُلٌ, rūḥ.

These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نَفْسٌ, nafs. nafs, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (a) نَفْسٌ لَا مَلَأ١, nafsu-l-aql which is also called نَفْسٌ النَّاطِق, nafsu-n-nātīqah the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b) نَفْسٌ الْفَتُوحِ, nafsu-l-chayāt, the breath of life.

The first of these is again sub-divided into two, that which commands and that which forbids: thus they say فَلَانُ يُؤَمِرُ وَلْيُخْرِجُ, falānuyūmārimu nafsaḥ. Such an one consults his two minds, i.e., weigh the pros and cons.

See Lane article لَفْسَةٍ and فَخْرُ, also Ghīṣu-l-lughāt, and Kuschāf art.

The Chusroes. Qaṣar, an Emperor.

خُوْلُلٌ, the Turkish word meaning Emperor. The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary. (See de Courteilli Tart. Orient. Dict.=response) Khānān. Originally the title Qaṣar was given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, while the subordinate prince of the Chaghatai and other Chingizizi 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 Ṭārīkh-i-mashūdi (Elias and Ross), p. 30 n. 1).

Khānān, descendant of Changiz, Khān.
Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,¹
Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Ya Huwa.²
On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the
prophets own their allegiances 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.

He also in the following in praise of the prophet may the peace
and blessing of God be upon him ³

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose
sleeve, flows gracefully from the adornment of the soul
as the ornament of its divine Creator

I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straight-
forward praise,
Because the two worlds are an indication of the embroidery
of its sleeve;
Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard⁶

¹ The word چنگ in its original sense means bent or curved, hence it
means a hook, and especially the hook called also “gajak” گیک میثاق
with which elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent head and fingers
of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a
musical instrument (Busban i-Qafī'). The چنگ was played with a plectrum
called زیبسا and from its description as چوز کوز نسر دیوون
armanī was like the ۸ید of the Arame, and very similar to the mandolin
of our times.

² I have the same in my original. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to “My Gd
and my Lord.”

³ These words are not in MS (A) which has no introduction to the poem.
MS. (B) has

⁴ MS. (A) ویچرین (B) چنگ
⁵ MS. (A) and (B) چنگ

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

In the Busban-i-Jau išir it is stated that there are two kinds of Sambul—
Sambul-i-Hindi, and Sambul-i-Rūmi

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

The perfumed sambal is the variety called Sambul-i-Hindi while the
Sambul-i-Rūmi is also called Nārān.

See also Ibaru-t-Banar (Southmeier), Vol. II, pp. 68 et seq.
the morning breeze has never borne from Chin to Machin
a rarer odour from the fragrant mask.
Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious
advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of 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. Tiefenthaler III. 107, Abul Feas (Reimund) II. II, 122. D’Herbelot Vol. II. Art Khatiri. Machin or Mahi Chin see Ain-i-Akbari. II. 118 and note 3. "Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Chin who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Machin his first born."

2 The phrase من اسمه means literally the six-sided over shaped world.
The six sides or divisions of the world are—

- عالم الإنس, the world of mankind.
- عالم الجين, the world of the jinn or genii.
- عالم الملاك, the world of angels.
- عالم الحيوان, the animal world.
- عالم النبات, the vegetable world.
- عالم المعدن, the mineral world.

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

- القبلة, prayer the one god and the like of it.

The two standards الماء are the sun and moon; cf. Qur’an. XXXVI, 38-39.

3 M. S. (A) reads ﷺ. His onyx-like eye, &c.

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muhammad "The cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies." According to the Nuhbatu-
-alpha (p. 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become ill-tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious ... ... There are several varieties of onyx ... the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth ... The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it wanes. The onyx softens when boiled in oil, sparkling and emitting light ... The people of China (صين) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the unlikeliness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there.

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

See also Lane Art. ﷺ where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams.
Solomon 1 because there is the stamp of his seal upon every thing from the moon above to the fish below. 5

Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his helpers,

Earth 5 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 galangabin 6 (confection of rose and honey) relieves the tremor of disobedience,

The mouth of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like words,

The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread faith,

The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand, and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the path of his religion is in his right hand.

The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,

The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are but a sweat drop from his forehead,

The tongue of a green lizard 5 is one of the marks of his seal,

The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his relation,

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

See Lapo Arabian Nights introduction n 21 and Chap i. n. 15. This stone was supposed to show Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Herbelot art. Soliman.

2 Called yahmüt upon which the world is said to rest. See page 152, n. 2

3 See Arabian Nights introduction n 21 and Chap i. n. 15. This stone was supposed to show Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Herbelot art. Soliman.

4 Called "yahmüt" upon which the world is said to rest. See page 152, n. 2

5 The properties of the rose are said in the Bahra'-I-Jawâhir to be laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac, while honey is said to be a light dew. which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a laxative and expectorant. Sadicis further says that honey is beneficial to old men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is anaphrodisiac 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 Sadicis statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

6 This line should read سِيْفِهِ. See page 110.
In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his cleft the heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves as though it were a piece of cloth.\(^1\)

Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faithfulness to him.

Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his praise.

The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of his love and kindness.

The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth 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.

\(\text{note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muḥammad was fleeing from Mecca to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as Siddīq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jubal ʿSur 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.}

\(\text{Haiatu-l-Quwā. See also Muir's Life of Mah. II. 257 note.}

\(\text{Compare the following lines by Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūrī, quoted by Ibn Khalliquān.}

\(\text{Eibā al-mudī al-fikhar daw al-fikhar}
\left(\text{لدن الكبيرة و الجبروت}
\right)
\text{Nim daw la ʿilīa al-fikhar}
\left(\text{كأن الفخار المكبور}
\right)

Oh thou who art so vain glorious! Ivarve 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.

\(\text{See Ibn Khalliquān (de Slane), Vol. IV., p. 376.}

\(\text{According to another account immediately after Muḥammad 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. 281 art. (Hegra).}

\(\text{1 MS. (A).}
\(\text{2 MSS. (A) and (B).}
\(\text{3 MSS. (A) and (B).}
When Beriq 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 Sidrā from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity which was his mighty title.

Asad Ullah leaving his hair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band like the ants of the ground travelling fast along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into 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, page 103. 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 Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants' ears" (Mathew). Mishkāṭu-l-Maṣāhib, Vol. II, p. 694.

3 See also Hughes' Dict. of Islam. (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).

4 MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

5 MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

6 MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

7 MS. (A) and Text. These are Rāfsa, infidels.
On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice.

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate. The Moon and Jupiter are in conjunction, each one with its own partner.

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring.

From the two earrings sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes.

'Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his praises, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency.

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves.

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality is evident, in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup.

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

MS. (A) (B)

καταβαίνων Ἰερουσαλήμ. The temples of Mecca and Jerusalem.

The first four Khalifs the "rightly-directed." MS. (A) reads "dur qaṣr." Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate. See Ibn Khaldûn Proleg: (De Sharâ) II. 217, and seqq. Hassan and Husain. خشت جنت Their eight children. 'Ali and Fâtimah.

See Ibn Khillîqân (Sîne) III. 344 n. (B). Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called لمرأجع. Es-sâbî u-l-haifa. Râfîq says.

Is this poem a miracle, or is it lawful magic?

Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes' Dict. of Islam article Magic, also Lane sub voc. كسر.

This couplet is omitted in MS. (B).

MS. (A) reads چو میکی گی صرف چو یوب ریال سف یک میس.
are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

What person am I, what parrot am I, that sing these verses? When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QASIDA.¹

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed, in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion. Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness. Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.
The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simak reaching even to Samak.²
At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night as an angel.³
Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.⁴ Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.⁵

¹ MS. (A) has the words أَيْضَنْ لَانَ أَلْهَا Also by him.
² The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simak, one As-Simāku-r-Rāmu, the lance-bearing Simāk (Aroturus); and the other As-Simāku-l-Ā'zal, 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 root Samak to rise, to be exalted. See Ibn Khalliqān (do Slane) Vol. I. note 11. Simak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (Ghayasu-l-Lughāt).
³ مَرْحَبُ-١٩ Burhān-1-Qāf. 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 which seems to have no meaning. The text reads َلِمْكَ with a variant َلِمْكَ 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 decrement.
⁶ Παρνακ. The star Canopus. Burhān-1-Q
Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth are his tilth. Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans. From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf. In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring woman of the morning-breeze rubs on the rouge of adorning 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 kuhl (of ornament), in the eye these are according to the Burhan-i-Qâti‘.

Bahr-i-Curjân, Bahr-i-Tubariya.
Bahr-i-Nîlâs, Daryâ-i-Rûm.
Daryâ-i-Maghrib, Daryâ-i-Chîr.

Bahr-i-Khwârazm.

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

٨ "A patch" for the face (Burhan-i-Qâti‘).

٩ Read here خبک رخ نرک. This seems the best reading. Both MSS. (A) and (B) lend countenance to it. The reading in the text is impossible.

٩ That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so pliant that it seems as though they were tinged with salt. Conserve of roses is called partyarsh.

٨ (qidam) Existence from all eternity. For خدیوش (hûdâq) see note ٨, page 1.

٨ The ملک kuhl was used as a collyrium. ملک کشیدن (Mil Kushidan) is to put out the eyes. ملک، called also ملک میرمûl, is the booklet or style used for applying the kuhl.
of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way 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 Núh ibn Lamak cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life as the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief, just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net.

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 tours (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants several lakhs.

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 from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito not by the advanced guard of an army.

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1 MS (A) reads but this is an error.
2 The text and both MSS read .
3 The text reads wrongly .
4 When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.
5 MS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly .
6 MS. (A) .
7 MS. (A) .
8 In the Nasīḥat-tanawīrī of Lisānu-ı-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 fell.
I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather.

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness.
I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent.
By thy help it is that this joyful sound 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.

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground.
A carpet if it be of silk 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 Nimrut, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrut, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort. Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his lip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrut died in object misery.

A. the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable.

1 MS. (A). The text reads wrongly در نشیان
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 جنیناک literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy.
4 MS. (A) (Kay) 
5 By the laws of Islam, cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer, or as a prayer carpet. Cloth worn of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called قطن و نسک.
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 Chin remains dry as a husk,
Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment, until I am on the brink of the grave; that my dust may be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of thistles.
The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of modesty, and the secret of truth, the house of religion is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.
On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars is a sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure. May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a worthy present for the soul.
Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection, (i.e., four Khalifs).
Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for the door of hell.
What good will apostasy do you when ‘Ali is independent of you? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the touchstone does not shew the shine of it?
What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.
Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards "Faddak."

**Notes:**
1 MSS. (A) (B)

The term راجي is applied by Sunni Muslims to any of the Shi'ah sects. See Hughes. *Dict. of Islam*. R(adj
d2 The four khulifs.

3 *Hadis.* مثل إصداري كالنجم بايهم إهدادتم إعدادتم. My companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

4 بقلم MS. (A)

5 Faddak was an estate near Medina which Muhammad left to his daughter Fatima.

After the prophet's death Abu Bakr took it and Fatima demanded it of
And he who likes the ill-omened owl boasts of being a Khārīji. The Shī'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.

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahram points in the same direction. See Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane). Prolegomenes, I. 107.

In the Hadīth-ul-Hafrān there is a story told of Al Mā'mūn who in the course of his perquisitions 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:

Oh palace ill-luck and care 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 Khārīji was given to any one who denied any of the true Imāms (see Cureton's Shahrastānī Milat wa Kūhal, page 85.)

See the article Khāwārij in Hughes, Dict. of Islām.

The Khārīji heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalifah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslems.

See for a fuller account of this sect. Sale's Qur'ān. Preliminary Discourse, p. 123 (Ed. of 1857) (Badger, Imāms and Seiyyids of Omān, Appendix, pp. 374, and reg.) (Onslow, Islām under the Arabs, p. 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Ali and Mū'āwī met at Siffin from which the following is an extract “The valour of 'Ali was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malika-l-Ashtar, the Marshal Noy, of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout.”

However at this critical moment Amron ibn al-As knowing the fanatical character of 'Ali's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance
compared to the confidant of the cave is like the night-flying bat in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun).

Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion?

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination working sects before that this sound reaches their ears.

What brought you into hell?

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy cheeks of Yamna.

Towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'an fixed to the hearts of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us."

'Ali's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shemra' composed and instilled upon 'Ali recalling Malik Al-Ashair from fighting against the Moslim "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Umar" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Ali and Mu'awia being settled by arbitration.

1 Abu Bakr.—The sole companion of Muhammad when he fled from Mecca to Medinah, cf. Qur'an ix. 40

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Saur).

2 I MSS. (A) and (B) have which seems to have no meaning.

3 Kizil Arslan in the Turkish for "red lion." He was son of Ilghiz the first of the Atabaks of Arar baijân whose dynasty commenced in 565 H. and ended in 622 H. Muhammad the older son of Ilghiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslan who was assassinated in 587 H. (D'Herbelot) (Beato).

4 'Fanak. The animal commonly known by the name dali wensal or stoat.

5 Qur'an lxxiv. 43.

In gardens shall they ask each other about the owners—what drove ye into hell-fire?

6 Chigil. The Burhan-i-Qâli says, A city in Turkestan where inhabitant are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.
Yet in the beginning of the 5th and 6th of my age (54) I thank God that the bird of my ambition has burst the bonds of this net and gone free.

I have washed my hands of the one, and have reed my foot from the other, springing out of both snares like the clay pellets from a pea-shooter.

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent," my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open dealing are with thee.

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

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

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Yaqūt says: A city lying beyond the river Sīhūn in Turkestan near Turāz. Thee rose sprang Abū Mahammāl 'Abū Dirr Bahlām ibn Yāhin ibn Yūnas Aḥqālī the Khātib of Samarcand in the days of Qādir Khān he died in Sāmān 616 H.

Yaqūt describesenas a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people. Bāb āl Kūf, Yaqūt do not mention this.

The above shows that 'Abdu'Lūnākī was born in the year 601 H. The mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any intended doubt or uncertainty here, though the word 65 which stands for 54 means good guid or, no meaning can be attached to the 7 which stands for 65. See I 65 no 65

Yaqūt does not call it 65, it is called 65. It is also called 65. It is also called 65.

2. English pop gun, leased by Sīr āt (Etym Dict) to the base Pu expressive of it is Llor inc. Ski bukk

Pew kordan to blow out—to puff

A bump which God has lighted

He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard

--

A note is added in the text after the word MS. (A). This appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The intoxication as the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death, and the intoxication 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 QASIDA.**

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-Qātī "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."  
3 كرک كرک should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read كرک كرک. كرک (qutuq) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a roll. كرک (qazak) is the Persian equivalent of كرک. (qutuq).  
4 This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.
Sava 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 Balban, 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.

1 These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.
2 I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.
3 The Bahru-I-Jawāhir enunciates the properties of opium thus: qatilahu yunsā', wa yunm, wa tā'iru' yu'ulu.
4 In small doses it is beneficial acting as a specific, in large doses it kills.
5 In the second half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug.
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.

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 Naushirwan 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 Chinar.

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 affliction

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

2 "Platæus orientalis." The oriental plamp has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

3 met caput et cauda (אש רדנ), pro quo eiam dictum.

4 "Caput et cauda draconis, i.e., nodus ascendens et descendens." Vüller sub loco. The Istilabat 1. Pahsa, says that the 'Uqdatu-Ra' is also called 'Uqdatu-push Zhumihya and the 'Uqdatu-Zamah is called 'Uqdatu-Jumhîya, and the two together are called Jawazah. These terms are fully explained in the Article 'Uqdatu. See also Lane s. v. "ןזון," where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.
of eclipse in the knot of the dragon's tail, like me who am in the bond of distress.

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,
Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned.

Woe is me! Honour them, rather out of policy, and on the newly wedded bride of oulogy 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 گوسف it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while گوسف is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The گیاپی-ی لغت applies it to either while the گیاپی-ی لغت-ی ینی نا lays down that should be used to denote a total eclipse, and گوسف a partial eclipse; moreover indicating only a change of colour, while گوسف denotes a total loss of colour. Lane however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language گوسف is the partial loss of the light of the sun and گوسف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition.

As is a much earlier letter than گ it is probable that originally at all events گ 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 Hindis, 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 Dālṭya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rāhu and Ketra are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself (Newson Dict of Hindu Mythology, p. 252.)
the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of
the Creator.
My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the
heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart.
No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession,
And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprison-
ment 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 post?
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)

In MS (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS.
² MS (A)
³ MS (A)
mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since you Amid girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemy,

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 girl ......... 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'ul-Fasâh.

2. The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the haft as-sâlâm (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet or (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

3. The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old-humoral pathology.

The blood. al-balgham. The phlegm.

The bile. as-sânda. The black bile.

The four anchors may, however, be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.
Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,  
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of death?
In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,  
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the month of Mehrgān
In front of the claws of this crab and the revolution of the nine heavens, loosen thy four anchors and then launch thy bark.
The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albirūnī) this day (Mihrājan) 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. Yāqūt 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 becomes like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the Burhān-i-Qāfī says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamʿī 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-i-Māsja and Mihrgān-i-ʿāmma; 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 Faridūn ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the binding of affection 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. (Burhān-i-Qāfī).

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 Kārēs 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.—(Albirūnī).

See also Albirūnī (Chron. of Ancient Nations), p. 208 and n° 19.
2 At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer, i.e., March 21st.

MSS. (A) and (B) have 3.
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 speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy Lord.

The centre of kingship of land and sea Tāju-l-Haqq, who made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum) of sorrow.

Sinjar, 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 Qairawan.

... Optimal Guidance...

2 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 *ṣad* ("ṣad") or "āloe;" when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder.”

The *Nahru-l-Jurushār* says that ebony “is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water,” hence the poet assumed a ship built of ebony would sink.

Abul Fāris Sinjar Ibn Malsakah Ibn Alp Arslan was Sultan of Khurūsān, Ghurān and Masharān-n-Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljūq Sultans, 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 648 A.H. (1253 A.D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 655 A.H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born according to Ibn Khalliqān in A.H. 479, in the environs of Sinjar whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) I, 600.


*Qairawan*, Long. 10° E, Lat. 36 N. is situated in the North of Africa, in the province of Tunisia. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwan. At the commencement of the Muslim occupation it was the capital of Africa. See Abul Feda (Renaud) II. 1 198. The ocean of Qairawan is the Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda (Annals), we find that Qairawan was founded in the year 60 II. (665-666 A.D.) and was completed five years later.
From the breeze of his smile in the ocean, the ship produces from every dry stick the branch of saffron.¹

When his auspicious prow turns towards the ocean the ship looks like a pearl emerging from the sea.

The heaven offers itself as his ladder when, arriving near the shore, the ship stands in need of a ladder.

At that time when his ship floats over the crimson tide of the blood of his brave enemies,

If we look, it appears as though his ship crosses over the dry (sparkling) water of the points of daggers and spears.

Thy enemy saw his life like a snake (from which he must escape) and the ship of his desire shattered to pieces by thy bound-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 Khusū̄ 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 كشني (kishti) the راديف 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 رحنة in line 7.
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 Clysma of eloquence. Always, as long as in the shape of the crescent moon, with each new month, the ship appears on the bosom of the ocean of the sky. May thy boat of wine, bright as the sun, and liquid as fire, float upon the water of delight for ever and ever.

Qasida.

Happy art thou! at the sight of whose maddening glances the stag is intoxicated. The snood of whose musk-fragrant ringlets puts the stag to shame. The eye of the narcissus is embarrassed by thy glances. The stag is harassed by envy of those 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 cheeks. What magical power is there in that eye which, with one glance, captivates hearts from within and hunts the stag from without. From envy of the musk-coloured spot which stands like a drop of dew upon thy rose-like cheek, the stag without respite nurses a lacerated heart in his breast.

1 The Nahr-i-Qurlum. Clysma. 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 occupies the site of the ancient town of Clysma. Epiphanius mentions τὸ ἅρυριον τῶν ἔρημων as one of the three ports of the Red Sea, the others being Elath and Herenice.

There was in ancient times a fork or arm of the sea of which the "Bitter Lakes" are remnants. The canal of Trajan beginning at Babylon entered the Red Sea at Clysmon.

2 MS. (A) (B).

با حيئتي حزين يرضي و ماتي حين بسكت كى من ورد على خديك بالبهاب منقسط بين إجفانك سلطان على مفعني مسلط Thou my life art when thou smilest. But my death, when thou art angered. Ah! thy cheek like summer roses With the grains of musk be sprinkled!
Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the sures
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 auspicious 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 Kaita 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 claws of the
lion?
At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleeter than
thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-
footedness.
At the time of attack, how can the stag, in spite of all his
efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy charger's hoofs?
Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the
lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse-
man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultan.
Helpless, lo! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the
commonest similes among Persian poets.

1 The sun is called شامانکشFER shamaa-a-kasir.
2 (MS. A.)
3 MS. A. جو
Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes.²

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk.

In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him.

The day that thou pursuest him he shews 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. (L.)

² The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons. (Surhān-ī-Qīsī).

The following is abridged from the Hasātu-l-Haīwān. "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 last 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.

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

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1 The word ḍāḥā stag, occurs in every couplet of this qasīda.

2 mishk is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of Khūš. (Burhān-i-Qāfī and Maghznūn-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 headache, and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (Castorum) as a stimulant snuff in paralysies and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inebriated. Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of bish (aconite) and qurīnūs-sumbul (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globululent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."

See also Ibn Bījār (Sonthheimer) Vol. II. pp. 613 et seqq. for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

3 Nārwan The Nārwan is described in the Burhān-i-Qāfī as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also گلنا گلنا. (Gulnar.

4 Arghawan The Arghawan according to the Burhān-i-Qāfī is a tree with
How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile.
Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarir through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghawan.
How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the 120.

Khir.

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

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication. The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black. Ibn-Baitar (Sonthoimer) says, (Vol. I. p. 20).

"The tree is very abundant in Ispahan and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmetic. The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic." Sonthoimer does not give the botanical name. See note 4 page 109.

1 See p. 41, n. 2.

Zarir. The Burhan-i-Qâfi says this is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also asparag (سبزکه) According to some however it is the leaf of Zarâ chahâ (tumeric) some other authors say it is a flower. It is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice. (Burhan-i-Qâfi)

In Vullers we find سمر (Asperag) herba flavo tingendo insinuens, alias زری (Zarir) or وارس (war).

According to Ibn Baitar, (Sonthoimer) Sesamum warsi is Homeocylon tinctorium—N. O. Melastomaceae, regarding which Drury in his Useful plants of India, page 291, says, "The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow like...they are also good for dyeing clothes red...by itself it gives an offensive yellow.

A flower of which there are many varieties

Khâri-i-Khafî— is dark purple
Khârî-i-Mirdini — is violet. It is also called Haft rang.
Khârî-i-Sahra’i — is red and white: called also
Khârî-i-Khrami.
Khârî-i-Shirazî — is yellow: called also
Gul namaste bahar and in Arabic افسر (Burhan-i-Qâfi).

See also Vullers.

According to Ibn Baitar (Sonthoimer) this plant is the wall-flower Cheiran-thu Cheiri. N. O. Crucifera.

8-88. A and B have فوائ. The text reads فوائ which is a better
His form stately as the Närwan is bowed like the reed,
Has any one ever seen fasting proceed from the Närwan 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

to the shape of a bent bow.

It is two days since I have seen jar upon jar of suagr² in
that very moment when fasting set its seal upon his lips.
I am in astonishment at her sugar-distilling lip which is like
the pistachio, for there is sugar in the jar on each side and
fasting in the middle.
Because of her love her mouth is less than an atom, nay
even less than the minutest atom, can any one imagine that
a minute particle such as this can endure fasting.
Look! how marvellous it is with what skill she imprisons
fasting between those particles of ruby which scatter
sweetness.
With a glance she drinks my heart’s blood because she
thinks that by taking a draught of blood she will openly
break her fast.
This heart of mine is faint with longing for her lips.
In this desire that I may break my fast with the seeds of the
pomegranate.³

¹ The text has حلال which is right. MSS. A. B. have حلال which is right.
² Nūrānī Ganjami says.
³ Tangshalar, means the lip of a mistress, and also a sugar jar
of special form having a very narrow mouth.

The heart of the jar of sugar from the tightness of her honied lips, is
more tightly bound than is the cincture of her waist.

⁴ Cf. Nūrānī (Śūndasnāma).
naply une was hung the amulet on her silvery mouse-like
neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled
to remain fasting.  
My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising
her.

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the
autumn wind (which withers it).
Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been
closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of
the praise of my Lord;
The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the
table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast;
Muhammed 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 Isfandiyar, has also, from
the liberality of his hand, caused the age 3 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, 8 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 Zakat, Hujj, and 'Umrah. 8

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 كشاده دعا which is the reading adopted here.
3 The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly
used together to oppose the thumb.

Zakat or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical
religion, Qur'an ii 77.

"And speak to men kindly, and be steadfast in prayer and give alms"

The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property.
The breeze of thy good qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the faster, has carried fasting as a special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the custom of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, inasmuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and excused the feeble from fasting.

The spirit of man is often broken by the vicissitudes of the heavens just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.

In this time no one, from the time of Jamshid till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds.

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of Nimrud on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull (the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the body in this darkness.

Hajj. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means.

'Umrah. The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zul Hijjah. See Hughes (Dict. of Islām).

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane. Art. خَلْف. It became altered (for the worse).

The Qāmūs says

*خَلْفَاتُ نَفْمَ الْصَّائِمِ الطَّيِّبِ عِندَ الْهَالَِِلَّمِ الطَّيِّبِمُالَلَّطِيفِ.*

In the breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word *abshāt* to be a plural formed by Badāni on the analogy of *ummahāt* and to stand for the nine heads *nūh abāt.*
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.

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me and said,

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting. The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the humā do I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "radf" 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.

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1 MS. (A) reads زعابزيد نه پیدا ونی نبان روزه MS. (B) reads زعابزيد

the reading in the text is

زمانه برنی ویدا ونی نبان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems sensible, and has been adopted in the translation.

زمانه نه پیدا ونی نبان روزه

4 The text reads شمازیند but MS. (A) and (B) read

5 "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 Sahār (صَحَرَ) or morning meal." (Burton’s Mecca I, p. 110 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 QAŞIDA.**

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the 'Simurğ',
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.

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1 MS. (A) reads نشابة instead of خنار as in the Text.
2 The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zil when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country. On restoring Zil 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. 1, pp. 97 et seq.
3 There is a play on the word بَدْم here which cannot be preserved.
4 Another name for the Simurğ, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable. (See Burhan i-Qāts under the name عنايلي مغرب)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Hawatū-l-Hauwī* where it says on the authority of Qazwini that the Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite matches 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 which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. "May the Anqā fly away with him."

They also say إِلَّا أَنْ قَضِيَتْ بَيْنَ الْأَزْهَرُ وَ الْإَلْمَعْقُاءُ ثَلَاثَا إِسْمَا إِثْمَا لم تَوَجَدْ وَ لَمْ تَنَّكُنْ Liberdity, 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 brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.
The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.
They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower
Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)
A tower, narrow, ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.
It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.¹
This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.
The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,
Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.
The seven-headed dragon (The Sky) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (night and day) under my skirt.
They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bizhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manîzha,² nor have I committed the crime of Bizhan.

¹ The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.
² The daughter of Afrasiyâb. When Bizhan undertook to clear the country of Armenia of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Gisîn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manîzha, the beautiful daughter of Afrasiyâb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersîn was sent by Afrasiyâb to put Bizhan to death; by the intercession of Pirân the punishment was averted, but Bizhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manîzha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rustam, Bizhan was freed and he and Manîzha went to Iran together. (See Atkinson's Shah Nâmeh, pp 300 and seqq). See also page 116 note 5.
Patience has the strength of Rastum, as one may say,
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the
arm of Rastum-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 Ishraqi 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 Rastum extricated Dizhan from the pit by drawing him up with his
kamand 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. Hajji Khalifah, III. p. 57, writes as follows:
"Philosophica Illuminationes (Hekmet el-Ishrāc) sive Neo-Platonicæ inter veteres
disciplinas philosophicas sument locum tenet quem Theosophia inter doctrinas
Islam; similis modo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter eisias disciplinas
locum tenet quem theologæ dogmatico-scholasticæ inter haec.

In the Ḥaḍīṣ of Hājī Khalīfah ibn Khāṭib 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 Ishraqi sect.

See Hajji Khalifah. See also the ibn, Prolc. Ibn Khalt. III. 167.

3 The MS. (A) has خیشتن را ده زبان. The text follows Mf (B).
See note 1 page 101.
I have made every beggar a king, and have made the worthless Laden into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhas superior in brilliancy to the moon,
At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.

I have made friends with Avarice, like Amid 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 spirited horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of Qifrân, not now only but long ago.

Ladan. The resinous balsamic juice of Cistus creticus and other species; according to the Burhân-i-Qâfî it is called also 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 quadam, cui in utero fetus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ladani vaporaverit, fetus ille mortuus illico excidit. See also Ibn Baiţâr (Sontheimer) I. p. 409.

It is the άρει of Genesis xxxvii 25 and xliii. 11, where it is translated in our version myrrh. The Greeks called it στεφάνη. The true myrrh (Ar. مُرْرَم) is different.

The Ashhab is the white amborgris which was accounted the best.

2 A small obscure star in the Lesser Boar.

3 MSS. (A) and (B) have فَرِيض عَزَّ يَزَان but is a better reading.

4 Qifrân, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the Burhân-i-Qâfî (and Qâmas) for inunction 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 Mâbûn-u-Adviya: Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, 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 (Savina) which is powerfully ecbolic. According to Ibn Baiţâr (Sontheime) II. p. 94, it is Pinus cedrus, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, στεφάνη, Ar'ar.

The word ٠و٠إُمْإْيْثْ is derived in Burhân-i-Qâfî from ٠و٠إْتُوُتْ، and i.e., mule-like, because mules have no offspring.
This one poem\(^1\) of mine is worth a whole \textit{Divān} and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair.\(^1\)

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,\(^2\) 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.

\textbf{Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balkan-i-Khurāb}\footnote{The word \textit{šīr} here has its double meaning. Snifs in his prosody says, \textquote{"A bait (poem) is called bait for the reason that bait means a house and they compare the bait of poetry (šīr) with the bait of hair (šīr) and he quotes the verses by Abū-l-Alā Maʿrūḍā.\footnote{Hughes. \textit{Dictionary of Islam}, p. 579, Art. \textit{Shirk}. 9.'v. See also Qurʾān. xxxv. 38 and xlvi. and 3, and various other places.}}}

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.
(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 Bazr, 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

1 Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban there is no known historical record. The Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Ziau-d-Din Barani only begins from Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban.
2 MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبل and
3 MS. (A) reads داره
4 According to Firuzi, one of these was Hakir Khan the Amir of Oadh, 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 Elliot, III. 101)
display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to shew himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this that he adorned the world with wisdom and equity, in days of retirement he would wear a blanket; and he strove in prayer and supplication his eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a cauldron;

A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue; till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge all that was visible of these intricate matters.

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnunti sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sultān proceeding to Patialī and Kanpīla, built the forts of Patialī, Kanpīla, 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 Kāithar 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 Badāī and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kāitharan, and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpūr; and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the 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 Sintūr

MS. (A). Pātiāli. The printed text has Betāli.

Pātiāli. In Aliganj tahsil, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter Imp. Gaz.)

Kanpīla. In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(Imp. Gaz.)

Bhojpūr. The residence of the Ujjainīah Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram, a pargaha in the Sirkār Rohīs Bihār.

So also Tātār-i-Fīrūz Shāhī. Fīrishta reads Kāther. MS. (A) reads Kānther. The district of Rohilkhand is meant.

Who Fīrishta says were notorious robbers and brigands.
and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it Hisár-i-Nau (New Castle) proceeded to the Júd hills, and brought an army towards Láhor, and rebuilt the castle of Láhor which had been laid waste by the Mughuls in the reign of Sultán Mu‘izzu-d-Din Bahram Sháh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness reached the confines of Láhnánti, and Tughral, Naib of Amin Khán, who had been appointed to succeed Shter Khán in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amin Khán 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. Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Din brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jàjnagar and Tàrkila (Nàrkila) and Malik Ikhtiyáru-d-Din Beg Birláš was ordered to pursue him, the Ráí of Súàrgám named Dhanúj offering his services to the Sultán engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyáru-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 Sultán conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrá Khán, Governor of Sámána, who eventually received the

1 MS. (A) reads Kohpaya-i-Sanbás. This seems to be a copyist’s error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumáon hills must be meant.

2 Neither Firíshíta nor Zánu-d-Din Barní mention this.


4 Called Dhanúj Ráí in Tàëríkh-i-Fíroz Sháhí. See Elliott, III, 113, note. “The Jàjnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Bráhmapúttra and corresponds to Tipprá. The Súnárgánáw, presently mentioned as on the road to Jàjnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Bráhmapúttra 13 miles S. E. of Daccá.” It is marked in Rennell’s Map given in Vol. III. of Tiffenthaler “Sonner-gung.” See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

5 The printed text and MS. (A) both have The above appears to be the meaning.
title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khan (who was uncle's son to the Sultan and one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, and Governor of Lahore and Dibalpur, and had read the Khutbah in Ghaznin in the name of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din, the Mughuls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustan) the road of communication had become opened to the Mughuls, accordingly Sultan Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sultan Muhammad, who is known as the Khan-i-Shahid, and Qaan-i-Mulk, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heirapparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multan, and the country right up to Tattha and the seacoast was in his possession. Amir Khusru and Amir Hasan of Dehli remained in his service for five years in Multan, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multan to Shiraz and begged that Shaikh Sa'di, 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 Khusru to the care of the Sultan, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sultan Muhammad used to visit Multan 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 thus losing all the sense of the passage. Cf. MSS. (A) (B).

MS. (A) has, correctly, 

2 Shaikh Shamsu-d-Din Mustali ibn 'Abdu-llah as-Sa'di. He was a native of Shiraz 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 92 and 112 years (Beale says 120) He spent 80 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in solitude: He died in the year 691 H. (1291 A.D.) He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amir Khurshid of Dehli who entertained him. His Kulliyat are of world-wide reputation. The Majma'ul Fuzaila (I. 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa'di's birth, and gives the date of his death as 701 H. which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sa'di was born "about the year 571 A.H." The above account would however place his birth in either 589 A.H. or 579 A.H. If his works the Gulistan and Bustan are the best known.

For a full account of Sa'di see the preface to Platt's Gulistan. See also Itilhad, p. 284.
possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultan instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Delhi, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multan; and in the same year Itimar the Mughul with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Ravi by the ford of Lahir caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lahir sent a petition to Khan-i-Shahid 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 Bagh-i-Sabz, on the banks of the Lahir 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 Delhi composed a prose lament, and sent it to Delhi. 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 show 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

1 Itimar. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Ziau-d-Din Barni calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Timur Khan.
2 Called Khan-i-Shahid or the “Martyr Prince” because he fell in battle opposing “the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changiz Khan” (Elliott, III. 122)
3 MS. (A) Bagh-i-Sarir with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.
4 Ziau-d-Din Barni says 684 H.
5 Ziau-d-Din Barni 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 whomever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the force 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 Qāān-i-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 Itimār with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three farsangs. When morning broke, he commenced 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 Qāān-i-Mulk Ghāzi. The eldest son of Ghiyās-ṣ-d-Dīn Balban who was Khan of Multān. See page 187 note.
2 كن سلام عيني (A).
of Bāgh-i-Sarir on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accor-
dingly 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 scene
of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering
Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans
becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes dis-
ordered,

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 Khān, who was like Leo
coming forth from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity
and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

1 Probably the (jie af before mentioned.
2 The Rāvi and Satlaj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is
described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughāl army,
the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river
when they were attacked by one of the Mughāl chiefs who was lying in
ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his fol-
lowers; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see
him die.

3 I read مامی شاکس. MS. (A)
4 MS (A) reads مامی
 جدا انلثا ضاق انلثا Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes
narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following.—
اذا دزل انلثا بطل لبذفر When Fate comes, caution is useless.
اذا نزل انلثا عمي البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind.

5 The three stars in Orion's belt
manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb "In face of Fate wide becomes strait" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history). In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world-conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels. The Khan-i-Ghazi at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them', drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar. After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the 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 illumened heads, while the Ghāzis of Islām, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustān, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war, reciting the takbir.

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. 640, II. p. 282. Ibn Khaldoun, Proleg.: I. 162.

3 The owl envied by the Arabs is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean, Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (Haigyātul-Hāiwānāl).

Hence the proverb

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. See also page 157, note 1. See also J. A. S. B. 1877, p. 81.

4 According to Šāfī writers there are two Jihāds. Al-Jihādul-Akbar or "the greater warfare" which is against one's own lusts; and Al-Jihādul-Aṣghar or "the lesser warfare" against infidels (See Hughes, Dict. of Islam art. Jihād.)

5 Crying Allāhu Akbar (God is Almighty. See Mishkātul-Masābīb X, ii. 1.)
raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of able-bodied men of the Mughul cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks interweaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the weft (of existence) of the Tatars was being torn to shreds.

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth. The Tatars 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. Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.

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.

1 There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. اطير tir is a kind of cambrio or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of “arrow.”

2 عين إكليل An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs say فتى إلهى عين إكليل May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

3 سيد According to Burhan-i-Qafiz, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being “overlooked” by the evil eye. See Vulgar’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 favours. Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long delay putting the halter round their necks.

I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake
Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy locks.

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter of infidelity, from mid-day till eventide attacked that impious crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the clamour of those eager for the fray⁴ deafened the ears of the world and of the sky,⁵ and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

¹ MS. (A) has فنک as has the text. MS. B فنک Neither is intelligible.
² Possibly we should read دفاوادا. Jauzbar the head and tail of Draco, see Burhān-i-Qâfi also 'Ain-i-Akbârî, II. (J.) p. 9, also Hašbih, I. 202.
³ I read مبادا ترک تک لک حجش فلک MS. (A).
⁴ MS. (A) and (B) have ترادرخانه which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as وسائدة for which there is no sanction. The text reads تردرخانه but it seems to me نزد is more likely to be right. It might easily have become تر در خانه by copyist's error.
⁵ MS (A) and (B) read و خپالي و لما و غلبان طلبان غاز. This is a better reading than the text.
⁶ MS (A) and (B) read فسما سمدا اسما 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 requirements 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 which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish before the Sun, and like the Ram in the hands of the slayer, 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, 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 martial strains began to weep, and Mercury who in forage and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny was blackening his face with the contents of his inker, 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 Khūn. Aquāb. The thorn of Scorpio. Mars is called خمار غقررب. 
2 حوت. The sign Pisces.
3 حمل. The sign Aries. 
4 زيد في الطبل. زيد in the analogy of يزيد في حديثه said of a liar.
5 طبلور. Tanbūr is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectran. The word was originally دلب برث from its being likened to the tail of a lamb. (Lane).
6 Mercury is called دبيب فلك. Dābir-i-Falak. The scribe of the sky.
7 نظام. Nazāllum MS. (A) MS. (B). The textual reading نظم must be wrong.
Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this for thee
Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the Earth.
If thou goest out to the chase (i.e. diest) thy dust is my life.
My life! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee? I do not wish it for thee.

May God, be He exalted and blessed, raise the purified and sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the brilliancy of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds!

And Mir Khusru 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 Mir Khusru 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 heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although the naphtha 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." Elliott, III, Appendix, p. 645.

ジェルルス means both horsecloth and also rose. There is a difference in the readings MS. (A) reads 歯五 4 (مرسند د کنگیل) MS. (B) is like the text.

In this class of composition a certain number of verses having the same metre and rhymes are followed by a complet 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 complet having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme and that of the first interpolated complet—and so on. In Tarkib-band as
Ghurratu-l-Kamal. For a space of a month more or less, folk used to sing these tarkib-bands and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house.

The following is one of them:

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven which has come to light?
Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared upon the earth?
That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustan 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 cyclash, 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 Multan.
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 month.

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-band and in Tarjib-band.

1 Ghurratu-l-Kamal. The longest of the four Diwāns of Amir Khurşūd. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life; for an account of this and the other "Diwāns" see Elliott, III. Appendix. See also Hājī Khalifah, IV. 311.

2 MS (A) reads كُلُستان for تُوسّستان.

3 MS. (A) agrees with the text. MS. (B) has a worthless reading.
I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes; when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes and 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-n-Na'ṣh become the Pleiades (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen 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 as we should read در قَشَم as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

2 This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of tarīkh band, see p. 106, note 5.

Banātu-n-Na'ṣh, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation Ursa Major. See Lane, s. v. نعش - نعاس.

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the Prolégomènes des Tables Astronomiques d'Olug Beg, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear نعش لعاز Fretum Lazari, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail ماريا, مارثا 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-I-Amīd (see de Blain, Ibn Khall. : 111, 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 hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 18, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

3 MSS. (A) and (B) read تَلِيجَة طالِع.
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 Muharram³ 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 برکشید.
³ MS. (A) reads غیره مه شکریه.

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 Ḥijābī (VII.) Ibn Abbas 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 'Ashura might arrive he entered the ranks of holy war like Husain; the dust of his steed served as oculyrium 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

Then 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 prodused 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 'Ashūrā I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year.”


"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 decrees, the pan, life and death.” (Hughes, Dict. of Islām).

1 MS. (A) reads جرق جرق آن رد بکنش و نال در ریسه آن چه ساعد.

2 MS. (A) reads جنگ instead of جنگ as in the text.

3 MSS. (A) (B.) read و جنگ فر اتشین نعلی.

4 MS. (A) reads آن چه هیستی بود گامی کازار آرست.

VAN چه دهشت بود گامی تدوس دار ازکه.

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 fold of battle,
Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].
Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the unmanly cowards,
And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered sword.
Raising aloft like Jamshid, the standard, to restrain the demons,
Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.
Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.
Making the sun perform the Tayammum ² with that dust.
[At that time when there was a distinction between brave and coward,
Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks pale].³

¹ These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

² Tayammum. This word signifies "Intention", and is restricted to the ḫurūṣ 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'ān 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 tarji'band. The following in the correct reading as given in MS. (A)
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 which is the best reading.
2 This is the reading of MS. (A) 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 The warriors' swords.
3 MS. (A) has the following

MS. (B) has while the text has this as an alternative reading for

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however (text) and MS. (A) for MS. (B) in the second line.
4 MS. (A).
5 Insert before MS. (A)
The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.
The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain ¹
Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.
Long had they been striving even from morning till evening, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.²
The king ³ wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail
Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.
[H]is 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 ⁴ in a sieve
So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.
The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.
The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,
Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.⁵

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتنکان افتاده در اطراف آن سهرورا سبز which is the reading adopted.
² MS. (A) reads روپوری وسوم سم وسوم برصه وبرایاننده
   MS. (B) روپور وصویمس وصویمس وسوم برصه وبرایاننده
³ MS. (B) reads incorrectly خواسته شد
⁴ The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندراش مشدین, see page 106 note 3, instead of the lines which should follow

یک زمان شمشیر ایجادش نیامد بریتان
اززوال روز تاشتب ادخال روز زوال
پیشی (A)
⁵ MS. (A) reads
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.¹
The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flow 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 star 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 کریزی چپیده.
² It is again the text and MS (B) are wrong. Here should follow as it is, (A).
³ These are omitted in MS. (B). MS. (B) reads یکتیب بخش را گون کور. گن. This and the following are transposed in the text.
Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Husain of the famous Kerbelä was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muhammad whose end came upon him in the water.

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.

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 mirago.

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.

---

1 A city in 'Iraq 60 miles south 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. Husein.

2 The following is greatly abridged from the Qissam-ul-Anbiya.

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn Astarji who while Solomon was bathing, persuaded him and demanded the ring from his wife (Yarînah) 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.\textsuperscript{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].\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} MS (A) reads گشتگان را سر. The text and MS (B) read گیسای سر which seems preferable.

\textsuperscript{2} The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are

\begin{align*}
\text{ذن فزع بود گان قیامت را معین دیده ام} \\
\text{گر قیامت را نشان انست پس ص ندیده ام}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{3} MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) داییات گیسای بن. 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 'Isa through the spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say this, that it is of a piece with the dog-like behaviour which was shewn to (Ali) the Haidar-i-Karrar (lion of repeated attacks).

And if the demons 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 Mughuls,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.
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 Multan, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and everywhere.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

1 MS. (A)

2 MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text:

لا ولا دمى في انصرافه

1st Muharram (634 A.H.)

5 MS. (A)

6 This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).
They were preparing to perform the *wafū* 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 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 * because of his sleeping there the whole horizon has become blue (dark).
There was both the blackness of the Hindū and the whiteness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindū are wearing blue (as mourning)
² [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens and dividing them among themselves,

This is the order of the couplets in MS. (A).

³ Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia.
⁴ MS. (A) reads
⁵ This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B) MS. (A) reads
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 behooves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.\(^1\)

In every street 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.\(^2\)

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].\(^3\)

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

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\(^1\) MS. (A) reads ما كُرُومٌ يَا كُرُومٌ for the latter is the correct reading.

\(^2\) MS بِیْرَ کُرُومٍ.

\(^3\) MS *پِرْهَنْهَهْ آمُرُوْسَانَ,* (A) مُرَسَ مَائِعَ تمَنِّدَ اِلَّا اِلَّا تُمُرُ وََسَرُ مَنْ لَمْ یُمُرُ وََسَرُ مَنْ لَمْ یُمُرُ وََسَرُ مَنْ لَمْ یُمُرُ وََسَرُ مَنْ لَمْ یُمُرُ وََسَرُ مَنْ L Not in the text.

ینِّ تَنْ چُوْنُ مَرَیْ بَارِی اِلْسَرِ جَانَ بَرْگُنِمَۡ
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 friends?
I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium). How can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should be so little valued.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 numed 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) Heif Bāshid ṣur ma nār ādāhem ʿawār ʿaẓīm dhur (A).
² MS. (A) The order in the text differs.
³ MS. (A) Durr ēmāsān ʿawār ʿaẓīm bāinān kānsd (A).
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 deeds 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. (B).

پای می گن خفتگان را خامه در حال دعا
کت برهنت را نفساپید مگسیر،دل دما

Dāl-i-du‘ā Dāl signifies the letter with which the word du begins, while Dāl also means “that which shows the way.”

1 Yārib 2 MS. (A).
2 در هر ویش گرملک پرد گردد مگس MS. (A)
3 در ظلمات گور دم.
4 MS. (A)
5 This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون زختوشید قیامت رواها گردد سیا
برماری پرمالاتک هایه گردن پاد شیان

6 MS. (A) بر گرف دنید (B)

7 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 Kaiqubād be most fortunate and
his son Kākhūsrū 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
therin.

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 Ed. (A) reads كشگر ۰۰ که جانشینی شان انبی اخ کشت I follow the text here.
2 This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads كشگر MS. (B) كشگر
3 Vollers.
4 These words are not in either MS.
5 MS. (A) reads This is the preferable reading.
6 MS. (A) كشگر
How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have crave respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibaris, like the Lion of repeated attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

What was the condition of the battle field? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it.

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth.

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-cords, 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.

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1 MS. (A) reads زمین رزم که شد پاز کشتہ بود همه

2 MS. (B) reads زمین رزم که شد پاز کشتہ بود همه

3 The real reading seems to be: زمین رزم که شد پاز کشتہ بود همه.

4 See Richardson s.v. بار کشتہ بود همه.
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.⁸
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 ⁸ driving me on in front followed along the way seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range
Fator ab isto ore teterrimus axillae odori similis,
Capilli oris ejus pubi 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 Anṣār? ⁷

¹ Chūjmār. Parot-de-Courtèille in his Turki dictionary gives this word as Chūjmār, with the meanings massus, gourdin.
² These lines are as follows in MS. (A).
³ دمی نمانة بناين زبدوين تشهده
دئئ شده شكم من زمادين نامار
⁴ Speculum, 321. ⁵ See Elliot and Dowson, III. 528.
⁶ tūghāna there is a Turki word tūghān which means a falcon, and another tūghānāt oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P. do C.). Hence the above translation by the word falchion.
⁷ tākhamnā a dart having no point (Richardson).
⁸ The Anṣār or 'helpers of the prophet,' were these tribes of El Medinah
All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
The world fall 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!

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 634 (II.)
To me in my three and thirtyeth 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 Khusrū, even where I a Kaikhusrū, 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'ī that his head which touched the
stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of
Muḥammad.

The Muḥājirīn were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and
strife between them and the Anṣār, each of the Anṣār was made to swear an
call of brotherhood with one of the Muḥājirīn. 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 Qur'ān, p. xxiv, and Hughes Dict.
of Islam s. v. Anṣār.

1 These lines follow here in MS. (A).
Malik Shamsu-d-Din Dabir, and Qāsi Aṣīr desired to retain me by seizing my garments, but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In those very same months, the Khān-i-Buzurg Qāṣa Malik arrived from the conquest of Damrele, and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him, so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words; unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Punjab and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars; the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time “Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher.” The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

How can we describe that day of resurrection,
When even the Angel of Death sought protection from the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but insomuch as God Most High had lengthened the

1 بليا سلم دامس كبرى بكندا. MSS. (A) and (B).
3 دشريه (A).
4 برأسد. 
5 مرخ لم في. Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic ناثمان. The two misfortunes. (See Ibn Khaldūn Proleg ii. 218).
6 MS. (A) reads إكلبيص. MS. (B) إكلبي صور

So also footnote variant to the text. The former is the reading adopted.
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 Patiala 3 on the banks of the river Ganges.

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultan, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughra Khan who had acquired the title of Sultan Nasiru-Din4 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 and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase house of benefits is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

2 This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur′an, iv. (Surtu-r-Rahman)

And besides these are gardens twain .... .... In each two gushing springs

The proverb runs: See Roebuck O. P. 484.

3 Patiala "Ancient town in Aliganj tahsil Uttar Pradesh situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 miles north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz xi. 100 Tiefenthaler I. 198, 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. Nūṣiru-d-Dīn who had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnauti) put off for some time coming to Dihli, and even after coming to Dihli at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindustān" so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnauti and busied himself with his own affairs.

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country?
Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend?
I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sultān 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 Khān who was called Kaikhushā, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Khiqubād the son of Bughra Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnauti. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaikhushā, 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 Nūṣiru-d-Dīn.

2 His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is: ْدِرَقْ پُهْسِ زَ غَلَاطِرْ بَبِلُ نَمْيِيرُن, 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. 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.

SULTAN MU’IZZU-D-DIN KAIQUBAD BIN SULTAN NASIRU-D-DIN BIN SULTAN GHYASU-D-DIN BALBAN.

In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachlan, who was called Itimad, and other Amirs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khan, succeeded to the throne of Empire. Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khan 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 was appointed Dādēk and they gave Khwāja Khāshiru-d-Din the title of Khwājn-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amir Ḥājjī that of Wazir Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of Wākidār: and after six months he left Dihlī and founded the palace of Khwājrī, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwājr Khizr 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 Wazir (this Nizāmu-d-Din ‘Alāqa is the same in whose honour Mubammad ‘Aufi composed the books Jāmīn-i-Hikayāt and

1 1287 A.D.
2 Ziau-d-Din Barni, author of the Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi, gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kāiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l-Umar Kōtwal of Dihlī, Khwāja Hussein Badshī the Wazir and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kōtwal and his people who for some private reason had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger, if Kaikhusū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kāiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu’izzu-d-Din (Elliott III. 129).
3 Nephew of Maliku-l-Umar Kōtwal of Dihlī.
4 Chief Justice.
Khan of Karra Chhaji, conqueror of countries
Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets 8 formed from the
lips of Khans)

was given Sama'a, his daughter was united in marriage to
Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din Kaiqubd. At the end of the month of Zul
Hijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatjar
infidels whose leader was Itimar had attacked Lahore and the
frontier of Multan. The Sultan appointed Shihik Bairbak with
thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khan-i-Jahun
despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatjar as far
as the foot of the Jud 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 Kaiqubd, 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 unfettered
he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights,
while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxurious-
ness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and licence.
The ministers 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 Nizamu-d-Din 'Alaqua seeing that the

1 Not in the text, but, Kuia of MSS. (A) and (B) also Bani. See
note 3. Malik Chhaji was brother's son to Balban.

2 MSS. (A) and (B) also. See Haji Khalifa IV. 510, 9399,
for Qarnu-S-Sudani.

3 In the original there is a play on the word Karra which cannot be
reproduced in English. The lines are as follows: MSS. (A) and (B).

4 In the place of meeting of Mu'izzu-d-Din and Na'iru-d-Din. See
also Karna Ind. Gaz. of India, Vol. VII., but Karna is on the Ganges, and lies
far away from the line Lakhnauti—Dibb, but so also does the river Sarjut.
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 Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sultān Muḥammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jabān 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 Balbān who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslems, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-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'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Nizām-ud-Dīn. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-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 Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnauti, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dībli and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mīr Khusrū may the mercy of God be upon him, says in the Qānān-s-Sadān, and also from the Ṭārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dībli, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

Qānān-s-Sadān. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets Jupiter and Venus, see H. K. 9309, also E. and D. III. 524.

Ṭārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, the author of this work is Yāhūyā bin Aḥmād bin 'Abdullāh Sirhīdī (Elliott. IV. 6).

The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sīrjū) the Ghaghar (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godi (Gumtī). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance show themselves. (Ḏīn-i-Ikhrān, Vol. II. 171).
the other side, and neither was able to cross the river. The Amirs and Maliks of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms, and Sultan Nasīru-d-Din with a party of special retainers crossed the river, as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne, and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat, and after a long time the Sultan Nasīru-d-Din returned to his own camp, and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities, and priceless treasures from the country of 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-d-Din and Nasīru-d-Din and Mu'izzu-d-Din, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits: Mir Khusrū relates in detail this meeting in the Qurānu-s-Sa'dāin, and in another place he writes in a qaṣīda:

Hail! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one.
Hail! to the happy era when two truths are as one.

Am-t-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 232, in which the confluence of the Sarjū and Ghāgra is shown as it was in 1766.

The Qurānu-s-Sa'dāin fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajūdhyā on the banks of the Ghāgra.

Ibn Batūtā gives a somewhat fanciful description of this meeting of Nāṣiru-d-Din and Mu'izzu-d-Din Paris Edn. 1855, Vol. III. p 177, see also Elliott III. p 396.
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 Kaiqbād,
In whose grasp Iran and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Din Kaiqubād Shāh
Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four kings

On the last day¹ 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 Amirs and Malik's of the adherents of Ghiyāsu-d-Din, then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramazān, 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 'Alāqa 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 fortitude and self-

¹ در روز آخیرین (8) ١٦٣
restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquetteries, and sensaravishing 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 Hindustan in its dreams and broke through his forced repentance, which was as limy as the web of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, "Which advice?" and what counsel?

I will not give up the delights of to-day for tomorrow

Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it "Bring it."

In opposition to this view is the following,

It behoys 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 ght-living cap bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his ephemeral existence, and in this stille malicious time used to foretell this calamity.

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends

From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace.

Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum;

Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose.

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Delhi where he arrived in the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.). There certain of his stable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

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1 See note 2, page 219.

2 The text has كلام پند misprint for بدنا پند.

3 The text reads این نکته but MS. (A) reads preferably نکته.
to the skirts of the mountains. Sheik Khan, who was one of their number, repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison, which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Firoz Khan ibn Yaghrash the Khalji, who eventually obtained the title of Sultan Jalal-al-Din, the title of Shayista Khan, and entrusted the district of Baran to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Himar 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 Sultan Muizzu-d-Din carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Nizam-u-Mulk 'Alaqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multan, but Nizam-u-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 Nizam-u-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultan was attacked by paralysis from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

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1 MS. (A) reads Arser Khan.
2 MS. (A) reads Shayista Khan.
3 MS. (A) reads Qutab bin.
4 MS. (A) reads Torjami Khandu Darzi.
5 This was the plan which Sultan Muizzu-d-Din carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Nizam-u-Mulk 'Alaqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multan, but Nizam-u-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 Nizam-u-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultan was attacked by paralysis from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son.

6 Laqueus Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the "Bahrul-Ijara" "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 lip cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed."
Kai Kāūs, who was an infant\(^1\) of tender years to the throne with the title of Shamsu-d-Din.

In the year 688 H. (1289 A.D.) they made terms with Shayista Khān who had distanced all his rivals.\(^2\) Accordingly he ordered all his kinsmen and retainers whom he had summoned from BARAN, and had stationed fully armed and equipped in readiness on the other side of the river, to cross the river Jumna and prepare to contest the day with their enemies. Certain of the Amirs of the party of Ghiyāsu-d-Din and Munizuzu-d-Din came out to oppose him with elephants and a large gathering, and having placed a royal umbrella over the head of Sultān Munizuzu-d-Din, who was reduced to a shadow by weakness and emaciation, displayed him from afar off from the summit of the palace of Kilugharū where he was but barely visible, and made obeisance to him.\(^3\) In the meantime Malik Chhaji, brother's son to Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Din, who had acquired the title of Kishit Khān cried out, "I wish to place Sultān Munizuzu-d-Din upon a boat and take him to his father at LAKHNAUTI and remain myself in the service of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs."—In spite of this the people of DīHī, from the highest to the lowest, came to the assistance of Shamsu-d-Din, and having assembled in front of the Budōn gate stood up\(^4\) to oppose Shayista Khān in battle, and since the sons of Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhrū-d-Din Kotwāl had been taken prisoners in the fight with Shayista Khān, and Malik Himār Surkhā, who had plotted with the servants of Ghiyāsu-d-Din to kill Shayista Khān and carry off Sultān Shamsu-d-Din (Kai Kāūs),\(^5\) had fallen by the hand of Ikhtiyār-d-Din son of Shayista Khān; accordingly Maliku-l-Umarā (Fakhrū-d-Din) opposed the people and prevented their assembling as they desired, till at last the adherents of Shayista Khān removed Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs from the throne by force, and carried him off to Bāhāpur,\(^6\) where Shayista

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\(^1\) MS. (A) omits the word طالب.

\(^2\) The reading of the text is here adopted. MS. (A) reads على الماء جدود بُر، طليفة.

\(^3\) MS. (A) omits the words بارد و طليفة.

\(^4\) I can see no other meaning for these words.

\(^5\) MS. (A) reads إبعادته.

\(^6\) MS. (A) reads بساليور. Barni says Bāhāpur (E. and D. III. 134).
Khân was; they then ordered a man whose father had been put to death by Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din to go to the palace of Kilğhārī, 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 Chor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Din. This occurrence took place in the middle of the month of Muḥarram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.).

The duration of the sovereignty of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din was three years and some months.

This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow;
At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons you with enmity,
This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the Tārikh-i-Mubarak Shāhi⁵ that Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din, after the capture of the Shāhzāda, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst: in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain:
The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.
My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel
To-day alas! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itimar Sūrkhā and the people of Dīhibi subsided, and Shāyista Khân had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Din bade farewell to this transitory, unstable

1 MS. (A) در الواسط.
2 MS. (A) في الواسط.
3 Firishtha says 687 H. Tārikh-i-Mubarak Shāhi says 19th Muḥarram 689 H.
4 The Tārikh-i-Mubarak Shāhi gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Din as the 19th Muḥarram 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 SHAMSU-D-DIN KAI KAWS.

The son of Mu'tizzu-d-Din Kaiqubād nominally, ascended the throne in Balīapūr in the year already mentioned, by the co-operation of Shāyīsta Khān and Malik Chhajū; and the uncle of Shāyīsta Khān, named Malik Husain, who had kept quiet at Kīlūghār during the disturbances, for the safe custody of Sultan Mu'tizzu-d-Din, had established great confidence. Shāyīsta Khān made Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān undertake the duties of Regent, and handed over the young prince to his charge, made a request on his own behalf for the districts of Tiberhindā, Debalpur, and Multān, and asked permission to depart thither; Malik yielding up the Regency and Vāzirship to Shāyīsta Khān asked for the district of Karra for himself. Shāyīsta Khān immediately acceded to his request, and conferred on him a robe of honour, and some days later allowed him to proceed to Karra, and Malik-ul-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwal having congratulated Shāyīsta Khān on his accession to such high office and great prosperity was instrumental in obtaining permission for Malik Chhajū to leave.

Shāyīsta Khān used to bring the prince into the durbar hall and used himself to give audience and to regulate the important affairs of state. After a month or two, he brought Sultan Shamsu-d-Din on a horseback to the palace of Kīlūghār, 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 Kai Kaüs 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.

Sultân Jalâlu-d-Din ibn Yâghrâsh Khîljî

Whose name was Malik Firoz and his title Shâyîsta Khân, came to the throne in the year 689 H, as has already been said, with the consent and assistance of Malik Cihâjû Kîshî Khân; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom ² the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shîhâbû-d-Din Hakîm Kîrmânî Jannâpûrî,³ the author of the history called Tabâqât-i-Mahmûd Shâhî, deduces the pedigree of Sultân Jalâlu-d-Din and Sultân Mahmûd Mâlîwî from the stock of Qâlij Khân, son-in-law of Changiz Khân, 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 Qâlij and Khâlj, in spite of the fact that Qâlij has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qâlj.⁴ with the meaning

¹ Neither Barni nor Firishtâ reckon Kaikâüs (or Kauemours) 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 Khîljîs.

² Jalâlu-d-Din Khîljî, who had been appointed Vizîr when Nizâmî Mâlîk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The title of Barun had been conferred upon him with the title of Shâyîsta Khân, subsequently he was made 'Arîz-i-Mâmlîk. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubâd have been detailed above.

³ MS. (A) omits the word (ملكی).

⁴ See the Tabâqât-i-Mahmûd Shâhî.

⁵ The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because Qâlj and Qâlij are the same, the n til in being in place of the faathâb which follows the in Qâlij, in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians ʃ is frequently used for š.
of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khali is the name of one of the sons of Yafis, (Japhet) the son of Nūh (Noah) on whom be peace and that the Khiljis 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 Ḥān 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 Ḥusain the title of Tājin-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) and in Shāhān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajjī Kishī Khān went to Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amir of the party of Ghayyān-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlān with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajjī who was to come by way of Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amir of the party of Ghayyān-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlān with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajjī who was to come by way of Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amir of the party of Ghayyān-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlān with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajjī who was to come by way of Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amir of the party of Ghayyān-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlān with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajjī who was to come by way of Karra, and became openly rebellious.

1 MS. (A) بہور موسم گودید.  
2 MS. (A) reads کوراز رائیہ گوہر.  
3 MS. (A) inserts کوہریں here  
4 MS. (A) reads از رائے کول و بداواک رائید.  
5 MS. (A) gives an alternative reading چوورانیاں.  
6 MS. (A)  عبدو کورد.
Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amirs of the Ghiyāṣī faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahārī and Kāsam Kūr, which is the same as Shamsābād, and when they took Malik Chhajū and the other captive Balbānī Amirīs in fetters and chains into the presence of the Sultān, 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 ‘Alā‘ū-d-Dīn who was the brother’s son and son-in-law of the Sultān, and has been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of ‘Alā‘ū-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khāqānī Khānān. The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mr 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 Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,  
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see the Khāqān.

The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the mine.  
My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see him not.
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 Khan-i-Khanan.
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 Mahmu'd Sultan!

And in the year following, Arkali Khan came from Multan to Dibli, and the Sultan leaving him in Dibli proceeded to Mandawar, and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghiyasi Amirs, he made over the district of Budanon to Malik Maghlaṭi, sent him off at once and appointed Malik Mubarak to Tiberhindah, then after reducing the fortress of Mandawar proceeded by an uninterrupted series of marches to Dibli; and in these days a certain Saiyyid ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God, relying upon Him, bountiful, adorned with so many excellencies and perfections, Sidi Maula by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia) to Ajudhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master Shaikh Fau'd. Gauj Shakkar, may God sanctify his resting place, and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hindustan. They said to him "Beware of crowds of men, and abstain from intercourse with kings." When he reached Dibli, Khan-i-Khanan, the eldest son of the Sultan, displayed the greatest desire to become his disciple. In the same way the greater number of the deposed Maliks and Amirs of the Balban party used daily both morning and evening to sit at the table of that dervesh, 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 muns of fine flour and five hundred muns of freshly skinned meat, and three hundred muns of sugar used to be the daily

1 MS. (A) ملک مغلظی
2 MS. (A) صاحب تقرینی
3 MS. (A) یاقوٰی
4 See Beal's Dictionary, p. 80
5 MS. (A) ای کلثی
6 MS. (A) عماد، 85

170.
expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigils 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 Qāṭi Jalālu-d-Dīn Kashāni (and) Qāṭi Urdū 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 Sultān, 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 Maulā with the Qāṭi 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 Qāṭi Jalālu-d-Dīn lay under the Sultān’s displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultān deposed him, and nominated him as Qāṭi of Budān. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultān saying, “The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt.” The Sultān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Malikā in that same assembly, and some he expatriated; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maulā were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsī Haidari who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

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1 MS. (A) 
2 MS. (A) adds ٍ
3 MS. (A) omits ٍ
4 MS (A) omits the words اَلْمَكَا.
said, "Why do not you darveshes avenge me of this tyrant," thereupon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sidi several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side with sackmakers' needles, and then, by command of Arkali Khan, the second son of the Sultan, 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 Sultan; and in this same year the Sultan for the second time marched against
Rantanbhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Aikali Khan went to Multan without his permission, at which the Sultan was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khan came up against Hindustan with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultan’s victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanam. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustan they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultan thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halaku Khan, and also his son, who called the Sultan his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country and Alghü ¹ the grandson of Chingiz Khan, embraced Islam, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sultan. Alghü was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultan. The Mughuls took up their abode in Chiyaspur in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy Men Nizamul Auhyä ² may God sanctify his resting place. It is commonly known as Mughulpur and those Mughuls were called the “new Muslims.”

At the close of this same year the Sultan having gone up against the fort of Mandawar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. ‘Alau-d-Din the Governor of Kaira, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa ³ and attacked that country ⁴ and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultan, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindús, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badiion to be trampled upon by the people. ⁵ These services of ‘Alau-d-Din being highly approved, ⁶ the jagir of Oudh also was added to his other estates; and since ‘Alau-d-Din was very angry and incensed

¹ See Turka. Rashid (Llias and Rosa) p 34
² Nizam-ud-Din Auliyā. See Beala O. B. D., p. 211, also An-i-Albūri (J)
³ MS. (A) reads ب惮 بدن which is meaningless.
⁴ MS. (A) óms رلیات را.
⁵ MS. (A) omits من عبود and has لاقب for الفتاد for الباز.
⁶ MS. (A) for الباتاد.
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 1 to
bestow upon him the district of Chandori, and leaving Dihli came
to Karrā, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chand-
dori, he went by way of Illichpur, and made for the frontiers of the
country of Deogir; leaving Malik 'Alāu-l-Mulk who was one of his
friends, as his deputy in Karrā, and having instructed him to
temporise with the Sultan, went off somewhere unknown to anyone,
and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alāu-d-Din's where-
abouts for a considerable time, the Sultan was exceedingly sorry. 2
Suddenly news arrived that 'Alāu-d-Din having gone up against
the rebel De Gīr, 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 valourables; silk and cloth goods, and
jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making
for Karrā. This was a source of great gratification to the Sultan,
but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from
anology and inference, that 'Alāu-d-Din 3 had gone to that
country without permission from the Sultan, and had suffered
much annoyance at the hands of Malikā-i-Jahān who was the
consort of the Sultan, and also from his own wife, and had accord-
ingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister inten-
tions. Now 4 that he was in a position perfectly to put his
rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the
Court, it was strange that the Sultan seemed to suffer no appre-
hension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views
to the Sultan, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the
annoyance which 'Alāu-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 1.
2 MS. (A) omits 2.
3 MS. (A) omits 3.
4 MS. (A) omits 4.
to speak of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alau-
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 neighbour-
hood of Gwâliâr he summoned a council of his Amir to deli-
berate about 'Alau-d-Din and said, "What in your opinion is
'Alau-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 Chanderi or shall I remain where
I am, or again shall I return to Dihli?" Malik Ahmad Chap who
was a Vazir of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to
the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultan by adding
logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the
revolt of Malik Chhajû and the mutiny of the inhabitants of
Karra, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to
the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out
to meet 'Alau-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 eulogy of 'Alau-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 Fakhrû-d-Din, and the other Amirs 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
Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows:
"If 'Alau-d-Din with all this pomp and royal display has
arrived at Karra and crossing the river Sarû makes for Lakhnauti,
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—
A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size

The Sultān then came from Gwāliār to Dihli, and ‘Alāu-d-Dīn having reached Kārra wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sultān by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnauti, and having sent his brother Zafar Kān to Oudh ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Sarū. The simple minded Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with ‘Alāu-d-Dīn’s request and sent it by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imād-ūl-Mulk and the other Zīāu-d-Dīn. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing that the face of affairs was altered and ‘Alāu-d-Dīn having prepared the dish for the Sultān, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmās Beg his brother, who was also a son-in-law of the Sultān, and sent it to Dihli, couched in these words: “Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sultān I 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 Sultān, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against
imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sultan’s mind is in reality turned against me, I must perform lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world.” When Ilmās Beg laid that letter before the Sultan, he on the instant sent Ilmās Beg to reassure ‘Alā الطعام-Din and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water, on the seventh day joined Malik ‘Alāطعم-Din, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnauti, but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of ‘Allāطعم-Din said, “What need have we to go to Lakhnauti when the Sultan 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 Sultan Jalāطعم-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

1 MS. (A) रविकृत वृमंडल स्वरुप के कोड.
9 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
8 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
6 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
5 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
4 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
3 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
2 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
1 MS. (A) रोहित एव रोहित शह.
sawars, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the 
stream, and set out for Kara: he sent Malik Ahmad Chap the 
Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,¹ 
Malik Ahmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no 
purpose.

Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel, 
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sultan, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary 
wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at 
Kara 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 Kara and Manikpur and had pitched his camp: 
then he sent Imas 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 there- 
fore went and presented himself before the Sultan, and with 
great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility repre- 
ted 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.” There is still a probabi- 
licity 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 MS. (A) omits ⁶ MS. (A)
traitor Ilmās Beg further represented saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sultan 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 Sultan’s clemency." Accordingly the Sultan ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sultan were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sultan would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of ‘Alā‘-d-Din was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khorram, the Vakildar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind us at your instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this that we see an army ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to review his army, and following his usual course, he wishes to make a proper display before the Sultan, with an eye to future advantage," the Sultan 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 Ilmās Beg "In spite of my old age and the weakness due to fasting I came so far, even yet will not your cruel brother's heart induce him to get into a boat and come to me?" Ilmās Beg answered "my brother is unwilling to receive the Sultan empty handed and with reserve.

"If thou goest empty handed to visit a Sheikh,
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 Sultān, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sultān all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume; they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alāu-d-Din having got every thing ready came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultān and fell at his feet. The Sultān smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great shew of fondness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alāu-d-Din was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultān laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was shewing him marks of his special favour, and had given his hand into his, 'Alāu-d-Din seizing the Sultān's hand firmly, wrenched it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultān. Then Maḥmund Sālim who was one of the scum of Sāmāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultān and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultān made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch 'Alāu-d-Din, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikhtiyār-d-Din who had been a particular protégé of the Sultān ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him; he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alāu-d-Din. By Alāu-d-Din's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Karra and Manikpūr: from thence they took it to Oudh; and the body-servants of the Sultān who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru-d-Din Kuchi fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Aḥmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sultān's army brought it to
Dibli 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-Jalān, seated Qadr Khan the youngest son of the Sultan, upon the throne of Dibli, with the title of Ruknu-d-Din Ibrāhīm. The Amirs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Din’s party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik ‘Alāu-d-Din lost no time, 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 uninterruptedly he made straight for the metropolis of Dibli, and showering dirhams and dinārs 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 Jalāli faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Din was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy of the copper of faults; liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sultan ‘Alāu-d-Din reached Badāon sixty thousand sowars had joined his standard, Malik Ruknu-d-Din Ibrāhīm 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 Jalālu-d-Din), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of ‘Alāu-d-Din.

1 MS (A) inserts ر.
2 MS (A) reads علاأالدين فرضت ندابة هم در روز.
3 MS (A) reads برسر خود گرفته.
4 MS (A) inserts و.
5 MS (A) reads در مرا و سنجاق.
6 MS (A) reads کیمیا.

All copper which is affected by Kimiyā becomes gold.

“The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means.”

See Prolog: Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, s.v.
The kingdom is God's and greatness is His. The massacre of Sultan Jalālu-d-Din took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramazān in the year 694 H. (A.D. 1294) and the duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verses.

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,
Mention it not; what is the heaven, its revolution, or its arched vault?

How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the kingdom headlong into the dust,
Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sultan Jalālu-d-Din had a taste for poetry, and Amir Khurāt after the death of Mu‘izzu-d-Din Kaiqubād, came into the service of the Sultan Jalālu-d-Din, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qur‘ān-keeper to the Sultan; he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amir of the Sultan and were tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust.

In this same category were Amir Ḥasan and Mu‘īd Jājarmī and Amir Arslān Kātibi and Sa‘d-i-Muntiqī and Bāqī-i-Khaṭīb and Qāzī Mughīṣ of Hansi, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalālu-d-Din and wrote a Gharal in nineteen metres of which this is the opening:

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with fresh youth at height,
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:

1 It would appear from the statement that this ghazel or ode was made up of nineteen lines, each of which was in a different metre.

2 The first of the above lines is either Mutagāřī or Ṛmāl. This is called Zabārain (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 Man'tiqi and the other poets he ordered to point out to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all praised it exceedingly and said: It has no fault, but he replied: You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defects in this quatrains:

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless sky;
Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
One atom may fall to my lot: this will suffice me.

**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.
of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilmās Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khan¹ and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the Mir-i-Majlis he gave the title of Alp Khan, while to Malik Nasrat Jalalis he gave that of Nasrat Khan, and to Malik Badru-d-Din that of Zafar Khan,² and alighted at the plain of Siri, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amirās and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the Khushbah and the Sikka promulgated in his own name and conferred appointments and titles upon the Amirās, and distributing jagirs gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din who were in Multān.³

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 Muharram 696 A.H. (he sent) Ulugh Khan and Alp Khan against Arkali Khan and Sultān Ruknu-d-Din;⁴ both these

Mir Khusru in the Tārīkh-i-'Ālām, states that 'Alāu-d-Din left Kārra Manikpur on the 10th of Bābi'āl Aḥlir 695 H. and after taking great booty from Bām Deo, Rāj of Drogir, returned to Kārra on the 29th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Ramazān 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 Firishta. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Din, Malika-i-Janān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Din on the throne, with the title of Ruknu-d-Din Ibrāhīm, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkali Khān, who refused to come hearing of 'Alāu-d-Din's success with the army.

¹ MS. (A); the text reads when Sy A).
² Barni says that the title of Zafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Din, (Elliott III. 157).
³ The text omits ٤٢١٣ before ٥١٦٦ supplied from MS. (A).
⁴ It appears both from Barni and Firishta that the youngest son of the late Sultān was in Dihli and that Arkali Khān was in Multān. See note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 160.
⁵ Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.
brothers were besieged in the fortress of Multan. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwal asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaihk Ruknud-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 Jalalu-d-Din he set out for Dihli. When they came near Bohar a place in the vicinity of Hansi, Nusrat Khan arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons of Sultan Jalalu-d-Din, of Alghu Khan the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultan, and of Malik Ahmad Chap, and handed over the Sultan's sons to the Kotwal of Hansi and martyred them together with two sons of Arkali Khan. They kept the Sultan's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihli, sending Ahmad Chap and Alghu the Mughul to the fortress of Gauliār, 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 Manal 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 sent Shaiikhul-Islām, Shaiikh Ruknud-Din to see for safety from Ulugh Khan and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161). MS. (A) omits This Ruknud-Din was the son of Shaiikh Sadrud-Din 'Arif and grandson of Shaiikh Bahau-d-Din Zakariyā (See Lin-Akhbar, Jarrett III. 365)

Firhāta gives a full biography of Ruknud-Din, his father and grandfather.

3 MS. (A) درهار.
4 MS. (A) درهار.
5 MS. (A) درهار.
6 Nāb Amir-u-ʿIyāb (Barni Elliott III. 102). MS (A) omits 
7 MS. (A) omits .
8 Barni merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkali Khan were slain.
9 MS. (A) omits.
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 Jalalu-d-Din and his family, and of so many thousands of others among the people who had been murdered.

The wealth of Qarun 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.), Nasrat Khan having been appointed to the office of Vazir, used strenuous efforts to recover the money which Sultan 'Alau-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 Karra 'Alau-i-Mulk the uncle of Ziau-d-Din Barni, the author of the Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi (whom Sultan 'Alau-d-Din had removed from the khotwalship of Dihli and had sent as governor to Karra, appointing Nasrat Khan to the office of Kotwal) he conferred upon him his old rank, Alp Khan being appointed to Multan. And in the year 698 A.H. (1298 A.D.) one Saldir a Mughal commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustan, and Ulugh Khan and Tughlaq Khan the governor of Depalpur (who is Ghazi-i-Mulk), were appointed to put down that rising, and offered strong opposition to them on the confines of Jarin Manjhir. The Mughal army was defeated, some of them were killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din returned victorious with many spoils. A second time

1 MS. (A) دبیر تشیید.

2 MS. (A) مہت.

3 See Qur'an XXVIII. 76.

4 Omit سال MS. (A).

5 The text reads جنادی Chalaldi. MS. (A) reads سالدی, so also Barni (Elliott III. 166) and An-i-Akbari (Jarrett) III. 347.

6 Piriusta calls him Chaladi.

7 Both Barni and Piriusta say Sindistan.
Qutluq Khwaja, the son of Duā, came from Māwarān-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated as far as Dihli, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihli itself gram became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits, and Sultan 'Alā'ūd-Dīn placing Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gili. 'Alī Khān was killed, and the Sultan had gained what he wanted in this. Qutluq Khwaja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhi Mughul who was one of the nargaus, 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 Anwar Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghūrī-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran, joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls. The Mughul forces being routed, Targhi was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muhammad Turtāq and 'Ali Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together
a very large army, which they divided into two, one bore down upon Nāgor, while the other seized the fort of the Sirmur hills and occupied the country as far as the river Biāh which they call Kāli Pānī. Sulfān ‘Alāu-d-Din appointed Malik Mānik his slave (who is Kāführ Nāib or Hazār Dinār) with Malik Tughlaq Governor of Depālpūr to proceed to Amīnā; and while the Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rahab, Malik Mānik came up in pursuit and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled panic-stricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Badāon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain 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 Targhi, like ‘Ali Beg become thy captive.

And Mir Khusrū has written an account of the fight between Malik Mānik (who had obtained the title of Malik Nāib?) in

either word appear in the Turki dictionary. The text reads تریاق Taryāq which seems rather an ex necessitate reading. The Tariq-i-'Alāi reads Turtāq. (Eliott III. 72.)

1 MS. (A) بجیان میکوری چی.
2 MS. (A) کانری گلی پاتی میکوریئند.
3 So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dinārs.
4 MS. (A) از عقیدت زردی.
5 MS. (A) ملی بیگ.
6 MS. (A) ملی بیگ.
7 Firihi states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kāführ (Hazār Dinār) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Rām Deo, Rāja of Deoghar, a refractory tributary.
the Tarikh-i-Khazâinu-l-Futûh 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 Khusrû, 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, Mughuls, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turtâq 2 and 'Ali Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multân. The Sultan on this occasion also appointed Malik Naib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughuls were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tâtars, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands. 3 From that day the Mughuls lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustân, 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 with hand and eye, and brow that it was time to break up, 4 the Sultan happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahâ (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 Tarikh-i-'Alâ, is a prose history of the first years of Sultan Alau-d-Din Khilji from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68-69.)

2 MS. (A) omits and gives the pointing of Turtâq as ُطَرْطَاق.

3 MS. (A) ُيُتَكَّدَتُ يُتَرَبُّ. This account differs somewhat from that given by Khusrû, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbal Mandib as he calls him.

4 MS. (A) يَكَدِيْكَوْرَا.

5 MS. (A) ْبُنْظُمُ صَلَطُانُ.
what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultan 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 Qâzi Bahâ. They replied, He was sent into eternity at that very moment. The Sultan was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day, the taverns were in ruins, and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar, 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,
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 둠 should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS before the editor.

MS. (A) has دم, and reads سلطان و دم روز روشش شد که آن گمان خلاف دور.

5 The text here and in the former line reads بهار MS. (A) has بها.

6 The text reads اوحشان زمان بزار سالم یپورست.

4 MS. (A) has تعزیر مالی و بندی میکونند.

8 There is a play on words here in the original خراب شد.

6 Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilized for vinegar: There is a hint here that every one was discontented, had, as we say, sour looks which the Persians express by saying گلان کس مصرف فروشی می کند. So and so sells vinegar Quâni says to his mistress.

مرکه فروشی میکنی که در عشق
هیچم ازین مرکه که نگردید صفراء

7 MS. (A) omits لا 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 Mughal 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-gani. When he sought the advice

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) omitted

3 Ms (A) omitted

4 Ms (A) omitted

5 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168.6 and 169.5 grams are in existence bearing the legend

Sikandaru-i-gani Yusufu-l-Khaālafat Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mūminīn.
of Ulāu-l-Mulk Kotwāl of Dihli he restrained the Sulṭān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided by God, and till he can perform miracles This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, nay is certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt: as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vazir like Aristotle, none of which are here existent.

If the Sulṭān clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihli from these contumacious ruffians, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar."  

The Sulṭān, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent, and bestowed a robe of honour upon Ulāu-l-Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The Amirs, who on account of the harshness of the Sulṭān, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for Ulāu-l-Mulk and were loud in praise of him.

Verse.

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,  
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path.

In this year the Sulṭān 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 Khān to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gujrat 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 Nahrwala, and pursued him; and Rai Karan took refuge with Rai Ramdeo 5 who was the ruler of Deogir, in the country of the Deccan. The family of Rai Karan, with his treasury and elephants and all his possessions, fell into the hands of the Muslim warrior. Among the ladies of his harem was one Dewarléni, of whom Khizr Khan, the son of Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din ultimately became enamoured. He related the account of his amours to Mir Khusrá for him to turn into verse, and the book of Khizr Khan and Dewarléni, which is known as the ‘Ashiqā, is in his name. Ulugh Khan carried off an idol from Nahrwala (in place of the idol of Somnāt which Sultan Maḥmūd had carried 3 to Ghazanin, and the Hindūs had made an object of their worship,) and took it to Dihli where he caused it to be trampled under foot by the populace; then he pursued 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 Khurbanbāyat, 4 a well-known post, seized much spoil of valuable goods and rubies and other jewels from the traders; Kāfir Hazār Dinārī whom the Sultan ‘Alau-d-Din had latterly taken into close favour, and made Naibul-Mulk, 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 Mughula who accompanied him thought

1 MS. (A) 
2 MS. (A) بپنا اپراي یامدیو.
3 MS. (A) پوند.
4 MS. (A) کِہنِپَینِه.
5 MS. (A) reads TLS.

Cambay, in Gujerat. According to Hunter (Imp. Gaz, III. 372) “the name of Cambay or Khambbat is said to be derived from Khambha or Sambhavkrit, the pool of Mahādova under two form of the pillar god. During the 11th and 12th centuries, Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhalvarā (Nahrwāla) kingdom and at the conquest of that kingdom by the Mulūmīn in 1207, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I. p. 372. Cambahat, grande ville et port de mer, que les Européens appellent Cambaye. (pp. 380–381.)
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 Rantanbhor, 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 Gujrat. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H. (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khan was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāin, which is better known as Naushahr, 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 Rantanbhor.

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 Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Maliks, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he 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,

1 Tiefenthaler, I. p. 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.

See Khol, III. 146 where Jhāin is said to be Ujjain, also p. 172, note 1, where this opinion is abandoned.

2 Tiefenthaler does not mention this name.

3 MS. (A) reads Rāi Hamīr Deva of Rantanbhor, omitting Ṭeibār Rāy Rāmūravu, but Barni calls Hamīr Dev the nāśa of Rāi Pithora, so that the reading of the text is adopted.

4 "MS. (A)".

5 MS. (A) omits by.

6 MS. (A) omits Ye.

7 Barni says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamīr Dev to death the Sultan returned to Dihli; so also Flirgīta. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., III. 430.
and having given it the name of Khizrabād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Khān aforenamed, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nusrat Khān had come from Karra to Rantambhor, to reinforce Ulugh Khān 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 Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwaja, 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 Khān, together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls 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 Khān wished to alight 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 Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amira, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him.

1 MS. (A) 9.
2 MS. (A) 355.
3 MS. (A) omits پاپیکا.
4 The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحی قصیه پنیپت سوئن پت with an alternative reading سوئن پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads تلیب.
5 Qamurgha, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turkī word signifying hunting ground. Firahita loc. cit. also uses this word.
6 MS. (A) omits و.
7 Firahita also says Akat Khān.
8 MS. (A) reads کل کرینیچه.
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 haram, but Malik Dinar Harumi who was on guard at the entrance to the haram with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you shew me the head of the Sultan I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sultan 'Ala-d-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 Jhain (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 Afghanpur, 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 تورك و تورك toro o tukt are Turkic words (P de C) or تورك تورك signifies the royal family. It also means king: law: right, also a custom introduced by Chaghi Khan تورك تورك 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 خان.

3 MS. (A) omits پرچم کمر.

4 MS. (A) اورا دیستگی خوره.

5 The account given by Dami of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III. 172-173). Firiftta also calls him Salimān Shah, Akat Khan, though Briggs in his translation calls him “The Prince Bockn Khan.”
nephews of the Sultan, revolted in Badaon: certain of the Amirs 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 Häji Maulä, one of the slaves of Maliku-i-Umarâ Kotwâl,² gathered together certain ruffians, displayed a counterfeit order in Dihli,³ entered the city by the Badaon gate, and sent for one Turmuqi Kotwâl and in an instant cut his head off,⁴ closed the city gates, and sent a messenger to 'Alā-i-Mulk ⁵ a friend of his, who was Kotwâl of the New Castle, saying “An order has come from the Sultan, come and read it.” ’Alā-i-Mulk being fully alive to what was going on ⁶ did not obey the summons, whereupon the rebel Häji Maulâ went to the Ruby Palace, and liberating all the prisoners, gave a horse and arms and a large bag (of gold) out of the treasury to each one, gathered together an immense following; then he seized by force Saiyyid Zâda-i-'Alawi Shâl Nabaâ,⁷ who on his mother's side was descended from Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Altamâh (Iytaltimish), summoning his chief men and nobles for the purpose, and seated him upon the throne as

¹ MS. (A) ¹¹¹. ² According to Barni “a slave or slave of the late Kotwâl Amiru-l-Umar Fâkhru-d Din.” ³ Pretending to have received it from the Sultan (Barni). ⁴ MS. (A) ⁴⁴⁴. ⁵ ‘Alâ-d-Din Ayâz (Barni). ⁶ MS. (A) ⁶⁶⁶. ⁷ Barni’s account is as follows: “There was an ‘Alawi (descendant of ‘Ali in Dihli who was called the grandson of Shâh Najaf who by his mother's side was grandson of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din. The Manla 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 Shâh Najaf is very doubtful.

Firâshtâ writes. _VIRTUAL CHARACTERS (Gandhi) 'Alawi who they used to call Shâhângâhâh who on his mother's side traced descent from Shamsu-d-Din Altamâh
...to 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 Koh, with his sons who were
renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Zafar
Khan who had come from Amroh 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
Delhi 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
Delhi). Ulugh Khan was taken ill that very day while on the
road, and died, and Rantambhor became for him like the Paradise
of Shaddad.

1 MS (A) reads: *The sons and grandsons of the old khan Maliku-l-Umara had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to
that family were put to death.*

2 The text reads: 'Sharaatul-Insan', also MS. (A), but we should,
read *the same* without this the sense is not very obvious

3 Barni states, "The sons and grandsons of the old khan Maliku-l-Umara
had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to
that family were put to death.

4 The text reads: *The word-'Sharaatul-Insan'-is not created in
the land.*

See Qur'an lxxxix. 5.

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ad? with
Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in
the land."
Moreover a band of robbers of Jalor, whose leader was Mir Muhammad Shuh, 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 Shaddad ibn 'Ad, 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'an xxxix 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghaniat ibn 'Ulwan, Zahhak ibn 'Ulwan, and Waleid ibnur Ra'yân, 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 Shaddad. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from them immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he built therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues wide to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve farsakhs and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were built therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces and there passed in the building of it five hundred years.
was taken. When the Sultan asked Muhammad Shah (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamir Dev to the throne.' The Sultan wondered, and was amazed at this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute 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 shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. Firstly, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. Secondly, that he should put an end to 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 Raïs, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sultan did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hûd ibn Khâlid who came and called upon Shahdâd to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hûd warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom, but he would not be moved from his evil ways. At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Murshid who had it is said believed in the words of Hûd. When Shahdâd arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artisans, the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth."


1 HS. (A) reads اه بقم. in place of حب بقم.
2 The Persian phrase is نوکسپای سفکه. Naukisahā-i-sîka.
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.¹ Those laws were the most extraordinary of all: this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the 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 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī to proceed to Malwa 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].² 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.³ The Khusrū of poets has described this in the 'Ashiga, in these words:

He gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Malwa;
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
That which he ordered was brought into sight.
He marched with an army drawn up in array,
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.⁶

And in the year already mentioned the Sultān set out for Sotraḥ on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Sata

¹ The Tūrikā-i-Fīroz Shāhī. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 et seqq.
² MS. (A) در امل كتاب.
³ The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).
⁴ Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rānī of Malwa. The text and MS. (B) reads راہنی 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 Jâlor was reduced by Kamâln-d-Din Kark and he sent Kanâhar Dov, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell.

And in the year 702 H. (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kâfûr Naib with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhat and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.) Malik Naib Kâfûr went a second time to Arankal and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Râi Nadar Dev the Governor of Arankal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country of Ma’bar as far as Dhor Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims.

And in the year 711 H. (1311 A.D.) Malik Naib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand mace of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

1 MS. (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has

2 Teîlingâ or Teîlingân, 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, 527.

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 Teîlingâna (Tieff. Ill. 5) See Hunter Imp. Gaz X. XIII 521. Regarding Marhat or Maharashtra see Hunter, Imp. Gaz IX 166; also Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, Preliminary Observations; also Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India p. 553.

5 Arangul or Warangul. Barni gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Râî of Arangul. Elliott III. 201. See also Firishta. See text I. p. 207.


7 Ma’bar extends from Kûlam (Cavalum) to Nilâwar (Nellore). Wasîl (W and D III. 32).

8 Firishta says Khwâja Haji and Malik Naib were sent to conquer Ma’bar 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 Dihit, 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 Sultānu-l-Mashāikh wal Auliya,

"Shāikh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizāmu-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 Nāib informed the Sultan of the coming of Khizr
Khan with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khan,
the maternal uncle of Khizr Khan, who had arrived from Gujurāt,
out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the
State and in his desire to become Nāib and Vakil, had himself
summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude
idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of
Khizr Khan, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultan whose health was upset, and his brain disordered
and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices, in accordance with
the saying, "When a man's health is disordered his fancies are
disordered," from his great lack of discrimination taking this
suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion as the
truth, instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khan.

Malik Nāib and Malik Kanālu-d-Din Kark seizing that un-
happy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal
palace. After that Malik Nāib induced the Sultan (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

1 MS. (A) reads Hatnāwar. Khusrū in the 'Ašīqā states "When the
Sultān recovered in some degree, Khizr Khan set out on his expedition to
Hatnāpur." (B and D Ill, 554).
2 * MS. (A) ª.
3 MS. (A) reads ʿrn.
* MS. (A) reads ʿrn.
* MS. (A) omits ʿrn. text line 1 and ʿrn. text line 2.
time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr 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,\(^1\) 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 Dihli. 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,\(^2\) on the instant went back to the Sultan and filled his ears with lies, saying,\(^3\) ‘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.\(^4\) Malik Naib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihabu-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.

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\(^1\) I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits 

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

\(^3\) 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.)! 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.5

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 Khusru and Mir Hasan may God have
mercy on them].

And among the poets by whose existence the reign of Sultan
'Alau-d-Din was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusru-i-
Shahirun (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,6 in the
year 698 H. (1298 A.D.), in honour of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din,

1 MS. (A) reads خمس in place of ست 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" (Firuz-i-Firuz Shaki) See also Thomas Pathan
Kings of Delhi p. 158 n 1.

2 MS. (A) reads زبر از کان دسته. See Thomas Pathan Kings pp. 168 et seqg.
3 These words are not found in MS. (A).
4 MS. (A) reads وز جمله شماره که زمان.
5 These were the following:—

    هشت پنجه
    سکندر نامه
    میرناه بانی
    سلیم و خسرو
    شیرین و خسرو
    پنجه کلمه

Khusru was of Turki origin, his father Ami Mahmud came to Delhi during
the invasion of Chagiz Khiin into the service of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq
Shah by whom he was advanced to high office, but was eventually murdered.
Mir Khusru succeeded his father, but gave up office and became the devoted
disciple of Nizam-d-Din Anliya. His Khamsa was written in imitation of
the Khamsa of Shihb 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 Matla'-u-
I-Anuār 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 Nafahāt it is stated upon the authority of Sultānu-
Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-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 heart-
burnings 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-Khadā (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 Dibli at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

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1 The Naflau-l-Anuār. “Ortus luminum. Poema persicum,
quod ad Postd. Khosrewi Dehlawi, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1325) mortui,
partim Βίγιαν ιπερ ινας εν την ημερα εις την ορα της ημεραν της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την ορα της εις την

2 Nafahāt. The Nafahāt-u-Uns see Hāji Khalilah.

3 Nafahāt-u-Uns. “haletas familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminectibus
prodeuntes, quidem Molla nostro Nūr ed-dīn Abū-al mhīnān Ben Ahmad
Jāmi anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo.” H. K. 13922

4 Turk Allāh.

5 Ṣirhus Dihlavi, whose name was Ṣhāikh Najmu-d-
Dīn Ḥasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like
Mir Khusrū, was a disciple of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliya. Najmu’l-Faṣābā I.
196) He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H) at Daulatābād in the
Deccan, where he was buried. So also Atāsh Kāda p 351.
an spiritual instructor 1 "may God show mercy to them. Muhammad-Buhāb 2 wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the shrine 3 of Mir Khusrū. It is as follows:

Mir Khusrū, the Khusrū of the kingdom of eloquence,
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection;
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
His poetry purer than the most limpid streams;
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal:
In tracing the date of the year of his death,
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
One phrase 'Adimu-l-Misl 4 came as the date,
Another was Ṣūlī-i-Shakar Maqāl. 5

Mir Ḥasan, in the year in which Sultan Muhammad having laid waste Dihli built Daulatābād 6 in the Deccan, died in that

1. Nizām-d-Dīn Auliya.
2. See p. 99 note 2 of this work.
3. There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means "a place of pilgrimage." The word "shrine" conveys this idea better than most others.
4. The letters of حمد إلیث give the date 725. Thus 70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 14 + 80 + 40 + 500 + 30. So also do those of طول أمیر شکار مقال. Thus 9 + 6 + 9 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725. Not counting the hamza.
5. Mir Khusrū died in the month of Ramāzān 725 A. H. (1325 A.D.) and is said in the Majma'ū-l-Fabāh to have been buried in the burial place of Shaikh Shakkar Ganj; as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Nizām-d-Dīn Auliya.

Daulatābād. 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 Alān-d-Dīn, which event is noteworthy on being the first appearance of the Muhammadans in the Deccan, it was given back to its Rāja, Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Nāib Malik Kefūr, taken prisoner and sent to Dihli whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh
country, and was buried in the city of Daulatabad where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

‘Arif Jami,' may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustān was filled with sugar,
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
And were silenced and imprisoned in the cage of earth.

Ṣultan Shihāb-u-Dīn ʿIsn ʿAlaʾ-u-Dīn Khilji

Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Naib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Malik Ikhtiyār-u-Dīn Sanbal to the fortress of Gwālīār to put out the eyes of Khīzr Khān and Shāhī Khān. He also caused the mother of Khīzr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihli for Doogiri which he renamed Daulatbād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihli to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Bāṣaṣa (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and says that the citadel was named Dowlah. This was evidently the old name of the city, Dooghr as we should probably read Dowlah.

1 Nūr-u-Dīn ʿAbd-ʾr-Raḥmān was born in 617 A.H. (1416 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī

His father's name was Nīẓām-u-Dīn Ahmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūr-u-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Manlīnā. 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 Ḥaft Aurang, a series of seven poems, viz., Suḥilat-ul-Zahab, The golden chain; Qisas-ul-Salāmān va Abāsī, Story of Salāmān and Abāsī; Tuhfatu-l-Ahrar; The Offering to the Wise; Subhatu-l-Abrār, Rosary of the Pious; Yūnūs wa Zuleikha, Yusuf and Zuleikha; Laili wa Majnūn, Laili and Majnūn Ḥirad Nāma, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 898, H. (1402 A.D.)

See: Ḥāji Khalifah 14412. Yūnūs ve Zuleikha (Griffith's Transl.) Beale (Dict. of Ort. Eng.), p. 132.
When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāū-d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubashshir and Bashīr in concert with a body of pāiks of the garrison of the Harār Sūṭūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāīb.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 him to be Nāīb to Sūṭūn Shihābu-d-Dīn in place of Malik Nāīb: Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Aṃirs and Mālik. Then he sent Sūṭūn Shihābu-d-Dīn to the fortress of Guāliār 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, 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 Shihābu-d-Dīn was three months and a few days.

Sūṭūn Qutbū-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh ibn 'Alāū-d-Dīn Khlīlī.

Ascended the throne of Dībhīl with the consent of the Aṃirs

¹ Thirty-five days after the death of 'Alāū-d-Dīn (Barnī) i.e., 716 H. (1316 A.D.)
² MS. (A)
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 Sīphr of Mīr Khusrū.
⁴ MS. (A)
⁵ With regard to the succession of Shihāba-d-Dīn, see Fīrīshṭa, who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khān (Brigg's Fīrīshṭa 1. 383). His full name was Shihāba-d-Dīn 'Umar according to Mīr Khusrū.
and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, H., and apportioning appointments and suitable magirs among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Ḥasan, Barāwar bāḥa, who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the protégé of Malik Shādi Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, the Ḥājib of Sultan ʿAlāu-d-Dīn.  

He gave him the title of Khusrū Khan. The tribe of Barāwar are a family of servile position in Gujiāt; but now in the kingdom of Dhlī, the Sultan, 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.  
Entreat not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultan ʿAbdūr-d-Dīn, 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-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzī Malik, who eventually was entitled Muhammad ʿĀdil, to be Mir Ākhor.  

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogīr otherwise called Daulatabād, but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

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1 So also the Ṭāriḵ-i-Fīroz Shāki of Barnī, but Khusrū in both the ʿAshīqa and Nūḥ Sīphr, says the beginning of 716 H. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. But Fīrūṣta says the 7th of Muḥarram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the Nūḥ Sīphr, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.  

ʿAbdūr-d-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and ʿAlīshūbū-d-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of ʿAbdūr-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muḥarram 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  after  4 MS. (A).

5 Master of the Horse. Akhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding.

6 See v. 271 note 6.
Verse.

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
That the world's king should move from his place;
Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers,
Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king?  

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultan Quṭbudd-Dīn sent Sar Sālahī Kotwāl, with orders to proceed to Gwāliār and put to death Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān. Having done this he summoned Dewal Rānī and included her in his haram. With reference to this Mir Khwārī writes:

Verse.

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
That when the Sultan Mubārak Shāh in cruelty
Turned against his own kith and kin with 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 malicious enterprise.
Secretly he sent a messenger to Khizr Khān
Making treacherous protestations of hearty goodwill
Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the assembly,
Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light;
Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,
The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears.
If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient endeavour.
Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that captivity.

"A Dīnī named Shādi" (Mir Khwārī E and D III, 555.)
If thou art fitted to become a king
We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
Dewāl Rāni 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
Ohinār.
A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the
floods.¹
[My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give
up that mistress of thine.]
Since she went from here, send her back hither again
Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
When the messenger went and took back the message
Khizr Khān'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 Shāh has attained his ambition in becoming
a sovereign,
He must leave Dewāl Rāni 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

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the 'Ashīqa 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 flame 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, 122
risks the existence of the country.
At his order the tyrant set out,
The pigeon was tied by the foot and the hawk hungry.
In that day and night he travelled several leagues
He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him).
He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe
measure;
The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly into that pure
place of chastity,
The veiled ladies were thrown into consternation and screamed
so that the roof and doors shook with their cries.
In that palace every arrow-like beam became curved like a
bow,
The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise,
From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
The male lions leapt forth in wrath,
The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power. Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.  

Shādi Khān Wālā waxed wrath, and sought aid from the protection of God most High.

Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for a long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword wherewith to slay him.

Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory
What did that unattainable strength avail him?
Allies ran up to help him from right and left
They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.
Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs,  
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 chief-tains,
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,  

As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief arising from debt.

Artful enough to depose Dajjāl  

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word dājāl 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 dajjala in the twofold signification of “covering” (truth with falsehood) or “gilding,” see Lane s. v.
Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness;
On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,1
From every hair sprang a sword.2
Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword,
A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād;3
His lips wreathed in an angry smile,
Through wrath seizing his lips between his teeth
His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,
From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn;

According to the Mīshkāt, Dājjāl 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 Dājjāl, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Safāh, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dājjāl 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 گن ف, infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and 'Irāq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Caro (Qur'ān XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medīnah. 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. Dājjāl 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 Dājjāl at the entrance to a village called Lād in Palestine. The Jews of Isfahān will follow Dājjāl before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one-third of its rain and the earth one-third of her productions, during the second the sky will withhold two-thirds and the earth two-thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce, and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

1 His whiskers. 2 MS. (A). The text reads برسه. 3 Farhād. See Beale Dict. Of Bijg. 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 Abrimans 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 Ghaznīn cold and inhospitable; 
Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom, 
Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed. 
A lip like the sole of a ploughman’s foot, 
A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis; 
That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet, 
His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe; 
Long whiskers twisted over his ears

1 MS. Alārī, and in Tradition. 
2 MS. A. 
3 Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gayālmarth) 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.
4 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, 203.
His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn back for bloodshed.] 1

He demanded a well-tempered sword from his officer; 2
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] 3
Martyrdom was evident 4 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,
Rizwân threw open the gates of Paradise,
All the Hûris began to sing his praises.
From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from the Shah,
The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song.
When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shah's face was seen amid its clustering locks,
Lamentation arose in that assembly like 5 the roll of thunder;
The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
But Fate turned it on one side from before him.
When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee;
With one blow which that ruthless one struck
He made the Shah'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.
D jawal Râni, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
Was the life-spring of Khîr 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 dew,
Thou wilt shed thy blood 3 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 'Alāu-d-Din was laid, the question was asked of
a devotee, why this should be? His reply was because 'Alāu-d-Din
had cast a firebrand into the family 5 of the uncle of his benefactor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out

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 Qutbu-d-Din, all
the rules and regulations made by 'Alāu-d-Din, each of which
embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown
into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and
rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sultān Qutbu-d-
Din, who threw open the doors of license, and gratification of
desires to the people; and when Malik Kaumul-d-Din Garg, after
that Alb Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been
executed, proceeded to Gujrat where he attained martyrdom,'Alīnul-Mulk Multānī was nominated by the Court, 4 and having
quelled the disturbance there regained possession 5 of Nahrwāla
and all the country of Gujrat, Sultān Qutbu-d-Din married the
daughter of Malik Dinar, and having given him the title of Zafar Khan sent him to Gujrat. He performed the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than ‘Ainu-l-Mulk.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultan Qutbu-d-Din marched for Deogir with a larger army, and the Rais 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 Ram Deo. The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Din who, having given Khusruf Khan the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Mathar, and having left Yakulshi in Deogir as Nai, returned to Dihli. Near Badra-i-Sakun Malik Asadu-d-Din ibn Yagh rash Khan who was called Malik Khambush, and who was the uncle’s son of Sultan ‘Alau-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 Yagh rash Khan who were aware of this conspiracy some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhain he sent Shadi Kath his chief captain to Gwalior to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan with the remainder of the haram of ‘Alau-d-Din to Dihli, after having

1 MS. (A) inserts بازجت. The textual reading is preferable.
2 MS. A. بروجت. 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 ك .
5 Called Ghät-i-Sakun by Barni.
6 MS. (A) reads سري .
7 MS. (A) reads خیبرداور گوراب (A).
8 There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS. (A) writes كی از این واقعه خبر داشتند, 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 Barni. “They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep.”
9 MS. (A) reads شادی کت . Shadi Kath, and this is the name given also in Barni’s history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.
killed Sultan Shihâbu-d-Din, which he carried out. Sultan Qutbâ-d-Din was led by the fact that Khizr Khan had been a disciple of the Sultan-ul-Masâih Nizâmû-d-Din Auliya, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknâ-d-Din from Multân, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jâm, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizâmû-d-Din) with special distinction.

Verse.

When God \(^1\) desires to openly disgrace any man
He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Zafar Khan Wah of Gujerât.

In the mean while Yaklakhi had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrû Khân reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yaklakhi 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 Wafâ Mahik, 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-narem feminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.

Verse.

Statura cujusvis ut littera Alîf erecta, idem quod litterâ
Dal et Nûn incurvasebat, adeo Alîf in mimam omnium inserebat.

\(^1\) MS. (A) omits the word یہ 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 vituperations his most trusted and eminent Amir, as for instance 'Amin Mulk Multani and Qurabeg, who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazir Sultan palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudefacti, gestu latipi et obscene, in vestes nobilium honoratorum minusbant. 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 Dihli. The Sultan led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusru Khan took no steps to punish him, but liked him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Waheedu-Din Qaraish to Gujrat in place of Husamud-Din. He it was who was the

1 Barni calls him براذر مادر, which the translator renders maternal uncle. But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not براذر مادر but براذر مادر, that is to say half-brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word براذر اخوان which is here used, and would further account for Barni's later on calling him baseborn.

2 MS. (A) reads براذر Sala Khan (A)

3 MS. (A) reads براذر واكماخ (A)

4 Thus the printed text. Barni also calls him Waheedu-Din so I have adopted this reading. MS. (A) reads وحيد الدين Waheedu-Din.
cause of the arrest of Yaklakhi. Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithih country, and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amirs whom he had with him Malik Talbugha Yagīda and Malik Talbugha Nāgori and Malik Hāji Nabī, with certain other Amirs of the Sultān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogir to Dīhī in seven days and acquainted the Sultān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sultān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sultān of the villainy of the Amirs. The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amirs, censured them severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many voracious 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'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubaida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hāīūn the Khalifah was

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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 Barūī, Yaklakhī was "an old servant of Ḍalū ḍ-Dīn, who for many years was ḍād of the bands" (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Walī ḍ-Dīn.

2 MS (A) omits.

3 MS (A) reads Āsūrūd-Dīn.

4 MS (A) reads Ḍalū ḍ-Dīn.

5 MS (A) reads thus Barūī calls him Malik Talbugha Yagīda.

6 MS (A) omits after Ḍalū ḍ-Dīn.

7 MS (A) omits.
favourably 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 Khusrau Khan became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultan, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrat and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultan. The Sultan 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.

Abu Firas Hammam or Humaim the son of Ghailib surnamed Abul Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamim. 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. (Freyne Hamasch II 585). It was a nick-name given him according to Ibn Kutsi on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the ornit (farazaqa) 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 Khalil: de Slane III. 623).

2 Read لکیز لکیز لکیز لکیز لکیز which appears to be intended for لکیز لکیز لکیز لکیز لکیز. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khaliliqan, when Nawar the granddaughter of Dubah, wished to marry one of the Qurash' 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. Nawar was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, sovereign of Hijaz and 'Iraq, to obtain redress. Al-Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al-Nawar stayed with al-Khuna wife of 'Abdallah ibn az-Zubair, and Al-Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al-Khuna interceded for Al-Nawar, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above. (Ibn Khalil: (de Slane), III. 624).
Casting aside the Qur'an and the sword
Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb
and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw
themselves upon the protection of Khusru Khan.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you.

And the family of Barāwar gained entire control of the Court
of the Sultan, and used to assemble by day and by night at the
house of Khuwarī Khan to plot sedition and rebellion against the
Sultan, and when Qāzi Ziau-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāzi Khan,
made these facts known, the Sultan who was the slave of his lust
immediately summoned Khusru Khan in private, and informed
him of what had been said, whereupon Khusru Khan 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: Khusru Khan regarded this as a proof of his complete
ascendancy deduced from it a favourable omen for his future:

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusru Khan,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultan was holding a drinking
party in the company of Khusru Khan and the Amirs of
the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzi Khan came
down from the roof of the Hazār Sultan palace and was engaged
in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.
In the meantime one Randbol בה the uncle of Khusrū Khan בה, with a body of the Barāwās, 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 Jāhiriyā the uncle of Khusrū Khan approached the Hazār Sultan with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrāhim and Iṣḥāq 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 Jāhiriyā 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 Barāwās entered the Sultan’s ḥaram and tore Farīd Khān and Mangā Khān, the two infant sons of Sultan ‘Alā‘-d-Dīn, 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 ‘Alā‘-d-Dīn and Qatbu-d-Dīn.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant The whole course of the world becomes changed.

1 MS (A). بندبول. 5 MS. (A) omits بلند.
8 MS. (A) بیک بزرگ خاتمه. 6 MS. (A) سر ملک‌تر. بیک بزرگ خاتمه بیک ساعت بیک دم.
1 MS. (A) بیک بزرگ خاتمه بیک ساعت بیک دم. 37
And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirıs namely 'Ainl-Mulk Mūlțānī, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā, by whom is meant Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh, and Malik Waḥidu-d-Din Qaraıshī with the two sons of Qarābég and other notable Amirıs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hādar Šultan; and when it was day they made all the Ulama and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the Khutba 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 Qāzī Zīāu-d-Din Qāzī Khān, all except his wife who fled, to the aforesaid Randhol.

Husāmu-d-Din, the brother by the mother’s side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol became Rā-i-Rāyān, and the ārama of Sultān Qutbu-d-Din and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself in marriage the chief wife of the Sultān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reiga of Sultān Qutbu-d-Din was four years and same 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.

Nāsiru-d-Din Khusrū Khān

Whose name at the first was Ḥusān Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of Ala‘u-d-Din and Qutbu-d-Din, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirıs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islam tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency. Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-
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 Aln-d-Din and the wealth which Quṭbu-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 Aln-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and ‘Alī Khān, and Bahādar Khān, and gained over 5 certain of the Amīra, 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 Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghazz which had happened in the time of Sultān Sinjar 6 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 7 issued firmāns to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf Shāfi Azlbacha 5 the title of Shāfi Khān while Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Saubal was styled Ḥātim Khān. He also made Kamālu-d-Dīn Shāfi Wālīdar, and the son of Quṭr Quṭr ‘Ariḍu-l-Mulk; Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzi Malik he appointed Ākhrur 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) ملک
3 MS. (A) ملک
4 MS. (A) یمن
5 MS. (A). The text reads پرکرکه.
was one of the notable Amirs of 'Alau-d-Din 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 Multāni for a time the title of 'Alam 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 Malikhs of the various districts sought their aid in exterminating that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhrā-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 ḍāk chaulī, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrain Ibn & 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 first Burāq
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

1 Ms. (A) (A)
2 I read here B 2 despite though Ms. (A) is the same as the text Wazīr.
3 ḍāk or ḍākī ḍākī travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Paret de Courtelle).
4 Ms. (A) and text footnote.
5 The text has a misprint & here.
6 The animal upon which Muhammad was mounted during his ascant to heaven known as the mi'raj (mi'raj) Qur'ān XVII. 1,
In the Miḥkāṭu-l-Maṣābīḥ it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of
And Ghazi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsati. When Khurā Khan awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Malik Bahru-ā-Din Jānāw was a strong proof of the decline of his own power; accordingly he despatched the son of Qura Qumār, whom he had appointed 'Ārīz-i-Hamālīč, in pursuit of him. He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsati, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khurā Khan tidings regarding the real state of affairs.

Ghazi 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 jihād he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dīlī.

Khurā Khan having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Ḵānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Ṣafī Ḵān with the other Amirs of this canaille against Ghazi Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant. But on the other hand Malik Bahram Iba, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghazi 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-Masbāh, Matthew, II. 651). The word Burāq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

1 MS. (A) reads "بروزت دارت خرید. 2 Mustermaster General. See p. 291.

5 Namūnā. 6 MS. (A) reads. 7 Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islām.

This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name Sthānesvarā is connected viz., Sthānu (a name of Mubbād) and Sāvīna lake. See Hunt. : Imp. Gaz., XIII, 260.

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town, it is called by various names. It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims. It was in full repute in A.D. 600, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Paudūs themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself (Cunningham, A.G. India, pp. 325-333.)
were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusru Khan abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dhibli. Ghazi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches and reached Dhibli in one long march. 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 harem the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alāʾu-d-Dīn 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 Hanūz-i-Khaṣṣ where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Hanūz-i-Khaṣṣ to Indrapath, while Ghazi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb of Sultan Razzīya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusru Khan fled with haste towards Dhar and Ujjain; his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusru Khan. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusru Khan obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghazi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghazi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustem came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

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1 MS. (A).
2 The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.
3 Barni says the Hanūz-i-'Alāʾī. The royal lake constructed by 'Alāʾu-d-Dīn.
4 Indrapath. MS. (A) إندراپا. Barni tells us that Ghāzi Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dhibli. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyatri (see also Cunningham 335).
5 I read here حطير not جفhir as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultan Razzīya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Khishal and put to death there (638. H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.
6 MS. (A).
valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel horde and Malik Talbagha, a Nogor, and the son of Qura Qumur with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword, as each hypocritical knaves should. Khusr̲ā Khān brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but at last finding he was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned his back in flight, and made for Talpath; his canopy and standards and borrowed retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzi Malik.

Khusr̲ā Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shādi who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghāzi Malik, so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghāzi Malik left Indrapath and alighted at Kūshk Sabzi. Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dihli, where tidings was

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1 MS. (A) جمعيات كافرانوا. 2 Text تلیفه. MS. (A) تلیفه. 3 MS. (A) Shāyista Khān. 4 MS. (A) inserts م. 5 MS. (A) علیتی 6 MS. (A) ملک. 7 MS. (A) اند پنہ. The text reads تلیفه. But the real reading should be اندرہ پنہ, Indrapath, as is shown by what has gone before, and also by Barni. 8 MS. A. کورشک سبزی. The text reads کورشک سبزی. But the real reading should be کورشک سبزی, the palace of Siri. This is the reading of the Tāhir-i-Fīrōz Shāhī.
brought to him that the rascal Khan-i-Khanan had crept into the corner of a garden, where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhr-ud-Din proceeded by order of Ghazi Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.). The duration of Khurra Khan’s rule was four months and a few days.

Verse.

That which thou doest they will show thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULTAN GHIYASU-UD-DIN TUGHLAQ SHAH

Who is the same as Ghazi 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. He appointed his own relations to various posts and showering many favours to the Amirs of Alau-ud-Din and to some of the Maliks of Qutbi-ud-Din gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqabad and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay) and Badr Shair Shashi invented as a chronogram for the date of building

1 MS. (A) omits 3.
2 Mulla Baktan 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 —
Barni gives an account of the mode in which Ghazi Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of Alau-ud-Din and Qutbi-ud-Din. (See Elliott, III. 228-229).
4 MS. (A) omits the words نبأ 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 مسيرة درواز نمود شروع درواز نمود set about it. This seems the preferable reading.
6 Badru-ud-Din Chachi, “was a native of Chach in Turkestan. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in
the fort (of Taghlaqbad) 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 Khurasan Khan and had aided and abetted the band of ruffians and scoundrels. He also gave the title of Ulugh Khan to Malik Faghruddin Juna who shewed marked signs of discretion and kingly dignity, and conferred on him a canopy and the other insignia of royalty, making him his heir-apparent; he also raised Bahram Iba, who was the adopted brother of the Sultan, to the dignity of the title of Kishlu Khan, and entrusted to him the district of Multan and the whole of Sind. To his other four sons he gave the titles of Bahram Khan, Zafar Khan, Mahmud Khan and Nasrat Khan.

And in the year 721 A.H. [he appointed] Ulugh Khan to proceed in command of his troops which were at Chandore and Dadson and in the other eastern districts of Hindustan, towards Deogir and Tilang, and Ulugh Khan taking with him the army of Deogir, invested the fortress of Arankal which for the past seven hundred years had been the capital of Rai Sadar Mahadeo and his ancestors, and having gained possession of the clay-built citadel forming the outer line of defence, was on the point of reducing the inner stone citadel also. In the Dihli as the panegyrist of Sultan Muhammad Taghlaq Shih and other monarchs who provided his allotted portion from the tray of their bounty His Divan consists of 2,000 couplets. His style is strange." (Hajmutil Fushāl I, 169). The date of his death is not stated. See also Bealo, O. B. D., p. 63.

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1. MS. (A) inserts لطاقا بالن. This word gives the date 727 H.
2. MS. (A) inserts عرخأ. These words give the date 727 H.
3. Omit one č from text.
4. MS. (A) omits which is in the printed text.
5. MS. (A) omits ā. It is unnecessary.
6. MS. (A). The printed text has which is in the printed text.
7. The printed text adds the words لطاقا شار.
8. See also the account given by Harī 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 غلا Khan, and proceeding with the words following the second غلا Khan. The printed text is correct.
meantime \(^1\) 'Ubaid 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 Falsafi) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihli, spread a false report that the Sultan Taghlaq was no more, whereupon great dismay spread through the Muslims. 'Ubaid also testified the Amirs by his account of Ulugh Khiān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army; \(^6\) Malik Tigīn and other revolutionary Amirs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khiān who with fifty sowāls came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amirs took themselves off, each to his own district; and Malik Tigīn who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmir \(^7\) was taken prisoner with his family, and Tājul-d-Dīn Ṭalaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigīn who had escaped from prison, was captured \(^8\) on the banks of the river Sarū, and 'Ubaid (the poet) \(^9\) also was captured in the same way in a wretched

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\(^1\) MS. (A) reads مُنْبِطَ\n
\(^2\) 'Ubaid. MS. (A) adds رَاْكِتَ\n
\(^3\) MS. (A) reads مَعَارِضِ مَشْهور.

\(^4\) Shaikh Nizāmī Ganjvānī whose full name is Abu Muhammad Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmad Ilīs ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mursidiyyīdī Mūjarrāzī, a celebrated poet, author of the Sīlandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works. His Khausa (pentad) consists of Khausa and Shīrīn, Hast Pīkai Lawī o-Majnu, Maḥzanu-l-Asrār and Sīkandar Nāma.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 587 A.H. but according to the Majnum Fursā (I. 637) he died in the reign of Taghrul ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A.H.

\(^5\) سِكَّا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymological significance of raw, crude, harsh, W. Hymenaeus, (so named from its sourness). (See Skeat, s. v.)

\(^6\) We should here read مَرْدَم لِشَكْر. MS. (A).

\(^7\) MS. (A) Lat. 26°. 55' N. Long. 70°. 57' E. in Rājputānā, U. I.

\(^8\) گُرْفَتَار گَشْت.

\(^9\) MS. (A) omits شَاعِر. Barnī says that he was impaled alive. Firitsīa 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 Jajugar 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 Aurangal the name of Sultanpur] returned to Dihli.

And in the year 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Sultan Ghiahsud-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 Lakhnauti with a firm intention of setting things straight; Sultan Nasiru-d-Din the ruler of Lakhnauti, 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 Lakhnauti once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihli; then he sent on in advance Tatar Khan his adopted son, the Governor of Zafarabad who brought Bahadar Shab otherwise known as Tuda (? Nuda) the Governor of Sunar Ganu who was boasting his independence, with a chain around...

1 MS. (A)
2 Ur Jajpur, the former capital of Orrana (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol. VII and Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XVIII for a full account of this place).
4 The words enclosed in square brackets are by a抄ist's error omitted in MS. (A), the word Dihli occurring twice has mised the copyist. The printed text is correct.
his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sultan Tughlaq Shah taking Babaudar Shah with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dilli, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khan upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Afghanpur which is at a distance of three hours from Tughlaqabad. It was completed in three days, so that Sultan Tughlaq Shah might alight there, and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqabad.

The Sultan arrived there and Ulugh Khan 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 Shah 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 Khan may have built the palace without

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1 These words are repeated twice in MS (A).
2 The text has but MS (A) reads the latter is correct. MS (A) also omits the words (line 2 of the printed text).
3 Barin gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235) Printha gives a somewhat similar account to Badonii; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khan of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Sdr Jahan Gajar, Ulugh Khan had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Haji Muhammad Qandahari says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (Printha Briggs, I. 408).
4 MS. (A) The text has purposely.
foundations\(^1\) as was currently rumoured, but the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāh* 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 Ghiyāsu-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 Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sultan-ul-Mashāikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, “After my arrival at Dīhli, either the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I.” \(^2\) The Shaikh replied, “Dīhli is still some way off.” \(^3\) 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-Mashāikh 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 Khan, by the agreement of the Amirs and

\(^1\) فَلْفُل إِجْوَفُ "hollow" verb: a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

\(^2\) In accordance with the proverb دَرْ دَوْريَنَش دَرْ كَلِمَيْنَ بَكْسُكْيَتْهُنَّ dū ṣwarīsh dar qimān naθkurānd. Two derveshes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb دَرْ دَوْريَنَش دَرْ نَيْنزَا نَمْجُونِيَّدْ dū shamsīḥ dar yak niyān nimagunjī. Two swords will not go into one scabbard; as we say: There cannot be two kings in Brentford.

\(^3\) This is a well-known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu, used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task, or on an occasion of unnecessary haste. "It's a far cry to Loch Awe." Bochaniak 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 Amir's, he made Malik Firoz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sultan Firoz) Naibul-Mulk, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Hamid Lawiki, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sertez obtained the title of 'Imadu-l-Mulk, Malik Khurram that of Zahirul-Juyush (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindar Khilji was given the title of Qadr Khan, and Malik Issa-d-Din Yahya that of A'zamu-l-Mulk, the district of Satganw being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326-1327 A.D.) the Sultan having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of dhāwa, that is to say pāiks, or runners, as guards at distances of one kroh along the whole road from Dibhi 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 Firishta 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 Ḳadd for four months and ten days. Among Hindīs the period of mourning is thirty days. (See Matthew, Mighkātu-l-Mafābih 1. 380).

3 The word Ḳadd here spelt Ḳaddār is a Sanskrit word घारा, या to run. पायः its Persian equivalent has a more usual form Ḳaddār.

4 MS. A omits دروازه.

5 MS. (A) نصب قرصون.

6 The leaf of Chavica bello (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceae is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of Areca catechu, known as Supārī, some lime (chānī) catechu (Kath) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together.
both (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Daulatābād and considering it as the centre of his dominions made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhduāma- Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amir and Malik, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād: all the Saiyyids and Shāhīs and 'Umarī also proceeded thither in the following of Makhduāma-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 desertion of Dūhli and its desertion was a source of great dis-

The distribution of this ḫan or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To Europeans pilates the ḫan is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acid taste. It is a powerful stimulant.

The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrha, 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 "betel-chewer's cancer" has been described by Dr. Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated. (Druy, Useful Plants of India).

1 MS. (A) omits the word ḥilāl.
2 MS (A) omits the word "مُلَا." See page 271, note 6, of this volume.
3 MS. (A) omits the word "جَدّ."
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 Bahadur Gurshasp, the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Delhi, and Malik Aiyar, who held the title of Khwaja-i-Jahân, fought with Bahadur and defeated him. Bahadur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultan and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahram Iba, the adopted brother of Sultan Tughlaq, raised a rebellion in Multan, and put to death Ali Khataji who had been sent from Delhi to summon him thither. The Sultan, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatabad for Delhi and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multan. Bahram having come out against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultan who intended to set the blood of the Multanis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikhul-Islam Qutbu-i-'Alam Shaikh Rukn-ul-Haqq wa'n-Din Quraishi, may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultan and made intercession, the Sultan pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.
Great men have shown mercy; mean men have committed

And the Sultan having bestowed Multan upon Qiwamul-Mulk Maqbul retraced his steps, but after some little time having turned

1 Barni makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishtha gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahau-d din and states that he was governor of Sagar. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahau-d-din Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A H. twelve years later than Badhon's date, according to Briggs (I 418). A reference to the original text, however, shows that the date given by Firishtha is the same as Badhon's date. Firishtha

2 MS. (A)

3 MS. (A)

4 Amin-Akbars (Jaffett), III. 365.

5 MS. (A)

6 MS. (A)
against him despatched Behzād to replace him, but Shāhū Lodi the Afghan 1 killed Behzād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultan on his arrival at Dipālpur found that Shāhū had fled into the hill country, 2 so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) Nasrū Shirin the Mughal, 4 the brother of Qutluğ Khwāja the Mughal King of Khwāṣān who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered the Dihli territory 4 with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts, and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lāhor and Sāmāna and Indari to the borders of Badās; and when the victorious troops of Islam came up with him, he retreated as they advanced; the Sultan pursued him 6 as far as the frontier of Kalānīr and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujiru-d-Din Abūrijā 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 Doāb 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, 6 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 Daulatabād, 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 Daulatabād was populated, and Dihli

1 MS (A) افغان. The text reads کرکسیانه. مزکرینه کرکسیانه. The text is correct.

2 The printed text has در کرکسی پایه but MS (A) has کرکسیانه. The text is correct.

3 MS (A) منخل. The spelling منخل adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect, but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr. Ney Elms in his introduction to the translation of the Tūrkhūl-Rughīdī (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-ul as Mongol. It has, he says, always the vowel sound of o, and never that of a which is a foreign introduction.

4 MS. (A) تکرک.

5 MS. (A) تکرک.

6 MS. (A) تکرک.

7 MS. (A) تکرک.

8 MS. (A) تکرک.

9 MS. (A) تکرک.
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 mūhar of copper should become current on an equal footing with the mūhar 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 inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one tanka of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the 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. The people

1 Firuzta does not use the word mūhar and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round mūhar in Akbār's time was of the weight of eleven masha and was worth nine rupees (Ain-Abdūr 1. 20). Barni uses it in the same way as Badzani. See Barni Calcutta text, p 475, line 10 et seqq.

2 MS. (A) omits the word صکه but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barni states that the Hindūs of every province coined krus and lot's of copper coins, so also Firuzta.

3 The Persian text is: تکیه نز بر كان ابن بر. 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." Barni's account is much the same, Firuzta is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the copper tanka having
profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper tokens were lying in heaps in Taghlaqabād as late as the time of Sultan Mubarak Shāh according to the author of the Tāriḵ-i-Mubarak 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 communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver tokens, 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. 240, Brigg's Virīshā 415

Although Brigg's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of Firīshā is perfectly clear on the subject; and we see that these copper tokens 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 found it was not received in foreign countries, that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper tokens for silver or gold tokens, hoping thereby, as Firīshā says, to rehabilitate the copper tokens, but the people were too wise for this, and threw the whole stock genuine and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver. Firīshā (Sd. Ed. p. 238).

For a full account of this forced currency See Thomas Pathān Kings pp 239, et seq.

1 MS. (A) دلربد .

2 Firīshā says 100,000.


4 Rashīdūd-Dīn in the Jāmī’u l-Tarārīhi (Elliott, I, 49) states "Besides these mountains there are others called Kalārāchāl (called also by the same author in another passage Lāfjal). The editor notes "The mountains of Sirīnār." Reinard reads the name "Kalārdjak." Ibn Batūta calls them "Karčchil" (Vol III. 326). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit शच्चिल mountain. The first part may be the Turki word دلربد 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.\textsuperscript{1} For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sultan visited with condign punishment.\textsuperscript{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 (1848 A.D.) Bahram Khan Governor of Sunargauw died, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Silahdhar became rebellious and assumed the title of Sultan, and having fought with Qadr Khan the ruler of Lakhnauti in conjunction with Malik Husamu-d-Din Abuриja the Mustaфи, and 'Izzu-d-Din Yahiya 'A'замu-l-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 money\textsuperscript{3} 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 Husamu-d-Din Aburja 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 Husamu-d-Din ensued; Malik Fakhru-d-Din returned, and the soldiery of Husamu-d-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 Mubānak 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.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Barni states that the Hindūs of Qarajal seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sevans returned. (p. 478). See also Elliott, III. 242

\textsuperscript{2} According to Firīšī all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultan.

\textsuperscript{3} MS. (A) omits و مال

\textsuperscript{4} MS. دیگریان چاداب (A)
At this juncture 'Ali Mubarak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhrud-Din, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the
title of Sultan Alau-d-Din, and Malik Ilyas Haji who was a man of
family and retinue, after a few days put Alau-d-Din to death
with the assistance of some of the Amirs and Maliks of Lakh-
navati, and himself assumed the title of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din.

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sultan Muhammad hav-
ing left with the object of reducing Sanargaw, seized Fakhrud-
Din and brought him prisoner to Lakhnavati, where he put him to
death and returned Shamsu-d-Din became absolute monarch of
that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country
descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons, and
never again returned to the possession of Sultan Muhammad 'Adil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Saiyyid Hasan Kaithali
the father of Malik Ibrahim a foe of the Sultan, who was
generally known as Hasan Kangi, and who eventually obtained
the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of Alau-d-Din
Bahman Shah, fermented a revolt in Mahbar on the grounds of the
severity of the Sultan's governors, and the innovations introduced
in the laws, and the number of executions, and gained over to his
own party nearly all the great men of Dihli who had been ap-
pointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the
opposite party. The Sultan proceeded from Lakhnavati 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 Qutlug Khân in Daulatabad; thus
the rebellion in Mahbar remained unchecked and Hasan's influence
increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery
Malik Halajan and Kat Chander Khâkbar and Malik Tatar
Khurd, the Governor of Lahore, and when Khwaja-i-Jahan
came up against them, they came out to do battle with him, but
the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.
And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultān passing through Sanā‘ and Sāmān gave orders to the Saiyyids and all the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Ḥasan Kānḵū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustan and spend the days of dearthness and scarcity there, without lot or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Danlatābād should return to Dihlī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of Khurdāsān and ‘Irāq and Samārquand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Ḥājī Sa‘īd Ṣāsārī1 arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalifah2 with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultān the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīn-ul-Mu‘minīn from the Khalifah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaikhah and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Ḥājī Sa‘īd and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the ‘Īd, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalifah, he read the Khutbah in the name of the Khalifah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilāfah, with the exception of Sultān Maḥmūd. He then gave largesse3 of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

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1 The printed text reads سكر، but MS. (A) has سك. So has also Barni, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, 113. 241).

2 Barni gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalifah, a course of fulsome adulation seemed to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

3 Al Ḥākim bi Amr Mī’lān Abū ‘Abdāl-Ḥālim Abū ʿAbdallāh ʿAbd al-Muṣṭakfi bīlāhī, who was proclaimed in 741 A.H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalifahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

2 MS. (A) مثا.
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 "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 Chamsbād, and on two or three occasions in 895 and Kanbhāyat also he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Makhduzmād-i-Baghdādī came to visit him, and the Sultan went on foot to Pālam to receive him; and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kili with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A. H. (1345 A.D.) Malik Nizām-ī-Mulk governor of Kara, raised a rebellion, Shahr-ul-lah the brother of Aīnu-ī-Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābu-d-dīn Sultan waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qatluq Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu-d-dīn coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qatluq Khān 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.) 'Alī Sher sister's son to Zafar Khan 'Alā'i gained possession of Gulbarga in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

1 MS. (A) reads which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here in the sense of 'honours,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him.

2 MS. (A) omits


4 Ghīsān-d-dīn Muhammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdad Al-Mustansir-billah (Thomas, P. K. D. 257, note 1).

5 A full account of this is given by Ibn Batūta (Paris, Edn. iii. 253 and noq.) who writes in the guise of a historian of Sītā. Barni (Calcutta text p. 496) says that Kūršk, Sibīri, Sītā, and Kīsūrī in the city of Sītā. Barni (Calcutta text p. 496) says

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 Ghaznin 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 Naiib 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 يا.
2 MS. (A) omits هنن.
3 MS. (A) omits نموئند.
4 MS. (A) reads نا کتاب.
5 The text reads برهنة برشته and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of برشته in the original copy.
6 MS. (A) reads برهنة naked.
7 Barri entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The Gawars are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's Hindu Castes, nor in Elliott's Tribes of the N.W.
services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former
custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back
to Dihli; then he recalled 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) and ‘Aziz Khumār
who was one of the canaille, proceeding to Mālwa put to death
many centurions (or Amirs of a hundred) which is the meaning
of the word Yūzbāshī in accordance with the Sultan’s orders,
and thence arose many insurrections.

And in the year 748 A.H. (1837 A.D.) the captains of hundreds,
stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrat against Muqbil
the servant of Khwāja-i-Jalān who was naib-vazir of Gujrat,
and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him
by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and pro-
erty 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 Sarjāndūr, and Ahmad
Lāchīn i Daulatābād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were
there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Ahmad Lāchīn
arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their
alarm came to a common understanding, and put Malik Ahmad
Lāchīn to death; ‘Aziz Khumār who had gone from Gujrat to
oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabhāt7 and Baroda, on coming
face to face with the insurgents lost his head, fell from
his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the
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 and having captured the fortress of Daulatābād from the
the governors of Malik ‘Alam took possession of it, and raising

1 MS (A) omits ‘Aziz Humār.
2 MS. (A) Το Κοντόριον Βασιλέως
3 Commandant de cent hommes. (Paret de Courteille).
4 MS. (A) omits the words ‘Aziz Khumār.
5 MS. (A) Το τεκτικό είναι έλαϊκο. Dabhāt See Timb. I. 372. Also map,
Vol. III. see also Hunter, Imp. Jaz, IV. 70; and Bayley, History of Gujrat.
6 Νάμα εν Βάνταλ Κριόντ
7 The printed text reads ‘Aṣṣir Sultan which is meaningless.
MS (A) reads ‘Alam Sultan and this seems the correct reading.
to the throne one Isma'il Fath gave him the title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din. After this the Amirs 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 Fath prepared to give him battle, but being defeated shut himself up in the fortress of Dhahrangar by which is meant the citadel of Daulatabad; many Muslims of Daulatabad were slain in this rebellion, or were made prisoners, and Malik 1 Imadul Mulk Sariez was ordered to pursue the fugitive Amirs of hundreds towards Bidar. 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. Therupon the Sultan leaving in Dhahrangar Malik Jauhar and Khudawandzada Qivamu-d-Din and Shaikh Burhano-d-Din Balrami 5 left to quell the rebellion of Taghi; the army which had fled from Daulatabad under the leadership of Hasan Kangi, coming out of hiding attacked 7 Imadul Mulk Sariez. Imadu-l-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatabad and sought shelter there, and Malik Jauhar with Khudawandzada Qivamu-d-Din and the other Amirs not being able to withstand Hasan in Daulatabad evacuated those districts and made for Dhahrangar. Hasan Kangi pursued them and came to Daulatabad, 3 and having driven out Isma'il Fath assumed the title of Alau-d-Din and usurped the government, and from that time forward the rule of the districts of Daulatabad and the sovereignty of that kingdom remained in his family. The history called Futahu-s-Sulatin 9 was written in his honour. And Taghi

1 ark, a small fort built between two large forts (Burhano-d-Quli). MS. (A) spells this word ark irk.
2 The printed text reads ملك منبا سلطاني Malik 'Imadu-l-Mulk Sariez-i-Sultani. Barai calls him ملك منبا سلطاني Malik 'Imadu-l-Mulk Sariez-i-Sultani.
3 The proper reading here is ملك منبا سلطاني Malik 'Imadu-l-Mulk Sariez-i-Sultani. MS. (A). The printed text has ملك منبا سلطاني.
4 Read ملك منبا سلطاني MS. (A).
5 MS. (A) omits ملك.
6 MS. (A) omits ملك.
7 MS. (A) omits ملك.
8 MS. (A) omits ملك.
9 I can find no mention of this work.
the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultān at Gujrat, ventured a
second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving
himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place.
the Sultān however continued to pursue him and followed him
wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultān having
sent for Makhl Fīroz from Dihli attached him to his Court; and
in this year Makhl Gir the son of Makhl Qabul Khālifatī, to whom
the Sultān had delegated the control of all his important affairs,
and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submit-
tion to the Egyptian Khālifah, and had sent it by the hand of Ḥāji
Barqāt, died, and Ahmad Aiyār, who is also called Khwāja-i-
Jahān, and Makhl Qabūl Qiwānu-i-Mulk were carrying on the
government in Dihli. Towards the end of the reign of Muham-
mad, dissatisfaction and rebellion, mischief and sedition became
increasingly evident day by day, so that if he turned his atten-
tion 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 insidelity flourished in place of
Islam. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-
operation led to ruin and disunion, and the decline of the king-
dom. These causes are given in detail in the original history
the Fīrozshāhī, and also in the Mubārakshāhī. 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) reads مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ
2 MS. (A) omits شَخْص
3 This is the reading of MS. (A) مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ
4 The printed text has مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ. MS. (A) reads correctly مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ
5 MS. (A) reads مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ. MS. (A) reads مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ
6 Omit مَا illegally MS. (A).
7 There are two histories known as Tīrīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī one by Ṣīnā-d-Dīn
Barun, (Biblioth. Indica 1882) and the other by Shams-i-Sirāj ‘Affī.
(Biblioth. Indica 1091). (Elliott, III. 269).
MS. (A) reads (as does the printed text) مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ but the better
reading seems to be that given, without reference to the authority, in the
footnote to the printed text مَنْ بِدَرُّكُ شَبْرُ وَرَايَتُهُ: This would distinguish the
Tīrīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī of Barun as the original history of that name. The
Tīrīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī is that of Yahyā ibn Ahmad (See Elliott, IV, pp. 6
and seqq)
ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shirin, and never again recovered their prosperity. Secondly.—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the 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 horse-census, and other taxes over and above these, and in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions, so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle. Thirdly.—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the Mubarakshahi, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated. Fourthly.—The desertion of Dibli, and the population of Daulatabad, because after Dibli 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 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 Himachal, 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-
neon of the Sultan; and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyids, 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 palaces, 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 مصارف or مصرف this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (هل حرفة) artisans themselves.

2 This again is not correctly used. It must be read كناروع but should be plural.

3 MS. (A) معنی خلقی از فننی

4 MS. (A) مرد کردن

5 MS. (A) خصیب یافته

6 MS. (A) کوتاه

7 Mufti. The officer who assists the Qazi or judge by supplying him with facts or decisions.

8 We should read here جلیس داشته در محل مصلحت نگاه داشته بود MS. (A).
able, and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then if after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight, he would pass orders for his execution, and if he himself found for conviction he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments, and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say that one day Sultan Muhammad wearing his crown went on foot into the Court of Justice of Qazi Kamāli-d-Din Șadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmī has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he faileth, that you may pronounce against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaikhzāda was summoned he confessed to having said it) and the Sultan enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sultan was silent and rose from the Court, and ordered that the Shaikhzāda should be bound; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatabād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dīlī, he brought him before the same Court, and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sultan was a mixture of opposites, and for this reason his name has been handed

1 MS. (A) حسب مکتبر.
2 MS. (A) میثبانی.
3 MS. (A) کن ممتنع.
4 MS. (A) ایندیشید و.
5 MS. (A) سماع.
6 MS. (A) مالوید.
7 MS. (A) قاسم.
8 MS. (A) میثبانی.
9 MS. (A) میثبانی.
10 MS. (A) میثبانی.
11 MS. (A) فیاض.
12 MS. (A) حکایت.
down in tradition, eye 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 as I am not endowed with sight." 1 In short after great moves had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sultan, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair, by reason of his various toils and his evil designs, the disease of Pbohitis found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghi, and in the

1 Qu'ran, D.X. 2. 2 MS. (A) 1 جلخ 26 جنر 38 خر. (A).

This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from putridal disease of the lungs. The following definition is from the Beards-Jacobs.

The fever called "Diqq" is when the heat which arises from the constitution settles upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears. Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The Beards-Jacobs states that it is called "Diqq" because it ulcerates the body.

The account is as follows. The fever "Diqq" is usually fatal....It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The signs of this complication are "persistence" of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the exacerbation of the putrid fever, chills is also present. The worst complication of all is (he says) when "Diqq" is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "Diqq" is the opposite to this.

The pulse in uncomplicated "Diqq" is hard, frequent, and slender.....The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body.

Food should be nourishing .... Some unskillful physicians withhold food and kill the patient especially. Food should be moist and cooling. If the fever passes on to the degree called "Diqq" gabel the pulse increases in hardness and tenacity, the eyes change and become covered with scales, the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temple sink in, the skin of the forehead tighten, the skin lose its lustre, and has a dusty appearance; the eyelids become heavy; all this in the result of rapid dissolution, and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture. There,
hopes of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where Ṭaghī had fled for safety; and in that expedition Qarqhan Naib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altān Bahādūr with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultan. The Sultan’s illness was at that time slightly less urgent and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the ‘Ashūrā, 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, the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oedema 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 (ديجت الظفر) then the diarrhoea recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shown by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhoea apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which want of a better name “typho-malarial” has been suggested.

Probably the complication, of “diq” with “putrid fever” of which Sadidī speaks was more comparable to the “enteric fever” of modern science. Sadidī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called “diq” the second more severe is called zabīl and the most severe of all is called “hashī.”

I have only been able to epitomise Sadidī’s account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (Al Mughnī fi Shark al Mawṣīr).

1 The ‘Ashūrā,” is a voluntary feast 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 haven and hell, the tablet of decree, the poniila and death. It is kept by the Sunni as a fast” (Engels, Dict. of Islam, 25)

6 On the banks of the Indus not fourteen kās from Thatha according to Barnī (Elliot, Ill. 365), but Badson states he had arrived at Thatha. Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty kās from Thatha where he had arrived on the 'ashūrā, thence he was carried ill as he was “for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen kās of Thatha.” There he remained according to Barnī gradually growing worse and died on the 2ist 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.

A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān 1 he built of Haft Jūsh 2 which in loftiness
Would need the Nāsr-i-Ta‘īr 3 to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible
as Harūmān. 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 raven.
In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened
raven.

It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition
should become in accordance with the words “God most
High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him.” 5

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sultan Muḥam-
mad is Bādar Shāshī 6 who wrote a Shāhmāna 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 Qhīyān-d-Dīn Tughlaq and
uncle’s son of Sultan Muḥammad ʿĀdil, in accordance with the

1 Haft Khwān The capture of the Brassen fortress of Das
was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the
name of the Haft-Khwān. See Shāh Namah (Atkinson), pp 407 to 426, also
Burhān-i-Qābī 8, 9.

2 Haft Jūsh. These are seven metals which are melted
together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony,
Steingraber) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. Burhān-i-Qābī. According to
the Ghūṣūl-i-lughāt, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

3 Nāsr-i-Ta‘īr. The constellation called also ʿUqšā, The
Eagle.

4 Harūmān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. Burhān-i-Qābī.

5 Cf. Qurʾān XXVII. 64.

6 See page 256, note 6.

7 This looks as though we should read قربيب همست سواري بيت nearly
twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed
text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.
authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultān Muḥammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaiḥṣ and the leading Amīrs and Vāzīrs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Malikdumzād-i-Abbāsī of Baghdād, and Shaiḥ Naṣir-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī may God sanctify their sacred resting places were the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultān Firoz, and it is currently reported that [Malikdum Shaiḥ Naṣir-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī may God sanctify his resting-place] had secretly made Malik Firoz King during the absence of Sultān Muḥammad. Some of the Muftīs informed the Sultān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple, were to be taken in confinement from Dihlī and brought to the camp. This was carried out, and Malik Firoz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī to Shaiḥ Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaiḥ Jamāl-d-Dīn of Hānsī may God sanctify their resting-places. That holy man exclaimed “Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sultān, and he wots not of it”!

When they arrived at the camp of the Sultān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaiḥ and the Sultān; then Sultān Firoz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sultān’s son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

1 MS. (A) reads بیعت بردند for بیعت نمودند (Text)
2 The words between square brackets are omitted from MS (A)
3 The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has while MS (A) has صرید و ضراد را The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression
4 MS. (A) بیاورند The text reads که یکی از ولاد شیخ حجاب الابین دختری قدسی الله صربها بود (A)
5 MS. (A) روستیه ان (A) که بایدین در عزریزباور روستیه (A)
6 MS. (A) بیده آند
7 MS. (A) گذاشته آند.
8 MS. (A) By Sultān, Firoz Shaiḥ must be here meant.
after that he had returned to Dihli he made the pargana of Chaurast 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 "Naṣira-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, in the kingdom of the dervesh.

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 insomuch 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 Siwistan made for Dihli by continuous marches, and Ahmad Ayūz, styled Khwaja-i-Jahān, who in the absence of the Sultan had urged claims of an obscure child to the

1 MS. (A)
2 MS. (A)
3 Shams-i-Siraj 'Asif 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".

He asserts the Khwaja-i-Jahān who was on terms of great intimacy with Firoz Shah received false tidings that Tātār Khan, and the Amir-i-Khān Firoz Shah were missing and either dead or prisoners. "After the days of mourning were completed, the Khwaja, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultan Muhammad Shah upon the throne, and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder." Elliott, III. 279-280.
throne, and had given him the title of Qiyasul-Din Mahmud Shâh, appointing himself Fakih, after considerable argument, and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashraf Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighborhood of Hânsi, and had an interview with the Sultan, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness and made him over to the Kotwâl of Hânsi, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Saratit tidings arrived of the birth of Shâhzâda Path Khan, whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shâh, and the news of the death of Taghi Tâghî also reached him there from Gujrat; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihli by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmur hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shâhzâda Muhammad Khan, who eventually obtained the title of Nasirul-Din Muhammad Shâh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalânor, whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Saratit, and [gave it to Shaikh Sadru-D-Din Hultini, may God sanctify his resting place, the Shaih-ul-Islam] and Malik Qubul Nâib Vazir he made Khan-i-Jahan. And at the close of this year he went to Lakhnauti with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Haîj Ilyâs who had assumed the title of Shamsu-D-Din. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdilâ, which is the strongest of the forts.

2 MS (A) قتل طلغي. Siraj 'Afîl tells us that he founded a town here and called it Pathábâd in honour of this event. Elliott, III 283.
3 See note 6, page 252.
4 In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.
5 Ikdilâ. Regarding this fortress, see J. A. B. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294 It was afterwards called Azîdpur by Firoz Shâh. (Elliott, III. 297).
of Bangāla, 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 Sultān 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 Manīpur he arrived at Dihī and built Firozabād on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.) ho

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1 This appears to be the meaning. MS (A) omits سلمت and has ضرر. See also Thobuss, Pathan Kings, p. 291 and note.

2 pulēškā in M. Pacot de Courtrilles Turki Dictionary this word is given باگشا pulēškā or باگشا pulēškā Saison des pluies. He gives three instances of its use from the Bādīyanmah.

3 Firozābād. This must not be confounded with the Firozābād which arose from the change of name of Pundah, see Elliott, III. 295, and Paudūsh, Imp. Gaz. Vol XI.

This Firozābād (see J. A. S. D., 1870), was situated five los (ten miles) from Dihī, and included according to Shams-i-Sūraj ‘Affī, eighteen places, the cāsba (townships) of Indarāpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III. 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hīsārūr (Eṣrūr Firozāb) 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 Rājīnā, is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnīl (see Hunter’s Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 288 for an account of this canal). The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Alagh Khānī (Ulūgh Khānī). In modern maps there is a trace of this canal, but it is called the Juhā Canal, which is probably the word Rājīnā converted and applied in error to this canal. Rennell’s map (Tithe, Vol. III.) shows the supposed canal of Piroz Shīl, and it is evident from our author’s statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hīsār but from Dipālāpur, which lay at the junction of the Bīsā and Sutlej on the banks of the Bīsā, and passed south-east near Tathabād, if not actually through it, to join the river Jāhijār, which in Rennell’s map is called the Jujār, its nearest point measured from Dipālāpur being exactly 100 miles (forty-eight kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jāhijār Lat. 23° 16’ N., Long. 77° 12’ 15” E., is 200 miles (Hunter’s Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 195). (The river Jāhijār flows south-east through Tathabād joining the Jamna near Etwāb). For this reason it appears highly likely that the canal was laid not to Jāhijār but into the river Jāhijār as above stated (See Bo.: Firth’s Text 1. 263).

Shams-i-Sūraj ‘Affī makes no mention of Dipālāpur in connection with any canal, and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rājīnāw and Ulūgh Khānī, were conducted through the vicinity of
went to Dipalpur and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj led it as far as the Jahjur which is forty-eight krok from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandi (Mandili) and Sarur, and having led seven other canals into it took it to Harial. If this was so the "supposed canal of Firoz Shah" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugh Khani. His words are as follows:—

Dahana-i in har doja as ittieali karnal birka awarda miyân i haghtad krok dar shahr i Hisar Firaza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Firoz Shah would take his exnal from Dipalpur to Karnal when his objective was Hisar; we have also Badoni's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjur, 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 'Afi refers (Elliot, III. 298-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was. I can find no trace of any places named Mandi (Mandili) or Sarur anywhere in the maps, while Râs mentioned here by Badoni must be what 'Afi calls Great Laras, as he states that it was in the neighborhood of Great Laras that Sultan Firoz built the city of Hisar Firoza. (Elliot, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 397 has Beralson, which is a mistaken reading of bi Râsain in the original, that is to say the two Râses, Great Laras and Little Laras.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hisar Firoza, one from Dipalpur to Hisar and on to the Jahjur, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jamna as far as Karnal (Rajawah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnal (Ulugh Khani). At Karnal according to 'Afi'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 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar any near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jamna via Karnal.

See also Thomas' Pathân Kings, 294 and notes.

1 MS. (A)

2 I cannot identify these places. Firishta (Bo. Text I. 263) says Mandawi and Sirmur, MS. (A) reads Mandili and Sardar.
and thence to Rāsī where he built a fortress which he
called Ḩisār Fīrozā, and dug a spacious reservoir beneath the
palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the
channel; he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaqhar
underneath the fortress of Sarsūt, and from thence to Birni
Kherā, 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-n-Zahā a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the
Khalifah Al-Ḥākim bi amrillāhī Abū Fath Abū Bākr ibn Abīl Rabi' Suleimān from the Dārul ʿIlāfat of Egypt, with a patent
confering upon him the whole of Hindustān: and in this same
year messengers from Ḥāji Ilyās the ruler of Lakhnātī, 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 Lakhnātī which
was held by Ḥāji Ilyās, who had come to terms with the
Sultān, and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after
the death of Sultān Muḥammad, had come into the possession of
Ḥasan Kāngū.

1 See page 326, continuation of page 325, note 3 Briggs' Firishta calls it
Rāsīn, the two Rāsūs, i.e. Great Larās and Little Larās,
Elliott, III 298.
2 MS. (A) @Pathshin 48r. Sarsūt is shown in Rennell's
map (Tieff. III) as lying southeast of Karnāl. Birni Kherā, I cannot trace.
3 MS. (A) فینووز آباد نام کردو.
4 MS. (A) 48r. At the village of Gārīn on the banks of the Jumāh,
Elliott, III. 302.
5 According to the list of Egyptian Khalifāhs given in Thomas' Pathshā
Kings of Dīlū the Khalifāh in 767 A.H. was Abūl Fath Al-Mutʾarībābī
Abū Bakr ibn Al-Mutʾarībābī. He was the sixth of the Egyptian
Khalifāhs. Al-Mutʾarībābī bīllāhī Abūl Rabi' Suleimān ibn Al-Ḥākim bi-
Amarābībī was the third of this line.
6 MS. (A) omits جواب.
7 MS. (A) 48r. ้ม. حاجی ایبنا داشت.
8 MS. (A) reads مصالحہ کردو.
And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samāna, he appointed Malik Qabūl Sirburjādar to proceed against the Mughals who had arrived on the frontier of Dipālpūr. The Mughals upon hearing particulars of the Sultan’s army turned back and went to their own country, and the Sultan returned to Dihli; and 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 Lakhmath 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 Lakhmath with a vast army, left Khan-i-Jahān in Dihli, and after deputing Tālār Khān, that is to say Malik Tālār, to proceed from Ghazānī to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Zafarābād, and at this place, Ā’zam Malik Shaikhzāda-i-Bustānī who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Ahmad Ayyāz, and by the orders of the Sultan had been banished, brought from the Darul Khulafat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sultan and received the title of Ā’zam Khān. Saiyyid Rustādar was sent with the messengers of Lakhmath to the Sultan Sikandar at Lakhmath, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sultan when the rains were over leaving Zafarābād shaped his course for Lakhmath, 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

1 MS. (A) Sirafi ‘Affī calls him Torābān. Elliott, III 311.
2 MS. (A) برسر مقبل.
4 MS. (A) مقبول.
5 MS. (A) مراعب لغرض (ر)...ت.م.
6 The events preceding this are related by ‘Affī, showing how friendship was established between Sultan Firuz and Sultan Sikandar. Badānū’s account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305–312.)
7 MS. (A) omits ك
8 A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words بانیره بید اکھاڑنی follow the word اکھاڑنی.
of Pandūmah, 'Sultan Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ḩudān 1 whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultan had laid siege to that fortress Sultan 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 Sultan proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūmah 2 to Janūpūr 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 Jajnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Karra, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Saurāth 4 the Rāi of which place 5 withdrew, and thence he came to Būrānās 6 which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahāndūr 7 and the Rāi of Bāmnaṣās having taken to flight made with all haste for Talāng. The Sultan pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt 8 and arrived at the country of Rāi Purīhān Dev 9 who sent a present of thirty-two 10 elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultan coming to Pādmāwat and Param Tulān 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 Zīlāl-Mulk 13 wrote a quatrains upon this:

1 See 'Afi's account of this. (Elliott, III 308). 'Afi says this place "the islands of Ḩudān." 2 See note 6, page 324.

2 'Afi says by way of "Qasaj and Ondāb"—Janūpūr was we are there told to be called by Sultan Firuz Shāh after Sultan Maḥammad Shāh, son of Toglot Shāh, whose name was Janūn, so he called the place Janūn-pūr. He stayed there six months, during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowah (Gümāl).


4 MS. (A).

5 Namul Adāsār ('Afi) or Rāg Sulhān (Firštā). See note 6.

6 'Afi says Banānās the ancient residence of the independent Rāis of Jajnagar.

7 MS. (A). 8 Tareemī (Tareemī). 9 MS. (A) reads & three.

10 MS. (A).

11 Not in MS. (A).

12 MS. (A) reads & three.

13 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 Jāīnagar,
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 Dehli, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salima, which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz. The Salima is also called the 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 Sihrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three gaz (in length). They were partly converted into

1 MS. (A) ဗ initData.

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 'Aftīf's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Aftīf, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.

3 Compare with this Fīrūzštā's account, with which Badāmī's is almost identical. Fīrūzštā, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

4 Fīrūzštā says (see Hunter, Imp. Gac. XII. 261, for the Sarauti or Sarasvatī. See also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 49-76. The Salima seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhābād S. of Ambālā.

5 Gac. See Asn Akbari (Jarrett), II. 53 et seq. Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of gaz—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called jarpāj.

Presumably it is the short gaz which is here meant but even this would be about 23 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.
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 broke beyond into one district, which
he put under the control of Ziaul Mulk Shamsu-d-Din Abû Rijā,
and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Firûzpūr which
is in fact Sirhind, and the Sultan from thence, went to Nagarkot
whose Rājā after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted
and met with royal treatment. The Sultan gave to Nagarkot
the name of Muhammadâbad after the deceased Sultan Muḥam-
dad; and when they brought the Sultan ice on that mountain fort
he said: when Sultan Muḥammad, who is now dead and whom
I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a
sharbât mixed with ice, but he had no inclination for that bever-
age because I was not with him.” Accordingly they made an iced
sharbât with several elephant and camel loads of cane-sugar
which was carried with Sultan Firâz, and he ordered them to read
the whole of the Qur’ān for the soul of Sultan Muḥammad and
distribute the sharbât among the entire army. Under these cir-
cumstances, they informed the Sultan that from the time when
Sultan Sikandar Zûl Qarnâin arrived at this place the people of
that city have preserved an image of Noshâba and keep it in a
room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three
hundred books of the Brahmans of olden time in that idol temple
which is commonly known as Jawâlamukhi; a flame of fire rises
from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished. No, not
by thousands of mashkâ of water. The Sultan having sam-

1 I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is مسالن

2 MS. (A) inserts 3.


4 See Elliot III. 318-319.

5 MS. (A).

6 MS. (A) 3.

7 MS. (A) از

8 MS. (A) صورت نوشته ای را مسخره.

9 Firuzâ’s words are جالا مکی.

10 Mashkâ. The goatskin bag for carrying water.

Briggs in his translation adds the words “the wife of Alexander the
Great,” but upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander
were Roxâna the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B.C. and
moned the Brnhmans, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books into Persian. Among those translators 'Izza-d Din Khilid Khali, who was one of the poets and munej of the time of Firuz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the rising and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. His name is called up to the present day Dalal-i-Firuzi, 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 beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sultan Firuz, some of them on the Science of "Pingal" that is to say on Music, and the kinds of Alhara which they call Pahin bazi, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profuse, 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 Jam, 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., Barsino or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It represents in reality neither of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written Rushuna and by copyist error perverted to Nagabana.

Firuz's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

1 MS (A) omits but wives.
2 MS (A) reads Beale (O B. D.) calls him 'Izza-d-Din Khali Khani and mentions him as the author of the Dalal-i-Firuz bakh, probably on the authority of this passage.
3 MS. A.
4 So called from Pingala or Pingalanaga the inventor of the art of prosody. See Albrani, India 1. 157, also Colebrooke Essays, II 57.
5 The Alhara is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett), III. 253. The word Patur signifies in Hindi a prostitute or dancing-girl.
6 'Afif tells us that Jam the brother of Rai Umar, and Bahman (Bunbana), 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 Khan; then having deposed Nizam-u-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-jahān the Vazir, died, and his son Jūnā Shāh obtained that title; and the book Chandahān which is a Mašnawi in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lūrak and Chānda, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Mauλānā Dā'ud. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Makhdūm ShāiKh Taqī-d-Dīn Wāiz Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit, and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and when certain learned men of that time asked the ShāiKh saying, what is the reason for this Hindi Mašnawi 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 Āya's of the Qurān, and the sweet singers of Hindūrān. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H. (1371-72 A.D.) Zafar Khan died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son.11

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 (Afgh. Text, p 211).
2 Amir Husayn son of the late Amir Miran (Elliott III. 326).
3 Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III. 334).
4 'Ali Shāh the son of the Jām and Tamīch brother of Burānīa were appointed to rule over Thatha.
5 See Elliott III. 371.
6 MS (A) reads حادیاً without dots, and also reads حنی. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.
7 MS. (A) omits مهربان میں.
8 MS. (A) reads وسرت را از استحکام کی حالت فریاد روی میدان و
9 MS (A) reads بہبیدین ائد.
10 According to Fīrūzta, Zafar Khan died in 775 H. and was succeeded by his elder son Darya Khan.
Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A.D.) an event distressing to the people (death) happened to Fath Khān; and in this year Shamsu-d-Din Dāmaghānī having obtained the yellow girdle and the Chandol of silver, that is to say, the palanquin of honour, was appointed governor of Gujrat in place of Zafar Khān; and since he had boasted when accepting the post on his departure, that he would send to the Court every year a hundred splendid elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves, Muqaddamzādas1 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-I-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarrih Sultanī.5

And in the year 779 H. (1377-78 A.D.) he marched towards Itāwa and Akchak, and having sent the Raīs of these districts with their families to Dihli, built many fortresses on these frontiers; then having left Firozpur and Batalhī, in charge of the son of Malik Tāju-d-Din, and having given Akchak to Malik Afghān returned to Dihli. In this year also Malik Niẓāmu-d-Din the ruler of Ondh, 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 Simnā and passing through Shahabad and Ambala, he came to the country at the foot of Sintūr hills,7 and receiving many presents from

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1 Muqaddamzāda has the same meaning as Khānasād, corn in the house.
2 Briggs’ “Amur Judeeda” is in the original text Amir-i-Sada as in Badāoni.
3 We see from Firīshā that it was now he acquired the title Farhatu-I-Mulk (Bo. text, p. 267).
4 Firīshā gives the reason of this expedition, which was a rebellion of the zamindars of Itāwa. Instead of Akchak, Firīshā reads Akhal. He says Atāwa, Akhal, and Tilāī.
5 Til. Firīshā.
6 Rs. (A).
7 Firīshā says بادیاس کوٽہ مہارن پور. To the foot of the hills of Bahāranpur.
the Rais and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital and summoning Malik-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, who held the title of Nusrat Khān, from the district of Karra and Mahoba, appointed him to the Multān district, with a view to close the door to Mughul intrigues: he then confirmed Karra and Mahoba together with all their dependencies upon the son of Malik-sh-Sharq, Salāmān the son of Malik Marwān, whose adopted son was Saiyid Khāzi Khān, the grandfather of Sultan ‘Alā’-d-Dīn Bādāoi 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 Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid ‘Alā’-d-Dīn his brother, who were Governors of Bādāoi. The rebellious Khūkhar fled towards the hills of Kumāon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khitāb the Afghan in the country of Sambhāl to deal with the rebellion of Khūkhar, and turned back after having made over Bādāoi to Malik Qābul; Qābulpūra which at present is a quarter of Bādāoi lying outside the fort is called after his name; also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaithal country.

And in the year 787 H. he built a fortified town in a place called Babūli, which is seven krohs from Bādāoi and is better

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1 MS. (A).
2 MS. (A).
3 Firishta calls him Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn Buleimān.
4 MS. (A) reads, Firishta reads موسوم بکرکر مکتب کبیر. The chief of Kaithar called Kharkū.
5 Firishta says Saiyid Muḥammad, governor of Bādāoi with his brothers Saiyid ‘Alā’-d-Dīn and Saiyid Muḥammad.
6 Kharkū (Firishta).
7 Malik Daurd Afghān, Firishta calls him سنبل (A), Firishta says he had given Malik Da’ūd order to ravage the country year by year.
8 Possibly from the abundance thereof of the Acacia Arābica known as Babul or Kikar. However Firishta calls it ہے رخیمی. Basūli.
known as Mawās, and gave it the name of Firuẓpūr, and, since in later times no other building was ever erected by the Sultan it became commonly known as Ḥirūn pūr. 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.

Khwān-i-Jahān the Vāvir 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 Muḥammad Khān and some of the other Malik who were hand in glove with him, by this means turned the Sultan against him, and gave him a fixed idea that this 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 Amīrs. The Shāhzāda, 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 Khwān-i-Jahān, so that the tables were turned. Obtaining carte blanche from the Sultan to defeat and exterminate Khwān-i-Jahān, and having brought over to his

1 Or Mawās. MS (A)
2 MS (A) (P) kāla-i-ṭawāsh.
3 c. Last city.
4 MS (A) omits Zomīn
5 Bruggs sayd Zulfar Khān Tarsy—but this is not in the text. This was Jānān Shāh who has been mentioned, see next page, note 7.
6 MS (A) Ḥāder-ṭansān aw lādār.
7 Fairhurst tells us that he came in concealed in a woman’s litter under the pretence that his own wife was visiting the Sultan’s harem.
8 MS (A) P. 88
side, the iruži Amir and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajub, 769 H. (1367 A.D.) he started with a strong force to attack Khan-i-Jahan, and having wounded him plundered his houses and family. Khan-i-Jahan fled with a few followers towards Miwät, and took refuge there with one Kukā a Zamīndār, and the Shahzāda destroyed certain of the Amir's who had been well-disposed to Khan-i-Jahan. Subsequently to this the Shahzāda became Vāzir 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 Nāṣiru-d-Dīn wa-ud Duniyā Muhammad Shāh, in the month of Sha'ban 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 Kinhū the names of both kings used to be mentioned; Sultan Muhammad ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amir, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Ya'qūb the title of Sikandar Khān appointed him to attack Khan-i-Jahan in Miwät; Kukā-Chihān a Zamīndār of Miwät bound Khān-i-Jahan and sent him to Sikandar Khān who put him to death, and having sent his head as a present to the Court of Muhammad Shāh set out for Gujrat.

And in the year 790 H. (1388 A.D.) Muhammad Shāh arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmūr hills, and Malik Muftarih who was in Gujrat, in unison with the Amir's of hundreds put Sikandar Khān to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

MS (A) نفیغی گرفته.

2 Having first put to death Zafar Khan (Firzhta).
3 Firzhta calls him Kükāe Chahanān.
4 See Thomas' Pathun Kings pp 297 and 305.
5 The word "must be inserted here though no copy has it."}

MS. (A) الیمیدار دریات

6 MS (A) امتنع الین

7 MS (A) بختیار رستاہی. The first Khan-i-Jahan was according to 'Afl originally a Hindu. He was a native of Telingana and a man of high position in favour with the Rāi of that country. His name was Katal, but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqbūl. 'Afl states that he died in 707 A.H. and when he died all Dihli went into mourning. This Khan-i-Jahan was his son Jahan Khan.

8 MS. (A) ریتہ شد.
came with the Sīnākālīr to Dībīl; Muhammad Shāh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterizes youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khān, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sultan’s soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samān-d-Dīn and Kamāl-d-Dīn, who were the protegés of Muhammad Shāh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahiru-d-Dīn Lāhori whom the Shāhrūd had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muhammad Shāh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shāhzāda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shāhzāda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultan, so that they took refuge with the Sultan Firūz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sultan’s body servants found themselves in strait, 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 Shāh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultan Firūz they left fighting and came over to the Sultan. Muhammad Shāh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirhūr hills, and the army of the Sultan, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muhammad Shāh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultan at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muhammad Shāh from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughrā Khān the son of Fath Khān, his grandson, the title of Tughrā Shāh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughrā Shāh beheaded Mir Ḥasan the son-in-law of the Sultan, who was a special favourite of Muhammad Shāh, and having exiled Ḥālib Khān the governor of Samāna, sent him to the country of Bihār. On the sixteenth of Ramāżān in the year 790 H. Sultan Firūz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

1 So Firīshī. Briggs says here, p. 60, “placed his grandson Ghias-ud-Deen ...... upon the throne.” The text is خیال خیال ولد شاهزاده فتح خان. Tughrā Shāh the son of the Shāhrūd Fath Khān. This was Ghīṣā-d-Dīn Tughrā Shāh II.
Iran-i-Shāh, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well-known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death: Wafat-i-Firuz and Nagl-i-Firuz Shāh, the second of these being deficient by one unit.¹ The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months.²

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
In the dust one man is no better than another.
When a drop is thrown into the river
It cannot again be recognized.
The nature of the Heavens is to overthrow,
It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate.
Who knows with the blood of what hearts
This stirred up dust has been mixed!
Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild sea.³

Among the poets of the reign of Firuz Shāh and his boon-companions, is Malik Ahmad, the son of Amir Khurshīd, 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.⁴

Hail! thou whose cap of empire snatchèd in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.
And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

Hail to thee! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

¹ Wafat-i-Firuz. These words give the value 780 while Nagl-i-Firuz Shāh gives 789.
² Firishta says nearly forty years, p. 271, Ho. text.
³ That is to say, it is not really dust but the remnant of living animals.
⁴ Zahir-ud-Din Tahir ibn Muhammad, a contemporary of Jamali-ud-Din Ishtahani and Hakim Khāqani Shirwānī, was a native of Faryab.
He died in the year 593 H. and is buried at Sarkhāb of Tabrīz which has been called “the sepulchre of the Poets.” His poetry was held in great estimation. (ஏஹயஙு பபாந்தா Il, 280) see also Beale O. B. D., p. 286.
⁵ MS. (A) reads for خبازی جباری, see also footnote to text.
and in place of سَمَلْ (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read سَفِح (thrown) : 1 and another in this verse

ابن سَمَلْ فِرَاء ٌ كَذِبَ كَذِبَ صَفِح
فِرَاء مُفَضَّلَة ٌ خِوَامِسَةَ كَذِبَ كَذِبَ

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur. If he had asked bread from the Khwaja, what could I have done?

which was thus written,

بَن سَمَلْ فِرَاء ٌ كَذِبَ كَذِبَ خِوَامِسَةَ

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

غَرْمَشْقُ خَرَابْهُ مَعَ دَرْتِهِ يَُكَشَّرُ صَوْرَج

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,

غَرْمَشْقُ خَوَائِحَ مَنْكَ دَرْتِ مَشْتَرِي صَوْرَج

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 Khusrau, 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:

رَبِّي مُلَحْدِنَةُ ٍ قَرْنُو اَزْ َرْبِي نُسْلَهُ كَالَّا ُرِصْشَهُ َرُدُ ْنُكََ ْنٍِ ّرُبٍِّ

Gügir-d-i-Ahm (Sulphur). The red Gügird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in Al-Iksir (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called Abûl-arwâh (Father of spirits), they call this Abûl-ajsaâd (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (Burhân-i-qâji'.).
Another poet was Manlāna Mažhar Karrā, whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnautī and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Muslim 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 Qāzi '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 KHAñ ibN Sultān Firūz

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of
the Amir in the year 780 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with
the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn
Tughlaq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amirs to oppose
Muḥammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sīrmūr). Muḥam-
mad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nāgar Kōt,
and the army of Tughlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty of the
way turned back (to Dhih) and Abu Bakr Kūr son of Zafār Kūr
and grandson of Fath Kūr, who was his brother's son: being
panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father, and Malik Ruḵu-

1. In the Ḥajmah al Fūṣṭāh he is called Mažhar-i-Hindi Qāṣi of Agra (? Karrā)
the panegyrist of Firūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The Atāṣh Kada-
i-Aqūr merely mentions his name as Mažharī.

2. Neither the Ḥajmah al Fūṣṭāh nor Atāṣh Kada-i-Aqūr mention this poet.

5 Nis. (A).

6 Nis. (A).
d-Din Chanda Wazir, in concert with other Amirs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khan, and killed Malik (Mubarak) Kabir¹ in Firázábâd at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shâh, and having pursued Tughlaq Shâh and Khan-i-Jahân the Wazir² when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads³ over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Safar⁴ in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shâh, was five months and eighteen days.⁵

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 BAHR SHÂH IBN ZAFAR KHAN [IBN FAITH KHAN?] IBN FIRÛZ SHÂH.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shâh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amirs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amirs, and raised Rukn-ud-Din Chanda to the dignity of Vazir, and eventually, when he heard that Rukn-ud-Din in concert with certain of the Amirs, was plotting sedition, and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Diblí and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amirs of hundreds of Sâmâna cut to pieces Malik Sultan Shâh Khushdil, the Amir of Sâmâna, who had been sent against the Sultan Muhammad Shâh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sâmâna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shâhzâda Muhammad Shâh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muhammad Shâh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sâmâna by way of Jelândhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

¹ MS. (A) omits بارک. Firâshtha calls him Amîrûn-1-Umarâ.
² Firâshtha tells us that this was Malik Firûz 'Alison of Malik Tâju-ud-Dîn.
³ MS. (A) inserts ب.
⁴ MS. (A) inserts "5th of Safar.
⁵ MS. (A) writes بیکجا بود و موزه 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 Rabi'ul Awal in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.), and in the following month of Rabi'ul Aakhir of the same year, set out to capture Delhi with a force of 50,000, and alighted at the palace of Jahān Nūmā where he bestowed upon the Amirs suitable appointments; among others he conferred upon the Governor of Multān the title of Khīr Khān, and Aḥū Bakr Shāh having raised an army for the assistance of Bahādur Nāhir Khān Zāda of Miwāt, on the (2nd) of Jumādīn-I Awwal of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Firāūbdād with Muḥammad Shāh, and gained the day. Muḥammad Shāh, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doabh, and sent Humāyūn Khān his younger son to Sāmāna, and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amirs of Hindustān with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Delhi. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Aḥū Bakr Shāh and was again defeated, and Aḥū Bakr Shāh pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Chāptār, which is a town on the banks of the Ganges, and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muḥarram of the year 792 H. (1389-90 A.D.) Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān having called together many Amirs from the frontier of Sāmāna to reinforce him, laid waste the country round Delhi, engaged in battle in the neighbourhood of Panipath with ʿImād-ul-Mulk who had been sent by Aḥū Bakr (Shāh) with four thousand cavalry to oppose him, and being defeated retreated towards Sāmāna. And in the month of Jumādīn-I Awwal of the aforesaid year Aḥū Bakr Shāh marched for Chāptār (Chitar) with a strong force, with the object of opposing Muḥammad Shāh, and had encamped at a distance of twenty kroh from Delhi, when Muḥammad Shāh with
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; Abū Bekr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihli, and having put to death Malik Bahān-d-Dīn Jangī whom Muhammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palaces of Humayun, and Muhammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the dome of the Hauz-i-Kāfisā, fled again with all haste to Chapter (Chitār) his original abode and asylum. Many of his noted Amirs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bekr Shāh, still the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū Bekr Shāh, and in the month of Ramāzān in the aforesaid year, Mubashīr Chap and some of the slaves of Firūz Shāh’s party who had been promoted to the rank of Amir, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bekr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence with Muhammad Shāh, and invited him; Abū Bekr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Behādār Nāhir set his face to go to Kotīā of Miwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and Imād-ud-Dīn Mulk and Malik Bāhīr and Safdar Kān in Dihli; then Muhammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amirs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashīr Chap, 1 Firāshta says 6,000 chosen Cavalry.

2 Firāshta says, and another been a grudge against Abū Bekr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence with Muhammad Shāh, and invited him; 6 Abū Bekr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Behādār Nāhir set his face to go to Kotīā of Miwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and Imād-ud-Dīn Mulk and Malik Bāhīr and Safdar Kān in Dihli; then Muhammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amirs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashīr Chap,

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1 Firāshta says was 6,000 chosen Cavalry.
2 Firāshta says, and another been a grudge against Abū Bekr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence with Muhammad Shāh, and invited him; 6 Abū Bekr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Behādār Nāhir set his face to go to Kotīā of Miwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and Imād-ud-Dīn Mulk and Malik Bāhīr and Safdar Kān in Dihli; then Muhammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amirs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashīr Chap,

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Having received the title of Ihlam Khan, was promoted to the rank of Vazir, and after some time he left Firuzshah and went to the palace of Hamayun, Jahān (Humā), and gave orders for the slaves of the Firuz party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustān were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation, and were put to the sword. Abū Bakr Shāh, after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the Kotila (of Mīwāt) just as he was till Muḥammad Shāh by continuous marches came against him, and Bahadur Nāhir Mīwāt and Abū Bakr Shāh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultan Muḥammad Shāh. Bahadur Nāhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abū Bakr Shāh in the fort of Mirath. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H. (1390-91 A.D.) the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shāh was a year and a half.

1 MS. (A) omits he.

2 This passage is not intelligible in itself, but Firzths account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muḥammad Shāh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes, 

Muḥammad Shāh said "whoever among you instead of Khári says Khári, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words, but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word Khári signified brackish as applied to water; natives of Eastern Bengal however also the word Khári in place of Khári, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word pišni, water.
Verse.

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verse.

This world is like a corpse upon which there are
thousands of vultures

[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak]¹
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

Sultan Muhammad Shāh ibn Feroz 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,² and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Mufarrīh Sultānī governor of Unjāt revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajihū-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 791 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the rāmīndārs (land-holders) of the Doāb³ breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāī⁴ defeated him, while the Sultan went as far as Qanaaj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chitrā ⁵ 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 Muqarraba-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

¹ Not in MS. (A.)
² MS. (A) reads:

سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت برادرزاده خود ابوبكر
در سنگ مذکور اتفاقی عيان دولت و رکان سلطنت بر صوبہ دهلی دم
از استقلال زد.

³ MS. (A) omits معرس.
⁴ Rāj of Itāwa.
⁵ See Thomas, Pathān Kings, 307 n. 1.
This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firishta's account.

For Jalesar see Hunter Imp. Gaz., VII, 103.
Ilâwa, who by promises and engagements induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qanaúj, where he put them to death and returned to Muhàmmadâbâd. And in the month of Shawwál in this year, the Sultân was attacked by illness; taking advantage of this Bahâdur Nâhir made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dihlî. The Sultân notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; Bahâdur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sultân victorious and triumphant returned to Muhàmmadâbâd, 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 Shâhzâda Humâyûn Khân to oppose Shâikhâ Khûkhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Ihrôrâ, but the Shâhzâda was still in the city when the Sultân 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-Khâss: the duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Mânavi.

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.

Sultân 'Alû-û-Dîn Sikandar Shâh ibn-û-Muhàmmad Shâh ibn-û-Firuz Shâh,

Who bore the name of Humâyûn Khân, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

1 MS. (A) 2. 3. 4. 5.
Rabi‘n-1-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.

The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shihzada, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqamat ‘Hariri I have seen a Maqamat from this work].

Sultan Mahmud Shah ‘Inn-i-Muhammad Shah,

Who was his youngest son, ascended the throne on the twentieth of Jumidi-l-Awwal in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amir, with the title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khan, he made him his heir apparent, and confirmed to the Amir 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 Sultanu-sh-Shara upon Khwaja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bihur with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jajnagar and took possession of it,

1 And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Haur-i-Khāṣ. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firigha).

2 The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).

3 Firigha also says كورچکرْسن پرسواک the youngest of his son. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of."

4 MS. (A) omits سلیمانت.

5 Text reads جمعہ الدبیثی، but this is I venture to think wrong.

6 The text reads حرکم اطمانت بہ دعیت, but this is I venture to think wrong. MS. (A) reads حرکم اطمانت and taking this together with Firigha’s reading, we should, I think read حرکم اطمائنت "relying upon the allegiance."

Firigha reads: جامعہ اکبر و ابرار ہاواں بہمت کردہ مرودرقم فرمان کردن.

7 Firigha says became Vakilu-s-Salṭanat and Amir-i-Umarī.

8 MS. (A) reads لوالی و خطابات.

9 So also Firigha. Briggs however converts this into "Multik-oos-Shark,"
p. 478.

10 Firigha says Jampur.
acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhwanti began to send elephants annually as presents to Dihli.

He also rebuilt the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malata, Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khan to the district of Dībālpūr to quell the rising of Shaikhā Khükhar. And in the month of Zā Qā'dash of the same year Shaikhā Khükhar fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Sāmothala which is twelve krohes from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamān; Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother Ādil Khān, and returned towards Dībālpūr.

And in the month of Sha'bān of this year Sultān Mahmūd leaving Muṣarrab Khān as his Viceroy in Dīhli, and taking with him Sa'ādat Khān, who was commonly known as 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, marched in the direction of Bāna and Ghāliān. In obedience to the order of the Sultan a spacious chief mosque built of stones was erected in the town of Bānāwār, and is standing at the present time, and when the Sultan arrived near Ghāliān, Malik 'Alī-ud-Dīn Dāhrvāl, and Mello Khan, the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān, son of Malik Bājī, conspired against Sa'ādat Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alī-ud-Dīn and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.

1 MS. (A) Dalma. 2 MS. (A) Dalmar. 3 MS. (A) Dālah. 4 MS. (A) Dalmar. 5 MS. (A) Dalmar. 6 MS. (A) supplies Kārā. 7 Firīzhta says "advancing from Ajūdhan." 8 Firīzhta does not give the name of the place. 9 MS. (A) reads 'Ibrādūr Khoshīsh ḫādī Khān. 10 MS. (A) repeats the words. 11 MS. (A) reads Makhram Khān, Rā. 12 Firīzhta says "advancing from Ajūdhan." 13 MS. (A) omits ḫādī. 14 MS. (A) omits Muḥammar. 15 Firīzhta calls this man Mello Khān. 16 So also Firīzhta. 17 Firīzhta writes Dāhrvāl. 18 Badāmī apparently always uses the term of capital punishment.
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 Mallo Khan, entrenched himself and prepared to fight and remained in his fortified position three mouths, 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 Firuzbad, and acting in concert with some of the Amir summoned Nusrat Khan son of Fath Khan and grandson of Sultan Firuz Shah from Mewat, and set him upon the throne in the month of Bakri-i-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nasiru-d-Din Nusrat Shah. Nusrat 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 Nusrat 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 paralyzed and helpless, and of necessity took to flight and came

1 MS. (A) omit z.A.  
2 MS. (A) z.J.  
3 This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firuzsha writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khan came out to receive the Sultan and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Mallow 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 Birkak, 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." (Firuzsha, Bo. text p. 279). Cf. Driggs, p. 490.  
4 Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firuzsha).  
5 The text reads Nusrat Khan bin Fath Khan bin Sultan Firuzsha. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.  
6 MS. (A) z. 
Dihli, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khan, and was treacherously put to death by him: then the Amirs of Nusrat Shah's faction such as Muhammad Muzaffar Vazir and Shihab Nahir and Malik Fazl-Illah Balkhi, and the slaves of Firuz Shah's party one and all renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sultan Nusrat Shah and divided the appointments afresh.

Sultan Mahmud was known as King in Dihli, while in Firuzabad Nusrat Shah enjoyed that title, and Muqarrab Khan placed the citadel of old Dihli under the command of Bahadur Nahir Mivati, and bestowed upon Malloo 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 Nusrat Shah retained possession of the country of the Doab, and Santhal, Pannath, Robak, and Jahjua, while a few old ruined forts such as Dihli 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-‘Alam) is from Dihli to Palam. And all over Hindustan there are 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 Dihli party got the better of the Firuzabud party and at another time the positions were reversed.

1 MS. (A) omits بکلی.
2 'استخلاب' بکلی.
3 MS. (A) omits مدن.
4 See Thomas' Pathan Kings, 312, note 1, and 315, note 1.
5 MS. (A) omits خلی.
6 Firizhta states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out.
7 For a space of three years (Firizhta).
8 That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter.
10 'الؤم-الؤدی-الؤم az Dihli tā Palam.
11 Ben Thomas' Pathan Kings, p. 315 n. 1.
12 MS. (A) بکلی.
Verse.

1. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.

And in the year 788 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the Mardad-i-'Ali, 6 Khizr Khan, the Amir of Multan, and Sârang Khân the ruler of Dipâlpûr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwân, who was the tutor of Malik Suleimân the father of Khizr Khan, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sârang Khân the governor of Dipâlpûr, 7 Multân passed from the possession of Khizr Khan to that of Sârang Khân, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sârang Khân having overcome 4 Ghâlib Khân the governor of Sâmâna, and Tâtâr Khân the Wâli of Pânipath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihli. 5 Sultan Nusrat Shâh sent Malik Ilyâs 5 a slave of the Firûz Shâhi party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tâtâr Khân. He accordingly drove Sârang Khân out of Sâmâna and delivered it to Ghâlib Khân. 7

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; Sârang Khân was defeated 3 and fled towards Multân, and Tâtâr Khân proceeded to the frontier of Tilâundi, and sending Kamâl al-Dîn Mubin in pursuit of Sârang Khân, returned. And in the month of Râbi‘î-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned, 6 Mirzâ Pir Muḥammad, grandson 10 of the

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1 The Burhân-i-Qāfî.
great Amir Timur Gurgan, King of Khurasan and Mawarana-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus and was besieging the fortress of Uchh. 'Ali Mulik, Sarang Khan’s lieutenant, fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malik Taju-d-Din Bakhtyär arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sarang Khan, Mirza Pir Muhammad left Uchh, and taking Malik Taju-d-Din Bakhtyär and his thousand sowlars unawares in their position on the banks of the river Bihar, attacked them. The greater number of Malik Taju-d-Din’s force fell by the sword. While those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction, and Mirza Pir Muhammad, after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed, and invested the fortress of Multan. Sarang Khan held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mirza, who took up his station in Multan pending the arrival of the great Timur.

1 Ms. (A) برب. Gurgan. The exact meaning of this title has been much disputed; the most recent opinion is that of Dr. Erdmann, according to whom “Kurkan or Gurgan stands for ‘son-in-law’ or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some ‘mighty monarch.’” In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used, he tells us by Rashidu-d-Din. He also tells us that Kurkan or Gurgan represents the Chinese expression Fu-ma and that the Amir Timur was called Avsr Fu-ma by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chuan-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. Fu-ma in fact means “son-in-law” in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word.”

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the Turki-Rashidi by Elian and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille’s Turki Dictionary, we find "Avsr Fu-ma" prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Menguis-Khan: prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi: prince né de parents issus de Khans qui épouse la fille d’un Khan: surnom de Timour; savant, brave, pr.” See also Xin-i-Akbar (B) I. 464 n.

2 By a bridge of boats (Firishita).

3 By a bridge (Firishita).

4 MS. (B) omits the words برش." (Firishita).

5 Firishita says Jurhun "Firishita says Jurhun.

6 MS. (A) omits the words برش." (Firishita).

7 MS. (A) omits the words برش." (Firishita)

8 Firishita tells us that Malik Taju-d-Din escaped with a few men and fled to Multan.

9 Being compelled by famine (Firishita).
And in the month of Shawwal in the aforesaid year Iqbal Khan, who is better known as Mallo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sultan Nusrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahānumā,\(^1\) taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sultan Mahmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādar Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihli. On the third day from this Iqbal Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nusrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise; Nusrat Shāh fled from Jahānumā and came to Fīrūzābād,\(^2\) and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vāsir at Pānipath. The whole of the army and elephants of Nusrat Shāh fell into the hands of the sultān Iqbal Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbal Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amir peace was established between these two leaders, but after a few days Iqbal Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,\(^3\) and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sultan Mahmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month of Zād Qa’dah of the aforesaid year Iqbal Khān wrested Pānipath by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and raised all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqbal Khān, had left Pānipath 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 Gujrat with a large following to join his father.\(^5\) Iqbal Khān coming to Dihli bestowed upon Malik Nasīr-ul-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of 'Adil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Doṣb.

And in the month of Safar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amir

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\(^{1}\) MS (A) reads یہ چیہ نہا نا جیہن ہا in the text.

\(^{2}\) MS (A) reads نِک،.

\(^{3}\) MS (A) reads یہ.

\(^{4}\) MS (A) reads یہ.

\(^{5}\) Firahita says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

\(^{6}\) MS (A) reads ممکن کر.

\(^{7}\) Ms. (A) reads یہ. A Turkī word signifying "province, vilale, pays, etc" according to M. Favez do Courtellis.

\(^{8}\) His father Zafar Khan (Firahita)
Timūr the Great attacked the town of Tulamba,¹ and taking Maltān, put to the sword² the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sarang Khan whom Mirzā Pir Muḥammad had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhaṭ,³ and having taken prisoner Rāj Jālīn,⁴ Bhaṭi 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 Sarhati,⁵ 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,⁶ and sweeping the greater part of the country

¹ Text tbody {background-color: #F4F4F4} MS. (A) tbody {background-color: #F4F4F4} Fīrīṣṭa ḍiyāl. Tulamba (see Hunter Imp. Res. X. 163) is shown in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab; Tangana being at the junction of the Chenāb and Rāvi {Tiss. III.).

Fīrīṣṭa says "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamū and the Chenah meet where there was a strong fortress called Tulamba." Bṛgga says "to the confines of the Chenah with the Bavy."

From Tulamba Fīrīṣṭa 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 Bhaṭnār. Shāhnawāz is shown in Rennell's map on the eastern bank of the Rāvi, Long 72° E. Lat 30.5 N. Ajūdhan is Pak Pātan, and is about 90 miles S. W of Shāhnawāz. Here is the tomb of Shāhīr Fardā-ud-Din Gānji Shukkar which was visited by Timūr. From Ajūdhan to Bhaṭnār is about 50 miles. Fīrīṣṭa says from Khaḷīṣ-kol to Bhaṭnār is fifty Kho. See Elliot, III I.II. 415 et seq. for the description of this campaign translated from the Nafṣwāt-i Timūrī. Timūr calls Khaḷīṣ kūl, Khaḷīṣ Kōhali, and says it is ten kes from Ajūdhan and fifty from Bhaṭnār.

² MS. (A) tbody {background-color: #F4F4F4} بھٹ پہلے بھٹ Bhatpur This should be پہلے بھٹ Bhaṭnār, see note 1 above. Fīrīṣṭa says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khaḷīṣ kūl) and Bhaṭnār in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

³ The Bombay text of Fīrīṣṭa has زار خلیج Rāj Khāḷīj, see also Bṛgga Fīrīṣṭa p. 488 footnote. Both MSS. agree with the text in giving Rāj Jālīn as the name of the governor of the fort. The Nafṣwāt-i Timūrī calls him Rāj Bīl Chāh, see Elliot III I.II. 422-423.

⁴ On the 3rd of Rāba'īn-ul-Awwal.

⁵ 5th of Rāba'īn-ul-Awwal. See Elliot III I.II. 426-428.

⁶ MS. (A) tbody {background-color: #F4F4F4} بھٹ پہلے بھٹ Bhatper This should be پہلے بھٹ Bhaṭnār, see note 1 above. Fīrīṣṭa says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khaḷīṣ kūl) and Bhaṭnār in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

⁷ MS. (A) tbody {background-color: #F4F4F4} بھٹ پہلے بھٹ Bhatper This should be پہلے بھٹ Bhaṭnār, see note 1 above. Fīrīṣṭa says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khaḷīṣ kūl) and Bhaṭnār in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.
with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lāni, not far from Dihli; 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 Jamaīdu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Firūzābād and the next day encamped above the Ḥauz-i-Khāyā. Iqbal Khan having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city, 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, Iqbal Khan and Saltān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

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1 Lāni, seven miles N.N.W. of Dihli. Tisbīl. I. 133. Lourī ville entre deux peuples et musique d’un fort. Timūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī‘u-l-Awwal. Lāni was situated on a Dōb between the Jamna and the Halin.

2 MS. (A) یاری بھی.

3 MS. (A) یاری بھی.

4 The reward of the ғیزā “Ghāzi” or one who fights in the cause of Islam 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 (Newb. XVII, 1).

5 The ғیزā or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur’ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (See Hughes Dict. of Islam, Art. Ḥijāb).

6 Firūshī states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbal Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Ḥauz-i-Khāyā; and see Elliott, III. 438, cf seqq.

7 The date given by Badāūnī is apparently wrong, as the Mafīzūt-i-Timārī says that Timūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabī‘u-l-Akkhir. See Elliott, III. 443 and note 1.

8 MS. (A) omits یا یا and writes یا.

9 Not in MS. (A) which reads گلا گلا.
in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight. 1 Sultan Mahmund fled straight to Gujrat, 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 Dilli, 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, 2 and took them all off towards Transoxiana; eventually Sheikh Ahmad Khattu 3 whose tomb is well known at Sar Khoz 4 in Gujarat near to Ahmedabad, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timur, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvish, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again 5 the learned doctors who were with the

1 On the 7th Rabii’u-l-Akhir.
2 Shirista. See Elliott, III. 447.
3 MS. (A).
4 Sheikh Ahmad Khattu was born at Dilli A.H. 787 (A.D. 1330) of noble family, of that city. His name was Nasiru-d-Din. He was a disciple of Baba Ishaq Moghribi, and came to Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Gujarati (A.D. 1411-13). He was buried in Sarkhej near Ahmedabad, (Ain-i-Akbah [Jarrott], III. 371).
5 Sheikh Ahmad Khattu surnamed Ganjbad was surnamed from Khattu a village near Nagor, the residence of his spiritual guide Baba Ishaq Moghribi. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places, he came back to Gujarat and settled first at Sarkhej, and afterwards at Ahmedabad, in the building of which he was associated with Sultan Ahmad, A.H. 813-20.
6 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 Bayley, History of Gujarat, pp. 90-91, notes.
7 The text reads سركم أحمد إبراهيم ride Ain-i-Akbari (Bloehmann), Text, II. 220.
8 The text of Badasoni reads مركم. MS. (A) reads مركم.
9 Tessenthalor, I. 277 speaks of it as follows—“A trois milles de Guzarate se trouvo Sarkela, village ou est le mahnoor crounst d’arcs frais par Gaus Ahmad Roi du Guzarate.” again at page 375 we find “Gaus Ahmad, dont le magnifique tombeau porté par des arcades voutées, a rendez fameux le village de Sarkela, distants de 3 milles de la ville.”

Sarkhej was three miles South-East from Aswol in the vicinity of which Ahmadabad was built by Sultan Ahmad, 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.)

6 MS. (A).
Transoxiana force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Timur 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 Maqamat of the Shaikh. A few days after this victory Khizr Khan and Bahadur Nahir Miwati, who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Miwāt, came in and paid their respects to the Great Timur; 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  "(Rakha, affluence, prosperity) and  " (Khār, a thorn); and Sheikh Khākhār, also, who had formerly served the Amir and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sāvar Khand, 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 Dipāipur and Multān to Khizr Khān he

1 MS. (A) قبول نفرصیده

2 On Friday the 24th of Rabi'-ul-Ākhīr according to the Malfuzät-i-Timūrī, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

3 Badānū omits to mention the capture of Mirat (29th Rabi'ul-Ākhīr) and the victories on the Ganges (Jamādi-ul-Awwal 1st to 15th).

4 According to the account in the Malfuzät-i-Timūrī this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādūr Nāhir by Timūr at Kūtla.

5 Both of these words give the date.  

6 Timūr captured, seven forts in the Siwalik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikh Khukhar and was taken about the 15th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal (Elliott III. 457). Malik Shaikh Khukhar was brother of Nasrat Khukhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sultan Mahmūd of Dīlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pir Muḥammad and Bustam and Amir Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Timūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The Malfuzät-i-Timūrī states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jābān, Sambast, Baroja to Attōck where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādī-ul-Ākhīr and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also Zafr Nāma of Yarīdī, Elliott III. 520-52.
said to him! 'I have taken Dihli and have made a present of it to you.' Leaving Lahor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kabul to his capital Samarqand while Khizr Khan went to his own territory (jegir).

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihli that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihli. In this interval Sultan Nusrat Shah, who after his defeat by Iqbal Khan had gone into the Doab, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mirath and thence to Firuzabad, and fortified the city of Dihli. ‘Adil Khan 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 Shihab Khan to proceed to Baran against Iqbal Khan. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindus attacked Shihab Khan suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbal Khan 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 Shah, became more and more entangled. Iqbal Khan leaving Baran, started in the direction of Dihli, and Nusrat Shah leaving Firuzabad made for Miwät where he died, and the four quarters of Hindustan came under the dominion of Maliks of the various tribes.

Then in the year 802 H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbal Khan marched against Shams Khan Akhadi the ruler of Baihana, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nah and Patal; fortune favoured Iqbal Khan and Shams Khan proceeded to Baihana. Iqbal Khan led his army towards Kaither and exacted contributions of money and services from Rai Harsingh. And in this same year Khwaja-i-Jahân was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpâr.

1 MS. (A) reads here حوائلة نمودر برواية ميريت.
2 Firigha tells us the names of these various independent rulers. See Briggs I. 498.
3 According to Firigha this was in 808 H.
4 MS. (A) رأى هرصنگک رائ هارسینگ was Rai of Itâra. By Kaithar or Katâhar is meant Rohilkhand. See Thomas Pathân Kings, p. 325, note 3.
Quatrains.

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,¹ having assumed the title of Mubarak Shāh, took his place.

And in Jamāid-1-Awwal ² in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Bāīāna and Mubarak Khān son of Bahādur Nahīr had an interview with Iqbal Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitāli on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kāḷāpānī, with Rāi Sir ³ the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultanu-sh-Shārq Mubarak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but insomuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned ⁴ to their own country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbal Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubarak Khān.⁵

In this same year Turkbacha Sultanī, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khizr Khān near Ajudhān, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālib Khān in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

¹ His adopted son Malik Wāsil.
² All MSS. write this constantly جمشید الأول instead of جمشید الأول.
³ Firishṭa (Bo. text) says.
⁴ Whence he arrived at the township of Baitāli on the banks of the Ganges Rī Sir ... came out to oppose him.
⁵ Briggs says:—"When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Rāy of Serinagar ... opposed him."

The Kāḷāpānī is the Kāli Naddī or Kālinī (see Hunter Imp. Gazett. VII, 327) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Timūr calls it the Karāsū (Black water), Elliott, III. 452.

⁴ The text here is wrong; for read پاز کشند MS. (A).
⁵ MS (A) only says Shams Khān, but Firishṭa's account includes Mubarak Khān 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 Dhâr, and although Iqbal Khan went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahân Nama palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbal Khán was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultan Mahmûd became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Maliku-sh-Sharq Mubarak Shah died, and his younger brother Sultan Ibrahim succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultan Mahmûd and Iqbal Khán. Sultan Mahmûd before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbal Khán under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultan Ibrahim, who treated him with scant ceremony; Sultan Mahmûd accordingly removed Shâhzâda Fath Khán of Herât, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mubârak Shah, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj, both people and soldiery, joined Sultan Mahmûd, and Sultan Ibrahim returned to Jaunpûr, while Iqbal Khán retraced his steps towards Dihli, so that Sultan Mahmûd was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbal Khán made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwâliâr, which Râi Harsingh had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timûr, and wresting it from the possession of Bairâm Dev the son of Harsingh, took it into his own control.

And in the year 806 H. (1403 A.D.) Tâtâr Khán the son of Zafar Khán, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asâwal, 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 Khán administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khán and the whole army joined him.
Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbal Khan marched towards Gyaliar and Itawa, the Rais of which districts fell too refuge within the fortress of Itawa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbal Khan leaving there came to Qanauj, and fought with Sultan Mahmud, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dibli without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muharram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Samaana, and from thence came to Rupar, and by stratagem laid hands upon Bahram Khan Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sarang Khan, and flayed his head. Leaving Rupar he proceeded towards Multan, intending to fight with Khizr Khan, and at Talanga taking with him Rai Kausud-d-Din Mubin and the other Zamindars, 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

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 Paksattan. Lat. 30° 20' 40'' N. Long. 73° 25' 50'' E. It is known as Paksattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Farida-d-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 اجودھان دار کیا کے ذریعہ, 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 Iqbāl Khān, 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 Khān pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fathpur, one of the dependencies of Multān. And in the month of Jumāda-1-Āshir of this year Sultān Mahmūd came from Qānānj at the invitation of the Amirs of Dīlī, and once more sat upon the throne of Dīlī, and conferred appointments upon the Amirs, and sent the family of Mūbārak Khān to Kol. And in the month of Jumāda-1-Awwal of the year 809 H. (1406 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd marched with a force towards Qānānj, and Sultān Ibrāhīm came out thence and crossed the Gauges, but they both turned back without fighting.9

Sultān Ibrāhīm went towards Jaunpūr, and Sultān Mahmūd towards Dīlī, but seeing that the Amirs of Sultān Mahmūd’s army were on the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sultān Ibrāhīm turned back and besieged Qānānj; Malik Mahmūd Tarmātī, who was holding Qānānj for Sultān Mahmūd, kept Sultān Ibrāhīm 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 Qānānj to Sultān Ibrāhīm.8 Sultān Ibrāhīm passed the rainy season at Qānānj, and then having made over that district to Ikhtiyār Khān the grandson of Malik Daulat Yār of Kanpīla, started to reduce Dīlī.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajūdhān, and flowing south-west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Badonī’s statement. The town of Ajūdhān is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (A. G. of India 214) says “The ancient town of Ajūdhān is situated on the high bank of the old Satlaj 23 miles to the south-west of Depūr and 10 miles from the present course of the river” (1871 A.D.) But from Badonī’s statement it is clear that Ajūdhān stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pākpatan, see note 2.

1 There is a play on the words Iqbal, good fortune and Idber, bad fortune.

2 According to Fīrishtā Ibrāhīm Shāh was induced to return to Jaunpūr by the intelligence that Manṣūr Shāh of Gajrāt had taken prisoner Alp Khān, commonly called Sultan Hoshang, and was now marching on Jaunpūr.

3 MS. (A)

The text has the words کر کرگر which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS. (A).
And in the year 910 H. (1407 A.D.) Nuṣrat Khān Karkandās, and Tātār Khān the son of Sārnug Khān, and Malik Marhabā the slave of Iqbal Khān, turned against Sultān Mahmūd and joined Sultān Ibrāhīm, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultān Ibrāhīm reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān; then crossing the Ganges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dihli, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār and was making his way to Janpūr; accordingly leaving Malik Marhabā in Baran, he reached Janpūr by continuous marches; Sultān Mahmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marhabā in battle, and taking Sambhal without a fight, left there Bāsad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qamānj and the Sultān came to Dihli. And in this year Khiḍr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna. The Amirā 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 Rohitak and the Doab remained in the possession of Sultān Mahmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd proceeding to Hissār Firuz took it from Qiwmān Khān to whom Khiḍr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata turned back towards Dihli. Khiḍr Khān then

1 Or probably Gargandāz “the wolf-slayer” MS. (A) reads ْو، 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 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.
4 Sultān Ibrāhīm built at Jaunpur the Ata-ta Maṣjid, 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.
5 In Rohilkund Lat. 23° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sot River. See Rennell’s map. Tiw. III where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle’s Ancient India, p 113. See also Hunter XII. 187.
6 In the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd proceeding to Hissār Firuz took it from Qiwmān Khān to whom Khiḍr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata turned back towards Dihli. Khiḍr Khān then

MS (A) reads ١١٠ٔ، Firūzta call the fortress ١٠٧٨٢٩٧ Firūzā.
came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathabad to oppose Sultan Mahmud, and laid siege to Delhi, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Delhi, then having taken possession of the Doab he returned to Fathpur.

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.) Buiram Khan Turkbacha, who after the death of Buiram Khan Turkbacha had become master of Samana, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khan, and again revolting against Khizr Khan had had a second interview with Daulat Khan, now offered his services to Khizr Khan, 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.) Khizr Khan besieged the fortress of Rohtak for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpur. In this year Sultan Mahmud made an expedition to Kaithar and arrived at the capital Delhi.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khizr Khan came to Narnul and Miwatt and ravaged that country, and blockading Sultan

1 MS. (A) reads here

2 For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here cf. Firigha, no text, p. 293, 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 a before and omits b after.

Firigha says that Ikhtiyar Khan joined Khizr Khan seeing he was the stronger.

6 Held according to Firigha by Malik Idris on behalf of Mahmud Shab.

7 For an account of this province see Hunter, Imp. Gaz. Vol. IX, pp. 518 and seqq. from which the substance of this note is taken.

The province of Miwatt lay south of Delhi and in Moghul times formed part of the Subah of Ajmer. Its most famous town was Narnaul. Ulugh

The province of Miwatt lay south of Delhi and in Moghul times formed part of the Subah of Ajmer. Its most famous town was Narnaul. Ulugh...
Mahmūd in the fortress of Sirī, which is part of Dihli, and Ishtiar Khān in Firozabād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege by reason of the dearth of grain, and returned to Pathpūr by way of Panipath.

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.) Sultan Mahmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Firūz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years and two months, during which Sultan Mahmūd 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.

Tījārā and Rewān Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khānīzāda race, long the rulers of Miwāt.

The province of Miwāt included part of the British districts of Matura, Gurgro, a considerable portion of Ulwar, and some of Bhartpūr.

See Samtenthaker Vol. III Map where the province is marked.

1 In the Maliszat e-Tinirs we read that Timur plundered "all the three cities of Dihli, by name Sirī, Jahānpanāsh and old Dihli."

2 MS. (A) omits خرارة.

3 Panipath. A town of great antiquity. Lat 29°23' N Long 77°1'10" E. 53 miles N. of Dihli. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgeons, father and son, Shāikh Hazar and Shāikh Binā were natives of Panipat, see Aín-i-Albānī (B) i 643, note to No 94.

See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XI. 44

4 In the month of Zu Qā'da (Firīshtā) Firīshtā does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H but see n 2. Badāoni however agrees, with the Tūrkīz-i-Mubārak Shāhī. On this point see Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 317, note i.

5 MS. (A) reads here, 

Firīshtā has almost the same words but says ببست سال ودوم، ببست سال ودوم. On the other hand Firīshtā has the same words but says ببست سال and twenty years as in the text. So also the Tūrkīz-i-Mubārak Shāhī.

Firīshtā's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Mahmūd died but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amins gave in their
Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
Save the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert.

Of the poets of the reign of Sultan Mahmūd is Qāzi Zahir Dhibārī who has left a Divān (anthology) full of qaṣīdahs in elegy (of Mahmūd) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultan Mahmūd,
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty of the world;

He removed Dhibārī from the sky to serve as his signet,
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye left.

By the first strain of his bow string he has wakened the Lion
And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the deep-piercing arrow.

The whole world boasts of full satiation at the board of thy favor.

Save only the fate 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 lion has made thine enemies intoxicated like the rye of the beloved idols for some time, still at last it has overthrown them.

"All praise to Daoulā Qān Lāhī, who struck the coinage, &c., in Mubarram of 816H. It is a tradition clear that he means Zud-Qādū 816H as the date of Mahmūd’s death, and not 814H as Briggs would have it.

4 Misprint in the text. MS (A) reads٣<sup>٣</sup>

5 Qāzi Ẓāhir Dhibārī. I can find no mention of this poet.

6 The Hyades, one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation Taurus the other being the Pleiades.

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades. Thales reckoned two only (α and e) the two eyes of the Bull, Smith, Diet Greek and Rom Antiq 150 n.

4 The constellation Taurus is never 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 e of Taurus as resolved by Thales.

5 The rubūb rabī‘at or rabī‘, is a plucked instrument like a guitar but having the body shaped like a hollowed board somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin.
It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author:

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration, Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.

Qiblah\(^1\) of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Mahmūd

Whom the assemblies of Sultan have chosen as their Imam.\(^2\)

The Qāzī of the heavens\(^3\) comes out on foot to receive him.

When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.

He keeps constant watch 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.\(^4\)

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1. This line should read as in MS. (A).
2. Qiblah. This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer. This is laid down in the Qur'an, Sura II. "We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah then shall like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it" (v. 139). 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.
3. Imām. In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalifah.
5. MS. (A) reads incorrectly.
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, then wilt be outside the pale of love.
Specially that now, in order to enroot the insidels and rebels,
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.
Shah Mahmud, he who when he called forth against the insidels,
Then would I say 'Isa 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. Sihan, called also qidah. These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called Al-maisir. Al-maisir (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 azlam. The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn. žaff (1), fiq (2), lautum (3), naff (4), hils (5), musbal (6), muqal (7).

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were jaffih, minid, waghad. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called ribabah, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as al-muisir, whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate share according to the value of the arrow. See Majma'ul-Bahrain, Nasrān, XIII, p. 99.

The complets are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS. (A) (B).

1. Dajjal. See page 276 n. 4. A name given in the Haddi 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 Albidīn Chronology of Ancient Nations, pp. 195-196.

2. MS. (A) Pinday. MS. (B)
This is also his:

The month of Dāl\(^1\) has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold\(^2\)

That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.

The earth is cold and frost bound,\(^3\) the air is even colder than the earth,

In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.

In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnār have died down,

From the cold the (gracious) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.

The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,

I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.

No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.

The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,

When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.

Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day

The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.

The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh.

Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.

So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,

You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.

Shāh Maḥmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dāl, and the world is like Paradise.

\(^1\) The tenth month of the Persian Shāmī year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

\(^2\) MS. (A) omits گشت.

\(^3\) MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of گشت از برف. 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 virtues,⁴ Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden, The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks like Suhā.⁶ Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Time confesses thy excellence; Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take shelter under thy wing.
The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand, The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet. The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of sweetmeats.
Hail Khusru! even should I remain excluded from attendance upon thee, I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogising thee.
My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that I have no other occupation save singing thy praises.

² An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a тухане илайи or play upon words here which cannot be preserved in English. The words چد صفرأ and چاد سفرأ, have two meanings, 1st, draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as صفرأ is taken as two words or as one.
³ MS. (A) and (B) write گر. Text and MS. (B) گر.
⁴ MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهان ذخوره.
⁵ Suhā is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. See Lane s. v.
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 Dāi are longer than its days,
And until the season of Nauroz comes round unpreceded by winter,
May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of spring.
May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.
The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the rose-garden,
Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.
The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Īsā, 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 Șirāt-i-mustaqım.

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 Khîzr 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 he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.'" Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20-26
2 Șirāt-i mustaqım. The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.
Qur'ān, I. 5, Hughes mit Şirāt. 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 Khîzr 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 flound in green attire, the ringdove wears white garments.

The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wearing as it does a black blanket.¹

You would say that the narcissus has produced a transcript of these people (umam) who sleep below the dust. Look! it has for each αλί two μίμας ²

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),³

would meet him by a rock where two sons 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 Khîrîr 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 comprehendoest no knowledge of." Khîrîr upon being assured by Moses that he would be patient led him to follow but not to ask about anything he might see. They embarked in a ship which Khîrîr scuttled, whereupon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they met a boy whom Khîrîr killed and again raised Moses' impatience; again they found a well which Khîrîr prevented from falling without exacting any reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khîrîr said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the reason for his action in each case. See Qur'an XVIII. 64 and following verses.

¹ The compleets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS. The text reads with a foot note variant نئُمُي MBS. (A) : (B)

² The poet's narcisus. Narcissus poeticus N. O. Amaryllidaceae. This natural order has a single style with three stigmas, and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards. The poet here likens the three divisions of the style to three αλί (ı) and the stamens, to six μίμας (m) the anthers forming the bend of the letter, and the curved filament its downward stroke. Thus the single αλί (ı) and two μίμας (m) form he says the word مَعَامَة, the plural of مَعَامَم; meaning the followers of a prophet, of a people of no religion, hence generically a generation of men, as in the saying مَعَامَمٌ مَعَامَمٌ, generations of men have passed away.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of the garden.

In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when misfortune befalls him.

You would say that the black spot which has come in the heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn

Is a Hindū who has fallen into the flames of hell.

She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes, beseeching the merciful Lord to grant the King eternal life.

He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is as an old man bowed with age.

And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom is as an intelligent child.

When once the power of growth has obtained sufficient intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the earth.

The star of sovereignty, which has left its orbit to seek thy auspicious presence,

Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy court.

page 146: see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 405 et seq. for a paper on this, the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken: *the true name in Jutamānī which, by the way, has other names in the Amarcōṭ, the smoothest of which are ṣatulā and lōmasā both derived from words meaning hair.* The comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

1 MSS. (A) (B) २ वर उत्कर्षक ३ वर उत्कर्षक
2 The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.
3 MS. (A) २ वर उत्कर्षक
4 I read here पिरौ-निगुन्नत for पिरौ-निकुल (MSS. and text) पिरौ-निकुल which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote निगुन्नत
5 The escape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.
6 MSS. (A) २ वर उत्कर्षक
7 'aql-i-kull. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Ṣūfā the 'aql-i-kull (called also 'aql-i-sawād) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See *Kashk̏āf-i-Jitalāb-i-funūn*, II, p. 1028
8 आत्मा ३ आत्मा for आत्मा
9 Naja't, called also رجوع كوكب Rija't, is the motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by the term استقامة Istiqāmat. See *Khuḥshāl*, s. v رجوع
And in truth after Qazi Zahir no poet arose in Hindustān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultan Mahmūd the great Amirs of Hindustān as for instance Mubāriz Khān and Malik Idris 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 Rās 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 Sultan Ibrāhim besieged Qādir Khān the son of Mahmūd Khān in Kālpi, and Daulat Khān being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of those places; and Khizr Khān in Zū-l-qāda of this year came to the fortress of Firūzābād, the Amirs of which district came into him, and Malik Idris was besieged in Rohtak. Khizr Khān marched by that route to Miwāt and taking with him Jalāl Khān Miwāti the brother's son of Bahādur Nāhir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Zū Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dīlhi 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 Firūzā and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabi‘u-l-Awwal.

Verse.

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last spils his blood,

What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is his enemy

Mannad-i-ʿAlī Khizr Khān ibn Maliku-sh-Sharqī ibn Malik Sullimān,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dīlhi, having

1 MS (A) reads كمد.
2 Mīrī adds. "The duration of his reign was one year and three months," and Khān reads مصابة.
3 MS (A) reads "ملك الإيرب.
4 MS (A) The text reads ملك إشریق.
raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimân had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naṣīr-1-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhi to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahānīyān Saiyyid-a-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālūl-Haqq waω-Sha'rāw-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 Suleimân brought the ewar and basin to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimân was an undoubted Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-ʻAlī Saiyyid Khīr Khān.

Verse.

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested
The virtues of Muhammad, and the grace of ʻAlī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Firūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimân. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khīr Khān on behalf of Sultan Firūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sultanate by the Amir. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyēt-i-Aʿala.¹

On the date mentioned he slighted at the palace of Sultan Mahmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public largesse and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Naḥr² (Tuhfa) the title

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¹ See Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 329, and footnote.
² MS. (A) 392 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, wherupon Mahābat Khān Ḥakīm of Badāon also came in and had an interview with him, and Rāi Har Singh being reduced to extremities submitted to him, agreeing to the conditions imposed of the payment of tribute and of a yearly offering. Tāju-l-Mulk and Mahābat Khān seized the banks of the river Rāhāb, and on arriving at the ford of Sargdawārī crossed the Ganges, chastised the infidels of Kaḥwar (which is now known by the name of Shamsābād), Kanpīla and Hāitālī, and passing by the towns of Sakina and Pādham came to Rāpārī; and Hasan Khān and Malik Harīna, his brother, who held the government of Rāpārī, 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 Muḥam-mādītan religion. Then having appointed his own agents and

1 MS. (A).
2 MS. (A).
4 Sakina. For this we should perhaps read Sakīta (MS. (A) lends countenance in this view).
5 Rāpārī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mainpūrī town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Bāḥlool Lodi (Ain-i-Akbarī).
6 Rāpārī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mainpūrī town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Bāḥlool Lodi (Ain-i-Akbarī).
7 On the Doḥāb plain, 38 miles East of the Jumna, and of Muttra. (Huntet, Gaz. Ind., VII, 103).
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 Khan the younger son of Malik Mubarak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firuzpur and Silhrind, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khan Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhû Nâdir, having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindûstân, was appointed to this office with the rank of Naib-i-Shâhzâda (i.e., vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik Sadhû Nâdira and Zirak Khan the Amir of Sâmâuna and other Amirs and Maliks, set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dibli his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Taju-l-Mulk with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khan towards Baiwuâ and Gwâliâr; Malik Karimu-l-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khan Anhadi came and had an interview with him. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khan’s party seized by treachery Malik Sadhû Nâdira, who was holding the district of Sihvind as the Shahzâda’s deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihvind. Khizr Khan thereupon sent Zirak Khan 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 Kâli Nâdi or Kâlnî, or Kâlini, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doâb. The name in the text Kâli Sâiây means Black water, and is a translation of the Hindûstân kâli naddû.

2 MS. (A) readsWrongly for .

3 MS. (A). The text reads .

4 MS. (A).

5 Omit and after .

6 MS. (A) reads Taj ul-Din Taju d-Din

7 MS. (A) reads خضر حانی (A).
In this year also Sultan Ahmad, who was the ruler of Gujerat, laid siege to Nagor, but upon hearing of the march of Khizr Khan abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khizr Khan came to Chhain, and Alyas Khan the governor of Chhain gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwallur, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Baiana where Shams Khan Ahadi gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A.D.) Taghun the Ra'is with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhu revolted. Zirak Khan was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khizr Khan 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 Anwla, the circumference of which is twenty-four krohs. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumnaon. Taju-Mulk crossed the river Rahab and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Badaoon, and taking with him Mahabat Khan, the governor of Badaoon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bujana; then having dismissed Mahabat Khan, he himself went on to Itawa, whence he returned to Dibh laden with spoil. In this same year, also, Khizr Khan again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitali, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badaoon. On this occasion Mahabat...
Khan Badāoni 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 Qiwām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, and certain of the other Mahmūd Shāhi Amirs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khan, mediated treason against Khizr Khan; but Khizr Khan becoming aware of this state of things abandoned (the siege of) Badāoni, 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 Bajwāra, falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khan deputed Sultan Shāh Lodi to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihrīnd, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sultan Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters. In this same year Khizr Khan sent Tāju-Il-Mulk to Itāwa. Rāi Sipūr was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-I-Mulk. Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazirship were entrusted to his older son Malik Sikandar. Tughlān Rā'īs again raised an insurrection in Sihrīnd, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

1 MS. (A) reads فغية which is preferable to طاء as found in the text.

2 Firīštā, (I. 295) says مَكِهْرَة near Māchīwārā, and in the Ain-al-Akhbār we find it stated that Māchīwārā is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II 310). In Rennell's Map (Tegg. III,) we find Māchīwārā figured between Rūpur and Lūdhīāna. It lies 23 miles south of Lūdhīāna, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwāra is farther north near Hoshiārpūr. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., II 439)

3 Firīštā adds, “called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind.”

4 This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firīštā tells us that Islām Khān pursued “Sārang Khān” with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

5 MS. (A). Firīštā calls him Rāi Samūr.
And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khan proceeded to Miwāt and took Kotla; hence he hastened to Gwāliār, from the Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to Itān. Rāi 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 Dihli. Having arrived at that city on the seventeenth of ḽumādi 1-Awwal in the above year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from the world.

Verse.

Every evening is followed by the morning.
At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

SULTĀN MUḌĀRAK ŞAH IBNĪ KHĪZR KHĀN IBNĪ MALIK SULĪMĀN,

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amirs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khākar the son of Shaikh Khākar raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sultān ‘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 Dihli, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutlej with a
large army, and assaulted Talaundi which was in the possession of Rai Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubin, and Rāi Firūz fled from before him. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rāspar; there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar. Zirak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zirak Khān prisoner. Sultān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sihrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhī released Zirak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus when the river became fordable. The Sultān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

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1 We must read جلاندری کامل الیدین. This is shown to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firīštā which reads (I. p. 297), 
و تلوندنی که برای کمال تعقیب داشت گرد "and laid waste Talaundi which belonged to Rāi Kamāl."

2 The text and both MSS. read کدالهنا Ludhiāna, but it is evident that we should read لودھیانا لدھیانا. We find in Firīštā (loc. cit.), "Jasrat having come to Ludhiāna." Talaunđi I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell's map, called Talūm, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Punjābī) ḍī, would give Talūmī or Tulūndī, &c., the village of Tulūm. Talūm lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (see Rennell's map, Tuff, III), on the opposite bank of the river.

3 Rāspar in Rennell's map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant; but on modern maps it is shown almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

4 A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājput kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A. D.
   It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of Ḫulindrīn or Sūlindrīn, see Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, Gaz. Ind., VII. 91.

5 MSS. (A) omits which probably correctly as we have seen from Firīštā's account.

6 Firīštā tells us they crossed on the 11th Sharrād (October, 8th A. D. 1421)
crossed the river Chhināb, came to Talhar in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubāрак Khān followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhim, the chief of Jammu, offered his services to Mubāрак Shāh and guided his army. Mubāрак 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 Muḥammad Ḥasan who bore the title of Malīka-sh-Sharq, returned to Dīlū. Five months later Jāsrat Khūkhar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikh-i-Mashāikh Shaikh Ḥasan Zinjānī, 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 Kalānūr and fought a battle with Rāi Bhim; and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

Malik Sikandar Tūshnā who had been despatched from Dīlū to reinforce Malik Muḥammad Ḥasan crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Puli and encamped at Lāhor, and Jāsrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces crossed the Chhināb.

1 The Chhināb.
2 In the Kashmir hill tracts.
3 Fīrūzštāt tells us that Rāi Bhim offered his services and guided the army to Bīsāl, the strongest of Jāsrat's strongholds. Jāsrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.
4 MS. (A) reads رائے سلم both here and some lines lower down.
5 MS. (A) reads شکستگی و پیسٹگی حصار.
6 Fīrūzštāt says نویدیک شیخ حسن زنجانی فرد کرد.
7 MS. (A) reads بمقصد خود نresseدہ.
8 Seventeen miles west of Gurdāsūr town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 1' 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 ملک and reads از گذشت هی in the next line.
10 Fīrūzštāt لری. See however note 1 next page.
11 Fīrūzštāt says that Muḥammad Ḥasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Raljāb, Governor of Depālpūr and of Jālām Khān Lodi, Governor of Sibrīnūd.
river and proceeded to the hills of Talwāra, 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 Bādān 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, and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mābariz and Zīrak 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 Dīr came with the object of chastising the Rāi of Gwālīr and with the intention of that Jaarat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Kaveri, and took refuge in the hills.

1 This is the reading of the text. Talwāra is possibly the same as Talha mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwār in the text refers to the village Talwāra on the right bank of the Chhināb just opposite to the town of Rihāi (74° 52' Long. 33° 6' Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chhināb as the route connecting Poni with Rihāi and Jamna is 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. Pāhī in the text is probably identical with Poni. The reading of MS. (A) is Ḍhrī in Karolīn.

2 Firīshtā tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sūlṭān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe. The Rāthors are a clan of the Bājpūts, and the Panwārs form another of their clans, regarding whom Abul-Fuzūl says “In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe” Māhrwār in mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See Ain-i-Akbar (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

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).

4 On the south bank of the Huri Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

5 The text reads Dihli with a foot-note variant Dhrār. MS. (A) reads Dhrār. Firīshtā says, Sūlṭān Hoshang Wālī of Mālwa. The town of Ujja na and Dhrār have at one period or another supplied a capital to the legendary Hindu dynasties of Mālwa. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz, IV. 241 Dhār).
subduing that region; Mubarak Sháh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwáliär; when he arrived in the neighborhood of Baiána, Sháma Khán Aühádi the son of Aühád Khán Aühádi, Governor of Baiána, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubarak Khán, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiána entrenched himself in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubarak Sháh left that place and marched towards Gwáliär, but Alp Khán proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river would not permit the army of Mubarak Sháh to cross; however the soldiers of Mubarak Sháh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khán, and returned triumphant. This engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khán sent in many presents and returned towards Dhár, while Mubarak Sháh proceeded to Díhli.

And in the year 837 H. (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kámúsón and Káithár, on returning whence he laid waste Míwát. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindustán. In the year 829 H. he again proceeded towards Míwát and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Álwaar.

1 MS. (A) The text omits the words Sháma Khán Aühádi. Fruights calls him Amír Khán, ibn-i-Dé'úd Khán ibn Sháma Khán (see Bombay Edition, p 293 last line), and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

2 MS. (A) reads آر مه. The text reads آر مه.

3 Fruights writes of this: And Sultán Hosháng seced the fords of the Chambal river and opposed his progress, but Mubáral Sháh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly; and certain of the Amirs of the advance guard of the Díhli forces pillaged the camp of the Sultán of Málwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Musulmans Mubarak Sháh set them free.

4 Sultán Hosháng sued for peace sending in suitable offerings, and withdrew towards Dhár. Mubarak Sháh halted on the banks of the Chambal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district, and eventually arrived at Díhli in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central Indin and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamma, it rises in Málwa; about eight or nine miles south-west of Sháho it is joined by the Kali-Sund, Parbati and Baner, flows past Dholpur into Élwa and joins the Jamma 40 miles below Élwa town. The Charmanwali of Sanskrit writers. (See Hunter, Imp Gaz. III. 331)
And in the year 830 H. he took Bai‘āna from Muḥammad Khān Anṣāri, and sent the family of Anṣāri to the palace known as Jahān Nama, and assigned it to them as a residence. He then gave Bai‘āna to Malik Muqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikri to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Tuḥfa, while he himself led an army against Gwālír receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihli from Qādir Khān, governor of Kālpī, bringing tidings that Sharqi was besieging him. Muḥārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqi; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqi had attacked Bhūgān and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāin. Muḥārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jartanli on arrival at the township of Atranli received intelligence that Mukhtaṣṣ Khān, the brother of Sharqi had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Muḥārak Shāh detailed Malik-n-Ṭār Sharq Mahmūd Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtaṣṣ Khān. Mukhtaṣṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqi who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water, otherwise known as the Kālii, and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Muḥārak Shāh marching from Atranli encamped at the town of

1 This palace was in Dihli. Firīshṭa writes: “Sent his family and relations to Dihli.”
2 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqi.
3 The text reads بَهْرُ، كَانُون Bhūn gān MS. (A) reads Bāhānūr.
In Firīshṭa we find ضمَج شَرْقِي بَهْرُ، كَانُون The troops of Sharqi attacked Bhūgān. Bhūgān 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 Rājā Bhān Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the phil or lake. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. II. 403.)
4 Badāin lies N. of Bhūgān at a distance of about fifty miles.
5 Firīshṭa writes, جَرِيَّة مَرَجَرَة بَلَد مَرَجَرَة Animated. Attack on Jartanli, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.
7 Firīshṭa calls him Mukhtār Khān.
8 MS. (A). The text reads Kāli Pānī This is the Kāliī, the Kurī du of the Al-fuzūl-i-Timūrī (see also note 3 page 300).
Kota, but Sharqi declined battle and withdrew towards Rapri, and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiana and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubarak Shah pursued him as far as Chandwari; a space of four krohs lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days; at last Sharqi came out in force, and from mid-day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day; on the following day Sharqi turned back towards his own country, and Mubarak Shah, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgana, and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chaubal river and came down to Baiana.

Muhammad Khan Auhadi, 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 Mubarak Shah. Mubarak Shah thereupon retraced his steps to Delhi.

And in the year 832 H Maliku-sh-Sharq Mahmud Hasan, who had been left in Baiana by Mubarak Shah as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised those insurgents who had made common cause with Muhammad Khan and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Finova was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nada, governor of Multan died, and Malik Mahmud Hasan received the title of 'Imad ud-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multan.

And in the year 833 H (1429 A.D.) Mubarak Shah went to Gwalior by way of Baiana, and having taken the Rapri district from the son of Hasan Khan gave it to Malik Hamza, and returned

1 Firishtha writes مالى كوتا MubIota
2 Took the road to Jaunpur (Firishtha).
3 Went to Gwalior by way of Halghat. (Firishtha). MS. (A) مسکینة Satgana.
4 Firishtha says "Muhammad Khan Auhadi ... for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sharqi, asked for quarter and tendered his submission" and was freely pardoned.
5 MS (A) نبنا Text
to the city (Dihli). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khīizr Khān for thirty years, and held the fief of Tabarhindā, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā‘u-l-Mulk upon the other. 4 Ali Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhindā and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Muḥārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hānsū 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. Muḥārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhindā, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Muḥārak Shāh summoned Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight. Muḥārak 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 Muḥārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money by way of presents to Shaikh ‘Ali Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaikh ‘Ali accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the slave

1 Fīrīshṭān writes

"They relate that Saiyyid ū-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khīizr Khān as one of his best Amirs."

4 MS. (A) Text. Dāndē Fīrīshṭān 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 Muḥārak Shāh. Badāuni's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Fīrīshṭān does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhindā and incited him to raise a rebellion.
(Fālād) together with all his family and relations from Tabar-
binda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed
the river Biāh came to Lāhor. Malikuš-Shērīq Malik ʿSīkandar,
governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaikh
ʿAli, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his
attentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaikh ʿAli passing by Lāhor
without sacking it made towards Dépālpūr, and ʿImādu-l-Mulk
came out from Multān to oppose him. Shaikh ʿAli taking the
bank of the river Rāvī, proceeded to within a short distance of
Tulumbā, and turning aside, from thence came to Khūṭpār. (ʿImādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh ʿAli but was defeated, and
Malik Suleimān Shāh Ṭūdī, who was with the advance guard
of the army of ʿImādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle; [and Shaikh
ʿAli came to Khîrsūbād and for a long time daily engagements
were fought between him and ʿImādu-l-Mulk].

And in the year 834 H. (1430 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh sent a vast
army to the assistance of ʿImādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Fath
Khān ibn-i-Sultān Muzāfīr Rāshīd of Gujrat to the command of
that force. Shaikh ʿAli was not able to stand against them, so
changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrench-
ment which he had thrown up around his position; when they
surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhīkān, and
having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by
drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners. Shaikh
ʿAli and Amir Muzāfīr proceeded with a certain number of men
to the town of Shiwar; all their baggage and property having;

1 This appears to be the meaning of the Persians.
2 Tulumbā is on the left bank of the Rāvī 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 Punjab, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvī.
(See Hunter Imp. Gaz. X. 93, also Cumingham Anc. Geog. of India, 224.)
3 Firishta says خالیفرز. The text reads somewhat obscurely
here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.
4 Which took place according to Firishta at Khîrsūbād three stages from
Multān.
5 The words within brackets are not in MS. (A).
6 MS. (A) لکبت آورود نیاپویة Text لکبت آورود شدن.
7 MS. (A) شدن Text شدن.
8 MS. (A) شیرور Text شیرور or Firishta (text).
been taken, the army of ʻImādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point, Amir Muẓaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh ʻAli set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihli. Multān was taken away from ʻImādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khāīrū-d-Dīn Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander, governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khākhar 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 Khākhar was taken prisoner near Jālandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmū-d-Dīn the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh ʻAli collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān, and assaulted Khūṭpūr, taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhilam and its vicinity, and seized Tumbha, 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 Fūlād Turkbāχa, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhindā and invaded the territory of Rāi Firūz 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 Multān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmānā, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh ʻAli also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jālandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nūrāt 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 مِلَک.
2 MS. (A) omits اَوْرَا.
3 MS. (A) reads خوشنجر Khushanjar (f).
4 At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firishtā.
5 See note 5 page 389. MS. (A) omits را.
6 MS. (A) reads نَافَخُت و instead of نَافَخُت as in the text.
7 Text MS. (A) بِزَنَه.
And in the year 838 H. (1493 A.D.) Mubarak Shah once more hastened to Samana¹ to put down the rebellion of Jasarat; when he arrived at Panipath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Mahdūma-i Dahan (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue² to Dihli, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yusuf Surur-ul-Mulk to proceed to Tabnihind to put down the insurrection of Faiād. Mubarak Shah after taking Lahore and Jalandhar from Nusrat Khan gave them to Malik AllahdādKalā Lodi. When he arrived near Jalandhar, Jasarat, having crossed the river Biāh, had engaged Allahdād Kalā at Bajwāra,³ and had defeated him. Malik Allahdād had fled to the hill-country.

In this year the Sultan brought an army into Miwāt against Jalāl Khan, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāhār and Ithā, returned (to Dīhī). In this same year Shaikh 'Ali coming down into the Panjāb again caused disturbances there Mubarak Shah accordingly nominated Imādu-l-Mulk to reinforce the Amir of that district Shaikh 'Ali invaded the country from Shiwar to the banks of the Biāh, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lahore. Zirak Khan and the other Amirs⁵ who were in Lahore fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lahore were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yusuf Surur-ul-Mulk and Malik Iṣmayīl under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirak Khan; then sallying from the fort,⁶ 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 Lahore and put to death great and small,⁷ and taking many prisoners

¹ MS. (A) notes:
² Tariqta says he returned alone.
³ Omit and MS. (A).
⁵ MS. (A) notes:
⁶ MS. (A) supplies the words az hastār.
⁷ MS. (A) says that the textual reading is probably incorrect, read khās wa ḍawām.
remained there and after some days, he came to Debâlpâr, which Malik Yusuf Surâru-l-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imâdu-l-Mulk 1 on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Ahmad from Tabariunda to the fort of Debâlpâr with orders to hold it. Shaikh 'Ali becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sultan Mubârak Shâh proceeded as far as Sâmâna in order to quell these disturbances 2 From Sâmâna he proceeded to Talsund and thence to the ford of Pûli, where he crossed the Brah and came to Debâlpâr. Thence he marched along the banks 3 of the Râvi, and Shaikh 'Ali crossed the Jhilâm and fled, 4 Mubârak Shâh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shiwar and crossed the Râvi near Tûlumba. 5 Amir Magzâfar Khân, 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 Lâhor sought quarter from Shâmu-l-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubârak Shâh had completed the affair of Shiwar and the conquest of Lâhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multân, and returning almost immediately came to Debâlpâr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh 'Ali (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lâhor and Debâlpâr to Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imâdu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Bâiana from 'Imâdu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shâmu-d-dîn. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dîbli on the day of the 'Id-i-Qurbân 6 and

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1 MS (A) omits .
2 MS (A) omits and writes for .
3 MS. (A) reads incorrectly for .
4 The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read . The is to be omitted.
5 Besieging the fort Shiwar (Firâsha).
6 The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zâl-hijjah. It is known also as the 'Idu-l-aqîh, see Qurân xxii 33–38. It commemo rates the intention of Ibrahim to sacrifice his son Isma'il in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Mḥammadan festivals and is called 'Idu-l-kabîr, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Idu-l-Fitr which is known as 'Idu-l-sagîr which usheres in the mouth of Shawwal and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramâzûn. (See Hughes Dict of Islâm)
conferred the office of vazir upon Sarwar-ul-Mulk and gave to
Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk, who was the Military Secretary (Naib-i-
Lashkar), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with
Sarwar-ul-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two, inasmuch as Sarwar-ul-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debalpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh: so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngū Khatri and Kajwi Khatri and Mīrān Šadr Naib-i-‘Alīz, (who for generations had been protégés of the Mubārak Shāhi family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.

And in the year 837 H (1433 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh built a
city on the banks of the river Jāmna, and gave it the name of
Mubārakābād (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should
have been called Kharābābād (City of Ruin), and was so zealous
in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In
the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhind
reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fulād
Taikbacha. Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at
this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhind
and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year
tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sultan
Ibrahim Sharqi and Alp Khan, governor of Kālpi, who had re-

1 Fīrishtā says Kamālu d-dīn.
2 MS. (A) omits ērīn.
3 Fīrishtā names as the accomplices Sīdīrān, son of Kāngū Khatri and
Sadpīl, grandson of Kāngū Khatri, with Mīrān Šadr Naib-i-‘Ary-ī-Mamālik,
Jāyī ’Abdul-ṣadr Hajīb-i-Khānī, and others (Fīrishtā. Bombay text, I, p. 308).
4 MS. (A) ẓawjān.
5 Briggs in his translation of Fīrishtā (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.
6 The text reads here but a footnote gives a variant and this reading is confirmed by MS. (A) and also by Fīrishtā.
7 Fīrishtā says he returned direct to Mubārakābād.
ceived the title of Hosang. \(^1\) Mubarak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpī, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubarak Shāh persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,\(^2\) the infidels under Muḥān Sādūr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwān-ul-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),\(^3\) with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubarak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,\(^4\) the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwi Khatrī, 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 Dajla \(^5\)
Will continue to pass by Baghdād, while many Khalīfāhās come and go.

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1 Firishta throughout calls him Hosang.
2 On the 9th Rājab 837 (Firishta Bombay text 1803)
3 MS. (A) omits وقت.
4 The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firishta. MS. (A) reads در مسیل پادشاهی دن کمدة سده مال...سماحتند.
5 داجلا or داجلا, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) ترکیب lit., the swift. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Dīglī, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name قیر, which in the Zend becomes Ţaljar. See Gesenius Thes: also Smith Dict. G. R. Geog.
6 "The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdād, 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 Baghdād and transported by camels back to Mosul."
SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH IBN I FARIO KHAN,

The brother's son of Mubarak Shah ibn i Khizir 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 Sarwaru-l-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 khalat upon him, he also appointed Miran Sadr Mu'ta-nil-mulk, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels. Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamalu-l-mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru-l-Mulk in the vazirship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muhammad Shah. The second day after the accession Sarwaru-l-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 Bāīāna, and Amroha, and Nārīnol, and Kuhrān, together with certain districts in the Deābī to Sidh Pāl and Sidhērān Khātri who were the (actual) murderers of Mubarak Shah. Rānūn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pāl, arrived in Bāīāna with a large following, and attempted to enter the fort; but in the meantime Yūsuf Khan Auhādi arrived from Hindwān, 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 Rānūn the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk and his infidel horde began to commit violence, the Amirs of Khizir Khan and Mubarak Shah, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places showed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru-l-Mulk had the self-same object, namely to damage the kingdom. 20 Malik 'Allahdad Kāla Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahār, 4

1 9th Rajab 837.
2 MS: دستگیررسالت. ر (A).
3 The text and both MSS. read Hindūn. Firishta reads Hindwān. Hindūn lies about 20 miles S. of Bāīāna, it is situated in the Jeypore State.
and Malik Chaman 1 governor 2 of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-
Jahān, and Amir 'Ali Gūjraṭī, together with some other Amirs, 
raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, 
and started towards Dībli. Malik-ṣh-Sharg, Kamālū-l-Mulk, 
and Saiyyid Kān, son of Saiyyid Sālim, who had received 
the title of Khan-i-Āxam from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed 
by the durbar to proceed against those Amirs, and Malik Yūsuf, 
the son of Sarwarū-l-Mulk, together with Sidhārān and Kāngā 
were ordered to accompany Kamālū-l-Mulk. The Dībli army 
crossed by the ford of Kicha and came to Bāren (Bulandshahr). 
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 Kamālū-l-Mulk was heartily bent upon 
taking vengeance upon Sarwarū-l-Mulk, they took courage and 
did not leave their positions. Sarwarū-l-Mulk becoming aware 
of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of 
reinforcing Kamālū-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsuf 
Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidhārān the infidel, entertaining 
suspicious regarding Kamālū-l-Mulk left the army and went to 
Dībli; and the Amirs of Sambhāl and Badāon joined Kamālū-l-
Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kicha. Sarwarū-l-
Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day 
the loyal Amirs having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bāgh-
Jud 3 while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and 
engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset 
and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large 
number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken 
prisoners.

The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāh Amirs 
encamped near the fort of Sīī, and the greater part of the Amirs 
who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting 
went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmānā

1 MS. (A) writes ملک حسین Malik Hamīn; by Firīṣṭa, 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 جهان Mūqtī, i.e., holder of a جام qāt, Firīṣṭa 
calls him حاکم بادر حاکم Badān Hākīm-i-Baduñān
3 MS. (A)
died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muḥammad Ḫān. Muḥammad Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwar-u-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in prison with his father’s Amirs. Sarwar-u-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. (1434 A.D.) Sarwar-u-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 Shāh became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamāl-u-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muḥammad Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwar-u-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mirān Ṣadr executed them in presence of the darbār. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamāl-u-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amirs, entered the fort by the Darwāza-i-Baγhdaš (Baγhdaš gate). The raflān Sidh Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the jaḥār1 which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindi language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,2 and his impure soul went to hell.3 Sidhāran Kāŋū and the rest of the Khetri confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the hagirā (mausoleum).

1 Jaḥār or Jaḥār Ḫaṭā is a Hindi word derived from the words जीवन jīva, and हरा hara signifying taking one’s own life. The custom of performing the Ḫaṭūs when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name; as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sultan ‘Alān-d-Dīn: “Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces.” The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

2 HSS. omit.

3 The word Jaḥār, 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 jaṭāṭā used above (Note 1).

4 Hāgirā. The literal meaning of this word is an enclosure, here
of Mubarak Shāh, and Malik Hushyār and Mubarak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amirs renewed their fealty to Muhammad Shāh; Kamālu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of vāzin, and Malik Chaman of Badāon received the title of Ghāziul-l-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 Darya Khān however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muhammad Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 810 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpur to give time for the Amirs of the various districts to join him. When the Muhammad Shāh’s troops were all assembled at Mubārakpur he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place 1 came to Dihli. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikhā Khūlkhar.2 Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned. In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langūls had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihli, and the Rāi of Gwalīār and the other Rāis refused to pay the customary tribute. Muhammad Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānūzādas of Miwāt, who are the ancestors of Hasan Khān of Miwāt, invited Sultan Maḥmūd Khalji from Mālwa to assume the imperial power of Dihli.

And in the year 844 H. (1410 A.D.) Sultan Maḥmūd arrived at Dihli, and Muhammad Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid ‘Alīn-d-Din to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Malik Buhlāl Lodi. Sultan Maḥmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed within walls or a palisado. Firishtā writes “were put to death with great tortures”. بعقرت تمام يقتل رسيدند.

1 MS. (A) omits كنیا.

2 MS (A). بورس شکفا.

3 MS (A) تا ولايت اورا خرایب کرد مراجعه نمودند. 1
appointed his two sons Ghiasu-d-Din and Qadr Khan to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sultan Muhammad taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multan was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Multan. Malik Buhlul pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sultan Muhammad was so pleased at the energy displayed by Buhlul Lodi that he called him his son, and bestowed upon him the country of Lahor and Ditalpur.

And in the year 815 H. (1441 A.D.) he marched to Sambah, and having despatched Buhlul to chastise Jastat Khukhar, returned to Dihli. Jastat concluded a peace with Malik Buhlul and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sultan of Dihli, till at last Buhlul began to collect Afghans from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of parganas, then without any ostensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muhammad Shah and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihli. He held Sultan Muhammad for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muhammad Shah was afflicted with a grievous disorder, and the Amira who were at a distance of twenty kolu's from Dihli revolted against him, and sending for his son Alau-d-Din who held a jangir in Badan, 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 Qudin Khan MS (A) reads Mudan Khan. So also Tabagat-1-Akbari.
2 MS (A) reads aur pargana. See Elliott 17 85.
3 Firuziha says he died in 849 H. when probably correct, sec n. 7.
4 As he came to the throne in 837 he had reigned only some ten years, but fourteen as here stated. Both MSS. (A) and (B) however read 948.
5 Firuziha says that he died in 849 H. when probably correct, sec n. 7.
6 The Tabagat-1-Akbari according to Elliott IV. 66, says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, Pathan Kings p. 336 and note 1.
Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

5. **SULTAN 'ALAU-D-DIN IBN I MUHAMMAD SHAH IBN I MUBARAK SHAH**

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father
succeeded to the throne, and Malik Bahlul with the other Amirs
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 Bahlul.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultan 'Alau-d-Din made an
excursion towards Bajana; while on the road he heard a false
rumour that the King of Jaunpur 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 Firishta "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. 382-383." This is not Firishta's error but the fault of
his translator. Firishta 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 9th Rajab 837" (Bo text, p 209), so that while his date as regards
the death of Muhammad Shah may be wrong, his calculation based 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 "Zarigh-i-Mubarak
Shahi, if Elliott's translation (Elliott, IV, p. 80) 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 foot-note on the
same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badshoni and Firishta
as to the date of Muhammad Shah's death, he says : "Firishta 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 Firishta, instead of confirming it from Firishta 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 thirteen years three
months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H, not to 830 H. Therefore,
unless there is evidence to show that 'Alau-d-Din came to the throne in
847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishta's plain and coincident statement
that Muhammad Shah reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

1 MS. (A) omits مبارک and writes فرید خان. See Thomas, Pathan Kings, 336, footnote.
Badäon 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 Shahn-i-Shah (City Constable) and Min-i-Küe (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badäon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihli. Husain Khân who was Ūmdat-i-Mulk (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sultan, but from time to time spake the direct truth to the Sultan in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sultan, and had been deposed from his office. \(^2\) Hamid Khân, Vazir-i-mamlukat, (vazir of the State) who had fled to Dihli fearing punishment at the hands of the Sultan, and dreading an attempt upon his life, \(^2\) joined with Husain Khân in inviting Malik Buhülül and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sultan to proceed to Sirhind \(^3\) and having assumed to himself the title of Sultan read the Khutbah, and coming a second time with \(^4\) his whole army seized upon Dihli. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dibâlpur, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultan 'Ala‘-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 Sultan in reply, wrote as follows: "The deceased King, Sultan Muḥammad Shâh, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty; living in solitary contentment at Badäon I resign the empire of Dihli \(^5\) to you. Sultan Buhülül leaving Dibâlpur ascended the throne of Dihli \(^6\).

\(^1\) MS. (A).

\(^2\) Firishta gives a full account of this, and says that the Sultan was instigated to this attempt by Quib Khân and Rai Pertâb, the latter of whom had a blood-feud against Hamid Khân (see Firishta, Bombay text I. p. 315).

\(^3\) MS. (A).

\(^4\) His eldest son Khwaja Bâyarid. At this time, according to Firishta, the Khutbah used to be read in the joint names of Sultan 'Ala‘-d-Din and Sultan Buhülül, who upon first marching against Dihli had written to 'Ala‘-d-Din alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Hamid Khân.

\(^5\) MS. (A).

\(^6\) MS (A).
without fighting or opposition; and Sultan 'Alau-d-Din by the orders of Sultan Bahlul was invested with the sovereignty of Badagon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairabad 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.

Verge.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.
It has never proved faithful to any man.

Sultan Bahlul [Ibn i Kalā] Lodi.

Who in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamid Khān Vazir (who, after the execution of Husain 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 Bahlul) ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamid Khān, and in the same year, proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.

And in the year 856 H. (1453 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud Shārgi 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.

1 According to Firishta 'Alau-d-Din died in Badagon in the year 853 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badagon some twenty-eight years.
Badagon's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firishta, 'Alau-d-Din retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihli to Bahlul Lodi, and reigned in Badagon for twenty-eight years, dying in 853 H. (Bo. text 816.) See n. 4 page 405.

2 MS. (A) writes A long account of the way in which Ḥamid Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishta.

6 Firishta gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Bahlul Lodi, telling us that the mother of Bahlul Lodi, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Caesarean operation and the child removed; as it showed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 817).
and after severe fighting gained possession of it, and Fath Khan Harawi, who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sultan Mahmud was killed. Sultan Mahmud not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpûr, and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpûr to Itéwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihli as was under the sway of Mubârak Shâh should belong to Sultan Buhilul, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi should revert to Sultan Mahmud, and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsâbâd to Sultan Buhilul, which was held by Junûn Khân as the deputy of Sultan Mahmud, each of them went to his own country.

Sultan Buhilul at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsâbâd, took possession of it, and gave it to Rai Kiran, ruler of Bhûnganw. Sultan Mahmud being displeased at this, proceeded again to the borders of Shamsâbâd and fought with Sultan Buhilul. In the meantime Sultan Mahmud quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muhammad Shâh, the son of Sultan Mahmud, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpûr in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan.

1 MS. (A) has here a different reading (note 7). The text seems right agreeing with MS. (B).

2 Harawi, of Herât.

3 MS. (A) reads here Fath Khan got his killing.

4 MS. (A) reads here the agreement was that Buhilul was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khan, and should receive Shamsâbâd in place of Junûn Khân (Bo. text p. 322)

5 MS. (A) omits this. Firîshta tells us that Junûn Khân refused to quit Shamsâbâd when called upon to do so by Buhilul Lodi, who consequently marched against him and drove him out, giving Shamsâbâd into the charge of Rai Kiran, and conquering all that country. (Bo. text p. 322).

6 MS. (A) reads here.

7 In this engagement Qub Khân Lodi was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him, and was sent by Mahmûd to Jaunpûr where he was imprisoned.

Firîshta says that Bibi Râchi, the mother of Muhammad Shâh Sharqi
Bublul proceeded to Jaunpur, and, inasmuch as Quth Khān, the cousin of Sultan Bublul, had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shāh,1 Sultan Bublul, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muhammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpur came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hindūs by force,2 and on the borders of Rāpri confronted Sultan Bublul. Muhammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qananj. Sultan Bublul pursued him.3 And in the aforesaid year Sultan Husain Sharqī, ibn-i-Sultan Mahmūd revolted against his brother Muhammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpur with the assistance of the Amirs, and detailed a large army to proceed against Muhammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Gāz. Sultan Husain made peace with Sultan Bublul, and sending for Quth Khān Lodi who was still in prison, from Jaunpur, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultan Bublul and returned from Qananj to Jaunpur.

intervening, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muhammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Bublul 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 Firishta (Bo. text p 323) who writes: "When Sultan Bublul arrived near Dīlī Shams Khātān, the sister of Quth Khān Lodi sent him a message, saying, "So long as Quth Khān remains in the prison of Muhammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King." Accordingly Bublul broke the truce, and came to Dīlī, whence he returned towards Jaunpur. On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Khān, and gave it to Jūnān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muhammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Saranti facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Bublul from Rāi Khān, whereas Badoni makes it seem as though Muhammad's forces re-conquered it. Firishta's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

3 MS. (A) تعاقب ابر كورد. 4 MS. (A) ناموزد كرده.

5 The account of the circumstances given by Firishta show that Husain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Bublul but changed direction to Qananj. When Bublul heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amirs to meet Husain Khān, and himself took prisoner. Jalāl Khān, brother of Husain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Quth Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p 323).

6 MS. (A) افتقام یحیی جونیور. The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.
Sultan Buhul also despatched Jalal Khan, the brother of Husain Khan, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Qutb Khan, to Sultan Husain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years Sultan Husain coming to the borders of Chandwär, 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 Jilwani, the ruler of Baiana 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 Bhatwara, 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-i-Jilwani] was married to Sultan Husain, passed away in Badāon, 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 desirest,
Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss?

Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed?

And Sultan Husain came from Itawa to Badāon to perform the

1. A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (Firishṭa).
2. Both MS. (A) (B) omit ḫulq.
3. The name is omitted in MS. (A).
4. See note 1 page 402. Alūn-d-Din really died in 883 H. according to Firishṭa. 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 'Ala-ud-Din, took possession of them himself, and thence went to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khan, the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran, and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihli in the mouth of Zū Hijjah, in the year 880 H. and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kīchā. Sultan Bahlūl coming from Sīhrīnd summoned Ḥusain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jabān from the vicinity of Mirath, and dispatched him to oppose Sultan Ḥusain, while he himself held Dihli 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 Bahlūl he returned. Sultan Bahlūl 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 Bahlūl, and as many as forty noted Amirs of Sultan Ḥusain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qūzi Samā'u-ud-Din, entitled Qutluq Khān the Wazir, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

1 MS. (A) reads _bt-ziyāt-e_ which agrees with the words of Fīrishtā (Bo. text, p. 225) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B)  _batgrīb-i-e_, i.e., on his account.

2 MS. (A) reads  _Mubārak Khān_.

3 Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant of    _ba Shārān_.

4 There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Fīrishtā says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.

5 MS. (A) reads  _Guzr-i-Ganjīna_, but the text is right. Fīrishtā reads  _kachha_.

6 MSS. (A) and (B) omit _kachha_.

7 MSS. (A) and (B) read  _ūlāt_ (Text).

8 Fīrishtā says  _ṣibṭ-e-Mirāk_. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.

9 MS. (A) reads  _ūlāt_.

10 MS. (A) reads  _āshiāy-e_ (B)  _āshiāy-e_ (A).
Sultan Bahlul made over Qutlug Khan in chains to Qutb Khan Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsabad 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. (1479 A.D.) the chronogram for that year was Nawid-i-Kharibi (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 Dhopamau; 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 Sonbhar. Sultan Husain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodi party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultan Bahlul left Dhopamau for Dihli to mourn for Khan-i-Jahin who had died in Dihli, [and having conferred the title of Khan-i-Jahin 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

1 Firiohta enumerates Khanpal (Kanpila?) Baitali, Shamsabad, Sakit Mirmak and Jaleex, as the townships seized on this occasion by Bahlul.

2 Shygduran, Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces.

3 MSS. (A) (B). The text reads—

4 Firiohta includes this among the events of 683 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:

7 The text reads incorrectly instead of .

8 MB (A) omits the portion in brackets.
children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultān Ḥusain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt, who are a clan of the Bhadāwarīs, attacked his camp; Rai Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sultān 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 Sultān as far as Kālpī; Sultān 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 Sultān Ḥusain, and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sultān Ḥusain 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.

Sultān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

1 MS. (A) omits the word which is correct, see n 2.

Hatkānt is said by Abū Fāsīl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district S. E. of Agra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadanrahās. 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-Akbarī (B) I. 468. Elliot. Races of N. W. P., vol. I, p. 25.

2 We should probably read here Mushtāfat for Mutabīfat see Firīšta.

3 MS. (A) reads,

4 Both MS. Also Firīšta who calls him Rāi Tīloch Chand, Governor of Khātra (Katchr.)

5 Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unā town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter Imp. Cor., I, 450) MS (A) reads

6 Firīšta says. Offered his services to Sultān Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultān Buhlūl, and not Sultān Ḥusain

7 MSS. (A) and (B) read Bhatta instead of Patnā. Firīšta has Thatta, and this seems to be the proper reading.

8 MS. (A).
Sultan Hussain leaving Jaunpur went by way of Bahraich towards Qauanuj, and engaged Sultan Bahlul for some time on the banks of the Rabab, 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 Mulika-i-Jahân, Bibi Khûnza, who was the daughter of Sultan ʿAlau-d-Din, and the grand daughter of Khizr Khan, was taken prisoner; Sultan Bahlul treated that lady with the utmost respect and regard, and when he again attempted to conquer Jaunpur, Bibi Khûnza by some artifice effected her escape and joined her husband. Jaunpur fell into the hands of Sultan Bahlul. He gave it to Mubarak Khan Lûhânî, and himself proceeded to Badāon. Sultan Hussain took the opportunity to march against Jaunpur in full force: the Amirs of Sultan Bahlul evacuated it, and went to Qutb Khan Lodi who was in Mahjauli, and approached Sultan Hussain with expressions of fealty, and by pretending to take his part kept him at bay till reinforcements arrived from Sultan Bahlul. Sultan Bahlul sent his own son Mubarak Shâh to the assistance of these Amirs, while he himself also set out for Jaunpur, following his son; Sultan Hussain not being able to stand against him went to Bihar. In the meantime tidings of the death of Qutb Khan reached Sultan Bahlul at the camp of Haldi, and having performed the requirements of mourning for him, he proceeded to Jaunpur, and after placing his son Barbak Shâh upon the throne of the Sharqi dynasty, returned, and came to the Kalpi country, which he gave to Azam Humayûn, another nephew, who had the

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1 MSS. (B) reads ʿmuqâbala, i.e., met him.
2 MS. (A) reads ʿKhûtma. Firishta reads ʿKhûra.
3 MS. (A) reads ʿMajhâli. Firishta reads ʿMajhâli. A village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gaudak. There are two villages forming one: Majhâli, which is Hindu, on the north bank, and Sâhnapûr, which is Muslimmam, on the south. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. IX, 213.
4 Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit ʿBarbak.
5 MSS. (A) and (B) read ʿRajah Shâh.
6 Firishta says: When Sultan Bahlul arrived at the township of Haldi, he heard of the death of Qutb Khan.
7 Firishta says: “expelled Sultan Hussain Sharqui, again conquered Jaunpur, and placed his own son Barbak Shâh upon the throne of the Sharqi Kings.”
name of Bāyazīd,\textsuperscript{1} and having arrived at Dholpur\textsuperscript{2} levied several
mons of gold as tribute from the Rāi of that place; then passing by
Bālī went to Ilāhpūr,\textsuperscript{3} one of the dependencies of the fortress of
Rantaubhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihlī
and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Hīsār
Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihlī.
Once more he went to Gwāliār, where Rāja Mān the Governor of
Gwāliār sent an offering of eighty laks of tankas of that period;
accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwāliār, and proceeded to
Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihlī when he was taken
ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakit.\textsuperscript{4}
And in the year 894 H (1488 A. D) he died, the duration of
his reign was thirty-eight years,\textsuperscript{5} eight months and eight days.\textsuperscript{5}

\textit{Verse.}

\begin{quote}
Whether it be Afīsīyāb or his son Zāl,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fāta.
To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed
It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may
strive.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1} MS (A) writes پسر دیگر another son. Firista says بیوته خوادج،
اعظم خواجہ بن خوادج باپرین , his grandson Khāja A’zam Humāyūn son of
Khwāja Bāyazīd.’ (Bo. Text, p 327). This is correct. Bāyazīd was the eldest
son of Buhlūl.

\textsuperscript{2} Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خوادج.

\textsuperscript{3} The text and MS. (B) read Pathanpūr. MS. (A) reads با پالنپور be
Ilāhpūr: Firista’s text however reads clearly (p. 327) با مانش-1-Ilāhpūr. Briggs (p 660) says Rattunpoor !

\textsuperscript{4} Text and MS (B) have بلاک سکپیت Sakpat. MS. (A) reads سکپیت Salīb.
In Firista we read (Bo text 327) that “Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakīt Singh
and set out to return to Dihlī but fell ill on the way” Later on we read that
“he died near Bhandūli one of the dependencies of Sakīt.” Sakīt is in the
Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (Imp.
Gaz. XII. 146), that Buhlūl Lodi died. Abūl Fārū states (Ām-i-Akbarī text I. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhandāwh in the
Sarkār of Sahār in the Agra Subah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of
Qānuṣ (see Ām-i-Akbarī (Jarrot) (II. 309 n 3). Sakīt was probably the
head quarters of the Sakīt Singh whom Firista mentions.

\textsuperscript{5} MS (A) reads بون after سمال.

\textsuperscript{6} Firista says seven days.
Whether it be a king or a Khás-saller Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death. The date of his death.

In eight hundred and ninety and four The world-conquering Khedive, Bahlul left the world; With his sword he seized provinces, but for all his bright sword and burnished dagger, He was not able to repel death.

Sultan Sikandar ibn Sultan Bahlul

Who was known by the name of Nizam Khan, upon hearing the tidings of his father’s decease, came in haste from Dihli to the township of Jalali, entered the camp and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihli. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sultan Firuz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khân-i-Jhân ibn Khân-i-Jabin, and Khân-i-Khanân Formali, and all the Amirâ, and was addressed by the title of Sultan Sikandar. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihli, he went to Shaikh Sam‘un-d-Din Kanbu, the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamali, who was one of the greatest among the Ulama Shaikhs of his time, on pretence of taking an

Khas-furâgh. Khas is a fragrant grass (Andropogon mutica- tum) 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 tatties” in India.

2 MS. (A) reads This is omitted in the text.

Prior to his death Sultan Bahlul had made a partition of his dominions, assigning Jaunpur to Shâhâdâ Bârbaq Shâh, and Karra Manikpur to Shâhâdâ ‘Alam Khan; Dahrnich to his sister’s son Shaikh Muhammad Formali, who was known as Kâli Bahr, and Lakhna and Kâlpi to ‘Asam Hamyayn ibn Khwaja Baysid Khan. (Firishta Bo. text 327).

These same verses are found in Firishta.

4 MS. (A) has no further words. MS. (B) adds Lodi. The text adds ibn t Kâl.

6 Neither MS. (A) nor (B) has as in the text.

7 MS. (B) it omits Forouzi Formali

8 MS. (A) omits Khâtab Kûnî. MS. (A) Kûnî.
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* 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. **fā'il**. Taking *fā'il* or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianae*, or the oracle of Proverbs. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'an, or the works of Hāfiz in this way. The word *fā'il* properly means a good omen, as opposed to *fā'irat* a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muhammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (Mağhātū-l-Maṭābīh Mathew ii. 331) see also Lane s. v. *fā'il*; also Lane's *Modern Egyptians* 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the Zā'īyāh is given.

3 MS. (B) reads *bradardeigur* another brother. Firishta gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodi Amirs favoured A'zam 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 'Umūr Khān Shīrwānī 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 Shīrūkh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to A'zam Humāyūn: Zobā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Isā 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 Fārmāli 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 in the palace of Sālţān Firūr on the banks of the Bīān, as Buhlūn Sikandar. He then sending his father's body to Dihli, marched against 'Isā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firishta Bo. text 338-389).

8 MS. (A) reads *Asad'ak allāh*, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads}

4 MS. (A) omits the words *wāli samā'idayāt* 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, 1 he left Dihli, and marched towards 2 Rāpri and Itāwa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'il Khān Luhānī 3 with overtures of peace to King Bārbak Shāh at Jaunpūr, while he proceeded in person against 5 'Isā Khān Governor of Patiāli; 6 and 7 'Isā Khān confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rāi Ganesī, 8 the Rāja of Patiāli who was friendly to Bārbak Shāh, came in and had an interview with the Sultān who 9 confirmed him in the Government of Patiāli 10 Bārbak Shāh coming from Jaunpūr to Qanānaj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them. 11 Mubārak Khān Luhānī, 12 who was with the army of Bārbak Shāh, was taken prisoner in this battle, 15 Bārbak Shāh fled to Badāon, Sultān Sikandar besieged 16 that fortress, and Bārbak Shāh being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultān, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpūr, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Shariqī kings, except that he divided certain parganas of these territories 15 among his own Amīrs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bār-
Then he took Kali from Azam Khan Humayun the son of Khwaja Bayazid. From thence he came to Jaiharta, and from that place to Gwaliar, sending Khwaja Muhammad Farmal with a special robe of honour on an embassy to Raja Man, who in turn sent his brother’s son to pay his respects to the Sultan and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sultan as far as Baiiana. Sultan Sharq, the Governor of Baiiana, the son of Sultan Ahmad Jilwani the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort to the agents of the Sultan; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiiana strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sultan proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khun Jilwani, a subordinate of Sultan Sharq, fortified himself in the fort of Agra. The Sultan left certain of his Amirs in Agra and proceeded to Baiiana and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sultan Sharq fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiiana to the Sultan; that province was then conferred upon Khun-i-Khanan Farmali. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis in the Jaunpûr territory had assembled to the number

1 Firrîhta says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service though Badonî’s words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bârbak Shâh’s actions. MS. (A) omits بر ور کثیف and subsequent متعتادان and معتمدادان.

2 MS. (A) omits خان giving it to Mahmud Lodi (Firrîhta);

3 Briggs (p. 568) says Bhurayee, but the original text of Firrîhta says جمارت جواهر. I fail to locate this.

4 MS. (A). دوز. MS. (B) reads دوز. Governor of Gwaliar (Firrîhta).

5 Briggs has Man Singh. Firrîhta reads Man merely.

6 Firrîhta reads شرخ Sultan Sharq. Badonî (text and both MSS.) reads شرخ Sharq.

7 MS. (B) reads فلله instead of فلله.

8 The text reads سلطان الچک. Sultanul-Sharq. MSS. (A) (B) read سلطان شرخ Sultan Sharq.

9 MSS. (A) (B) خمصص شد.

10 MSS. (A) (B) گدشت و.

11 Where he besieged Sultan Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firrîhta 331).

12 Shâq (text and MSS.).

13 A tribe of Rajputas said to be descended from the Mainpûri Chaubasans.
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 Jānnāpūr, and arrived at the fortress of Jāhār, and engaged in battle with the Amīr of Sultan Hāsān Shārqī 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 Ilāhābās (otherwise called Prayāg), laid waste that district, and proceeding by way of Karrā and Mānīkpūr 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 Jānnāpūr. In this expedition very many notorious for their turbulence, originally Mūḥammadān, see Elliot, Races of N. W. P., I. 47.

1 MSS. (A) (B)  
2 Text Jāhār MS. (A) reads Ārīl (?). MS. (B) Jāhnār. Chinār Fīrištā.
3 Chinār.

Fīrištā says came to Kānabā (P) which is one of the dependencies of Patna. MS. (A) reads Kūnt.

4 A. footnote variant is given in the text Bārīl by Arkal.

Fīrištā reads Ārīl (or Aryan); he says جنوب اریل.  
Ārīl is mentioned by Abūl Fazl (Ain-i-Akbarī (B) I. 425) "he held Shomār and Ārīl (Ilāhābās) as jāgīr."

5 The text reads Payāk. MS. (A) reads Bāyāk. Payāk, MS. (B) Bāyāk. Bāyāk, MS. (B) aṣ-ṣāfī.  
6 For the derivation of Prayāg the ancient name of Allahābād, see Cunningham (A. G. I. 391.)

7 Dalman lay opposite to Karrā on the other side of the Ganges, see Rennell’s Map; see also, Ain-i-Akbarī (J.) II. 167 n 2. Fīrištā (Bo. text) reads Dalpur, p. 332.

8 MS. (B).

9 Not in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy. They are however in exact accord with Fīrištā’s statement, and are probably copied from his work.

10 MS. (A).
horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive; the semindārs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultan Husain Shāri of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultan Sikandar’s army, and invited him (to advance). Sultan Husain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sultan Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit and came to Chenār and from thence to Banāras. Sultan Husain had arrived within seventeen krohs of Banāras when Sultan Sikandar marched against him rapidly. In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty semindār, left Sultan Husain and joined Sultan Sikandar. Sultan Husain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna. Sultan Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him with a hundred thousand light cavalry, while thus engaged he learned that Sultan Husain had gone to Behār. After nine days Sultan Sikandar arrived, and joining his camp set out for Behār. Sultan Husain, leaving his deputy in Behār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gainw one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, and Behār fell into the hands of Sikandar’s troops. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Tīrīt and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lodi died, and Ahmad Khān his eldest son was styled A’zam Khān Humāyūn. The Sultan returned from Tīrīt, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutbu-l-Mashāikh-i-Izām, Shaikh Sharfu-d-Din Mūnīrī, may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to...
Darveshpur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din king of Bengala, and in the vicinity of Bihar, the son of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din, whose name was Daniël, 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 contenting 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 proclaimed remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Saran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity, and came by way of Mahligarh to Jaunpur, and having spent six months there proceeded to Pauna. And in the year 904 H. (1403 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Pauna, as far as Bandhugarg, which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jaunpur where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amirs during a game of chauk, and at last it ended in an open fight, and the Sultan

1 MS. (A) ब्रो रति (४)
2 तीजीज़ी नदिया वार्ता (७)
3 MS. (A) तीजीज़ी नदिया वार्ता (४)
4 Mirista reads 'Machligarh'
5 MS. (A) पौना, text and MS. (B) पौना. Mirista text फौना. Mirista text फौना. Dr. Price in his translation says 'Pauna' (p. 573), and this must be correct to judge from what follows.
6 MS. (A) पौना, text and MS. (B) पौना. Dr. Price in his translation says 'Pauna' (p. 573), and this must be correct to judge from what follows.
7 MS. (A) reads 'Machligarh' but Bandhugarg is the right reading.
8 Bandhugarg and Banda are the same in the right reading. According to the position of this fortress we find Abul Fazl states (An-i-Akbar (J.), II, 157) that Bandhugarg lies south of Allahabad. The translator adds a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however, lies to the west and not to the south of Allahabad. Bandhugarg was one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bandhugarg (which corresponds nearly to the state of Pauna) and lies south of Rana (Rana) distant about 60 miles, and S. S. E. from Pauna, distant about 90 miles (Keith Johnson). In Kennell's Map (Title III.) it is very plainly marked, though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above, see Kennell's Map N.p. Nq. The other fortress lay south of Bandhugarg and was called Mandia Garg.
9 Called in Arabic مَرْضُيَّة Sawlaya. The modern name of this town is Pahan. For a full account of this game, see An-i-Akbar (B.), L. 287-299
10 Mirista gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within
becoming suspicious of the Amirs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amirs urged Fath Khān the son of Sultān Buhülī to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Tāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sultān, at the same time giving them a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amirs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sultān Sikandar, who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amirs who had shown partiality for the Prince Fath Khān.

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 Dhibī began to commit malpractices. The Sultan accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawāṣ Khan the Governor of Māchhiwān, to seize Aghar and send him into his presence; but Aghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment, and Khawāṣ Khan received the Governorship of Dhibī. In this year also Khān-i-Khanān Faramān the Governor of Barīna died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Ahmad and Suleiman the two sons (grandsons) of Khan-i-Khanān. After a time they
entered the Sultan's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baitana) was made over to Khawāṣ Khan, while Safdar Khan was appointed to the charge of Agra, which was one of the dependencies of Baitana. Khawāṣ Khan with the assistance of Ḍālam Khan Governor of Miwāt, and Khānī Khānān Lūhān, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpūr. The Rāi of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultan leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpūr, and Rāi Manik Deo, Raja of Dholpūr, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwalīr. They plundered and pillaged the district around Dholpūr. The Sultan having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwalīr, and leaving Ādam Lodi there, crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendaki.

By reason of the badness of the climate of that place sickness broke out among the population and a pestilence arose. The Raja of Gwalīr also came and made overtures of peace, and delivered up Sa’d Khān, and Bābū Khān, and Rāi Ganeś, 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
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 also to Binayik Deo, and having spent the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus in the year 910 H (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandiayar, which he took without fighting from the Raja of Mandiayar, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches of the place, and, as he returned, relieved the fortress of Dholpur, then came to Agra and gave his Amir a permission to proceed to their several quarters. [And in this year Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Junpuri, pray God安全性) his holy resting place, who was one of the chief of the great walis and had even laid claim to be the Mahat, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us.] He answered: Here am I, while returning from Makthah the sacred city towards Hindustan, to the town of Farah where he was buried 4. Then Zunger of Qundahar, God's mercy be on him, whom, as well as the Mir himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram.

In the month of Manzil (Feb. 1170).

Mandipal. This is not marked in Annu's map, but in Sunthaler (I, 176) note that it is under the name of Mandipal or Mancr and that its 2nd upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western head of the Ghambal, and in the atlas S. E. of Farah (Kerudd) see Keil's Johnston's Atlas, India B. i. Mandler, see also Akbar's (I. II, 170) Mandipal.

The version in square bracket is not in either HS. (4) or MS. (B).

The version in square bracket is not in either HS. (4) or MS. (B).

The Shrahe believe that the Mahat has already appeared, the Sunnis still look to his appearance. Hupmod, D or Islav
He said, "Go and enquire from the Shaikh!"

Shaikh Mubarak also invented a chronogram in the words of Māzā Mahdī. The Mahdi has departed.

On the third of the month of Safar in the year 911 H (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole of Hindustān that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared, while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived. We learn from the Wāqī'āt-i-Bāburī 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 Qāzī was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes.

The value of the letters of the word Qāzī is 800 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 910.

These words as written in the text only total 800, but if we write more accurately, they will be 910.

A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firmente also has no reference to this event.

Firmente only says in Agra.

MS. (A) reads dūshwārīhā Difficulties and dangers.

Regarding this work, see Elliott IV, 218. The commentaries of Bāber, originally written in Tūrki were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see Jān-i-Akbar (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erofejev. 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.

Qāzī. 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911
And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest point 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 Úntgarh, 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 jâhâr 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 en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalâl Khân 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 Sakkar; 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

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1 Firishta gives this rubâ£ with slight variation omitting چووم in the second line.
2 Firishta reads عیدتگر (A) ہندویت نگر (B) ہندویت گڑ gym in the second line. Adînagar, MS. (A) A criticizing, Úntgarh. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 422 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see Am.-Albari (I.) 1, 350 n. 1. Firishta states that the Sultan regarded Údînagar as the key to Gwâliâr which he wished to reduce (p. 338).
3 Firishta 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 Mâlwa (Firishta). It lay about half way between Gwâliâr and Dhâr, see Tiuff I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress; see also Am.-Albari (J.) II, 100, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwâliâr city, see Hunter Imp. Gaz. X. 227.
4 Who upon the death of his father Mahmûd Khân had become governor of Kâlîpî.
5 Firishta says Jalâl Khân was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.
6 Firishta says Hanwantgarh.
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 Na’mat Khātūn,2 wife of Qutb Khān Lodi, who had come4 to have an interview with the Sultan, to proceed to Kalpi, and gave that district as a jaqīr to Prince Jalāl Khān. And in the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.) he marched from Lahāyar,5 and came to Hatkānth,6 established posts in different places and proceeded to his capital Agra. The date of this was fixed by the following words) “Lahu alḥuknu wa ilāha tayar’un?” That is to say, His is the decree and to him do ye return.

Muhammad Khān, the grandson of Sultan Nāṣir-ud-Dīn of Mālūk, fearing his grandfather, came for safety to the Sultan, and was allotted the jaqīr of Chanderi, while Prince Jalāl Khān was directed to give him every assistance as weiley; and in this year orders were issued for the erection of palaces and rest-houses, and for the laying out of gardens at intervals along the whole route from Agra to Dholpūr, 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 Sultan, evinced great respect for the Sultan, 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 Sultan.

1 MS. (A) 2 Lisa Istah May MS (B) 3 Kardend MS (A) 4 Rāhat Istah May MS (B) 5 Khutbān MS (A) 6 The wife of Qutb Khān Lodi, foster mother of Jalāl Khān (Firīštā). 7 Text and MS. (A) 8 Khurj MS (A) 9 Kīrj MS (B) 10 House Būndean MS (B) 11 Gwāllār (Firīštā). Lahāyar is placed in Runell’s map about 50 miles S.E. of Gwāllār, see Hunter Imp. Gaz. VIII. 100. 12 Text Hanīyat. MS (B) Hāṭkān 13 Firīštā Ḩāṭkān Hāṭkān 14 The text han Walā MSS. (A) (B) have Kā which is correct. The date is 915 H. 15 Firīštā explains this; he says that certain relations of Muhammad Khān, namely, Ali Khān and Abū Bakr who had conspired to kill him, had been overthrown by him, and took refuge in the court of Sultan Sīkhūdar and that Muhammad Khān fearing the consequences adopted the means described in order to conciliate the Sultan. 16 MS. (A) 17 MS. (B) 18 Pālīstīn May MS (B) 19 MS. (A) (B) 20 MS.
In this year also Sulaimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmān was dismissed from the service of the Sulṭān, on the grounds that he had been appointed to perform a service at Üntghar, and in the direction of Šūpār, and had refused: the pargana of Indri Karnāl was given him as Madāl-i-ma'āṣ (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderi to Sulṭān Sikandar on account of the weakness of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Mālwa, 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 Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Naṣir-ud-Dīn of Mālwa, was taken prisoner, and Chanderi was (nominally) placed under his authority, but Amirs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer his jāgīr, then the Sulṭān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Bāiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working, especially Saiyyid Nāmatu-l-lāh and Shaikh ʿAbdullāh Ḥusaini, who was

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1 MS. (A) reads. 2 Firahī says Henwantgarh, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Sulaimān 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.

5 Firahī says Bareri. MS. (B) reads. For the meaning of madāl-i-ma'āṣ called also sāyīrgāl, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) p. 268; Sāyīrgāl is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land), (Pavot de Courtoille).

4 MS. (B) reads Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderi, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sulṭān of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sulṭān Sikandar, and agreed to the Khutbah being read in his name in Chanderi, see Briggs, p. 588, and Bo text, p. 341.

8 MS. (A) reads. MS. (B) writes also does Firahī. The text reads Muḥammad Khān, w also does Firahī. Also does Firahī. The text reads Muḥammad Khān.

9 Firahī reads. MS. (A) reads. MS. (B) reads. 9 MS. (A) reads. MS. (B) reads. 9 See Lane s v. also Hughes, Dict. of Islam art. Miracles. The full expression is Khawāṣ-i-ṭādat.

10 MS. (A) (B) reads. 11 MS. (A) (B).
of those famous for revelations and miracle-working, with whom he used to consort frequently. Shāhzāda Daaulat Khān, governor of the fortress of Bantaubur, in the service of Sultan Fakhūd of Mulwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of Ali Khan of Nāgar, who was in charge of the province of Siwī Siyūr, came and had an interview with the Sultan, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so happened that the Ali Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisies, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sultan pretended not to notice this, and treated Daaulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thānkār, and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Hāri, he returned thence to Agra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the next world on Sunday the seventeenth of Zul Qādah 923 H. (Jan. 1518 A.D.). The words Jamīatu-l-Firdaus vazāla. (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.

Sultan Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

1 MSS. (A) (B) read and this reading is preferable to that of the text.
2 The text reads Sai Sādār with a footnote variant Sai Sādār. Firigha reads Siyūr. Firigha reads Siyūr. (f Sībi) see Ain-i-Akhbār (1) II. 323 n. 1.
3 Firigha writes Thānkār.
4 In the Sarkār of Agra. See Tiell I. 166.
5 MSS. (A) reads
6 Firigha says, Sunday, the seventh of Zul Qa‘dah, and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. See ib. text 343, and Briggs I. 595.
7 MSS. (B) reads and omits . The letters جزات الفردوسی make up the total 923.
verses after the ancient Hindustani models, under the pseudonym of Gulrukh, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamal. 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 Khattani 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 magha, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most suspicious magha] by him in the metre of Masūd 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-l-läh Tulambi in Dihli, and Shaikh ‘Azīzū-lläh Tulumbi in Sambhal, both of whom came

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1 MSS. (A) (B) Dünkar?
2 MS. (A) (B) Jamsāli, amdin (A) Text Jamsāli, amdin (A) Text.
3 MSS. (A) (B) غر 1872 Text غر 1872 Text.
4 The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read نا چئک چئک and MS (A) reads نا چئک چئک Text.
5 MS (A) مکرویند Dünkar?
6 MS. (A) و مطلع صعود و مطلع صعود
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit کنب علی کنب علی.
8 MS. (A) reads منرو Abbur. A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it see Lane s. v. منرو.
9 MS (B) omit طلابی.
10 MS (A) ایبود ایبود
11 MS (A) ایبود ایبود.
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 Shargh-i-Shamsiyah, and the Shakh-i-Sahāfī1 there were no books current in Hindustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters, that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh, for example, Miyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Dīhlī, Miyān Shaikh of Gwālīr, Mirān Su'iyid Julal of Bādān, and others. They say also that Sūltān Sibāndār, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh, used to come 2 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 Sūltān 'alāikum 3 and mix freely with each other.

And Shaikh 'Azīz-llāh of Tulumba, who was a man of great probity and recitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection,4 that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading, he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it; and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned Shaikh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

1 The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qutb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad Rāzī, on the Shamsiyah, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najm-ud-Dīn Umar bin ‘Ali Qazwīnī, who died A. H. 693 (1295 A. D.) see Ḥājī Khalīfah No. 7677. El-Sahāfī fi al-kālām, futū de metaphysica. The Shargh-i-Sahāfī must be the commentary mentioned by Ḥājī Khalīfah and by him ascribed to Sīmāqandī. There was another commentary by Sīmāqandī see H. K. 7718.

2 Ms. (A) 12

3 Ms. (A) has a hiatus between the first and last letters of this name.

4 Text and Ms. (B) read . Ms. (A) reads . HSS. (A) (B).

5 Recollection does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is ṭabarānī; this means literally, making present, en-morning. It seems to be used here for the power of calling v at will any impression. It is not memory, or rather recollection, but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. HSS. (A) (B) read .
One of his pupils was 1 Miṣṭān Ḥālim Sanbali, who is commonly said to have read the Commentaty on the Miṣṭāh 2 more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the Mufawwat 3 more than forty times, from the first letter of the Bismillah to the last of the word Tammat 4.

Another is Shāṭhūl-Hadīyah Jaunpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the Hadīyah-i-Fuyūḥ, 5 while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the Kāfiyāh 6 in addition to these he wrote notes upon the Taṣbīḥ-i-

1 MSS. (A) (B).
2 The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS (A) reads Shāṭhūl-Hadīyah Miṣṭāh, the two commentaries on the Miṣṭāh.
3 Miṣṭāh-u-l-ṭulim (clavis doctrinarum), see Hāji Khalīfah 13376. This book was written by Sirāj d-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Abī Sīkākī who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)
4 Thad text and MS. (B) write only tammat, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word Finis. MSS. (A) and (B) write only tammat-al-kitāb.
5 Hadīyah i-Fīqh. (see Hāji Khalīfah 13366)
6 Kāfiyāh. The famous grammar known by this name is Al-Kāfiyāt fi-l-ḥabar (libor euficious) whose author was Shāhīk Jumālā-d-Dīn abī ʿUmar Usmān bin ʿUmar, commonly known as Ibn u-l-hājīh (ob: 646 A.H.) For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.
Madārik! and other works, which are read up to the present day. Sultan Sikandar also collected together learned men from all parts of the country to instruct him, placing on one side Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Lah, and Shaikh 'Azīzu-l-Lah, and on the other Shaikhul-Nadiyāh and his son Shaikh Bhakān, to discuss difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Lah occurred in the year 922 H; the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it: ʿUdāika lahum ʿa-l-darajatu-l-ulā. And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the aforesaid Shaikh Jamal, Kanlawi of Dīhi, 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 Jāmi, may God sanctify his resting place, and had gained many advantages from him and won his approbation, and was moreover in the habit of submitting his poems to that revered master: The following verses are by him:

Verse.

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And 'twixt two tears 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 Tafsir i Madārik Explanation of the sources from which are compiled the ordinances of the law. See Lane s. v. لدريک.
2 MSS. (A) omit یت. 3 MSS. (A) (B) write یت لدريک.
4 MS. (A) write داریک.
5 Both MSS. (A) (B) write داریک.
6 The text reads wrongly here یت لدريک. MSS. (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Qur'an (XX, 77). The values of the letters is 922.
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit لدريک.
8 MS. (A) omit یت.
9 MSS. (A) (B) write یت لدريک.
10 MSS. (A) (B) omit یت.
The following ode also, 1 which he translated and set to music in his native Hindi, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known. 2

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
Oh thou that art long absent from my sight;
By day and night the thought of thee alone
My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a Tazkīyah (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān, called the Siyār-ull-Ārīfīn (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the venerable Khwāja 3 Muʿīn-ull-Ḥaq Ḥusān-d-Dīn Ajmīnī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaikh Samān-d-Dīn 4 Kambāwī of Dīri, in addition to which it contains other matter both 5 prose and poetry. His diwān is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

SULTĀN IBRAHĪM BIN SULTĀN SIKANDAR LUDI,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amirs, and Shāhāda Ḥalāl Ḥusān ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar 6 [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultān, while Ḥān-i-Jahān Lūhānī 7 governor of Rāpī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amir greatly for associating (Jalāl Khan) in the government 5 of the kingdom; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness 9 of this procedure orders were issued to the Amirs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khan and bring him to the Court. He however went from Janupūr to Kalpi and collected a large following, and after establishing the Khudībak and sikkal in his own name, assumed the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn. Aʾsam Humayūn Shīrāzī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultān Ibrāhīm. 5 Sultān Ibrāhīm

1 (A) omits 2 (A) 3 MS. (A) omits 4 MS. (A) 5 MS. (A) 6 From this point there is a very long omission in MS (B). 7 The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS (A). 8 MS. (A) 9 MS. (A)
sent to the fortress of Hānsī certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhzāda Isma‘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 Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawāsī came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amirās to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Agra. Malik Ādām Kākar was sent by the Sultan to defend Agra, and certain other Amirās 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 Sultan, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kulpi district as a jāqīr. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drum, etc. to Malik Ādām with instructions to convey them to the Sultan in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

It will be remembered that Azām Hamāyūn was the eldest son of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, Isma‘īl and Husain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

Text reads more correctly as.

The text reads here: wa‘ān Mawāshārī pāk būrda while MS. (A) reads wa‘ān Mawāshā for Mawāshā. Neither reading is intelligible.

Jui Chand, a Zamindār of Chārtūlī, a dependency of the pargāna of Kāl which was better known as Mawāsī, had fought against ‘Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsim 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 Fīrīshā’s statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read.
The Sultan would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jallal 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 vazir and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Adam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyan Bhoh died in prison, and Azam Humayun Shurwani the Governor of Kaira, 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 Ral Vikramaji, the son of Ral Man 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 Badalgarh, which lies below the fortress of Gwalior, a very lofty structure, was taken from Ral Man Singh and fell into the hands of the Muslims, and a brazen image, which was worshipped by the Hindus also fell into their

1 MS (A) omits ٍ .
2 MS. ٌ . Firidhsa calls him سدة بحرة.
3 The text reads ٍ with pad three hundred. MS (A) reads ٍ pad thirty hundred. Firidhsa (Bo. text p 349) reads also ٍ pad.
4 MS. ٌ.
5 MS. (A) ٌ Text reads ٌ Firidhsa waaj he died.
6 MS (B) continues here.
7 This fortress of Badalgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see Mir-i-Akbari, I. (B) p. 380 n. 1. Firidhsa says it had been built by Man Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).
8 MS (A) (B) omit ٌ .
9 MS. (A) omits ٌ .
10 The text reads ٌ a brazen image; but both MSS. (A) (B) read ٌ a brazen animal. So also Firidhsa, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdad gate of Bihli, and goes on to say that “that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar” (p. 350)
hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sultān Ibrahim to Dihli, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Fathpur 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 Sultān Ibrahim becoming distrustful of the old Amirs, imprisoned the greater number of them, and expelled (others) in different directions; and inasmuch as Jalāl Khān could not get on with Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa, he fled from Mālwa 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 Sultān who ordered him to be taken to Hānsi and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet
That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren:
Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of kingdom,
For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for thee.

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sultān Ibrahim, Aʿzam Humāyūn Shiwrānī, together with his son Fath Khān, abandoned the siege of Gwalīār Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Ḫalīl Khān the son of Aʿzam [Khān] Humāyūn, gathered together a following in Karra by means of his father's
wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that
district, fought a battle with Ahmad Khan the governor of
Kara, 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-Khanan Farmali, and others
of similar rank. Near the township of Bangaranu, in the neigh-
bourhood of Qananj, Iqbal Khan, the chief cavalry commander
under A'zam Humayun, with five thousand cavalry and some
splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade 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
Khān Luhān, with other generals arrived from the direction of
Buhār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict
ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles descrip-
tion, and after a severe struggle the rebels were defeated.
Islam Khān was killed and Sna'id Khān 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

1 MS. (A) omits.
2 MS. (A) reads, नामक साधिता (A).
3 MS. (A) wrongly inserts अद्यतन before बिरौं.
4 MS. (A) wrongly inserts बिरौं before अद्यतन.
5 Firuzhta says, "after killing some and wounding many."
6 This conject is also given by Firuzhta.
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 A'jam Humayun Shirwani, and Miyān Bho, 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;¹ This is the same stage, this world of ruin Which witnessed the palace of Afrasiyāb.⁸

Miyān Husain Farmall was assassinated in Chanderi, at the instigation of the Sultan, by certain ruffians Shāikh Zādas of that place, and Dāryā Khān Lūhāvi, governor of Bihār, and Khān-i-Jahān Lodi being alarmed,⁶ became disaffected. After a short time Dāryā 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,⁵ assuming the title of Sultan Muḥammad,⁦ 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.⁷ 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 Lodi, 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 his¹⁰ to Kābul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahiru-

¹ MS. (A) reads Doctrine.
² MS. (A) reads Ṣulṭān Ṭūr. MS. (B) Mohallā. For the story of Salm and Tur two of the sons of Faridūn, see Shāhnāma (Atkinson) page 49 et seqq., also Shāhnāma (Turner Macan) pp. 89 to 83.
³ MS. (A) reads владетель, ⁴ MS. (B) Ṣulṭān Muḥammad.
⁵ MS. (A) omits ⁵. Firishtā adds as far as Sambal.
⁶ Footnote variant ⁷. Firishtā adds Muhammad.
⁸ MS. (A) reads ⁸. MS. (B) Ṣulṭān Muḥammad.
⁹ Firishtā says ⁹. Text. Ṣulṭān Muḥammad.
¹⁰ MS. (B) Ṣulṭān Muḥammad.
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. Sultān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihūr, and the Amirs on all sides rebelled against Sultān Ibrāhīm, 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 Ibrāhīm, 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 Khān, 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 qī'ah was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Verse

Zahiru-d-Din Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,
The date of this was Fath bādaulat. (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 in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar’s Amirs at

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1 MS. (B) writes after گز در خود شکایت instead of before it as in the text.
2 MS. (A) reads معانب for شکایت.
3 MSS. (A) (B) omit قیامت.
4 MSS. (A) (B) omit مارکاری.
5 MSS. (B) omits موار.
Lahor, while Amir Khosru, who had strengthened the fortress of Sialkot, evacuated it as soon as Ghazi Khan arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Babar arrived at Sialkot where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Sialkot founded Dholpur]. Alam Khan proceeded to Dihli by order of Babar, and encountering Sultan Ibrahim, made a night attack upon the army of the Sultan; and Jalal Khan with certain other Amirs arrived in the course of that night and joined Alam Khan. Sultan Ibrahim did not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers of Alam Khan, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained with Alam Khan. Sultan Ibrahim, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand his attack. The faithless Alam Khan passing through the Doab came to Sahiind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gungi, one of the dependencies of Malot, at the foot of the hills. Dilawar Khan Luhani separated from him, and joined the service of Babar Padishah, and became one of his faithful adherents. Alam Khan also after some time came and had an interview with Babar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour; and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalanur, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and other Amirs came from Lahor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghazi Khan [and Daulat Khan were, and besieged it, and Ghazi Khan and Khan-i-Khanan] 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 MS. (A) (B) 우르드 류.
3 The text reads rightly.р
4 MS. (A) (B) 우르드 류.
5 MS. (A) (B) 우르드 류.
6 MS. (A) (B) 우르드 류.
7 The text and both MSS. read Gungi. S = Erskine's Babar, p. 390. "The fort of Kinkiteh!"
8 In Pind Dadan Khan tahsil Jhilam, District Panjab, see Hunter Imp. Gaz., IX. 283.
9 MSS. (A) (B)
10 Not in text. cf MSS. (A) (B) which read MS. (A).
and left the fort. Daulât Khán hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated gave him a place near himself.

That is (true) generosity to 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 Bābar Pādīghāh. Some few days after this occurrence Daulât Khán, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzi Khán, and encamped at the foot of the Dūn, which is a very high hill, Ghāzi Khán was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Sīhīnā, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar, thence he came to the borders of Sāmānā and Sānām, and gave orders to Amir Kītākh Beg to proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sultan Iḥāshim, who, after the defeat of ʿAlīm Khán, had stood fast near Dihli.

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1. MS. (A) reads گنابات ار. 2. MS. (B) reads گنابات ار. 3. Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, see Elliot IV. 246. Firishta's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author. 4. In MS. (A) the word ٹسیکا بیسیلیاون preceding ٹسیکا in the text it follows it. 5. Firishta does not mention the death of Daulât Khán, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzi Khán's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away. 6. MS. (A) نازول فرمود. 7. The text reads ہندی زر ہندی کہار نا کن ہندی کہار, MSS (A) (B) read دایی کہار دایی کہار, see Tāzat i-Bībar, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Abkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Julga (or dale) Dūn." 8. MS. (A) کہک. 9. MSS. (A) (B) omit دی. 10. MS. (A) omits گی. 11. MSS. (A) (B) مسح کن دود.
and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Baban the Afganu who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Babar). From this camp also Shâh-žâda Muḥammad Humâyūn Mirzâ, together with Khwâja Kałân Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Ḥamūd Khân the Ḥaṣf-i-Khuîl (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultan Ibrahim, who was advancing at the head of a force from Hisâr Firoza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Ḥamūd Khân was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners. The sârkhâr of Hisâr Firoza with a revenue of two crores, was given as a reward to the Shâh-žâda, and Bābar Pâdîshâh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shâhâbâd, and detailed Khwâja Muhammad Sultan Mirzâ, and Sultan Junâid Mirzâ Birlâ to oppose Da’ûd Khân and a body of Amirs of the army of Sultan Ibrahim, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afgâns a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultan Ibrahim.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre, King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun-carriages had been prepared in one day. Ustâ ‘Ali Quli the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun-carriages with chains and raw-hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip lash. And in the interval between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven shelter parapets were placed, so that on the d. of

1 MS (B) (A) 2 MS. (A) (B) 3 MS. (A) (B) 4 MS. (A) (B) 5 MS. (A) (B) 6 Ustâ ‘Ali Quli (Erakine’s Bābar, p. 227).

3 Text writes جَنَبَهَر. MS. (A) writes this word جَنَبَهَر.


7 P. de G does not give this word. (?) the end of a whip, i.e., the lash. See Erakine’s Bābar, p. 304.

8 The text reads تَوِّضَرْتَ بَيْنَ خَبَك. MS. (A) omits the words بَيْنَ خَبَك, while MS. (B) writes بَيْنَ خَبَك تَوِّضَرْتَ بَيْنَ خَبَك. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For تَوِّضَرْتَ تَوِّضَرْتَ بَيْنَ خَبَك, we should read تَوِّضَرْتَ بَيْنَ خَبَك.
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 Pāṇipath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops, while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack, and in case of necessity should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages. Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumādu-l-Ākhir 6 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pāṇipath, at a distance of six krohs from the camp of Sūltān Ibrāhīm, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābār Pādīshāh 7 comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate. The troops under Bābār used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afghān army, bringing in several heads; in spite of which Sūltān Ibrāhīm and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time. At last one night Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sūltān Ṭihrāzm and certain other Āmirs, with five or six thousand men made a night attack 11 upon Sūltān Ibrāhīm's army, and after killing a large

1 MS. (B) gives this verbal noun مدافعه. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

6 April 12, 1526.

9 MS. (A) writes for واقع, MS. (B) writes wrongly ظاهر نشد for ظاهر.

10 MS. (A) writes دینگ شش, MS. (B) writes ستگ.
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.

Bābār Padighāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and showing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amir Qara Qārchi and Amir Shaikh ‘Ali, with certain other Amirs, and from the right wing, Wali Qizil and Bāba Qusyqah, 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 Gokultāsh, and Amir Yūnas ‘Ali, and Amir Shāh Mansūr Birlās, with other famous Amirs, should lead the front attack; and since the Afghāus were specially observant of the right wing, Amir ‘Abdn-l-‘aziz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Bābār 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 flowen on that battle field
That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flow;
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart’s blood.

The slain lay in heaps, while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens. A period of two

1 MS. (A) writes یارکند. MS. (B) agrees with the text.
2 Al-murụj. 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. رجح.
3 MS. (A) omits اسکندر.
4 MS. (B) Omitted from MS (B).
5 The text is wrong here; we should read درشیبہ تیر dar shaba-i-tin on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).
6 We should read پروق بھضی after پر بیل پر. We should read پر.
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\(^2\) was proceeding one day at early morning\(^3\) from the city of Lāhor towards Fatāhpūr, 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 Pādīshāh, 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.

Bābar Pādīshāh after gaining this\(^8\) signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihli\(^9\) on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the Khutba\(^{10}\) to be read in his name,\(^{11}\) despatching Shāhzād-e Muhammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amirs to Agra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure\(^{12}\) belonging to Ibrāhīm, which was of untold value and divide it among the soldiery.

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\(^1\) The غارن is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

\(^2\) MSS. (A) (B) را

\(^3\) MSS. (A) (B)

\(^4\) MSS. (A) (B)

\(^5\) MS. (A) (B) را

\(^6\) MS. (A) (B) را

\(^7\) MS. (B) جدای

\(^8\) MS. (A) (B) را

\(^9\) MS. (A) را

\(^10\) MS. (B) دیلی

\(^11\) MS. (B) میت

\(^12\) MS. (A) (B) خراب

\(^13\) MS. (A) (B) و میت

\(^14\) MS. (A) (B) لیست

\(^15\) MS. (A) (B) میت
Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.
However brave-hearted a man may be
He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.¹

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A.D.), and the Hindūs invented this date Shahid shudan-i-Ibrāhim² (the martyrdom of Ibrāhim) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodi family, and rested on the descendants of Amir Timūr Sāhibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim was nine years.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Muhammad Bādar Pādīshāh Ghāzī.³

After this ascended⁴ the throne⁵ of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, ‘Irāq, Khurāsān and Kāshghar. He also despatched offerings⁶ to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medinah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakhshān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amirs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve⁷ their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages,⁸ and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,⁹ while Qāsim Sanbali in Sambal, and Nizām Khān in Baiana, and Ḥasan Khān Miwāštī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān¹⁰ in Gwāliār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Qutb Khān, and Kalpī by ‘Ālam Khān, while Qanauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim also, had refused to own his sway,¹¹ and having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave¹² him the title of Sultān Muḥammad; his empire extended as far as

¹ MS. (B) reads سی چترگ
² MSS. (A) (B) reads نضر (B) صدیم
³ MSS. (A) (B) reads ثریس
⁴ MS. (A) omits ویکام
⁵ MS. (A) اف ایکر
⁶ MS. (A) اف ایکر
⁷ MS. (A) اف ایکر
⁸ MS. (A) کے ایکر
⁹ MS. (A) اف ایکر
¹⁰ MS. (A) اف ایکر
¹¹ MS. (A) (B) اف ایکر
¹² MS. (A) (B) یسیر
Bihar, and Nasir Khan Luhani and Ma'ruf Farmali and other powerful Amirs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sultan Ibrahim named Marghoub, having fortified the township of Mahawan, which is situated at a distance of twenty krohs from Agra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Babar Padishah to conquer these countries, and Firoz Khan, and Sarnang Khan, and Shaikh Bayazid, the brother of Mustafa Farmali, with other Afghans coming and tendering their submission, were given jagirs. Shaikh Khurran who was one of the Hindustani Amirs, and also one of their most accomplished men, being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Babar) in the Doab.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a jagir upon Shahzada Muhammad Humayun Mirza. The Amirs seized Qasim Sanbali and sent him to Babar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiana, and had besieged Nizam Khan, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rana Sank having invested the fortress of Khandar, which is in the vicinity of Rantambhur, from Hasan son of Mahkan, was in possession of it; and Shahzada Muhammad Humayun Mirza, with a party of Amirs who had been appointed to capture and hold Dhulpur, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghans of the Luhani faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qasnauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdi Khwaja, and Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who had been ordered to capture Itawa, joined the retinue of the Shahzada, who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpur. In the meanwhile Rana Sank and Hasan Khan Miwati raised to the throne one of the sons of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, named Sultan Muhammad, with the title of Padshah, and started on an expedition against the territories of Babar with a large following and vast army.

1 MSS. (A) (B) خانی. 2 MSS. (A) (B) جایگیری. 3 MSS. (A) (B) supply متعین. 4 MSS. (A) (B) کند. 5 MSS. (A) (B) و 6 MSS. (A) (B) متعین. 7 MS. (B) writes اور. 8 MS. (A) writes شی. 9 MS. (A) (B) پیچائی.
Marching by way of Basāwar\(^1\) they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fathpūr, otherwise known as Sikri.\(^2\) Nizām Khān, the Governor of Bāīnā made representations to the Court of Bābar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rāfi‘u-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, who was one of the most powerful Saiyyīds of Balkh,\(^3\) and the chief of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān Sīkandar Lodi, had been given the title of Ḥaẓrat-i-Mu-ğaddas (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultān and tendered his service. Tāṭār Khān Ṣārang Khānī also, after that Rānā Sānkā seized the fortress of Khondhār, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Bābar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwāliār; but when Khwaja 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 Ghans, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of da‘wat-u-āsma,\(^6\) entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tāṭār Khān whether he would or no, and sent him into the presence of Bābar Padishāh. In just this same way also Muḥammad Zaitān the Afghān gave up the fort of Dhopolūr to the Amir of Bābar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sānkā\(^8\) had arrived on the confines of Bāīnā and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fathpūr; Bābar 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 Jaunpūr 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 Ḥurand\(^9\) and

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1. MS. (A)
3. MSS. (A) (B) Abū. 4. MS. (A) ā‘lām. 5. MS. (B) jām. 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 Da‘wah, p. 72. MS. (B) reads دمّدات. The text has a misprint for رهنوُنی. 7. MS. (A) 8. MS. (A) (B) Ḥār. 9. MS. (B) نوشُند. 10. Footnote variant to the text reads حَرَّد.
Bihar from Nasir Khan\footnote{Nusrat Khan. So also MS. (B).} Luhani, and having appointed Awaja 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, and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king’s service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great\footnote{MS (B) reads حاکم تخارا Hitkîm-i-Bokhârâ.} and noble, Khâwaja Khâwind Naqshbandi arrived from Kâbul, and the Amirs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rânâ 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 Islâm should proceed in his own excellent person towards the Panjab, 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 Fathpûr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.\footnote{The text reads قدرة الأطم Qodrât ul-‘Âtim so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that هم و إل ا نبوت (A) is correct.}

Verses.

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, and the promulgation of the

\footnote{The Kalimah, “There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God,” see Qur’ân xlvii. 21 and xlviii 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islam) art: Kalimah.}
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 Miwāti, 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 Miwāti, a jagi in form and appearance, in the year 860 H., after the death of Salim Shah Afghān Sūr, raised a rebellion in Miwāt, and called himself Hasan Khan, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Miwātīs, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this Muntaḥab (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.) saw him in Agra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features, and the late Khān-i-Khanān Bāiram Khān used to say, that Hasan Khan Miwāti was a man who commanded a large following, and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known; but this mannikin resembled an uncounted rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive. God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khān.

After some time certain of the Khānādas of Miwāt 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 Shāh Bābar.**

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven. The words Shāh-i-Schauwal also form the date of his decease,
while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muharram,
The year of his birth also is Shash-i-Muharram.
The duration of his reign in Mawarannahr, Badakhshan, Kabul, and Kashghar, as well as in Hindustan, was thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwaja Kalan Beg wrote this couplet in his funeral ode.

Alas! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas! and Alas! that time should remain and thou shouldst be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khani, who translated in most elegant style, the Waziai-Babari, 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 hadst 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 but both MSS (A) (B) read تاریخ سال او و فوت târîx-i-faut, the date of his death.
The letters of the words give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

2 MS. (A) omits دبود.

3 MS. (A) reads خواصت.

4 Waziai-Babari, The, also Tuzakti-Babari is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Tukish here referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 et seqq., also Erskine's Babar (Introduction).

Footnote variant نصبی

5 MS. (A) reads چونه.
My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational and traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Maulānā Baqā’ī who wrote a Magnāvi in the metre of the Makḥzan-i-Asrār. At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his.

Another is Maulānā Shīhābū-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and at the time when Darmāsh Khān was appointed by Shāh Isma’īl Ṣafawī Husaini to the Governorship of Khūrāsān, that prince of traditionists, Mir Jamālū-d-Dīn, the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and that true Ḥadīṣ (tradition) that He created the world in seven days explained it in two ways; Maulānā Shīhābū-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‘ is selected:

Quatrain.

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic, Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water.
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 Kashif 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 moment
displaying coquetry.
Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet.
And then displayed her moon-bright face from one corner. 6

The death of the Maulavi took place at the time of the return
of the Emperor Muhammad Humayun, whose abode is in Paradise,
from his expedition to Gujrat in the year 942 H., and Mir Khond.
Amir the historian invented the chronogram Shihabu-ṣ-ṣaqib.
And one of the wonderful inventions of that Emperor, whose
shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khatṭ-i-Babari (the Babari script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'an, and sent
it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and
Turki poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the
Hanifite Theology called Mubaiyyin,7 and Shaikh Zainu-d-Din8
wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled Mubin. His treatises
on Prosody are also in common use.

1 Shihabu-d-Din was called Shihabu-ṣ-ṣaqib (the brilliant star); these words
also give the date of his death, see post.
2 MS. (A) reads ل for ط.
3 MS. (A) reads د for ل.
4 The following is the explanation of this Mu'amma which is contained in
the two last lines of the Ruba'î. That is to say: she took the word لله and removed from it the daira or curved portion
of the坚固 lm, thus leaving كا; to this she added ك أَم ضرلف ساری-
sulf, that is to say the last letter of the word صلب, the letter ف, thus
having كا...ك. To this she added كه.sqlite error, the first letter of the
word كاه, which is in Arabic که. This will give the whole word كاه.
5 MS. (A), see Bealo, p. 160.
6 MSB. (A) (E) omit كاه.
7 The text reads كه بفظ بله مثنات.
8 MS. (A), see Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, et seqq.
9 MS. (B) reads كه for كه, 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.

Nasir-u-d-Din 'Wau-d-Dunya! Muhammad Humayun
Pishan-i-Ghazi.

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H.
(1530 A.D.), with the concurrence of Amir Khalifa who was the
agent and prime minister of the Government, ascended the
throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the
date.

Verse.

Muhammad Humayun Shâh 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-Mulûk."  

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he
made present of trays filled with gold, another chronogram was
invented in the words Kishit-i-Zar (Tray of gold). After dis-
posing of all matters of importance he led an army against the
fortress of Kâlinjar, and, after quelling the insurrection of
Sultân 'Alam ibn-i-Sultân Sikandar Lodi, who had raised a revolt
in Jaunpûr, returned to Agra and made a great feast, at which
entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the
bestowal of robes of honour.

Verse.

A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented;
But if he withholds their just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword.

In those days, Muhammad Zamân Mirzâ ibn-i-Badî'u-z-Zamân
Mirzâ ibn-i-Sultân Husain Mirzâ, who had hostile intentions

1 MS. (A).
2 The text reads خیرالملوك. MS. (A) reads خیرالملوك.  
3 MS. (B) writes خیرالملوك. The letters of the words
give the date 937 H., as do also the letters of the words
kishit-i-zar in the next line.
4 MS. (B) writes <Kalichar and میرزا.  
5 MSS. (A) (B) supply .
6 MS. (A). 7 MS. (B).
was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiñá, 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 Sultán Bahádur of Gujráát. It is said that at the time when Muḥammad Zamán Mirzā joined Sultán Bahádur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muḥammad Zamán Mirzā was seized with a pain at the heart, for the cure of which the physicians declared gulgand (confection of roses) to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamán Mirzā begged Sultán Bahádur to send him a piece of this gulgand. He accordingly summoned his shahbadár (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much gulgand 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 Zamán 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 gulgand used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultán Mirzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mirzā and Šāh Mirzā, proceeded to Qañanj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultán Bahádur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamán Mirzā, Sultán Bahádur sent back a discourteous reply; he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujráát. Bahádur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Ránú Sánká, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tájár Khán Lodi being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiñá, extending his depredations as far as Ágra; and after a fierce
conflict with Muḥāfiz i Handāl, in which he attacked with three thousand men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sulṭan Bahādur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muhammād Humāyūn Pādshāh moved against him from Āgra; and in this same year Mirzā Kāmru, proceeding by forced marches from Lābor to Qandahār, defeated Sām Muḥāfiz, the brother of Shāh Tāhmāsp, who was besieging Khwāja Kūlān Būg, and the following hemistich gives the date.

Zada Pādshāh Kāmru Sām rā.

(King Kāmru defeated Sām)

Maulānā Bekāsī also writes the following

Verse.

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight,

When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the flagon and the chasing of the cup,

I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our midst the gold-scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?

She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this encounter, has cast down the golden crown, in consequence of the defeat of the army of Sām.

Muḥammd Humāyūn Pādshāh, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sulṭan Bahādur and engage his attention

1 MS. (A) 2 The text reads 3 The text reads 4 MS. (B) reads 5 MS. (A) writes 6 These letters form the date 242 7 Footnote variant 8 The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way.

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 Sām (Shikast i-Sipāh-i-Sām). By Taj-i-Zar is meant the letter j, the first letter of the word jām, the value of which is 7; this being cast out from the value of Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām gives 940 = 942.
while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor, halted at Sarangpur. Sultan Bahadur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Padshah (Humayun) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsur, a dependency of Malwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahadur, man and beast died from starvation, and Bahadur with five of his most trusty Amirs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsur. The following verse commemorates the date of this event:—

Humayun Shah-i-Qhazi, who has thousands of slaves in his palace like Jaimshid,
When he came victorious towards Gujerat, returned in triumph,
the glory of the sons of Timur.
Since Bahadur fell humbled and abject,
The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahadur."

Muhammad Humayun Padshah pursued him, and the Mughul soldiers came upon Bahadur one night while he was asleep, and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujerat. Sultan Alam Lodii, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humayun Padshah pursued Bahadur by rapid marches and laid waste Ahmadabad. Bahadur leaving Ahmadabad went to Kubhaya, and from there to the port of Dip, and at that time the fortress—

1 See Bayley, History of Gujerat, p. 382. 2 MSS. (A) (B) supply 3 here.
3 MS. (A) reads ملود, so also footnote variant to text.
4 Zul!-Bahadur. These letters form the date 942 A.H. We may also read Zill-i-Bahadur, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahadur."
5 MS. (B) reads گرنتے پانئنا which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.
6 Cambay. The name Khambat is said to be derived from Khambha or Stambhastirth, the pool of Mahadeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., III. 271 See also Tieffenthaler I. 270 et seqq.
7 Tieff. I. 386, writes Dip, appelle Dip dans la langue du pays, est une petite ile situee dans (près de) la presqu'ile de Soreth où se trouve une ville et un château tiède 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'une à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour Mozambique. Dip est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest.

See also Ain-i-Akhbar I. 346, and II. 265, also Bayley, Hist. of Gujerat, 319 n.
of Jánpatnir was also taken after a battle by the Pādghāb, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse:

Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn and discovered this,

"It was the ninth of the month of Ṣafar."

Then Bahādūr, in concert with the Zamindars of the country of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Aḥmadābād. Mīrzā 'Askari who, after the return of Humāyūn Pādghāb towards the East, remained at Aḥmadābād with the intention of having the Khutbāh 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 Jánpatnir, the governor of which place, Tardī Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mīrzā 'Askari. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Agra Mīrzā 'Askari met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādūr took Jānpānir from Tardī Bēg without the necessity of fighting. [And in this year Shāhān 6 Jamālī Kābāwī of Dihlī left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words Ḡuṣrū-ī-Hind bāa (he was the Ḡuṣrū of Hindustān)]. In this year also Shāh Tāhmāsp came up against Qandahār from 'Irāq to take vengeance on Šām Mīrzā, and Ḥwāja Kālān Bēg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānbāhāna (Hall

1 Or Chāmpānir. Bea Bayley's History of Guj-n, pp. 390 et seqq.
2 ہے نہ ہے مفتیریں. These words give the date 942 H.
3 MS. (A) omits ہے
4 The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS. (A) in this place.
5 MS. (B).
6 The letters of these words give the date 942 H. There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms, and asserting that ۰۰۰۰ represents 942 and not 943. This is a mistake.
7 MS. (A) here inserts the date 942 (942) in figures.
8 MS. (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shāhān Jamālī, 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 Būg 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 'Iraq. Mirzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence of Mirzā Kāmrān to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humayūn Pādshāh to Gujrat, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession of Humayūn Pādshāh in Agra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humayūn, collected a large force, and took possession of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humayūn Pādshāh encamped before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Safar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Ḩūmāyīn Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sultān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma:—

[Haif bāshad nam i ān sag var zabār.
Mikh dar jānash nih o nāmas bikhāwān]1

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips
Place a stake (mikh) in his life (jān) and read his name).

1 MSS. (A) (B) 2 MS. (A) supplies 3 MS. (B) omits 4 MS. (A) (B) read 5 MS. (B) 6 MS. (A) 7 This "muτmμά or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, Rūmī Khān, contain as will be seen the word mikh between the syllables Rū...ān. These form the word Rūmīn, one meaning of which is life, for which the synonym in Persian is jān. So the writer says: Place the word mikh in his life (wān) and you have his name Rū mikh ān, i.e., Rūmī Khān.
he reduced that fortress, but Jalāl Khān escaped by means of a boat, and joined Shir Khān who was engaged in conflict with Naṣīb Shāh Governor of Bangāla. Humāyūn Pādshāh arrived, after that the Governor of Bangāla had been wounded in battle with Shir Khān. Naṣīb Shāh submitted himself to Humāyūn, and acted as his escort. Having entrusted the Government of Jaunpūr to Mir Hindū Bāg, with the rank of Amīru-l-Umarā, and a golden throne, he proceeded by way of Garhī, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, which Qutb Khān the son of Shir Khān and Khawāsī 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 following manner. He alleged as a pretext that he had a large number of families with him, and having placed two thousand armed Afghāns in closed litters sent them towards the fort. The Rāja of Rohtās being fired with avaricious designs upon the wealth and families of the Afghāns threw open the gates of the fort. Then the Afghān soldiers who were concealed in the litters leapt out, and entering the fort, put them all to the sword.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read Ṣamā’i. The text reads wrongly mūḥābara.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read Ṣamā’i. The text reads wrongly mūḥābara.
3 Dīlā Ṣamā’i.
4 The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read Khrīfī, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 357 n. 2.
6 The text reads, with two footnote variants би би Ход жуа қадрижава би би. The meaning is not clear, but from the Ṭāḥk-i Shir Shāhī this appears to be what is meant. See Elliot and Dowson IV. 357.
7 A still better reading however suggests itself namely би би Ход жуа қадрижава би би. We should then translate: "And inasmuch as he had very many families with him obtained possession of the fort in the following manner."
8 The Mihafza is, as its name implies, a litter so closed in that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane v. v. 357.
9 Regarding the truth, etc. (See MS. Copy).
The climate of Bangāl proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jaunatābād (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or) three months returned. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, 'all these Afghāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted jādegīrs, if the king will think about a jādegīr for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword. For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by, 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. Mirzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongir, was despatched to Agra to put down the rebellion of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Shāh Mirzā, who had fled and had done great mischief in the Dihlī country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, after that Sultān Bahādūr was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangīs, could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit ṣad. 2 MSS. (A) omits ṣad.

A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen." For the story from which the proverb arisen see Ṣawāk-i-Nahju-i Balāgha by 'Abdūn-i-Ḥamīd bin Abī-l-Iṣābid al Maṭṭāli. When Ali ibn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib-ṣ-Zanj besieged Bāṣra in the year 255 H. Ahmad Abīl-Abīs, son of Al-Muṣafir b-Ḥllāḥ came up and opposed him, but not until Bāṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. See Arabum Proverbia. Freytag III, p 129, No 774.

4 MS. (A) reads بی سلمانی و بی چشمانتی. MS. (B) بی سالمانی و بی چشمانتی. 5 MS. (A) omits ṣad.

6 This happened at Din on the 3rd Ramaḍān A H. 943. See Bayley, History of Gujurāt, pp 395, 397.
And in the year 945 H. Mirza Hindal, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators, put to death Shaikh Bahulul, the elder brother of Shaikh Muhammad Chaug of Gwaliar, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation, and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humayun. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram Faqad mata Shahidana. Verily he died a martyr's death.

Mirza Hindal in this year read the Khutbah in his own name in Agra. Humayun despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahangir Beg the Mughul, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khutbah should occasion arise, set out for Agra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausah, which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Junnpur and Chinur came in and offered to tender their services. Shir Khan 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 Multiyinu.

2 MS. (A) reads "the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic" Da'wah is said in the Jawahirul-Khamsa to be used for several purposes, establishment of friendship or amity, 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 Asma is meant the names or attributes of the Deity; they are of two categories, the Asmaul-Jalaliyeh or "amiable attributes" and the Asmaul-Jimmiyyah, "amiable attributes." For a full account, see Hughes, Dict. of Islam articles Da'wah and Magic.

Faqad mata Shahidana These words give the date 945 H. MS. (B) append the date in figures.

Footnote variant Jausah.

The text reads sahaba, which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given sahaba, which means water coming from the ground. This is the reading of MS (B). MS. (A) reads sahaba. We should read sahaba, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV, 870.
other, Humayun 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 shamiina to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say: 'You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war, but my army does: for the rest the decision is the King's.' Then he sent Shaikh Khalil, one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farid Gauji-Shakkar, may God sanctify his soul, who was the spiritual guide of Shir Khan, to Humayun, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humayun's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangala, and would have the Khutbah and sikka established in Humayun's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humayun'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 Humayun, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humayun's army was defeated, and the Afghans

1 MS. (A) reads محمد ورغم محمد ورغم. MS. (B) reads محمد ورغم محمد ورغم

2.Read. محمد ورغم محمد ورغم. MSS. (A)(B).

3 Omit ی ل MSS. (A)(B).

4 شامینا, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

5 MSS. (A) (B) omit جنگ. See Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and note 2.
arriving first at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their
artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a per-
fect hail of fire, drowning them in the ocean of destruction.
Muhammad Zaman Mirza was overwhelmed by the tempest of death,
and Hamayun 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 Khan wrote this
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 (Ustad) 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 bavad Padshah has. And Shir Khan after the victory turned back, and came to
Bangala, and after fighting several engagements put to death
Jahangir Quili Bagh with all his following. In that country he
read the Khutba in his own name, and assumed the title of Shir
Shah, and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

1 Nishtar (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read. Nishtar, in great numbers.
2 MSS. (A) (B) مِصْدَنَنْد. مَيْصَدَنَنْدَ.
3 Named Nizam according to Firishta, who says that as a reward Humayun permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II. 87.
4 MSS. (A) (B) مَفْتَكْر.
5 Shir Shah was originally called Farid Khan, and his father's name was
Hasan Khan.
6 MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is

Gaegis مصَر مَصَر ثلثي ابن بيت إستادران

No authority exists for such a reading.
The verses in question are by Firdausi.
7 Here the reading of MS. (A) is followed which reads

دفَر را ز شاهي بمامي دمی

8 MS. (B) adds the date in figures (946).
9 MSS. (A) (B) omit يُشاکُ. See Elliot and Dawson, IV, pp. 376-378.
10 'Abbas Khan tells us he had assumed the title of Hazzat-i-‘Ali.
intending to capture Agra. Kāmrān Mirzā, prior to the affair of Jauṣā, after hearing of the victory of Shir Khān and the rebellion of Mirzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Agra, which he reached in the year 946 H. Mirzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mirzā Kāmrān, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dīhlī, in which Mir Fakhr ʿAli and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mirzā Kāmrān. Mir Fakhr ʿAli also came in and had an interview with him, but Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mirzā Hindāl separating from Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent, till that eventful defeat took place: after the defeat at Jauṣā he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mirzā Kāmrān in Agra. The Mirzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears. Afterwards Hindāl Mirzā and Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā 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. Mirzā Kāmrān ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh forces, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shir Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mirzā put forward a claim to proceed to the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwāja Kalān Hāg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mirzā Kāmrān to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six mouths and nothing was settled. In the meantime Mirzā Kāmrān was taken ill with a complication
of severe diseases,¹ 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 ² to entertain suspicion against Hamayun, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered ³ poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lahor, and in breach ⁴ 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 ⁵ with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar. Mirza Haidar the Mughal and Dughlat ⁶ Kashmiri also remained at Agra, and were kindly treated. Shir Khan waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year ⁷ aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a ⁸ force under his son Qutb Khan, sent him across [the Ganges] ⁹ 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 ¹⁰ of his following, sending their heads to Agra.

Hamayun 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 compose in all more than five thousand ¹¹ cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muhammad Sultan Mirzá and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of Mirza Kamran also took flight to Lahor, and the Mughuls of the King’s army were scattered in

¹ إعراض متضاد. "Amrāz-i-mutaṣaddadah. Lit. : Disease of opposite tendencies, i.e., those diseases, the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other.

² بتقية اللسان-کوک یان. MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (B) added. ⁴ MS. (B) added. ⁵ Read here همة را جمیر خود بند MSS. (A) (B) instead of Text.

⁶ Read here و همة دا. MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (B) reads wrongly. در خراسان for. در خراسان.

⁸ تامی ساکند. MSS. (A) (B) omit. ⁹ Gange.

¹⁰ بنیاد کچیر. MSS. (A) (B) omit.

¹¹ مس. (B) says. مینا جزیر، پنجم. bazar, fifty thousand.
all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humayun'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 Khirābi-i-mulk-i-Dillī. 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-Dīn Muḥammad 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 Khān), 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 Paujāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabi‘u-l-awwal of this year all the Sultan and Amirs of the Chaghatai tribe assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sultan and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mirzā Hindal and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mirzā Kāmrān

1 MSS. (A) (B) do not give the date 947 H.
2 These letters give the date 947 H.
3 Jang nā kārda. MS. (A) omits tartīb.
4 MS. (B) reads میرا بھارت کورش و کوئش دیابند.
5 Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mir Yār Muḥammad of Ghazni. See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).
The word Atka, Atikā, or Atākā is a Türkî word, signifying precepteur, pare de lait (Pavet de Contreils)
The wife of Shamsu-d-Dīn was appointed anakah or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amurkot.
6 MS. (A) omits فریاد. 7 MSS. (A) (B) read قارئ نترونسند گردن.
8 For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, see Nūr and Ehas Tūrīkī-Rashidi, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes حتفه.
prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kabul. After long consultation Humayün sent Mirzā Šāhpanār with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmir, to that district. It was agreed¹ that Khwaja Kalān Bēg should follow Mirzā Šāhpanār, and that Humayün himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmir.

When Mirzā Šāhpanār arrived at Naushahra² which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmiris and conquered it; and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwaja Kalān Bēg had gone to Siālkot. When tidings reached the king that Šīr Khān had crossed the river at Sulṭānpūr and had arrived within thirty kroks of Lāhor, Humayün, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirzā Kāmrān, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humayün as far as the neighbourhood of Bahira, and Khwaja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Siālkot, and joined Humayün's camp. Mirzā Kāmrān together with Mirzā 'Askari, separating from the king, proceeded in company with Khwaja Kalān Bēg towards Kabul, while Humayün proceeded towards Sind Mirzā Hindāl, and Mirzā Yādgār Nāqir 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 Humayün, that one cir of the smaller millet could sometimes not be bought even for an aushrafi.³ The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humayün with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmir,⁴ and the country of Mārwār, where strange⁵ incidents

¹ MSS. (A) (B) reading مقرر ساخنند. ² Nowshera. ³ MSS. (A) (B) reading لاز. ⁴ MSS. (B) reads جائیہ, in company with. ⁵ About two pounds. ⁶ About two pounds. ⁷ In Persion it is called ارزان arzān. ⁸ The proper average price of this grain being six dām per man of forty mir, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1:6,000. ⁹ Omit وideo 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.

**Shir Khān ibn i Ḥasan Sur**

Whose name was Ferid and his title Shir Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The chronogram Ḵharaḏī-i-Mulk-i-Dilli ¹ was invented ² to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Beg ³ to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Ḥasan Sur, Ibrāhīm by name,⁴ in the time of Sultān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from Roh, by which is meant Āfghānīstān, entered the service of Sultān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissūr Firūza and Nārnūl. After his death (his son) Ḥasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the jāḏir 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. (1640 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.
² MSS. (A) (B) with شد یافتمه for شد یافتمه as in the text.
³ The text reads ازهکی (MS. (A)) ازهکی (MS. (B)). The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.
⁴ Omit مم MSS. (A) (B).
⁵ The text and both MSS. read راه it should be راه. See Firdawsī Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.
⁶ Rohtās Sharqī. Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhībād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjāb. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII, 78.
⁷ The text reads اخوان i.e. خوان兄弟. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads خوان by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāni means all the sons of Ḥasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), see E and D IV, 310.
home and giving up the service of Jamal Khan spent some time in Jaunpûr in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself in knowledge, until he had read the Kâfiyah, with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the Gulistân, Bûstân, Sîkandar-nâma 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 jagir. 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 Farîd and his father, and going to Agra with his own brother, he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khan, one of the chief commanders of Sultan Ibrâhîm, 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 Khan made a representation to the Sultan, and obtained his desire in securing those parganas for Shir Khan. There he remained for some time, and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihâr Khan, the son of Daryâ Khan Lahâni, who had read the Khutbah and issued the sikka in his own name in Bihâr, and had assumed the title of

1 There is a little variation in the reading here: MS. (B) reads

2 Al-Kâfiyah fil nahw. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shaikh Jamâlu-d-Din, (Ibnut-l-Hâjib); for an account of this work and its commentary, see H. K. No. 9707.

3 MS. (A) also reads fasâl, excellencies.

4 MS. (A) reads al-iâmil.

5 Nîyám Khan was the brother of Farîd Khan by the same mother.

6 Daulat Khan, the son of Budhâ, was a commander of 12,000 horses and in great favour with Sultan Ibrâhîm (E. D. XV, 321).

7 MS. (A) omits kahar.

8 MS. (A) omits diyaqar.

9 MSS. (A) (B) supply w.

10 Read here MS. (B).

11 MS. (A) (B) supply ev.

12 Read here MS. (B).
Sultan Muhammad. This was at the time when Sultan Ibrahim had taken the field at Panipath, and Babar Padshah had conquered Hindustan and planted the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultan Muhammad, the title of Shir Khan was bestowed upon him by the Sultan, who also appointed him to be tutor to his son Jalal Khan. After some time Muhammad Khan Sur, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultan Muhammad against Shir Khan, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultan Muhammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the parganas, sent Suleimân, son of Hasan Sur who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shâdi to Khawaspur, and Bhaka the servant of Shir Khan who was known as the father of Khawâs Khan engaged in battle with Suleimân and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shir Khan at Sahsaram. Shir Khan had no longer the power to cope with Muhammad Khan, nor the inclination to serve Sultan Muhammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and jâegîr, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultan Junaid Birlâs, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mânikpûr on behalf of Babar Padshâh. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultan Junaid, and fought with Muhammad Khan, wrested from him the parganas of Chaund and other parganas, and took possession of them. Muhammad Khan fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rehtas Shir Khan, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muhammad Khan, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over the parganas he held as jâegîr to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizâm his full brother in charge.

1 MS. (A) reads خختند for خختند.

2 Atâlîgh, this word is Türkî. In its Arabicized it becomes طالیق, but the other is the correct orthography. Atâlîgh literally signifies the relationship of an atâ or father.

According to M. Pavot de Courteille it signifies “Paternité : nom d’une dignité dans le Turkestân et le Khurasan, chef de tribu : qui élève une personne.

3 MS. (A) writes گداشته. MS (B) omits گداشته.
of the jāeqīr, went again to Sultān Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Bābar Padshāh. Taking Shir Khān with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Bābar 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 Bābar 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 Sultan Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return, that since Muhammad Khān was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultan Muhammad 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 Bābar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultan. Thence he proceeded to Sultan Muhammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalāl Khān, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultan Muhammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihār and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdūm 'Alam, the governor of Ḥājipūr, one of the Amirs of the Wāli
of Bangāla, who despatched an Amir named Qutb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm ‘Ālam. Shir Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm ‘Ālam, and after a fierce battle put Qutb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānis, in spite of Shir Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shir Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālis in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Qutb Khān above mentioned, against Shir Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shir Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālis received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shir Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālis with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sultān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jāmāl Khān Sārang-Khānī] Taj Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendency over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amirs of the Afghān Lodi faction summoned from Chitor Sultān Māhmu’d, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, who, after raising Ḥasan Khān Miwātī and Rānā Sāunkā 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 Khān took possession of it. Shir Khān was perforce compelled to
submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsarim. Sultan Mahmud passing by Sahsarim, after writing and making over to Shir Khān an agreement relating to Bihār, thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshah. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakmāu into his own power. The Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshah could not stand against (Shir Khān), and proceeding to Kālinjar gave in their allegiance to him. Humāyūn marched to oppose Sultan Mahmud, and Baban and Bāyazid, who were with him. When the two armies met Shir Khān, who had stood aloof from Sultan Maḥmūd for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mir Hindū Bāg Qūchīn, Commander-in-chief of the Mughūl army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side. "You and the Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultan Maḥmūd and Baban and Bāyazid."

Verse.

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear.

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultan Maḥmūd and Baban being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H. (1542 A. D.) in the country of Orissa he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non-existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humāyūn Pādshah [after this victory] sent Mir Hindū Bāg as his agent to Shir Khān with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chinar. He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amirs to precede him.

1 This agreement was to the effect that should Shir Khān render effectual assistance to Sultan Muhammad Lodi in recovering Jaunpūr, the country of Bihār should be restored to him as a reward for his services. (Firizhsīa).
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit خود. 5 MS. (B) كامیاب.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read ویدیت و با یارد. Firizhsīa says Baban and Bāyazid.
4 MSS. (A) (B) read گناهکار اور بیداری موجبہ گشتند. The text is incorrect.
5 MS. (A) گنہوار
6 MS. (A).
7 MSS. (A) مریزانہ.
8 The text reads wrongly میرہ محدود پینک.
and lay siege to that fortress, himself also preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shir Khan wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more especially his opposition to Baban and Bayazid. This petition he sent by the hand of Qutb Khan, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humayun Padshah. He sent also with Qutb Khan, Issa Khan Hajjāb, who was his vakil with the powers of a vazir, and he fleeing from Gujrat joined his father in Bangala. When Humayun Padshah altered his course towards Gujrat, Shir Khan himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humayun on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shir Shāh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shīrgāh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rusūlpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Delhi, which was founded by Sultan Alānd-Din, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dinpanāh, which Muḥammad Humayun Padshah 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 Humayun Padshah 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 Bangala as far as western Rohītās, 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

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1 MS. (A) reads خوئين هم.  
2 MS. (A) supplies  
3 MS. (A) reads here و دوران قلعة ر  
4 MS. (A) supplies  
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 Islam, Arūn.  
7 The priest who leads the prayers.
and a Hindū were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or ruffian would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this Muntakhib was born in the reign of so just a king; to use the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, I was born in the reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabi‘n-sani 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 so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He lose 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.

**Rub‘i.**

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing
To-morrow I depirt, having learned no single secret;
Better had beœn 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: *Would that the Lord of Muḥammad had not*

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1 *MSS. (A) (B).*
2 *21st August, 1540.*
3 *MSS. (A) (B) read نباید کشید for نباید کشید.*
4 *MSS. (A) (B) omit تی writing simple فرمایید.*
crost ed Muhammed," 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 unda city 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 Shir Shâh reached the hill-country of Bâlnât. He built there the fortress of Roh tâs as a protection for the army of Hindûstân against the Mughûl forces. Then he appointed Khwâq Khan to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khîzr Khân Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sultan. Shir Shâh² accordingly bent his course thither, and Khîzr Khân hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shir Shâh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of jâcîgîr upon several of his A mîrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Roh tâs,³ Qâzî Fazîlât the Qâzî of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qâzî Fazîhat.⁴

In the year 948 H. he came ⁵ to Ágra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwâliâr with the intention of conquering Mâlwa.⁶ Abûl Qâsim Beg, one of the A mîrs of Humâyûn Pâdshâh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

1 Cf. Isaiah xiv. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyâm

Thou for seekst me of clay. What help have I!
Thou didst this garment weave. What help have I!
Whate’er for good or ill from me proceeds
Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I!

² MS. (A).
³ Omit פֵּטִיל פְּסִילִים MS. (A).
⁴ פֵּטִיל פְּסִילִים פֵּטִיל Fazîhat means excellence. פֵּטִיל means ignominy.
⁵ MSS. (A) (B).ba’agir Amdh.
⁶ Omit פֵּטִיל פְּסִילִים MSS (A) (B).
with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khan the governor of Mālwa, who was one of the slaves of the Ḥiljī Sultāns, 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 Khan'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 Sāvāwal Khān to administer the affairs of the district of Sawā; Mallū Khān fought with Hāji Khān and Sāvāwal 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 Ranthanbūr, yielded up that fortress to Shir Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time:

Quatrain.

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou hast borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shir Shāh led an army against the fortress of Rāi Sen and besieged it, because Piranmāl the son of Silhādi, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

1 Supply MSS. (A) (B)
2 MS. (A) supplies ॥
3 MSS. (A) (B)
4 MS. (A).
5 Omit before MSS. (A) (B).
6 MS. (A).
is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own ḫaran. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege:

Qiyām-i-bāngāḥ būshad 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 Pūranmālī by the intervention of Shāhzāda ‘Ādil Khān and Qūṭb 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 Rāfi‘u-d-Dīn Šafēwī of Ij, which was given the title of Muqaddasā (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodi, broke his word, and caused Pūranmāl together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindūs, who were near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either became food for the edge (jauhar) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called jāhar, 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 دو.
2 Qiyām Bāngāḥ bāshad Mubārak. The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.
3 MS. (A) reads Deorimal and omits 1216.
4 MSS. (A) (B) omit 1216.
5 Died at Agra in 964 or 957, see Ain-i-Akbari (B) I, 623.
6 MS. (A) reads Ijī, and MS. (B) reads Ijī. We should read Ijī, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians pronounce it 1216 (Muṣamā-1 Buldān, I, p. 416).
7 MSS. (A) (B))
8 Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.
9 MS. (B) omits 1216.
the leader of the Rāis of Hindūstān who held sway over the country of Nāgor and Jaunpur, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims; and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shir Shāh, 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 Māldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ajmir with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shir Shāh, 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 Māhmand Khān, the son of 'Adil Khān, who was grandson to Shir Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, “Let Shāh 'Alam order the banjāras (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round the army.” This idea highly commended itself to Shir Shāh, and he immediately placed his turban upon the lad’s head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories.

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islam Shāh after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very first of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying Al mulku ’agin (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 Shir Shāh, who would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghans were far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve

1 MS. (A) omits خلف.
2 MS (A) reads پسر عادل خان (B) پسر عادل خان.
3 MS (A) reads براد وکول.
4 MS. (A) reads لين ربام ام omitting بسیار.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read سلیم شاہ.
6 MS. (A) (B) read براد.
7 MS (A) omits کچک.
8 MSS. (A) (B) read براد.
his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar-natured, currish Hindús. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Máldeó's army to himself, couched in enigmatical language, the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Máldeó 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 Máldeó's hands, with the result that Máldeó became utterly suspicious of all his generals; and, in the dead of night, fled alone without looking behind him, and notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct, and that this was all the handiwork of Shir Sháh in his desire to raise dissensions between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Máldeó's mind.

Kanhaiyá, who was his minister and agent, abused Máldeó 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 Sháh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear. After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shir Sháh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shir Sháh 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 نوکست.
3 MSS. (A) (B).
4 MS. (A) omits واقع نشده و.
5 MS. (A) alternates شاباسب.
6 MS. (A) omits 3 WAI BI.
7 This name is given on the authority of Firíghta (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read گویا Goyá which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha. Kanhaiyá is a proper name among Hindús, and is one of the names of Krishna.
8 Firíghta 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 Barakha, and with their swords. Shir Shāh had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world’s pego 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 Fāizi, wrote this verse on that subject:

Suddenly check to the king happened to Māldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece Kenyā protected him as 'Irā.

It is said that after this victory Shir Shāh on several occasions used to say, “I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindustān for a handful of millet.” Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantambhūr to his son ‘Adil Khān, 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 Rāfi‘u-d-Dīn, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shir Shāh, “All my ancestors were authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

1 The text reads فرطه در فرطه يافتند but we should read فرطه. 
2 Barakha. A Hindi word meaning a small spear. 
3 MSS. (A) (B) read بيبمال کوندن. 
4 MS. (B) writes needlessly بک کس ضائع شد. 
5 See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I 490, for a full account of the poet Fāizi. 
6 I read here لکسیا for کنیا, see v. 7, page 478. 
7 See N. (A) (B) reading لبیل for لبیل. "Irā is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a Rook to protect the king from check by the Rook, see J. R. S. A. xiii p 49, (Bland, on the Persian game of chess).
cities. I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindustan 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 Shah 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 me short time by the help of God, He is blessed and exalted, to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindustan 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 Qizilbashis 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 Khwandgar from the other], may clear out the Qizilbash 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

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1 Makkah and Madinah.

2 Dafatir.

3 MS. (A) (B) read بعسون ایزدی تیارک و تعالی.

4 MS. (A) (B) پی.

5 MS. (B) reads حین چرا و جوهر. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes Dict. of Isl. art. Hajj.

6 A footnote variant لیل کی لانگل لبقو مقرب بالقیامه is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

7 MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.

8 MS. (A) قب
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, be satisfied with little and very bountiful, and the story of 'Amr ibn La'îs [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 'Askid, and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known, say, every man acts after his own manner, that is, after his own desire.

**Verse.**

My brother thou art all desire, naught else;
All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre.
If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
If a furnace is thy desire, thou art its fuel.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) MS. (A).

\(^2\) We should probably read here مصأ for مصأ.

\(^3\) MS. (A) reads 91 for 14 م.

\(^4\) MS. (A) reads 52 for 42 ترّ.

\(^5\) See next page for the account of Shîr Shâh's accident at the siege of Kâharan.


\(^7\) MS. (A). (B) omit پلی.

\(^8\) 'Askid, the son of Mu'awiya, the second Khalifah of the house of Ummayyad. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Husain who was killed at Kâharan A.H. 61, see Hughes, Dict. of Islâm.

\(^9\) See Qur'ân XVII, 26.

\(^10\) MS. (A) reads 156 for 226. MS. (B) reads 156.
And in the year 942 H. (1545 A.D.) Shir Shah inveaded the fortress of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions; 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 Shah 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 Shah severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched, and Shaikh Khalil the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Manlānā Nāzimu-d-Din also were fellow-sufferers with Shir Shah in this explosion, Shir Shah 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 Amira 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 مزجيبلا. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines farther on we have MS. (B) reading مزجب, MS. (A) مزجب, and the text مزجب. See note 6.

2 Plumed Fulma The meaning of this word is given in Faqū-Ilāh Khān’s Turkish Persian Dictionary as Chize یان امکان bāshad, that which has lost its hair.

3 MS (A) reads دیدن سوزش و شورش.

4 MS. (B) reads دیدن سوزش و شورش.

5 Both MSS (A) (B) read هرود دست پی و پیش گرتن. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

6 The text reads مزجب. MS. (A) مزجب, MS (B), see ante n. 1.

7 MS. (A) (B) read here فرمان رده موردم را لاغ.
behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another, 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 hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven itself would have girt its loins,
If thou hadst 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 Shir Shah 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 معلومات وصورها لزيك ديغور مكلير برد MS. (A) reads for صورون - صورونا MS. (B) reads نور. The reading of the text is adopted.
2 Fazl-ullah Khan gives a word بالامر تدل in the meaning of علم الملع، a standard or ensign.
3 MS. (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant بيلو بيهان وكه. omitting the words مليوس وعامة found in the text.
4 MS. (A) جسم يالفينيم.
5 In the first line MS. (A) (B) read دل for (Text). In the second line MS. (A) reads دلل for (Text).
6 The text reads قلبة لا إله إلا فاطر. MS. (B) reads دلل for but the correct reading appears to be دلل. MS. (A).
At the very moment of hearing the good tidings of victory he yielded up his life to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of his death:

Shir Shāh, he in dread of whom
The lion and the goat drank at the same course
Left the world, the wise sage pronounced.
The date of his death. Zi ansh murd (he died from the effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sahasrām 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, “Aaz! that I obtained my kingdom at the time of evening prayer.”

1 †Santalum album. Useful in headache, Bonthheimer II, 138. There are three kinds according to the Mahānū-l-adwīyāh. The white sandal called in Hindi Chandan; the yellow sandal called in Hindi Kalāgīr; the red sandal called in Hindi Rakat Chandan. This latter is the wood of Picrasmus santalinae (lild sanders). It is generally called Debi Chandan, it is used, not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Eṣṭī is used to mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both Chandan and Malayāgīr (so called because it comes from Malayālam or Malabar) are used as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure for headache. They are also used in pājā or worship by the Hindu, who have a saying

Chandan, ḥāf, ḍip, malayāgīr
From cahit Thākur mālaḥvān.
With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lampa, and malayāgīr
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

5 Omit gral MS. (A).
3 پکش مورد. These letters give the date 963 H. This date is given in figures in both MSS. (A) (B).
4 That is to say no hope in life. Firādža 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: نم یره گرفته گرفته گرفته. گرفته گرفته گرفته.
My heart! like ḳẖiṣr⁴ take and drink the water of life,  
Like Sikandar come and conquer land and sea.  
If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,  
Take the cup of Kauṣṭubha⁵ from the hand of the Ḥūrī ⁶ and drink.

The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty  
Has reached the Koh-i-qât, 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,⁵ take thy delight.

This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,  
Do thou at last see this dream and take it.  
Thy life, O Qādiri, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,  
Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment  
When the hand of Death tears the sleeve of thy existence  
Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God).

Who is Islam Khān, on the fifteenth of the month Ḳa‘b-i-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amīr⁶ of Bhatta, came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna,⁸ and by the co-operation of Ṭaḥṣīl Rajjīh and the other men of influence and power,⁹ succeeded to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islam

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1 Al-Ḳẖiṣr. See Hughes, Dict. of Islam, p 278.  
3 The women of Paradise. Qur’ān lv. 66-72.  
4 MS. (A) reads ẁrī ṭaḥṣīl Queryable  Ḳẖiṣr.  
5 footnotes variant Queryable  Ḳẖiṣr.  
6 footnotes variant Queryable  Ḳẖiṣr.  
7 A footnote variant Queryable  Ḳẖiṣr.  
8 MS. (A) Ṭaḥṣīl Bhatta.  
9 MS. (A) Ṭaḥṣīl Bhatta.  
10 MS. (A) Ṭaḥṣīl Bhatta.
Shāh, and the son of Mulla Ahmad Junaid, who is well known, found this verse of the sacred word: "Aud already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'" ⁶ to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthānbūr, 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 ⁶ Agra and in the vicinity of the township of Kāra Khātamāpur, ⁶ Khawās Khān arrived from Sihrind which was his jāegīr, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Ādil Khān, 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 Khān Nāib, 'Īsā Khān Niyāzi, Khawās Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī, ⁶ all of whom were great Amirs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khān to depart to his jāegīr after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amirs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthānbūr to Fathpūr,

1 MSS. (A) (B) جند.  
2 MS. (B) omit. مسیر.  
3 Supply ی MS. (A) See Qur'an xxi, 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 الذکر, i.e., that which follows الذکر. The value of الذکر being 951, that which follows is 932 H.  
⁶ MSS. (A) (B) اعلام آخر گوگری شد.  
⁸ MSS. (A) (B) جلد Jalū
otherwise called Sikri, and Islam Shah 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 evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Agra. Islam Shah had plotted treachery against ‘Adil Khan, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with ‘Adil Khan. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him; accordingly Islam Shah was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat ‘Adil Khan 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.”

Verses.

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 Khan was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well-known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease, and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islam Shah and his ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet, and seating Islam Shah on the throne again with all honour and ceremony, swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings and oblations. Islam Shah, in accordance with the compact which had been made, sent ‘Issa Khan and Khwâs Khan to accompany ‘Adil Khan, and having confirmed Baîana to him as a jâegir, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghâzi Mahalli, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest ‘Adil Khan.

1. Omit. J. MS. (B).
2. MS. (A) reads فرقُ الفظی.
3. MS. (A) reads مارکُ خوشی.
4. MS. (A) reads بئی سمار.
6. من مرزیم تعظیم MSS. (A) (B).
7. MS. (B) supplies اور.
8. MS. (B) supplies یعنی.
9. Read محمد کرم ریتا رواج شده (A) (B).
'Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Bajāna taking refuge with Khawāzz Khan in Miwāt. Khawāzz Khan then summoned Ghāzi Mâhālī, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Adil Khān and having gained over to his side all the Amirs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Qutb Khan and 'Isā 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 Shāh, and with great management summoned 'Adil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the Shab-i-barāt, so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Adil Khān and Khawāzz Khan, having arrived at Siksī on the Shab-i-barāt, spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salim Chishti, in voluntary prayers and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time when they reached the outskirts of Āgra. Islam Shāh, who was alarmed, spoke very contumeliously to Qutb Khan and the rest of the Amirs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Adil Khān. His object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone.

MSS. (A) (B) read: 

The fifteenth day of Shābān. A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadans. Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, Dict. of Islam.

Briggs in his translation of Firishta 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 Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says: "and a hundred Shab-i-barāt (Bo Text, p 481) and was much at it was the Shab-i-barāt.

MSS. (A) in error: 

Nawa'il wa ad'iyāh. Nawa'il are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from Parz which are prayers enjoined by God, and from Sunnah, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet.

See Hughes, Dict. of Islam, art Prayer.
for the fortress of Chunar, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Isâ Khan 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 Chunar. Eventually Islam Shâh, 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. Khwâns Khân and 'Isâ Khân Nizâzi, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwât and the township of Fîrûzpûr, 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 Shâh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindûstân, which are called (the) Kumâon (hills), and took refuge with the Râjâs of that district. Quṭb Khân Nâib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islam Shâh proceeded to Chunhâr, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwâliûr, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kûrah Khâtampûr, while engaged in playing changûn with Jalâl Khân Jîlwâni, who was one of the married Amirs of the Afghâns, and had been an adherent...
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 Gwâliâr which he had made his capital], 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 Kumâon hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khan, to whom Shir Shah had given the title of A'zam Humâyûn. Haibat Khan in obedience to a summons from 3 Islam Shah, sent Qutb Khan in chains to him. Islam Shah sent him together with Shahbaz Khan Lihani, who was brother-in-law to Shir Shah, and Barmazid Kor who was the Dajjal of that sect, and the Hajjâj of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amirs and Amir's sons, to the fortress of Gwâliâr, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment. 3

[Among them was Mahmûd 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 Kâwâl Khan Ghâkar who will be mentioned shortly] 5

And in this year Salim Shah summoned A'zam Humâyûn from

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1 Not in MSS. (A) (B).
2 MS. (B).
3 Firâsteha says gts cod Son 9 555 Oy 59 9) 9 Sgt BUS pades pihlgce pt zie és | who was sister's husband to Salim Shah, with Barmazid Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 432.
4 Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking Barmazid Kor. (Briggs II, 132.)
5 Dajjal. The Masihu-d-dajjâl or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muhammad.
6 See ante, p. 12 n. 1.
7 MSS. (A) (B) omit نامي.
8 The text reads بداري تنفتک by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.
9 This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.
Lahor, but he advanced some excuse for not coming in person, and sent Sa'id Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment. Islem 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 Khān Niyāzi and the others, saying: Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized. Previously to this he had thrown the abovementioned Amirs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwāliār, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghaḵkar, who remained under the protection of the All-cherisher safe in a corner of the room. [It is said that the following was the reason of his escaping; the sister of Kawzāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islem Shāh, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying: This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder. She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water. Kawāl Khān poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt. In the morning Islem Shāh came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khān alive said: It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you]. Then Islem Shāh having made him take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjāb to conquer the country of the Ghakkars (where he arrived with all honour). In short Sa'id Khān, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience
to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lâhor, so that he travelled the distance between Agra and Lâhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyâzi faction, and A'zam Humâyûn read the Khâtûbah in his own name in Lâhor. Islam Shâh returned from that same camp and came to Agra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjâb. Sârâwal Khân came from Mâlwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islam Shâh, after halting for a few days in Dhibi and ordering his army, set out for Lâhor. A'zam Humâyûn and Khânâr Khân, and 'Isâ Khân Niyâzi as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjâb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islam Shâh. In the early part of the winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of the township of Ambâh, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, A'zam Khân had asked Khawâs Khân. After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Adil Khân who is the eldest son of Shir Shâh and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyâzi 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?

Khawâs Khân, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shir Shâh, 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 'Isâ Khân Niyâzi. The Niyâzi faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre of Islam Shâh's

1 MS. (A) reads ٍ.
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit ٍ.
3 MS. (A) (B) omit a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS.
4 MS. (A) (B) read ٍ.
5 MS. (B) supplies ٍ.
6 MS. (A) (B) read only ٍ.
7 MS. (A) (B) read ٍ.
8 MS. (A) omits ٍ.
army; but in the end1 pluck told,2 and their efforts were of no avail.

Verse.

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips.

And Sa'id Khan, the elder brother of A'zam Humayun, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islem Shah, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Padshah that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory. An elephant-driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islem Shah recognised the voice of Sa'id Khan, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was, and toiled in his purpose made his escape; the Niyazi faction fled and came to Dhanakin,3 which is near Roh,4 and the remainder were plundered by the Kawars, while some were drowned in the nullaks of Ambala. Islem Shah pursued as far as Western Rohat, and despatched Khwaja Wais5 Sirvani with a large army to oppose the Niyazis, and returned towards Agra. Leaving Agra he went5 to Gwalaiar, and made it his capital.6 When Khawass Khan and Isa Khan Niyazi, who had made common cause, left the battle-field, Isa Khan went to the hill country,7 while Khawass Khan with five or six hundred cavalry8 fled to Jabor; and (Islem Khan)9 Islem Shah appointed Shams Khan

1 MS. (B) reads: أخبرت. The word ‘pluck’ seems the best equivalent for the Persian: نيمک which means literally salt, and secondarily spirit, courage.

2 It may also mean however that Islem Shah’s men were ‘true to their Salt.

3 The text reads: أخبرت which quite loses the sense. Read or MS. (B).

4 Omit. خلافة فايان M.S. (A) (B).

5 MS. (A) دمنکوب (Dhanakin).

6 MS. (A) روز (Radak).

7 MS. (A) أزیز (Aziz).

8 MS. (A) روز (Radak).

9 We should follow the text here. MS. (A) omits the words خیام وی جزت در إندور omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.

10 MS. (B) (B).
Lahorī as Governor of Lahor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking to a distance of thirty krohs from Lahor, Khawās Khān, with three or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lahor, and encamped in the grove of Kāmrān Minza. The inhabitants of Lahor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawās Khān, having cut down the lofty trees of Safidār and Chinār of that grove, had set about making Sāfīr and ladders, when his cavalry brought news that Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī and other Amirs of Salim Shāh's party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahor. Khawās Khān, after a conference with 'Īsā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six krohs to meet his enemy, and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hauled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Ḥusain said to his men, leave the way open so that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly he made a breach in the line of Salim 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 opulently borne off the field upon a charpoy.

1 MS. (A) saāyee. 2 MS. (A) waqf-e-sarār. 3 MS. (A) caest. 4 MS. (A) kusrīn. 5 MS. (A) chhāngi. 6 The Safīdār, or white Poplar or Aboale. The Chinār has been already mentioned. 7 MS. (A) liqāa. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turki ciqā, which means the roof of a house (P. de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman Venec, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work. 8 MS. (A) caas-ru. 9 MS. (A) rāt-e-dohna. 10 MS. (A) rāz-e-mian bādara red. 11 I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The chhāhār pēy is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting
Râj Râsâîn forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khâwâs Khân went off in safety towards Nagarkot, whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumaon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly in its own place if God, He is exalted, so will it.

The Ni'yâzi faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmiris were enticed into by-ways, 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 Afghan named Usmân, whose hand Sazâwal Khân had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Agra, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazâwal Khân and wounded him. Sazâwal Khân went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salim Shâh, who then took his way to Mâlwa. Islam Shâh pursued him as far as Bânswâla, but seeing that Sazâwal Khân was hidden among the Zamindârs of Sarûr, Salim Shâh left Isâ Khan Sûr with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjaun, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign Islam Shâh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief sarkârs of Hindustân. Among them Mubâriz Khân, the son of Nizâm Khân Sûr, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islam Shâh, and eventually received the title of Muhammad 'Adilî, was appointed as commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajâwan in the Sarkâr of Sanbal, in order that Khâwâs Khân and the other Amirs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and be appointed as his deputy Pâbandh Khazak. He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign, that between every two resthouses built by Shir Shâh, which were at intervals of one krah, another resthouse of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling-place, and a conduit for water, and that a battery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers, both Hindu and Musulman, should be

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always open. Among other commands was this, that the madad-i-ma'āgh and aīmaḥ 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 Pātāvs should be taken by force from those Amīrs who kept Akhāras (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, 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 Saikārs 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 Qāżī or Mūsty, nor was it proper to do so.

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1 See Aīn-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the senates of land called respectively madad-i-ma'āgh and aīmaḥ.

2 MSS. (A) (B) omit.

3 MSS (A) (B) omit. 4 Dancing girls, see ante, p. 260 (Text) n. 6.

5 MSS (A) (B) omit. 6 MS. (A) (B) omit.

7 خاک گرز خود ساخت MS. (A)

8 See Aīn-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the dāghī system every Amīr began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (dāgh signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

9 MS. (A) omits the words معاملات و مصادر. MS. (B) omits.

10 Naqir o qismīr-i-qūzārī. Naqir means the small groove on the date stone, qismīr is the thin pellicle which covers the date-stone.

11 MS. (A) omit. MS. (B) (A) omit. 12 MS. (A) omit. 13 MS. (A) (B) omit. 14 MS. (A) (B) omit.
Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles, and bring the shoes of Salim Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the sardars in front of the throne; and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the Munsifs, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (Amin) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amir acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amir would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this Muntakhab, in the year 953 H. (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bajwāra, one of the dependencies of Baiāna, with the army of Farid Tāran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, on him be the mercy of God, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H. or in 955 H., God knows which, Khwaja Wāsiir Sirwānī, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'īm Humayūn² fought a battle with the Niyāzis in the

¹ This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سرخان Suryha in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turkic word. There is a word in the Turkic language سرخ Sēρxa or سرخا Sēρxa (Fazlul-İah Khān) meaning pillar, column (P. de C.) and it is quite possible that in copying the word it has been written for سرخ and the س omitted by oversight. We should then have سرخ as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable: eight-poled shāmiānas being very commonly used.

² MS. (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads

پر کشسی که بسر داران داکه بود

با تر کشی که بسر داران داکه بود.

³ MS. (B) omits the words from لائم to ناچار, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'īm Humayūn.
vicinity of Dhankot, and was defeated. A'zam Humayun having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrid. Islem 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 Gwaliar. Islem 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 A'zam Humayun, and a third Shahbaz 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 Sag-i-falakam. This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindustan, to pay their respects to Islem 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 Afghans 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 Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohiis, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmir territory their asylum. Islem 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 headquarter post built five forts: viz., Mankot and Raishidkot and the others. For a space of

1 MS (A) Dhankob. 2 MSS. (A)(B) omit Khan.

Naubat. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I 51.

Tabl-i-ulâ (nawikhtan). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

Sag-i-Falakam. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical Shir i-falak, the constellation Leo.

* 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 Ruswā ('disgraced'), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islam Shāh till at last one day Shāh Muḥammad Farmali, who was one of the most noted Amīrs for wit and good-humour in Hindūstān, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, “My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindī dastaīri, and the paper remained in the royal treasury.” Islam Shāh was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwalīār he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers’ pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse.

Attend to my wants to-day for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyāzis came to this, that when
their strength was broken, and they came into Kashmir, the Kashmiris, who are born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Niyaizis from Rajur after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray brought the tribes of Kashmir to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shah held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyaizis in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Azam Humayun), and fighting with the Kashmiris were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shir Shah a body of the Afghans of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Niyaizis to Dhanhot under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shir Shah, 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, shedding their heads as an offering to Salim Shah. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the Tarih-i-Kashmir, the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shah had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Janoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Mangarh; and Kamran Mirza, after fighting many battles with Muhammad Humayun Padshah, fled from Kabul and took refuge with Salim Shah, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kabul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return to its source. When Islem Shah heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humun Baqal, who in those

1 Footnote variant صورت. 2 MS. (A) (B). 3 MS. (A) (B). 4 Omit ك MSS (A) (B). 5 The same broth was in their cup. 6 MS. (A) supplies. 7 Tarih-i-Kashmir, sec p 8, n. 3 8 Text مال غارب, MSS. (A) (B). 9 Ia MS. (A). 10 MS. (A) omits. 11 Footnote variant همین. The text reads همین.
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 Rohfus to meet Mirza, and although Islem 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 Humán, 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 Islem 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 Fara'ān or a Shaddād, gave orders to Sarmast Khan, the Afghan, a Dā'ūd Za'i, who held the office of Bārbak, in accordance with which he directed Mirza to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary 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! Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmrān the Muqaddam-zāda of Kābul invokes blessings. Islem Shah after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty glance in the direction of Mirza, and uttered a hypocritical "Welcome." He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

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1 Footnote variant and MS. (A) من إعمادي
2 MS. (A) ورفع كبير أول خمر ودردي
3 Shaddād the son of 'Ād, see ante, p. 261 n. 6.
4 MS. (A) omits خان.
5 MS. (A) omits دالاد زدئ.
6 یاربک. The chief attendant of the darbār or public audience.
7 Kornish. A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead, and the head bowed. It signifies that the ruler has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility. See Ám-i-Akbari (B) 1. 125
8 MS. (A) دوبو صرم (A) 9 بادشاها
10 MS. (A) (B) 10.
for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and an eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mirzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and show of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes at him in the Hindi tongue, and when he appeared in darbār used to say Moro mī āyād (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, “What do they mean by Moro?” He answered, “It is the name they give to a man of great dignity.” The Mirzā replied, “At that rate Salim Shāh is a first rate Morō and Shir Shāh was a still finer.” Salim Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again, nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mirzā’s expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mirzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzā recited this maṭla’ off hand:

Gardšh-t-gardšn-t-gardin gardašnrad gara kara
Bar sar-i-sāhib-tamizn nāqīšn rā marād kard.

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzā under open arrest. The Mirzā, however, by the help of the zamindārs, made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

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1 MS. (A) (B) (C).
2 MS. (A) (B) (C).
3 MS. (A) (B) (C).
4 MS. (A) (B) (C).
5 MS. (A) (B) (C).
6 MS. (A) (B) (C).
7 MS. (A) (B) (C).
8 MS. (A) (B) (C).
horses along the banks of the river Chināb. 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 harem and offered no interference.

The Mirzā crossed the river with his horse and saddle and accompanied in reaching the Rāja. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a burg and taking a jilaudār with him, was escorted by some of the Rājas’ subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Ghari 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 Mughul woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one jilaudār 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.

chādar. A garment worn by women over the head and body.

burg. Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely, and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth, and similar openings for the eyes, worn by Afghān women when out of doors. See Lane, Modern Egyptians, for a description of the burg proper, which is a kind of veil.

jilaudār. An attendant whose duty it is to run before the horse. Abul-Ḥāṣem says some of them will run from 50 to 100 krohs (100 to 200 miles) a day. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I. 138.

With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads correctly.

MS. (A) MS. (B) reads Ghari Khū. MS. (A) (B) reads. MS. (A) supplies.
sent him to the holy city of Makláh. 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 Akbár Náma and the (Taríkh-i-)Nízámí. Among the events which took place during the reign of Isám Sháh was the affair of Sháh Muhammed of Díhí, of which the following is a brief account. Sháh Muhammed, in the reign of Shár Sháh, had come from the country of ‘Irág to Hindústán, 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 Sháhís 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 Sháhís is the performance of miracles and prayer-stations.

Whereas what we really see in them are ecstatic and incoherent ravings.

In spite of all, Shír Sháh gave him credit for being a wáli, and Isám Sháh 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 Sháh Muhammed and just then Isám Sháh arrived. The Saiyyid pointed to Isám Sháh and said, 'I present
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 Shah 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 him3 as is generally the case. At all events, when Islam Shah 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 Abu4 Ta’lib who was the inferior, and the other named Mir Shams-ud-Din who was his superior and brother’s son to him, arrived from the country of Iraq at the camp of Islam Shah in the Panjab, 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 Abu Ta’lib was so marvellously skilled in the abstruse science of medicine, that the majority of the sick who came under his treatment obtained cures, and used to bring him presents and offerings in return, to say nothing of perquisites.5 A report was spread that he was in possession of the ring of ‘Ali,6 may God be satisfied with him, one of the properties of which was that no one who was suspected (of being of bastard origin) could stand in presence of that ring, and retain the power of seeing it. God knows the truth. Relying upon his former intimacy with Shah Muhammad, he desired to give his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Mir Abu Ta’lib, but he was by no means inclined to agree to this

1 MS. (A) supplies after ياداشامي.
2 Chi niqa baua fa-i-farukh zadan
Na ba rukh zadan, bala shah rukh zadan
There is a play here on the words rukh and farukh, illustrating the figure known as تینینس مرکب. The word rukh means the cheek, and also the castle or “rook” at chess.
3 MS. (A) puts after اینلمعایی.
4 MS. (A) (B).
5 فروع
6 MS. (B) reads مَع. The ring of Solomon which was given to ‘Ali by Muhammad, was possessed of magical properties.
proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihli Makhdūmu-I-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr, who was Shaikh-I-Islām and Sadrü-s-sūdūr, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Ḥātim Sanbali, Miyān Jamal Khān Mufti, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad. This result was reported to Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflictions, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain.

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 ﷽.  
2 See Ain-i-Akbari (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.  
3 MS. (B) reads ﷽.  
4 MS. (B) reads ﷼.  
5 MS. (B) reads ﷼.
This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaikh 'Alāī Mabā'ī of Bāīsān, which closely resembles the affair of Sidi Maula, which took place during the reign of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Firōz Shāh, in fact the proverb, One shoe is like its fellow, is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair: The father of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Alāī was called Ḥasan, and was one of the great Shaikhs of the country of Bangālā, and on his arrival from Bangālā on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makkā with his younger brother Shaikh Naṣru-llāh, who was one of the most eminent of the Ulāmā, came from there to Hindūstān and took up his abode in the province of Bāīsānā. The words Ja‘a naṣru-llāhī wal fath, were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to īrshād and hidāyāt, and the younger to jā'fatā and instruction in religious knowledge.

Shaikh 'Alāī, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaikh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character, disposition, and behaviour, and in a short time having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction.

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1 See Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann) I, Biography V, seqq.


ReadWrite: The letters give the date 955 H. The words mean.

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.

3 Īrshād, Orthodoxy, Ḥadā‘īt, Hidāyāt, Guidance, direction.

5 Both (A) and (B) both omit the words but the text seems probably correct.

7 Religious or judicial rulings.

MSS. (A) omits the words (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 delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction and instruction 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 festivals, 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 Niyazi Afghan, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Sahl Chughti of Fathpur, 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 Jaunpur, 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 Hijaz took up his

1 MSS. (A) (B) write "تلقين و ارساء.

2 "That last infirmity of noble minds."

3 Badaoni here uses غثبتت in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.

4 MS. (A) reads فتره in the text

5 MSS. (A) (B) read "ترةشمف" in the text

6 MSS (A) (B) read "مکروضر" 7 See Ain i-Akbari (B) i, iv.

8 See Ain i-Akbari (B) i, iv.
abode in Bīnah, 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 Shaikh 'Alī saw his conduct he was greatly pleased, and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Liyān 'Abdu-l-Nabī 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 a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self-mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly vexed, and abandoning his Īmād-ī-madāq and his alms-house and monastery, entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed all his worldly possessions

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit. 2 MS. (A) (B) omit. 3 Concerning this it is said: "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty-seven degrees." See Mīchālāt-ī-Maghārī (Matthew) xxiv 1.
4 MS. (B) Bishār-ī Khūsh Gūrīdī.
5 Jūz but ra-a-ni o zun-nār dārī ni. The term Zunnār [Gk. tēρήμ (Golus) or tēρίαν (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread; and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel.
6 MS. (A) reads, not. 7 MS. (A) (B) read. 8 Sarāṭ. 9 Term given for benevolent purposes, see Aīn-i-Akhāri (B) I, 270.
10 MSS. (A) (B) omit.
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 canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way."

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me.

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.

There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,

Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching 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 Qur'an, 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

1 MS. (A) reads هل. 2 MSS. (A) (B) The text reads wrong.

Zikr. The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqirs. See Hughes, Dout. of Islam, art. Zikr.

4 I read here واللآ. MSS. (A) (B)

6 Qur'an 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 'Alā was endowed with 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, by abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains; and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice.

A short account of this sect is given in the Najātu-r-rasḥīd which should be consulted.

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the truth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy; the ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty. And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force, and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it; they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles in carrying out his
measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could
[stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers
left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband] and
entered the charmed circle of the Mahdi, voluntarily submitting
to poverty and extinction. Miyan 'Abdu-l-Haqq when he saw that
Shaikh 'Alî 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
stay with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become
more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this
vile (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine
upon a journey to the Hijâz.

Verse.

Alas! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
Alas! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.
The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,
Alas! for him if he abandons that also.

Shaikh 'Alî, retaining that selfsame habit and conduct which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred
families, set out for Gujrât in the hope that in the companionship
of the chief and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs
of the inmates of cloisters. At the time of his arrival at the
township of Basâwar from Bûjana, 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 Khawâspûr which is near
Jodhpûr, Khâwâss Khân 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, whereas now every Thursday night
Sûfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh 'Alî forbade
music and other prohibited pastimes, and enjoined 7 that which

1 MS. (A) 2318. {A} omts pide, BMS. (By omitting all)
2 MS. (A) reads wrongly Wath
3 MS. (B) omits
4 MS (A) reads wrongly
5 Inset in the text after MSS (A) (B)
6 MSS (A) (B) omits
7 MSS. (A) (B)
8 MS. (B) reads wrongly for
was lawful and intangible 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. Şaïkh 'Ala'i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiåna, and at the time when Islem Şâh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Ægra, and the rumours regarding Şaïkh 'Ala'i reached his ears, he sent for Mir Saiyyid Rafiu’d-Din the traditionist, and Miyan Abul-fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Ægra, and summoned Şaïkh 'Ala'i from Baiåna, at the instigation of Makhdimu-l-Mulk Maulâna 'Abdu’l-lah of Sultânpur. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies, greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islam. Islem Şâh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Şaïkh greatly displeased him and his courtiers.

Makhdimu-l-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Şâh that Şaïkh 'Ala'i was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdi, and that the Mahdi himself would be king of the whole world: consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. 'Isâ Khân Hajjiâb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Şaïkh 'Ala'i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes, said to Islem Şâh : “This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us, do you imagine that we Afghans are all corpses!”

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Şaïkh 'Ala'i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a
few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse,
in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world
and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks
regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and
failings, so that it had the most profound effect upon Islem Ṣah
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. Islem Ṣah then rose from
the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent
refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his com-
panions. The Shaikh, however, refused to touch the food
himself, and moreover when Islem Ṣah 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 o
his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due
to Muḥammad because you have possessed more than was yours by
right, contrary to the dictates of the Law of Islām." Islem Ṣah
notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referring the
enquiry into the truth of that dispute, and the decision of the con-
tention to the ulema.

Shaikh 'Ala'i vanquished every one of them in argument by
virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension
and whenever Mr Saiyid Rafiʿu-d-Din (who died in the year
954 Ḥ) was engaged in citing the traditions which existed relat-
ing to the appearance of the promised Mahdi, and the signs by
which he would be known, Shaikh 'Ala'i used to say, "you are
Shafrīte by religion and we are Hanītīte, the fundamentals
of your traditions are different from those of our's." How can we
accept your explanations and interpretations on this question?
Nor did he spare even Mulla 'Abdu-l-lāh himself in his criticism
of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned me
of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so man

1 MS. (A) خطاياك
2 MS. (A) سيار صوت داكارودو
3 MS. (B) همارهيناش
4 MS. (A) ناول كون
5 MS. (A) فنغم درامين
6 MS. (B) يبال حكم شرعة
7 MSS. (A) (B) مص环境中
8 MS. (B) writes علاقات ان وارد شدة شریغ
9 MSS. (A) (B) صمغت
10 MS. (B) وياء
11 MS. (B) كابل داویم
12 MS. (B) مسجد خلت
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 God 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 Bhīm of Ḍagra, having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdi,6 read as follows,7 Ajalla-l-jabha;3 on the form of the of alu-l-tṣafīl derived from ḏalāl; Shaikh 'Alā smiled, 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;

1 Qaida 515 (A) 2 Not in MS. (B) which reads إهانة على أقرود.
3 MS. (A) reads دقم Trim.
4 Regarding the Mahdi, see Blochmann Alm Alon 1, iii.
5 MSS. (A), (B) جدل خربته كة.
6 The text here ends.

كـا إبـلـ liebe بفعـم جـيم وتشدـد لـم يصـمة تفـضـيل مـتـتنـ من از جلال

MS. (A) reads more correctly بصيغة إنفل التفاضيل إجليل.

Ajalla-l-jabha would have no accurate meaning. Jalāl meaning greatness. The superlative form with the article is applied to God. - َالجـلاـل Al-Ajalln.

The form ajallu is called the صيغة تفـضـيل or form of superiority, i.e., the comparative, or, combined with the article, the superlative.

1 سبحان الله (lit) Praise be to God! A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment.
and subtleties and minuties of the science of tradition. The real reading is Ajlū'-l-jabhah which is the form Ajf'ā'lu-t-tafsīl from jalā; not from jalāl 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'ī in this assembly, and from that day he became known as Mahdawi, and Islem Shāh being deceived by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'an," 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 gibbetted, 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 Islem Shāh, cared nought for

1 Mss. (A) (B) omit حديث.
2 إجلي الفجوة Ajlū'-l-jabhah. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed jalā, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane, Lex. s. v. إجلي.
3 وديكودن ذنود. MS. (A) reads incorrectly shapes.
4 Mss. (A) (B) have 3 before the word شجاع.
5 Mss. (A) (B) correctly read □ Humaid. The text has □ Muham-

mad.
6 Mss. (A) (B) omit روز reading لرن بار.
7 Mss. (A) (B) مصوب شم.
8 Mss. (A) (B) omit ع read بيتة بنان.
9 Mss. (A) (B) read قبلbefore □.
10 Mss. (A) reads □ for □.
11 Mss. (B) □ reads □ for □.
any ruler and addressed him in these words, "why should I change my own belief at your bidding."

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right
If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake.

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shāh 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 Bahmān and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shāh to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shāh gave orders for his expulsion, and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan. Shaikh 'Alā'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.

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way,
Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcase to the vultures.

On his arrival at Handiya, which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled A'zam Humāyūn Sirwānt, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half his army, nay more than half, sided with him; this news was brought to Islem Shāh by runners, and roused his indignation. Maḥdūmu-l-Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shāh so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Alā'i. Just at this

1 Omit ٥٣٨ MB. (A).
2 MS. (A) تهیه. ٥٣٠ MS. (A) ۳۳۳.
3 MS. (A) اکثر و ۴۴۹ MS. (B) اکثر.
4 MS. (A) پار. ۴۴۹ MS. (A) پار.
5 MS. (B) omita ۳۳۳. ۴۴۹ MS. (A) و ۵۳۲. ۳۳۳ MS. (A) و ۵۳۲.
6 Qur'an iv. 99. They said

was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?

7 See Imp. Gaz. V. 293. Handiya is on the Narbād in the Hochangābād District of the Central Provinces. MS. (A) reads اکثر and Hindustān, and for ۳۳۳ MS. (B) ۳۳۳. ۴۴۹ MS. (A) ۳۳۳.
juncture Islam Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb1 with the
intention of quelling the dissatisfaction of the Niyāzi faction; when
he arrived opposite to Bāiānā at the halting-place of Bahrār
Makhdūmu-I-Mulk said to Islam Shāh “we have earned a few days
respite 2 from the lesser evil” by which he meant Shāikh ‘Alā’i,
“but the great evil, that is Shāikh ‘Abdu-llah Niyāzi, who is the
instructor of Shāikh ‘Alā’i and the spiritual guide of the Niyāzi
faction, and always remains in the hill country of Bāiān accompanied
by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped,
and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing.” The fire of the
anger of Islam Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the
Niyāzis, was fanned into flame by this breath 3 of suggestion,
and he ordered Miyañ Bahwa Lūhānī 4 the Governor of Bāiān,
who was one of the special adherents 5 of Shāikh ‘Abdu-llah,
to produce the Shāikh. Miyañ Bahwa went to the Shāikh 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 for my part I shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it
and you.

Shāikh ‘Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion 9 of his,
and said, “this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-I-Mulk is
always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further
away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance; for
this reason, seeing that he is only ten krohs distant, I had better
interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and
there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future,
since whatever is predestined will come to pass.”

Man proposes and God disposes.

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1 MS. (B) 
2 MS. (B) reads 
3 MS. (B) reads 
4 MS. (B) reads 
5 MS. (A) 
6 MS. (B) reads,  
7 MS. (B) reads for 
8 MS. (A) 
9 MS. (B) omits
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 Bainan, and had an interview with Islam Shah in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with 'Peace be to you.' On the instant Miyan Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying: 'My friend the Shaikh this is the way they salute kings.' The Shaikh looked savagely in his direction and replied: 'The salutation which is in accordance with the 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.' Islam Shah, with evident asersion asked: 'Is this the master of Shaikh 'Alawi? Mulla 'Abdu-llah who was lying in wait for him said: The very man. By order of Islam Shah 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!' Islam Shah enquired what he was saying Mulla. 'Abdu-llah said: He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers; Islam Shah becoming exceeding wroth waxed still fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him, and kept his retinue standing an hour longer while they caddelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left his body—

1 MS. (B) omits کُرَشَةٍ and as after قَدْ
2 MS. (A) بیان میکینند
3 MSS. (A) (B) تُرُفِت
4 The sunna is the traditional law of Muhammad.
5 MS. (A) omits کُرَشَةٍ MS. (B) reads کُرَشَةٍ
6 MSS. (A) (B) insert كَتَب
7 Qur'an xli. 141. See Palmer's Translation.
8 MS. (B) omits مَالِک
9 MSS. (A) (B) reads مَالِک
10 MSS. (A) (B) omit جَمِیعًا and MS. (B) reads صَوْارَی
11 MS. (A) (B) read مَالِک
One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),
that mediator also rose and departed.
He desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Bajana, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghanistan (Ruh), and some time among the Afghans of Pattan in the Panjab, on the confines of Bajwara between Amber 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 Abdullahee and granted him a portion of madad-i-maash 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 thereabouts.

Rubai.

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 Aflatin,
These are all as nought, at last you must die.

After that Islam Shah had overcome the Niyazi faction, and had
returned to Agra, Mulla 'Abdu-lāh set about inciting him, and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh 'Alā'i from Hindiyā, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh 'Alā'i had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khān 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 'Alā'i thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh 'Alā'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 'Alā'i to be sent to Bihar to Shaikh Budh, the learned physician, in whom Sher Khān had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the Irshād-i-Qāzi, and bade him act in accordance with his directions. When Shaikh 'Alā'i went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh 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 Budh 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 Hindustān are of

1. MSS. (A) (B) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
2. MS. (A) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
3. MS. (A) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
4. MS. (A) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
5. MS. (B) الأَرْكَ سَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
7. MS. (B) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
8. MS. (B) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
9. MS. (B) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
10. MS. (B) أَورُكَ شَهْدَاء. Omit. MS. (A).
such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual 1 would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity. 2 Shaikh 'Alā'ī said that this is an iniquitous conjecture, 3 as is proved by the fact that, whenever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference 4 with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islam need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāh, 5 why should one regret 6 the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all. 7 That class therefore stand condemned. Shaikh Budh the physician however, 2 having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising 8 Shaikh 'Alā'ī 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 Islam, and very great difference of opinion exists as 10 to the veritable signs by which the Mahdi is to be distin-

1 The text varies from the MSS (A) and (B) which read بیانات دیئری و رای از و جانشین while MS (B) omit بیانات. We should read here

2 We should read here

3 The Mahdawi question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islam, and very great difference of opinion exists as to the veritable signs by which the Mahdi is to be distin-

4 MS. (B) reads wrongly for نبی.

5 MS. (B) reads wrongly for نبی.

6 MS. (B) reads wrongly for نبی.

7 The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qurān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, see Hughes, Dict. of Islam, art Marriage.

8 MS. (B) reads wrongly for نبی.

9 MS. (B) reads wrongly for نبی.

10 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 are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many 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 Makhdum-I-Mulk was the Sadru-al-sudur, 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 and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter as if from Shaikh Badh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu-Illah, and sent it to Islam Shah, saying, "Makhdum-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 Islam Shah was encamped in the Panjâb Shaikh 'Ali arrived at the camp of Bin Bâû; when Islam Shah 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 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 and do as you please." Shaikh 'Ali however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him; Islam Shah in despair said to Mulla 'Abdu-Illah, I leave him in your hands. This he said, and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence.

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1 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
2 MS. (A) reads 'Alâ'î.
3 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
4 MS. (A) reads 'Alâ'î.
5 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
6 MS. (A) reads 'Alâ'î.
7 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
8 MS. (A) reads 'Alâ'î.
9 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
10 MS. (A) reads 'Alâ'î.
11 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
12 MS. (A) reads 'Alâ'î.
13 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
14 MS. (A) reads 'Alâ'î.
15 MS. (B) omits 'Alâ'î.
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{MS. (A) reads گلابی. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.} This wound had to be kept open by a tent,\footnote{MS. (A) reads گلابی.} in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words "In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king" and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man." And after his death they tied his delicate body\footnote{Qur'an Iviv. 66. The full quotation is "بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ. إِنَّ السَّيَّٰئَيْنَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَشَرَٰفٍ مَّضْحَىٰ.} to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces\footnote{MS. (B) reads یاره.} in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,\footnote{MS. (B) reads یاره.} and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,\footnote{MS. (A) reads وفیا مَقَامَتِ. MS. (B) reads یاره.} and great lamentation and mourning\footnote{MS. (A) reads وفیا مَقَامَتِ. MS. (B) reads یاره.} was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early\footnote{MS. (B) omits منقرب.} downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event\footnote{A footnote to the text reads یاره دولت اسلام شامی ر. MS. (A) omits these words and reads بعد ازین دولت اسلام شامی.} the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two
It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultan Jalālū-d-Din Firuz Shāh Khalji after the execution of Sidi Manla,1 and that the decay of the kingdom of Salim Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālū-d-Din. People considered Mulla 'Abdūlāh, 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 Saqāhum rabbuhum sharāban.6

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islam Shāh was the murder of Khawās Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawās Khān, after the battle with the Niŷāzīs fled to the foot of the hills, Islam Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bān, that they were to induce Khawās 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 Khawās Khān the message of Islam Shāh promising him safety.6 He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly had him put to death and sent his head to Salim Shāh at the township of Bin (Bān), and after burying his body at the township of Sarastā, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihli. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

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1 MS. (A) reads جَشَلْتُ. 2 The mindful of God. 3 May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

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6 MSS. (A) (B) insert و. 5 MSS. (A) (B) insert صَلَاح سلَاح. 4 MS. (B) omits وَتَجَ خَان. 6 MS. (B) omits وَسُلَطَان and reads سلَحان for سلَحان. 7 MS. (B) omits لَه and reads黃 لْه. 8 MSS. (A) (B) omits قُمَيْيْ. 9 MS. (A) وَجَطَ.
graphical record they invented the words Musibat ha'alam shud, 1
that is to say, A calamity for the world

One of his magnanunous acts was the following. On his arrival
at Kalpi in the company of Shir Shâh he gave two labs of rupees
to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send
sweetmeats to Rautanbhor without intermission. In the same way
also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Bâiana, so that
they might send mangoes day after day 2 to the bailing-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 3
which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the
treasury.

In this same year Shaikh 'Abdu-l-haïyy, the son of Shaikh
Jamâli Kanbâwi of Dihli, 4 who was adorned with excellences of
science and poetry, 5 and was a devout man, 6 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 tarikh
At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it? 7

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 959 and that
therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be musibat ba 'am shud, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

2 MSS. (d) (B) 597 (39)

3 MS. (B) omits 59 and reads 1 after 6 instead of 6 as in the
text.

4 MS. (A) dhañi
5 MS. (A) reads shurai for shurai
6 MS. (A) reads sahab for sahab
7 The lines run thus: 'abd which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.
interval between two times of prayer Islam Shah was sitting at ease upon his roadster, and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the tom of Man Gadh, which lies at a distance of five or six kaths or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial Taabat Sharran, under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed a blow at him. Selim Shah, 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 Selim Shah sprung forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khan Ajyara, the son of Sajawal Khan, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islam Shah, galloped up and dealt a blow at that miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Selim Shah did not approve of this and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbal Khan. This Iqbal Khan was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustan who had rendered Shir Shah several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured, mean-looking, and oath in appearance that they used to call him Rahmatu-Illahi, which in Hindustan is the term

1 Read for

3 MSS. (A) (B) میں

2 The surname of Shabt-bin,Jabor bin Sufyan al-Fahmi, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s.v. یس. According to the account in the Aghani, he acquired his name from having slain a man in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, Lagadd taabat Sharran; 'Verily he has put destruction under his arm.'

4 MSS. (A) (B) میں

5 MSS. (A) (B) میں

6 MS. (B) omits پیسر MS. (A) omits inserting it after
applied to a weaver. Islem Shah himself 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, 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 he made him an example 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."

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why? It is ashamed to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem 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, and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison, and thirsting for the blood of the Afghans, became more than ever 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!

See Fallon's Dictionary s.v. "gulaha." MS. (A) reads جولاها. Either reading may be accepted.

If we read جولاها as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted.
After these events Islem Shēh returned towards Gwalīār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dīllī when tidings arrived that Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindūstān. Islem Shēh just at the very moment when this tidings arrived, had applied a leech to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head, and binding up his throat with linen rags ordered his army to proceed, and the first day covering three krohs, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazirs who were well-disposed to him represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shēh 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 Islem Shēh 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

1 MS. (A) omits here and inserts it after in the next line
2 MSS (A) (B) omits. MSS (A) (B) read
3 MSS (A) (B) read
4 Read MSS (A) (B).
5 Read MS. (A) reads probably a copyist's error for
6 MS. (A) reads latta. MS. (A) reads ملینه (7)
7 In MS. (A) (B).
8 MS. (A) insert before not after it as in the text.
9 MS. (A) omit يارشته.
10 MS. (A) reads for MSS (A) (B) read بوده
11 Text MS. (A) reads. MS. (B) catches
he 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 Panjab in the course of seven days. Humayun Pahla 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.

Iseem Shah also upon hearing this tidings fled with all haste from Lahore to Gwalior. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberi, he was occupied in hunting, when a band of Russians, at the instigation of certain of the Amir, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Iseem Shah of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road, and after putting to death a number of men, among whom were Bahau-d-Din and Mahmud and Mada, who were the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

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1 Omit the word. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads.
2 The text reads. MS. (A) inserts after the word and omit the second replacing it by the.
3 At the foot of the Alidek range. See Ronnell's map. Travels Vol. III. Behshur. MSS. (A) (B) read Banbhor. The text reads.
4 MS. (A) omits the word. MSS. (B) reads to Kabul.
5 MS. (A) inserts the word between the word and the word.
6 MS. (A) omits the word.
7 MS. (A) reads Banbhor.
8 MS. (A) reads the other.
9 This is the reading of the text but MSS. (A) (B) read Antar.
10 Text MS. (B) reads the other.
11 MS. (A) reads the other.
12 MS. (B) omits these last names and reads and others.
13 MS. (A) reads the other.
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 Amirs 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.

Mahnud 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 سیاحة اجل 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-

جرب چئ ی نب دانی نه تی جرب دانی دولت دولت دولت دولت

When I had pangs I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no pain.

4. Omit، و من مکه MS. (A).
5. Insert، ۔
6. MS. (A) (B)
7. MS. (B) omits before. جليب MS. (A) reads جليب for جليب
come' to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.'? They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am.
Stay! before thou seesthe companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a lak of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked, but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, night by night, 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) میکنست.
2 Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read احبار Ajyāra, but the text reads حبار Ajyāra with a note of interrogation Ajyāra is the right reading.
3 For حکم کرده دون (A) (B) read جانتم چاپسمن. MSS. (A) (B) read نا پرسته for نا پرسته.
4 For کیرون (A) (B) read کیرون میکن. Qurān 11, ii.
5 The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.
6 The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Badidi thus (1) ممکن or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels (2)
The foot of Afsānīn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder, The Qūnūn of Bā‘All 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 Sahsaran 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 Būbān. Nigāmu-l-Mulk Bahri, the king of the Dakhān, also took his way to the ocean of non-existence, and Mir Sa‘īyīd Na‘matu-l-lāh, whose poetical name was Rusūlī, 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.
One was Mahmūd the Emperor of Gujerāt,
who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;
The second was Islām Shāh, that minstrel of beneficence,
whose beloved son¹ was Sher Khān;
The third was Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri
who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhān.

If you ask of me a tārīkh for the death of these three Emperors?
I answer Zawāl-i-khusrūān ²

Islām 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 Saiyīd
Na'īmat Rusūlī,³ 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 men⁴ of his time.
They say that when he reached Allāwar on his way to the Panjāb,
he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-l-Lāh of Sultānpūr⁵ who
was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his atten-
dants he said: “Have you any idea who this is who is ap-
proaching.” They replied: “Who is it, please inform us.”⁶ He said:
“Bābar Pādayeh had five sons, of whom four⁷ left Hindūstān 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?”⁸ He replied ¹⁰
“What can I do, when I can find no better than he?” And when
Mulla ‘Abdu-l-Lāh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own
throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at
twenty thousand rupees,¹² which had at that moment arrived as

¹ MS. (A) reads aṣṣīryi
² MS. (A) reads rās as-
³ MS. (A) reads Zawāl-i-khusrūān. The decline of the Emperors. The
⁴ MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads Rīshwāti.
⁵ MS. (A) omits wa
⁶ MS. (A) omits tā
⁷ MSS. (A) (B) dār
⁸ MSS. (A) (B) jāhār
⁹ Text reads nafī. MS. (A) reads nafī seditious. MS. (B) reads nafī parasitic.
¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) gīf.
¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) nābīyām.
¹² Omit ye before bīt. MS. (A) (B)
a present from some place. He never missed the public prayers, and never touched any intoxicants [and Shaikh Salim Chughti of Fathepur and Hafiz Nizam of Badaun were both of them his imams].

Firuz Shah ibn-i-Islam Shah,

Who was called Firuz Khan, was raised to the throne in succession to his father at the age of twelve with the title of Padshah. The affairs of the kingdom did not prosper in his hands, and Mubarakz Khan the son of Nizam Khan Sur, who was brother's son to Islam Shah, after three days attempted the life of that innocent one, and although Bibi Bai, who was the sister of Mubarakz Khan, and the wife of Islam Shah, 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 Islam Shah; and it is said that Islam Shah
had made several attempts upon the life of Mubāriz Khān, and used to say to his wife, "If you value your child keep clear of your brother, and if you wish to preserve the one, take away all hope of life from the other." She used to say in a deprecatory way, "My brother spends all his time in amusing himself; and the robe of royalty is in no way suitable to his standard of ambition; give up the idea of destroying him." Islem Shāh 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.6

Verse

Whatever the young man sees the mirror,
The old man sees that same in the unbaked brick.6

SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD ‘ĀDIL COMMONLY KNOWN AS ‘ĀDIL,

Who was the son of Nizām Khān Sūr, and went by the name of Mubāriz Khān, ascended the throne with the concurrence of the principal Amirs and Vakils, and caused himself to be addressed by the above title.6 The general public however used to call him ‘Ādil, and that name even they perverted to Andhili which has the commonly accepted signification of "blind."6 At the commencement of his reign, having heard of the conduct of Muḥammad ‘Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh,11 he used to imitate him in lavishing money, and having opened the doors of his treasury he

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit خُوَى.
2 Omit رِائِف. MSS. (A) (B).
3 MS. (B) omits عَرَّ.
4 In MSS. (A) these words precede the verse, and read 

وَأَتَىَتُُّ الْأَمْرُ حَجَّةً شَهِيدًا

MS. (B) omits مُه.

5 MS. (A) reads كِنَّةٍ تُبَلَّدَ فَتُسْيَرَ كِنَّةٍ تَيْبَ. A footnote variant reads كِنَّةٍ (old) for كِنَّةٍ (baked). I follow the reading of the text, taking the meaning to be that the word can see the tendency of the young as clearly as the young can see the reflection in a mirror.
6 See Ans. Albari II, (J.) 221 n. 2.
7 MS. (A) reads اِنَّ نَظَامَ بَنِي سُرُ وَكَذَّبَهُ and وَنَوَرُزَ.
8 MS. (B) نَبْحَاتُ كُرَانَ. MS. (A) omits نَبْحَاتُ.
9 MS. (A) اِنَّ مُهَلَّيَ means "a blind woman."
10 MS. (A) reads مُلْتَصَائِنُ لَفْتِيَةٍ رَ.
11 MS. (A) reads مُلْتَصَائِنُ لَفْتِيَةٍ ر.
aimed at securing the goodwill of great and small: and he had made arrows tipped with gold of a money value of five hundred tankahs and used to throw them. Whatever poor person’s house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the kaliba-bash, this fitful habit however quickly came to an end after a few days.

Verse.
Inorganic matter is one thing: spontaneous growth is another.

Verse.
If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,
True weeping is easily distinguished from false.

The rank of Vazir and Vakil was bestowed upon one Shamasher Khan, a slave who was the younger brother of Khawass Khan and Danlat Khan, the “new-Muslim,” a protégé of the Luhāni faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to Himūn the greengrocer, of the township of Rewāri in Miwāt, whom Islam Shāli had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bāzārs and reformer of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant. He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as ‘Adli had originally been accustomed to the profession of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration; superadded to this was the murder of Firuz Khān and his unbounded confidence in Himūn. Accordingly these Amirs who were of true Afghan descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

1 MS. (A) مائت (A).
2 Text. کنہ بیچی (B). MS. کنہ بیچی (A).
3 Text. کنہ بیچی (B). MS. کنہ بیچی (A).

The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read کنہ بیچی in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firmista’s reading is quite clear he says

Bo: Text, p. 393.
That is, Kattah, a bamboo shaft, whose hand was one ton of gold.

4 MS. (A) زود برطرف (A).
5 MS. (B) مسجد کے ہر قریب (A).
6 MS. (A) مسجد کے ہر قریب (A).
7 MS. (A) مسجد کے ہر قریب (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 Islam Shāh snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme:

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship snaps,
When a flaw appears in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amirs to the durbar hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adli was engaged in distributing jagis, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qanauj should be transferred from Shāh Muḥammad Farman, and given in perpetuity to Sarmāst Khān Sarbānī. [Shāh Muḥammad was ill],3 whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this jagī. Shāh Muḥammad however admonished him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islam Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design;" thereupon he began to abuse Sarmāst 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 jagir." Sarmāst 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 Sarmāst 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 MSS. (A) reads گرمبدید.
2 MS. (A) adds the words in brackets العربية يُلمع.
3 MS. (A) omits را.
4 MS. (A) reads دور جناب.
and sleep-stricken¹ that they will never wake² till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it.³

Verse.

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another.

It was currently reported that from the time when⁴ the dagger was first invented in Hindustān no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khān did. A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adlī fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded⁵ others, at last made towards 'Adlī and⁶ aimed a blow at him with a sword, which however struck a plank of the door: had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amirs of 'Adlī's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day, as most of them cast away their swords⁷ and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast,⁸ they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours, when⁹ Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrāhīm Khān ¹⁰ Sūr, sister's husband to 'Adlī, and Shāh Muḥammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khān Lūhānī,¹¹ both of them taking their way to the city of non-existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Tāj Khān Karrānī, the

¹ MS. (A) read سرگاران و خرواب آلوده MS (B) read سرگردن.
² MS. (A) بیدار نشورد.
³ See here بعضی دیگر شیروان ماند؟ This is the reading of MSS. (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text.
⁴ MS. (A) ازاق طمان که MS (A) سخت.
⁵ MS. (A) ندود و (B) ندود و.
⁶ MS. (A) اکثری از سردار های خودرا انداخته.
⁷ MS. (B) ازاق طمان که. Most of them threw themselves from the walls. This is also the reading given in a footnote variant to the text.
⁸ The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers.
⁹ MS. (A) (B) و.
¹⁰ MS. (A) خان
¹¹ MS. (A) (B) و.
brother of 'Amād and Suleimān, who eventually became the autocratic ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title of Ḥayrāt ʿAlā, having left the audience hall of ʿAdī was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muḥammad Farmāli. They asked after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle, 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 ʿAdī.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him. Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwalīār towards Bengāl and ʿAdī sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramān in the district of Qaunāj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for ʿAdī, and his army

1 MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب إستقالة and MS. (A) reads صراحة بحلة.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read خطاب دا و should be omitted.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read which is better than the textual reading پورسنند.
4 MSS. (A) (B) read (B) صبر (A) صبر.
5 MS. (A) reads wrongly لكن for تکن.
6 MS. (A) reads كشان کهان and MSS. (A) (B) read شاه کهان.
7 MSS. (A) (B) read خود نیست.
8 MS. (B) read جهادا مر و. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads جهادا مر و Chherānāu.
was victorious, and Taj Khan turning in flight made the best of his way to Chhinär, 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 Iyās who held sway over certain parganas on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adli arrived at Chunar, and the Karrānis on the banks of the river Ganges came out to fight with him. Himūn asked for a halla of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adli while in Chinar intended to seize Ibrahim Khan, the son of Ghāzi Khan Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adli, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage from the fort. Ibrahim Khan made his way towards Bāināna and Hindūn which was his father's jāgir: 'Adli despatched Isā Khān Niyāzi after Ibrahim Khan, and they fought a battle in the vicinity of Kalpi, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrahim Khan, 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 Khan to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jen, Ibrahim Khan made overtures, and sent a message saying: "If Rāvūn Jilwān, and Bihār Khān Sarwānī, to whom Islam Shāh gave the title of A'zam Humāyūn, 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

1 The textual reading is wrong, omit reading with MSS. (A) (B)
2 MS. (A) (B) جنگر. MS. (B) (A) دریایی گنگ.
3 MS. (A) (B) مسیح سانگ. MSS. (A) (B) دسمگیر سانگ.
4 MS. (A) (B) مسیح سانگ.
5 MS. (A) (B) مسیح سانگ.
6 MS. (A) (B) مسیح سانگ.
7 MS. (A) (B) مسیح سانگ.
8 MS. (A) (B) جنگر کبیر.
9 MS. (A) (B) دم از استحالات زد.
10 MS. (A) (B) درمینار. MS. (A) (B) جدای.
11 MS. (A) omits دم از استحالات زد.
12 MS. (A) omits دم از استحالات زد.
13 MS. (B) reads "بیه وان".
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 Gwalīr for Bhāta, and thence returned towards Chunār taking with him large amounts of treasure; many elephants and a large following.

After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose, Ahmad Khān Sūr, one of the consins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adli, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with the Amiris of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adli and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār Khān Kāsī and Ḥabib Khān, and Naqīb Khān Tughājī, 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 Amiris, such as Ḥāji Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāī Ḥussain Jilwānī and Mas'āʿūd Khān and Ḥusain Khān Ghilzāī were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal
tents and standards, and ensigns and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag-staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a 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 saqirlat 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 Afghan 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 Ibrahim as being more numerous than his own, shilly-shallyed and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Diilī to the eastern extremity of Hindustān as far as could be arranged should belong to Ibrahim Khān, and that the country of the Panjāb and Multān as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughals came to Hindustān. The Afghāns of both

1 The text here reads طاق. MS (A) however reads تبع. The true reading should evidently be تبع which according to M. Pavet de Courtoilles means a standard composed of the tail of the قطامی (qudā or Tibetan yak) fixed to a pole.

2 MS. (A) (B) reads saqirlat. Dory, however, gives no such form of the word and the word is probably السکلا, meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold. See Dozy s. v. See also Yule and Burnett Glossary s. v. Saqirat also, Skeat Etym: Dict. s. v. Scarlet.

3 Another instance of Badaoni's use of this unusual sense.

4 We should apparently read here which according to MS. (B) omits the words altogether. MS. (A) agrees with the text, which however does not seem satisfactory.

5 MS. (A) omits خانم.
armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bāhr, the brother of Sikandar, and the Amirs of the Panj Bhāiā which means "the five brothers," who were with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrahim (Khān) gets possession of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good, but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition, and the majority of the Amirs of Ibrahim (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 ror is long (and) a stick has two ends.

Ibrahim came round to this view but Mas'ūd Khān and Husain Khān Qilīzāī with some of the new Amirs said: "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide the matter at once, and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession of weakness on our part, and an admission of the bravery of our enemies." Upon 'Adli

1 MSS. (A) (B) no also Firishta. The text reads Kālā Bāhr.
2 MS. (A) reads بیوین. 3 MS. (B) adds خان.
4 MS. (B) reads بدست آورده which seems better than the text.
5 MS. (A) omits پیژن. 6 MS. (B) reads راي for معنی.
7 MS. (B) ابراهیم خان.
8 MS. (B) ویل. 9 MSS. (A) (B) read  که بیانالااً ما در آورد.
10 MSS. (A1) (B) omit رہ. 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)  قسمې را نفاصل فنصل.
13 MS. (B) دلیل.
14 MS. (B) reads اعدا په شود.
also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded." Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyān Yahya Turān, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyān Yahya in the year 961 H. during the disturbances, gave battle in Badāon to twenty of 'Adli's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them; he then fought a great battle on the plain of the township of Kandarkhi with Rāja Mātar Sen Kabtariya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this Muntakhab, 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: Chā bās 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 Miyān Ḥālim 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-Rīżā, he said, "Count the letters of this tāriḵā which I have spoken without forethought, Fathā-i-āsmānī ḥud."

I replied nine hundred and sixty, which is one unit short. He answered, I said it with the hamra of Ḥāfat, that is to say, Fathā-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 در وضع در سنه and تمنی، 2 MS. (B) reads در سنه and تمنی. 3 MS. (B) reads و خبر کرد از. 4 Chā bās khūb karda and. A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H. whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H. 5 Read خدیم. MS. (B). 6 MSS. (A) (B) read مکتبا جهانی امیر Ḥālim instead of مکتبا جهانی امیر Ḥālim. 7 MS. (A) ابن خضر. 8 مفید مورده که. 9 Fathā-i-āsmānī ḥud. They were heaven-given victories. Read with hamza this gives 961 H. 10 MS. (A) reads wrongly دست. According to this the value of hamza is 1, and it is taken as equivalent to Alif. The hamza of Ḥāfat is said to be
a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had written containing the instruction of the Qāḍi, gave them to me as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyan Shaikh Abūl Tāth, the son of Shaikh-allaḥdiyah 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 Kant-Golah and that district, going by way of Badānā had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ābār, and had gone towards Ibrāhīm Khān, 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 Saniyyid 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 Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhīm Khān had drawn up his army and placed Miyan Yahya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hāji Khān to the command of the left division, and Rūḥḥānī Husain Jīlūnī with the Ghilzāis to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated ٰ (Plattt Persian Grammar, p 43), but if this were the case its value would partly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of ḥāfat is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original ٰ.

1 MS (A) reads ولد شيخ البدية. See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.
2 MS (B) reads بقبط كوردا.
4 Ābār 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.
6 MS (A) reads ازاي لشكر جدا شده، وباه مروحة فتنه. See J. A. S. B., 1869, p 126, and ‘Amīn-‘Abharī (B) I. p 268. The Mir ‘Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qādi, see ‘Amīn-‘Abharī, III. (J.) 41.
7 MS (A) reads رحمة إله 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 forces, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal and Palwal, shouting, Prosperity to Ibrahim 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 Miyain Yahya Paran who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Miyain Yahya and two of his fingers were cut off. He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrahim Khan took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred men, and with his front facing down-hill awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars passed over the heads of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrahim saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like 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 Jannat Ashiyau had reached Hindustan:
retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrind, he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrahim leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three thousand sowars 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 Himun the grocer, who was his vazir and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhar with certain eminent Amirs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Agra and Delhi.

Himun, regarding Ibrahim as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him; Ibrahim 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) cals U, MSH, (A) (B) jla Aen, SMB. (A) gif kant (7), M8. (B) peeu S gist (P). 2 MS. (B) pstior. 3 MSS. (A) (B) ends @ly for @f9. 4 MS. (B) reads MIAw dblbe y, 5 A footnote to the text says that the word ḫa is superfluous, MS. (A) omits ḫa. 6 MS. (B) reads wrongly ṭoøuq for ṭoøq and for ṭoøq. 7 MS. (A) (B) reada Ⱡ for Ⱡ and for Ⱡ. 8 MS. (A) supplies Ⱡ for Ⱡ. 9 MS. (A) reads Canun for Canun. 10 MS. (B) reads wrongly Ⱡ for Ⱡ and Geis for Geis. 11 MSS. (A) (B) reada Ⱡ for Ⱡ. 12 MS. (B) reads again Ⱡ for Ⱡ. 13 MS. (A) supplies Ⱡ for Ⱡ. 14 A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundance. See Lane s. v. حورية.
Ibrahim Khan after this defeat, leaving Kalpi made strenuous
for Baiana with all speed, and Himun pursuing him arrived at
Baiana. Ibrahim Khan taking a body of the Nahi 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 opera-
tions 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 des-
EPP)
stroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern
portion of Hindustan, especially in Agra, Baiana, and Dhilli. It
was so severe a famine that one ser of jawati grain had reached
two half-tankahe, 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) (B).
2 We should read here yak and ez MS. (A).
3 MSS. (A) (B).
4 MSS. (A) (B). The text reads which has no meaning.
5 MSS. (A) (B). The text reads which has no meaning.
6 MS. (A) (B). The text reads which has no meaning.
7 MS. (A) (B).
8 MS. (A) (B).
9 MS. (B) reads
10 MS. (B) omits
11 MS. (A) (B).
12 MS. (B) omits
13 MS. (B) omits
14 M.S. (B) (B) omits
15 M.S. (B) (B) omits
16 The ser is approximately two pounds. Jawari is the Hindustani name for the small variety of millet also known as chhota jawar. (Andropogon eorumum).
plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *Mughrilân* thorn and on wild herbs, also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khâshm-i-Isad* (Divine wrath) was invented. The writer of these pages, with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them, and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain, and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrâhim, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Agra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Agra was emptied of the troops of 'Adli, one of the Amirs of Ghâzi Khân Sûr entered the fort of Agra and took up his abode there, to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies, while he was engaged in inspecting the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms, and was going round carrying an open lamp, a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

*From the book of Sir John Malcolm*
gan 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 *Tawhid* (Declaration of Unity), and *Tauba* (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 Jamma, 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 Āgra was originally Bādal Gārh, the words *Āgaḫ-i-Bādal gārh* made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Himān blockaded the fortress of Bāiṣa 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 Himān’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 decease.

On one occasion Himān was one day presiding at a public banquet, and summoning the Aţfān Amīrā 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 nondescript as you who are sluggish in eating your
viptuals 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 force for which they
were renowned, swallowed his insults like sweetmeats, either
from fear or hope, this had become a regular practice with them.

Verse.

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot!

In the meanwhile news reached Himin that Muhammad Khan
Sar, Governor of Bangala, had assumed the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din, and was marching with an army like the ants and
lolusts for multitude from Bangala, and having reduced Jaunpur
was making for Kalpi and Agra. Just at this juncture an
urgent summons arrived from 'Adil to Himin in these words:
"At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful
enemy." Himin thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he
arrived at Mandagar, which is distant six klicks from Agra,
Ibrahim Khan like a hungry hawk which leaves its nest and
pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in
battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining reinforcements from Hāji Khān Alwar, he again set about accomplishing his own objects, and Himūn detailed his brother's son named Thar Yāl with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yāl marching with restless haste pursued Ibrahim for two stages, and joined Himūn; Hāji Khān was not pleased at Ibrahim's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrahim, 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 Bhāṭṭa. 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!

_Magnāvī._

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 Ibrahim 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 Bhāṭṭa, but was

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MS. (A) reads कोरमक गोव्नाक, MS. (B) reads कोरमक गोव्नाक.  
5 MS. (A) reads تومिम, MS. (B) reads تومिम.  
6 MS. (A) reads مेहद, MS. (B) reads مेहद.  
7 Read: तानाम. MS. (A) reads تानाम (؟). MS. (B) reads تानाम.  
8 MS. (A) reads مेल, MS. (B) reads مेल.  
9 MS. (A) reads مेल for مेल.
forced to flee and was taken prisoner. Raja Ram 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.

Ibrahim Khan spent some time there, till Baz Bahadur the son ofSazawal Khan, Ruler of Malwa, who eventually read the Khoja in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyani Afghans, who summoned Ibrahim Khan and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against Baz Bahadur. Rani Durgawati the ruler of the country of Kara Katake also, who was embroiled with Baz Bahadur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up to assist Ibrahim, and went out to fight against Baz Bahadur, who made overtures for peace and dissuaded the Rani from assisting Ibrahim. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrahim, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bengal, and lived on good terms with the zamindars. Saleiman Karrani, when he took possession (of Orissa), made terms with the Raja, and sending for Ibrahim with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,
Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.
The tent of life which thou placedst at first,
Death will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.
Himūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adli. '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 ks from Kalpi.

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, 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 that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amirās 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 and grandeur became "like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool," 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,

The condition of the world becomes altered.

After this heaven-given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adli proceeded to Chinhār and appointed Himūn, who was the commander-in-chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army.

1 MS (A) reads دیر صیدان. The text reads در صیدان.
2 MSS (A) (B) read بھجم. The text reads بھجم.
3 MS. (A) omits بھجم.
4 Literally: Crying, where shall I put the cup, where shall I put the case?
5 MS (A) omits سلطنت.
6 Qurʾān Ⅱ. 4
7 MSS (A) (B) read بیک مساعت بیک لسخت بیک دم. MS. (B) reads لسخت for لسخت.
8 MS. (A) reads بھجم.
and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul
which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and
Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khizr Khān, the son of Muḥammad
Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Khor
issuing the currency and reading the Khutbah in his own name, with
the style and title of Sultān (Muḥammad) Bahādur, and collect-
ing a huge army to revenge his father’s death, came up against
‘Adli, who notwithstanding his distress fought bravely on that
field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance.
After fighting manfully ‘Adli was killed, and joined Muḥammad
Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot
blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and Gauria bikūshī
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 Nūh.
Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize and take for thine own.
Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as
made for thee;
Every fruit which grows in the world do thou taste and
take.
In the final round which brings the end of thy life,
A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth
and gnaw it (in despair).

1 MS. (B) reads ' for ولد.
2 MS. (A) omits در كور.
3 MS. (A) (B) omit √جد.
6 The text reads خود گان ناگندگی (sic.) MS (B) reads ناگندگی. The meaning is not very clear.
6 A footnote to the text points out that
Gauria bikūshī. A footnote to the text points out that
these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (Pathan Kings, p. 416) gives 964
H. as the date of ‘Adli’s death.
7 A footnote variant gives جو دست.
8 MS. (A) (B) reads بیان دنیا for عالم.
'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Fāsānī, the well-known kalān-wat, who is a past master in this art used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwāl Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adli.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God He is exalted and glorified, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhan brought into his assembly an instrument called pakhāwaj, which is in length equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all the performers of the kingdom of 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 foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an Amir, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a jāegr, a Bhashat boy handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badūn, and used to play, 'Adli was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Mujāhid Khān. When he attained to kingly power

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1 See Ain-i-Akbari I, (B) 612, note 1. Kalān-wat or Kalāvānt is a Hindi word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads kalāvānt Kalān-wat.
2 Badānī uses the word wādi a valley or desert, apparently to show his disapproval of the art.
3 A large kind of drum. See Ain-i-Akbari (J.) III, 255.
4 MS. (B) reads for Kalānī.
5 MS. (A) omits.
6 MS. (A) reads pakhāwaj.
7 MS. (A) omits.
8 MS. (A) reads here āhadān. MS. (B) reads āhadān. So also footnote variant to text.
9 The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276.
10 MSS. (A) (B) (A) (A) 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 Badéon he said, "I am hungry" Gházi Khán Sár whose tent was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." 'Adli, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver. No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose he would first grow red, then pale and livid, and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly performed; he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.

Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware! beware!
And ye lords of state, beware! beware.

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afgháns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

1 The text reads with a footnote variant بدانو. MSS. (A) (B) read بدانو.
2 MS (B) omits گلابی پوستی The text reads بدلی پوستی meaning scraps of meat
3 The text reads گشیان. MS (A) reads گنشیان گشیان. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.
5 خاندان MS. (A). خاندان MS. (A).
6 He was, as has been described, killed in battle.
7 MS (A) reads خدایندان حال in the first line, and حال خاندان مال in the second. MS. (B) reads حال مال in the first and حال مال in the second.
Nasiru-d-Din Muhammad Humayün Padshah Ghazi,

Returning from Kábal, 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 Hindústán slipped from the grasp of that Pádsháh glorious as Jamshid, like the ring from the hand of Suleimán, 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, Humayún crossed from the Panjáb and attempted to seize Bakkar, making his camp at the township of Lohri, which is near to Bakkar. Mirzã Hindál having left Sind proceeded to the township of Pántar, which is fifty krohs distant from Bakkar, on account of the abundance and cheapness of grain. Humayún sent a robe of honour and a horse with a message to Mirzã Sháh Husain Arghún, 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.” Mirzã Sháh Husain spent five or six months in temporising, and brought Humayún by specious pretexts from the Bakkar territory to the neighbourhood of Tatta, with the intention of doing whatever might be advisable later on.

1 A footnote says that one copy gives مسیح. MS. (B) has this reading.
2 See ante p 205, note B.
3 Read ایلیف for یلیف, MSS. (A) (B).
4 MS. (A) omits در.
7 MSS. (A) (B) read پیٹار. I can find no mention of any place of this name.
8 MS. (B) reads فرم گیروت مسلم وایس مرتون اللہ. Firdhsta says “asked for assistance in the conquest of Gujrat,” Bombay text, p. 409.
9 Omit read پیٹار. MSS. (A) (B).
In this year, 948 H., Humayun married Hamida Banu Begam, and coming to Puntar returned to Lohri. Mizz Hindal started for Kandahar in answer to the summons of Qaischa Beg, the governor of that district, and Yadgar Nasir Mizz, who had encamped at a distance of ten kroks from (Humayun's) camp also intended to proceed to Kandahar. Humayun thereupon sent Mir Abul-Baqi, who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mir Saiyyid Sharif, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose. At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mizz 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 Surur-i-kainat was invented to commemorate it.

Mizz Yadgar Nasir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humayun proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mizz (Yadgar) and spent their days in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mizz gathered strength, and Humayun crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Siyahwân. Mirzâ Shâh Hasain kept sending reinforcements.

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1 The text reads 947 H. with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another 947-948. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read. Firistha, Qaracha Khan, Bombay text, p. 409.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read Suir-i-kainat. Firistha, Qaracha Khan, Bombay text, p. 409.
4 MSS. (A) (B) add. MS. (A) omits 7. MS. (A) read.
5 Surur-i-kainat. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.
6 MSS. (A) (B) add. 7. MS. (A) add.
8 Firistha says Sihwân. Sihwân or Schwân 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 Schwân is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hunter Imp. Gaz, XII. 305; but Tiefenthaler (I. 123) attributes it to Hussain, son of Shâlbeg Arghun.
9 MSS (A) (B) add.
and supplies to the garrison, and embarking on a boat, and coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humayün). The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of grain and want of salt.

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as
to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities, that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh.

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mirzâ Yâdḡar Nâṣir, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirzâ Shâh Husain and gain possession of the fort. He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service, and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar. Mirzâ Shâh Husain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the Khudâbâd read and the currency issued in his name; he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

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1 MS. (B) ص۳ فورستاد.
2 This is the statement of one author, but Firuzâta says “The siege lasted for seven months Mirzâ Shâh Husain Arghun also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals.” Bombay text, 409.
3 MSS. (A) (B) دم ساز
4 MS. (R) خلع
5 Footnote variant ۳ دم ساز
6 Footnote variant دم ساز
7 MS. (A) ۳ دم ساز
8 Text reads ۳ دم ساز. MS. (B) reads ۳ دم ساز most of them.
9 MS. (B) omits ۳ دم ساز
10 MSS. (A) (B) read ۳ دم ساز
11 Footnote variant بکر Bakkar
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 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. Munim Khan who eventually became Khan-i-Khanan also meditated flight. Both of them, however, became aware of the folly of their design, and realizing its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humayun's force were day by day going over to the side of Mirza Yadgar Nasir. In the meantime Maldeo, Raja of the kingdom of Marwar, who was distinguished above all the zamindars of Hindustan 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 Jaisalmir towards Marwar. The Raja of

1 MS. (A) reads بنا پرنگے، ملا فیض، سالکت نہیں.
2 MS. (A) omits بتتام.
3 Thus the text: MS. (A) reads کہ کدم علی قائد مستقل بون از دروازه ورائیا لنوشک.
4 MS. (A) reads از سر قلعہ.
5 MS. (B) reads رسید (نیا).
6 MS. (A) (B) دفع.
7 Footnote variant bn دفع،
8 MS. (B) reads از کشتی یہ رہ آمدہ یوردند.
9 MS. (B) reads تالیفیه.
10 MS. (B) reads از چوکے.
11 MS. (B) متعلق شد.
12 MS. (B) جانب.
13 MSS. (A) (B) ملک.
14 Omit and read قوہ جمعیت MSS. (A) (B).
15 MS (A) omits خود after بودن.
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 masal', 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. Atka Khan [becoming

1 MS. (A) (B)

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 لبأ.

3 MS (A) (B) omits نواحي. د. النز (B).

4 MS. (A) omits بين writing د. ناب." (A).

5 MS (A) omits writing ف (B) runs thus: 

6 A footnote variant to the text, agreeing with MS. (B) runs thus:

This is the reading adopted. It seems preferable.

7 This is according to the text. A footnote variant (and MS. (B) reads

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] returned without asking permission, and informed Humayun of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Maldeo’s spies had arrived at that same place, and Humayun gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger, and fell upon (their enemies) like hares wounded by arrows, and killed a large number of living things, men, women and horses, whatever came in their way. Among the number was Humayun’s charger: Humayun thereupon asked Tardi Beg for a few horses and camels, he however behaved meanly, and Humayun mounted a camel. After a while Nadim, his foster-brother, 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. His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road which was so terribly difficult, amid constant alarms of the attack of Maldeo, [and with intense labour and distress, In the middle of the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hindus of Maldeo’s army] pursuing them through the night, missed their

1 The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).
2 Read کرن یکی و دویگری کشیده. MS. (A).
3 هاک سخت کرده و بقتل رسانده. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.
4 Read معائناد for جناداران. MSS. (A) (B).
5 اسید. MS. (B). MS. (A).
6 This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads جناد ابت شهر (sic).
7 Text گا انک. MS. (A) omits. Firishta writes با انک whereupon.
8 Firishta writes ندویم کوچه نکود.
9 Firishta 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) روز. MS. (B) reads مشتقات.
11 MSS. (A) (B) omit و خردم MS. (A).
12 Omit وا زا after مشتقات. MS. (A).
13 All this passage from بود to شاهب 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. Mün'im Khān and Roshān 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 Hindūs 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...

According to our author's account it seems as though Mālīdeo's men lost their way, but Firizhta's account is as follows: "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humāyūn 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 (Humāyūn'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. 'Humāyūn returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

1 MS. (A) omits. 2 MS. (A) omits. 3 MS. (A) omits. 4 MS. (A) reads خرمشروتفتی. 5 MS. (A) reads آب لزش. 6 is the reading of the text and both MSS. (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firizhta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely unprocarrable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read آب لزش. 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 دهل. 8 MS. (B) omits. 9 MS. (B) omits. 10 MS. (B) omits.
drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drought, died from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage, was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route towards Amarkot, which lies at a distance of a hundred miles 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 Tārdī 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 equipment in Amarkot under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begām, 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. Tārdī 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
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 deceit in the nature
of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'īm Khān, de-
serting. At this time Bairānī Khān came from Gujrat 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 sent thirty boats and three hundred
camel, and Humāyūn crossed the river Indus. At that time
Mirzā Kāmrān had taken Qandahār from Mirzā Hindāl and
had left it in charge of Mirzā 'Askari, and having given Ghaznin
to Mirzā Hindāl had read the Khutba in his own name. After
some time, however, he changed that also. Mirzā Hindāl having
given up all royal dignity in Kābul used to live like a darvēsh 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
Mastang, Mirzā 'Askari marched by forced marches from

Chaul or Chora, a village situated on the route from Amarkot to
Jaisalmir, eight miles northeast of the former place. See Thornton's
Gazetter, I. p. 148, and map. Lat. 25° 26' Long. 69° 61'. See also Keith
Johnston’s Atlas.

The text reads Shāl Mashāng, but both MSS. (A) and
Sāl Mastān marnīl-i-Ūrdū būd. Firuzīa Bo. text,
p. 411, line 10 reads Sāl Wahnān, which is probably
a copyist’s error for Sāl Walsan, understanding by it Mustang which lies S. S. W. of
Quetta or Shāl, at a distance of about 25 miles. See Thornton’s Gazetteer, II.
pp. 65 and 168. The distance from Qandahār to Shāl is about 150 miles.

A footnote variant reads Mirzā Hindāl Not in MSS. (A) or (B).
Qandahār and sent Chūli Bahādur Uzbaki to reconnoitre. He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula of separation, took the road to 'Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Muʿīz̤az̤am. 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 branding 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 Atkāh Khān on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort with him and journeyed by way of Sistān.

Mīrzā '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 Jāki.
2 Mss. (A) (B) omits Qandahār.
3 Mss. (B) omits Khābā.
4 Ms. (A) omits Khwāja. See Qurān xviii. 77.
5 Ms. (B) reads Khvāj̤a for Khvāj̤a.
6 Mss. (A) read atābek for atābek. The word atābek or atābek is a Türkī word signifying "grand-père, precepteur, instituteur du fils des Sultāns." (Pavet de Courteille).
7 Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgāh Khān. See Ain-i-Akbarī 1. (Bl.) 321. No. 15 where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qānamār. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (ānāgah) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anāgah."

The word anā means a mother in Türkī, while anākā or ḥānākā means a nurse, as ṣ̤ā means a father, the word ʿāshā ʿāṭākā would mean foster, father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgāh or Atka.

8 Mss. (B) omits Ḫāfīdha. Mss. (A) (B) read for ʿāstā Dīwān Khāna-i-ʿAlī.
9 The words do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read be-hilm.
Prince to Gandahar, 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 Khurasan, he had an interview with Sultan Muhammad Mirza, the elder son of Shâh Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage of Muhammad Khan Taku, and receiving all the necessaries of royalty, and requisites for his journey, with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Mesched); and at each successive stage, by order of the Shâh, 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 Shâh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humâyûn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulâq-Surîq and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

In the course of conversation the Shâh asked what had led to his defeat; Humâyûn incautiously replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahram Mirza, the brother of the Shâh, who was

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1 MSS. (A) (B) omit ب. Omit ل. MSS (A) (B).
2 MSS. (A) (B) omit د. (A).
3 MSS. (A) (B) د. That is to say, in the Tabagît-i-Akbari. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 217, et seq.
4 الباليغ. The termination líq, líq, líq, or líq, indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in جمع البحر, châglâq, abundance; or possession. See Paret de Coarteille s. v.
5 The word patronage would more etymologically represent alâqi, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.
6 Called by Nirâmî-d-Din, Ahmad Muhammad Khan Sharfa-d-Din Ugilî Taku (B. and D., v. 217). The word تاکی Taku means "ces qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne; lieux humides et verdoyants" (P. de C.).
7 MSS. (B) reads د. This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text.
8 The text has بليلاق سورداق (Sic) (تبلیغ) Itâq Sârag, but both MSS. (A) (B) read Itâq Sârag.
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, [nay more to overthrow Humayun himself as well], and impressed upon Shah Tahmasp 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 trampled under foot by the Ozbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive." This was a reference to that affair in which Babar Fathalih took Najin-i-Awwal from Shah Ismail with seventeen thousand Qizilbash cavalry, and led them as an auxiliary force against the Ozbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nahshab, otherwise known as Kash, (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shah to turn the Ozbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met he withdrew to one side, and the Qizilbash troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultan Begam the sister of the Shah, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

1 MSS. (A) (B) read ارث روز باز
2 MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads cf. Tabaqat-i-Akbar, Elliot, v. 218.
3 MSS. (A) (B) زندگ بدر نیامد.
4 The text is correct. MS. (A) reads پلی خیم.
5 In the Memoirs of Bider, (Erakine, p. 243), he is called Naim Sani Isfahani. (Najin-i-Sani Isfahan)
6 MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار.
For an account of this see Ershino (Memoirs of Bider), pp. 213, 213.
7 MS. (A) reads کس (؟).
8 MSS. (A) (B) read لسب. نخشب نام ماناده.
9 For an account of this see Ershino (Memoirs of Bider), pp. 213, 213.
10 MSS. (A) (B) LNB. Text reads قصه.
11 MS. (A) reads سلطانام. So also Tabaqat-i-Akbar.
promised Mahdi, (who in the belief of the Shi'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Sämîrah, otherwise known by the name of Surra-man-râ'o, 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 altitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and assist. His Majesty (Humâyûn) wrote a rubâ'î (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 Shâh.

1 The promised Mahdi, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection. See Mishkât-u-l-Maṣūle, xxiii. also Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, 305.


Its name was changed by Al Mu'tasim for the sake of good augury into Surra-man-râ'o, meaning “Who sees it rejoices.” Sâmîrah 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 Baghdad, remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shi'a Muslims, for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imâms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdi, Al-Qâ'im is to appear. See J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 36, for the article from which this note is abridged, a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Sa'don, by Mr. Lo Strange.

3 MS. (A) reads گیاں کیہ آپنا. 5 MS. (B) omits گیاں کیہ آپنا.

4 MS. (B) omits نصینہ.

5 Text. MS. (A) reads گزینہ. 6 MS. (A) reads بیت کرگئی لئے اپنے اسم. 7 MSS. (A) (B) exchange غنیوں. 8 MS. (A) بیت کرگئی لئے اپنے اسم.

There is an allusion here to the name Humâyûn in its etymological sense of relation to the Humâ or bird of royal augury.

Salim al-Din, a native of Sawa'. Shaikh 'Alâa'd-Daulah of Salmân said, “I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salmân or the pomegranates of Sama'a.” He died in the year 668 H. Majma'u-l-Fusûlh, II. 19. See Beare O. E. D., p. 235, where Salmân is said to have died in 779 A.H. See also H. K. 8946 Firâqînâma. The date of his death given in the Majma'û-l-Fusûlh must be incorrect, as Salmân was the name of Amir Shâhî Shâh, and of his son Sultan Awâin Jâlîyâr—the latter of whom died in 770 A.H. See Ain-i-Akbari, I. (B) 100 n. 8.
I hope that the Shāh will show me kindness. 
As 'Ali treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions, 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 after 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 precedence in the Khuṭbah, after the custom of 'Iṣāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.6 Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand cavalry under the command7 of Bīdāgh Khān Qīzīlbash Afshār,8 was nominated to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qīzīlbash should march

1 One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushīra and Shirāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon 'Ali for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the Muqām-i-Salmān. He is buried at Madīm. See Jābab, II, p. 221. Salmān Abū 'Abdillāh al Fāsī, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

2 Omit § and read 3 and read a w. Tāqī yīdād. MS. (A).

3 Read here tāqī yīdād. MSS (A), (B).

4 The Shi'ahs apply the term Imām to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imāms. They are on this account called the Imāmīyah and the Ismā'īliyah. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, 203 and 572.

5 MS. (B) reads 12,900. 9 Draṣṣād Ḥazār.

6 Bīdāgh Khān was according to Tabaqāt-i-Albari the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

7 See Tarīkh-i-Raghibi (Elia and Rosa), p. 214. Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turkī tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shāh Ismā'īl, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qīzīlbash derive their name.

8 MS. (A).
by one route and Humayun by another, and that Humayun should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahar to Shah Murad. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Ardabil and Tabriz, (Humayun) again went to Mashhad the holy city, and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain-head of light.

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice to his fellow, "This is not Humayun Padshah." The other replied "Yes it is." Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humayun "So! you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humayun used generally in Bangala to cast a veil over his crown, and when he removed it the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Agra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him). At last Mir Abul Baq with the Amirs and Vazirs paid the due respects, and the Amirs of the Qizilbash coming (by another road) arrived at Garmair and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view of Qandahar, when after five days Humayun arrived, and Mirza 'Askari was besieged, and for three months continuously fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides. Thereupon Bairam Khan was sent to Kabul as an ambassador to

1 MS. (A) reads ........... گذارند. It was settled that Humayun should ........... hand over Qandahar (to Shah Murad).

2 MS. (A) inserts مقدس.

3 MS. (A) omits نبة.

4 At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of Ali, son of Musa ar-Rush. See Meynard Dict. de la Perse, p 396 s. v. مجد. See also Ain-i-Akbari, (3,) III. 88. Firishta reads (Bo. Text, p. 212).

5 Insert کهسته instead of کهسته مسجد، إمام علیه السلام.

6 MS. (A) reads دیگری instead of دیگری مسجد.

7 MS. (A) reads دیگری instead of دیگری مسجد, MSS. (A) (B).

8 MS. (A) reads لا نیست. I Read مسجد. MSS. (A) (B).

9 Supply مسجد. MSS. (A) (B).

10 MS. (B) reads در این دنیا and مسجد instead of مسجد در این دنیا MS. (A).

11 Omit دنیا دنیا مسجد, MSS. (A) (B).

12 Insert نامه ما after پیامی, MSS. (A) (B).
Mirzā [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā ‘Askari was fighting and Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Sulaimān Badakhshā and Mirzā Yadgār Nasīr who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plight; and [since] the idea of the Qizilbash was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him and would all come in. This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mirzā ‘Askari, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country. It so happened that just at that very time certain Amirs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān, namely, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Ḥusain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Muḥyād Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of Qandahār, escaped from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā ‘Askari in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined the ranks of Humāyūn’s followers; hisfaults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

1 The words within brackets occur in both MSS (A) (B) which read

ميرزا کامران کہ میرزا عسکری از جانب عملہر
میرزا فرستارند میرزا هندال میرزا سلیمان الغ

This also tallies with the Tabaqat-i-Albari. See Elliot and Dowson, V.219

2 MS. (A) reads 但它 seems to be in error.

3 Omit فرستاد in this place, MS (A).

4 MS. (A) omits چجوک.

5 اویل ہدسن - چگنیہ اویل خواہدند شد Il shudan. To become submissive.

6 Read here رته خواہند در کمد MSS. (A) (B). The word seems unnecessary and tautological, possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word اویل ہدسن il, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe".

Regarding the Chaghatai, see Tūrīk-i-Rashidi, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

7 MS. (A) کلیر.

8 MS. (A) omits کہ خواستند before and reads

کہ بدیار خرد مراجعت نیایند.

9 The text read پایان کمد having come down The Tabaqat-i-Albari says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope." E. and D. loc cit.

10 MS. (A) شدک.
Verse.

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge.

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbash that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghata 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 invariable sent strangely rough answers. On this account some of the Chaghatai 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 Chaghatai Amirs urged upon Humayun the necessity of seizing Qandahar, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying...
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 Qizilbāsh canalile 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 Tubarrā, in accordance with

1 MSS. (A) (B) omit what it seems to be necessary.
2 MS. (A) inserts روز قرارداد "the very day of the agreement." ³ MS. (B) omits مطلقا.
3 Omit des MB, (B). ⁴ MS. (B) omits مطلقا.
5 MS. (A) reads بذری تندي. 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 Tabarrā. This word means enmity (as opposed to توالی, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shi'ahs. In defining tabarrā a distinction is to be made between مخالفت mukhlafa opposition, and عداوت 'adawat enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter, for instance two men may be in opposition (mukhlafa) on worldly matters, and 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 mahabbat, affection, and عداوت 'adawat enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that عداوت '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 consideration 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 سفس ف (infidelity), therefore one must consider every kāfir as an enemy: thus although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (mahabbat) between a
Muslin and a Kafir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood in other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and 'adawat must be based upon their kufir. Again religious affection is centred in iman (faith of Islam), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

'adabat and 'adawat between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kafir) 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 Muhammad, 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 (iman), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'an become worthy of 'adawat (rajab al-'adawot) they are excepted (from the rights of 'adabat) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. Inasmuch as fisaq (immorality) does not necessarily exclude iman (faith), it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display tabarrū against him, but rather to pray for his pardon; as long as he retains iman it is lawful to entertain makhbat for him, and 'adawat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as tabarrū and makhbat and sebd (reviling) are only justifiable when makhbat 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 Khilafah of 'Ali as kufi, according to the words of Khwaja Nasir Tusi. "Muhallilahu faqaha va muhallabahu kafarah." "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 tabarrū, because their extreme fault is fisaq (immorality) and the fisaq (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the Tulfa-i-'eghafyah of Shih 'Abdan-'Aziz of Dhibi.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that Tabarrū is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim' Theology of the distinction of the Christian Code. It is more than communication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of tabarrū which thus implies final separation and curses.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of fisaq (iman) and hence to render the reviler liable to tabarrū provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirza Yādgar Naqīr he is called tabarrū
their notoriously brutal manner, in the presence of ʿYādgār Naṣir Mirzā [who had fled in concert with Hindāl Mirzā from Kāmrān Mirzā] and come thither, uttered foul and improper abuse against the companions of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, and may God be pleased with them; Mirzā ʿYādgār Naṣir 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. Hāji Muḥammad Kān 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 Bāʿrām Kān were of that number. The Qizilbāš were astounded, and utterly confounded, and the proverb was exemplified, "ʿQāzī, I am an old woman, and if you don't believe me, I can scream just like one, listen!" Their haughtiness was humbled, and Humāyūn entering the fort allowed Bīdāgh Kān, who had come to him in trepidation and anxiety, to proceed towards ʿIrāq. Notwithstanding this, all the inhabitants of the city, who were heartily sick of them, killed the Qizilbāš in every street. After he had settled Qandahār to his satisfaction, he made over charge of that district to Bāʿrām Kān, and determined to attempt the conquest of Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān also came out to meet him with the intention of fighting. Every day one or two of his noted Amīra deserted and joined the army of Humāyūn. In very truth the greater
pose we view as notables of the world\(^1\) are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.\(^2\) Mirzâ Kamrân, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the Shaikhs and Ulama to sue for pardon. Humâyûn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mirzâ, in accordance with the saying “The traitor is a coward,”\(^3\) would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kâbul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznin. The whole of his army came over to the camp of Humâyûn, who appointed Mirzâ Hindal to pursue him, and came himself to Kâbul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word “Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur’an for thee will restore thee to thy returning place”\(^4\) was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazân the blessed,\(^5\) in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),\(^6\) and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:

Bojung girist mulk-i-Kâbul az wai.\(^7\)

“He took the kingdom of Kâbul from him without fighting.”

And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this Muntakab has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,\(^8\)

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1. MS. (A) omits عالم حكم
2. MS. (B) omits ملک-کابل
3. MS. (A) omits کوردن
4. Al-khânuqâr Khârîf
5. MS. (B) reads صباییش
7. MS. (A) omits المبارک
8. The Tabagât-i-Alhâmil (Elliot and Dowson, v. p 222) says: “The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazân, 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 (1, page 223) states that the Akbar-nâma (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazân, 952.
9. These words give 952 H. Firishâ is also given this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 418).
10. Lit. to draw tight the tent cords of proximity. MSS. (A) (B) omit یا; MS. (B) reads ستین for ستین
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 Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Gharnin and was unable to enter it, he departed towards Bakkar, and Mirzā Shāh Husain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

Humāyūn put to death Mirzā Yadgār Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Suleimān Mirzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and Kāmrān Mirzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mirzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mirzā Suleimān, and making over the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, 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 Māham Ānka made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity.

Verse.

If the sword of the world leaps from its sheath,
It can sever no vessel till God permits.

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1 MS. (A) omits مسئله مصن

2 MS. (A) omits بدر حضور

The proverb is Al-hadiṣu ʿuḥiyūn, and is used to express one story reminding the narrator of another, see Arabum Proverbia, Freytag, I. p 350, n. 29.

The text reads wrongly لجديد شهيرة, and a footnote calls attention to the correct reading. MS. (B) reads من יותר.

3 MS. (A) reads Bar ḥazarat-i- ʿAliyyāt-i-Begamān.

4 MS. (B) reads it in the meaning of foster-mother. Read the account given by Nizam-al-Dīn. (Elliot, v. p 227).

5 Māham Ānka (or Anagah) was one of Akbar's nurses and attended on Akbar from his cradle to his accession. See Ain-i-Akbari, I. (B) p. 323. Anākā or Anāka in Tarki signifies nurse. Fazlul-lāh Khān gives Anagah in the meaning of foster-mother.
The Sarðārā and Amīrs, 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, Mīrzā, having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise, and when Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mīrzā, Mīrzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Bābē Qaḥṣaqa?" Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Ḥumayūn 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 Mīrzā Kamrān took refuge with Pir Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Balkh, and asking his assistance seized certain of the provinces of Badakhshan without a struggle from Sulaimān Mīrzā and his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and took possession of them; and Qurāshān Khān, who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping Amīrs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humayūn, and when their iniquities desires were not realised betook themselves to Badakhshan 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 Ḥ; i.e., to make foins.
2 Mīrzā Kamrān.
3 Read Mīrzā Kāmīrān. MS. (A).
4 Text Būyārī Nāshinā Mīrzā. Mīrzā. MS. (A) (B) read Būyāra Nāshinā.
5 MS. (A).
6 Text reads جزءة كل وجمع اسماء. MS. (A) has the better reading جزء بكل وجمع اسماء.

7 A footnote variant reads هزار معنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS. (A).
8 Text Sādīd Khwārismī. MS. (A) (B) Sādīd Khwārismī. MS. (A) reads Sādīd Khwārismī.
9 MS. (A) reads خان طعیش شد. ......... نمرود بر تروفس.
10 MS. (A) reads ی بلغی در باب کفته. This admits of translation also "a certain
The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;  
Like the Kite which is six months female and six months male.

On several occasions it happened that Mīrzā Kāmrān came to pay his respects to Hūmāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Hūmāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate goodwill, pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him, and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān, and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khaṇ and ‘Abū-l-‘Azīz Khaṇ, the son of ‘Abdu-Allah Khān, the Ozbek king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amirs, who were treacherous hypocrites, and in alarm about Mīrzā Kāmrān, he turned back and came to Kābul. Mīrzā Kāmrān once more broke his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way, and he had to fight numerous battles, he eventually sought
aid from Islem 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. Khâgânî! cast dust into the eyes of the world, For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee no remedy.

1. 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 Tarhâta.

2. Mirza Kâmrân was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, see Elliot, v. 144 and 235 in the year 950 H. Firishta gives the tarîkh written to commemo-

3. A Khâgânî, whose name was Afzal-ud-Din Ibrahim-ibn Alâ-an-Najjar, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Alâ-âlâ Ganjavi; he took the name

4. Khaqani, from whom he received the title of Khaqani. Having

5. Az-Azim who was Aftabu-landers clamouring for his death. Firishta also says that he made the pilgr image. (Hajj) three times, dying on the 11th of Zu Hijjah 964 H. (Bo. Text, p. 455) October, 1557 A. D.
Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī wrote this tārikh.

Verse.

Kāmrān, than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,
Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul to God, and his body to the dust.
Kāhī spoke this as a tārikh to commemorate his death,
Padshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.

And the poet Wāisi wrote:

Verse.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.
Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.
After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Surkhab in Tabrīz in the year 582 H.

Majina'-i-Fugaha, I, p. 209. See also Beale, O.B.D. s.v. Khāqānī.

1 MS. (B) reads ہو ہو ہو ہو ہو ہو. MS. (A) reads ہو ہو ہو ہو ہو ہو.

2 This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

3 Pādshāh Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd. The letters of this line give the date 984 H. instead of 988 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Miyan Kāli Kābuli. 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 mysticism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badāni laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The Atqah-Kada (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistāna Saiyyidā; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Timūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Turkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I, 566 n. 1; also Beale, O.B.D., p. 144.

4 MS. (B) reads دابسی for Wāisi (Text).
One night as Waisi was held with sleep,
He visited him and called him towards himself,
And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka.""

Mirzā 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. All's well that ends well.2

This event took place in the year 5 961 H.

Mirzā 'Askari, after Qarrāchā Kān was slain in the last battle
before Kābul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's
soldiers, and Khwāja Jalālu-d-Din Mahmūd Diwān conveyed
him to Budakhshān 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 Bālkh, by which route he
purposed journeying to the two sacred cities6 When he reached
a valley which lies between Sham7 and the sacred city of Makka,
without accomplishing his object he hastened from8 that desert
to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The
following is the tariqā of that event:

'Askari pādshāh-i-daryāādī.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 makhm din Makka māna. This line gives the date 904 H.
2 al'amūrū bi 'anāqiṣib. Lit. Events are according to
their terminations.
3 MS. (A) omits Salm. 4 MSS. (A) (B).
5 MS. (A) reads 2.5 Α
6 M. Sharafīn, Mecca and Medina.
7 Syria. Nizāmu-d-Din ʿĀhmud says, "in the country of Rūm," Elliot
8 v. 234.
9 "Askari the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.
10 In the Mishkāt (xxi, Part 1) we read that honey was prescribed by
Muhammed. "A man came to his majesty and said, 'Verify my brother has a
The end of Mirzá Hindál was on this wise, that after Mirzá Kamrán had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghans, and Háji Muḥammad Khán Kukí was executed on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirzá Kamrán made a night attack upon the camp. By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirzá Hindál in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 958 H. and Shabkhán was found to give the date.

purgings. And his highness said: 'Give him honey to drink,' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said: 'I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging.' Then his majesty said to him thrice: 'Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said: 'It increases the purging.' And his highness said: 'Give him honey.' Then the man said: 'I have done 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 draught among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known; for instance, we find in the Ictisán-t-Adwiyá that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absentín (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 Heracles, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the acônite 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 gelasmine. It is generally believed that two varieties ofaconite, Kalmia latifolia some Rhododendrons Azeleí 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 Azeleí 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 gastritis and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See Ind. Med. Gaz., January, 1897, p. 27. See also Med. and Surg. Rep. September, 1896.

1 MS. (A) omits خان. 2 MSS. (A) (B) omit مس. 3 Shákhkún. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 968 H. The Tabaqát-t-Akbari gives another tariq. See Elliot, v. 284, which however gives 959 H.
Verse.

When Fate made such a night attack 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 tārikh of his death, I said,
Alas! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a night attack.

Mirzā Āmani also wrote the following:—

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose-garden of beauty,
When he left this garden for that of Paradise,
The wailing ring-dove uttered this tārikh,
“A cypress has gone from the garden of glory.”

And Maulānā Hasan ʿAlī Kharās wrote:

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad Shāh of auspicious title
Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night;
Since a night assault (shabkhtān) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the tārikh of his martyrdom in shabkhtān.

Humāyūn bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindāl
upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghazvin with its dependencies as ʿIqāṭ grants.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read ʃəhā ko nucle. 2 MSS. (A) (B) omit ۪.
3 MS. (A) reads ʃāmī for ʃāmī Amānī (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read ʃāmī for ʃāmī (Text).
4 Read ʃaʃi for ʃaʃi. MSS. (A) (B).
5 Sarve as bāstān-i-daulat rafi. 6 See Ḥin-i-ʿAkbarī (Jarrett) II. 115.

To arrive at this tārikh we take the value of the words bāstān-i-daulat which is 950, and then take from this the value of the sarve (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress; and has the value, ۪, thus we obtain 958 ۪.
The Afghans could no longer protect Mirzá Kamran, and it so happened that Mirzá went to Islem 1 Shah; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shah, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghans of Hindustan and the tribal chiefs, Humayún 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 Humayún, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Kandahar. Bairam Khan came out in person to receive 3 Humayún and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humayún was furnished, by the good offices of Bairam Khan, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walis, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshband 4 sect, Maulānā Zain-ud-Din Mahmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:

The aforesaid Maulavi was from Bahdā, 5 which is a village of the dependencies of Kharāṣān, 6 and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, may God sanctify their spirits, especially Maulavi Makhdāmī Ārif Jāmi, and Maulavi Ābdūl-Ghafir Lārī, may God He is exalted 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,

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1 MS. (A) reads Salīrī Shāh. 2 MS. (A) Sālidūsī.
3 MS. (A) Pasṭam bālām. 4 The Naqshbandi Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwējā Bālāu-d Din Naqshband of Bokhārā. See Ain-i-Akbari (II) 1, 423 n. 2 where the meaning of Naqshband is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave Kamkābs adorned with figures (naqsh). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandi School. Ain.i-Akbari (J.) III, 358, et seq.

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.
5 Footnote variant Bahdāyan.
6 MS (A) reads Qandahar. MS (B) omits تعلیم.
"Oh, Bairūm what is your wish! You yourself are as Yusuf and Zulaykhā in the world." And Humāyūn 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 Ākhūnd, and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairūm Khān took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands; seeing this the Ākhūnd indicated Mir Ḥabibullāh, the grandson of Mir Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the traditionist, and said, "Do you not know who that person is?" Humāyūn thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mir, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the Ākhūnd without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content. At this time Humāyūn enquired, "How much water is enjoined by the Sunnat to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands;" then first Bairūm Khān poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khān the relation of the Mahdi, son of Qāsim Khān. At last the food was eaten, and Humāyūn found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby. Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairūm Khān, saying, "This is a present." Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents must be given on both sides."

The story goes that one day Bairūm Khān 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!" Bairūm Khān 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
deserving of it than I. Many \(^1\) miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'inu-d-Din, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wā'iz, who by the order of the Khālīfah of the time was for some time Qārī of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day \(^2\) to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise \(^3\) archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first \(^4\) defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchiwāra, \(^5\) when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Ali Quli Khān Sistānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was \(^6\) saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd 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.\(^7\)

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1 MS. (A) reads خليل صقرل إست.  
2 MS. (B) reads هربوق و هربوز. Read مشهد ز روز. MSS. (A) (B).  
3 MSS. (A) (B) read ماجدي ورزة شكنت.  
4 MSS. (A) (B) read ورزة شكنت.  
6 At page 315 of Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari (J.), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchiwārah and received Sambhal as jagir."  
7 MS. (A) reads هر هر. MS. (A) reads مهمن همین for and omits بیتر.
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 never death were preferable.

Humayun, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahar from Bairam Khan and giving it to Munim Khan. Munim Khan, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustan was on the tapestry 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 qiyah was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qiyah.

Khusru Ghazi Nasiru-d-Din Humayun Shah
Who without question excelled all former kings,
Advanced from Kabul for the conquest of Hind;
The date of his advance is mukdad wa khust wa yake.

At the halting-place of Parshawar Bairam Khan arrived from Qandahar and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus and Baham Khan and Khizr Khwaja Khan, with Tardi Beg Khan and...

1 MS. (A) (B) read Parshaur.
2 MS. (A) (B) read Parshawar, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read Parshaur.
3 MS. (B) omits bha.
4 MS. (A) (B) reads sada yake.
5 MSS. (A) (B) read Parshadur.
6 MS. (B) omits bha.
Iskandar 1 Sultan Osbak forming the advance party, went forward 2 and Talur Khan Kosi, governor of the fortress of Rohla, evacuated the fort 3 and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.

When they arrived at Lahor, the Afghans of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard 4 started off towards [Lahor and Thanesur], 5 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 Shad 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 Sur gained the upper-hand of Ibrahim Sur, and having conquered him 11 formed the intention of leaving Itawa and marching to attack 'Adil. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humayun had crossed.

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1 MS. (B) adds خان.
2 MS. (A) reads بخش می کمدند MS. (B) reads بخش می کمدند.
3 Read قلمه omitting the hamza.
4 The Tabagat-i-Nagiri says "Adam Ghazar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.
5 Qulai Afshin, MS. (A) reads عمارگان mutafarrig. The text is correct. مانگالی مانگالی or مانگالی is a Turkic word signifying foremost (front) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de G. s.v. so also Fairullah Khan who gives only the meaning بخشید کردن.
6 These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the Tabagat-i-Akbari which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lahor.
7 MS. (B) omits جہندار Jalandhar.
8 MS. (A) reads شاهورشاہ ابعل معاویان 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 Qilibagh.
10 It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of Khan-i-Zaman. See Badsoni, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Himun near Panipat. See Ain-i-Akbari, I, (B), p. 319.
11 MS. (A) reads هزار هزار MS. (A).
the Indus, and the Afghans, 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 Mughals, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first appointed Tātār Khān Kāsī with Ḥabib Khān and Nasīb Khān Taghūchī 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 Amirs crossed the river Sutlej, and the Afghans followed them; at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued. The Mughals 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 Afghans, 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 Afghans remained in the light, while the Mughals were in the darkness and riddled the Afghans 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 Mughals were
slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humayün's troops. The news of this victory reached Humayün in Lahore; thus the whole of the Punjab and Sirhind and Hissár Firúza was entirely subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihli, and Sikandar Sur with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afgháns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp after the custom of Shir Sháh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amirs of Humayün'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 Lahore begged Humayün to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humayün with all speed marched and came to Sirhind, and every day fierce contests 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; 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 Bairam Khan, Sikandar Khan, 'Abdu'l-láh Khan Osbak, Sháh Abúl-ma'áli, 'Ali Qáli Khan and Babádur Khan made many onslaughts. The Afgháns also, as far as they were able, behaved with due bravery and valour, but could not contend against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled. The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afgháns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column.

1 Supply 2 MS. (A) (B) 3 MS. (A) (B) reads for لشکر for 6 MS. (B) reads for 5 MS. (A) (B) omit 7 The Tabaqát-i-Akbari states that Humayün sent Akbar. 8 MS. (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 14 MS. (B) reads 15 MS. (A) (B) read 16
to which Bairam Khān gave the name1 of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day; Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.6

Verse.

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,4
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleimān5 brought thither by the wind.6

Another says.

Verse.

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Fāridūn or a Kāiqubād.7

The words Shamsīr-i-Humāyūn8 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 Shamsīr-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 direction9 of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghāns10 who were in Dihli, fled hot-foot11 for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst12 a stone has fallen, and every one was saying to himself, "He who escapes with his head, verily he is fortunate;" and the hidden13 meaning of the words "the day

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1 MS. (A) Ṽam Nehād. 3 MS. (A) adds ُه atter ُه. 5 MS. (B) reads ئنم (Text):
2 A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS. (B). 6 MS. (A) reads سلیمان.
3 MS. (B) reads باد. 7 Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay
4 May stop a hole to keep the wind away.
5 Shamsīr-i-Humāyūn. The sword of Humāyūn. These letters give the date 962 H.
6 MS. (B) reads بیچای پایی لنگ هند. 8 MSS. (A) (B) omit ْل.
7 Read پنک بی. MSS. (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text.
9 MS. (B) inserts ۹۷ after معركة. 10 Supply سر MS. (A).
when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father
and his spouse and his sons" became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Maʿāli was detailed to pursue Sikandar, and in
the month of Ramazān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city
of Diblí 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 khatābah and sikkah of Humayün. No king
before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the
glory of imperial power a second time, after having suffered
defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is
supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humayün apportioned the greater part of his territories among his faithful
adherents, and vowed the pargana of Musṭafāābād, the revenue
of which reached the sum of thirty or forty lakhs of tankas,
as a votive 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 Hisār Fitūza as a reward to the Prince,
just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement
of his victories, as a reward upon Muḥammad Humayün, and
the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Maʿāli,
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-Maʿāli having reached high
rank was living in great pomp in Lābor; on this account
the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters
to this pass that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is
in Paradise, the queen showed signs of contumacy and rebellious

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1 Qur'ān lxxx, 34-35.
2 MSS. (A) (B) reads.
3 The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads.
4 In the Farhang-i-Ānādrl the word is given as jīlūdū or jukā in the
same sense. Pavet de Couteilles does not give the word.
5 Faizullāh Khān gives this word as جلد and Childū in the sense of
Inān. In the Farhang-i-Ānādrl the word is given as jīlūdū or jukā in the
same sense. Pavet de Couteilles does not give the word.
6 MS. (B) omits بشکت تبام.
7 MS. (B) reads بانجا رست.
8 Text بانجا رست. MS. (D) reads بانجا رست.
intentions, as will shortly be described, if God—He—is exalted so will it. And since Abū-l-Ma‘ālī had treated badly the Amirā who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally) interfered in their Antā’s, and not only in these but even in the public treasury and in the government lands, the Amirā became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Bairam Khān was appointed to the office of tutor (Alālig) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shah Abū-l-Ma‘ālī was appointed to Hissār Firûza, but had not yet started when Qāba Khān Gang was appointed to Āgra, ‘Alī Quli Khān to Mirāt and Sambal, and Qambar Divānum to Bādāon, and Haidar Muhammad Khān Aḥīta Begī to Bāiāna. Haidar Muhammad Khān kept Ghāzi Khān Sūr, the father of Ibrahim Sūr, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Bāiāna. And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rautanbhor and thence to Gujrat, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse.9

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will.

Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The zamindārs 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 Ghāzi Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp, and the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures, put all the

The text reads wrongly or MS. (B) reads غول
The text reads wrongly or MS. (A)

5 'MS. (B) reads مقرر لإعداد ودفن اسکندر تعودت شویند.
6 MS. (B) omits آخاطة پیگی. Haidar Muhammad Khān Begī was an old servant of Humayūn who had given the Emperor his horse when Humayūn’s horse had been shot in the defeat near Bulūkh. See A’in-i-Akbārī, (B) 1, 384.
7 MS. (A) (B) reads گلابة و محصورة for مقصور عشخرة and reads للثغرة
8 MS. (A) reverses the order of these two lines.
9 MS (B) reads برایمن for ابیمان
10 MSS. (A) (B) read معین کردن
11 The text has a superfluous و here.
12 MS. (A)
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-Dīn Nishāpūrī Bahshā, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, to Bāiānā to verify the wealth of Ghāzī Khān. Haidar Muḥammad concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary things. Qambar Diwāna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sambal, while 'Ali Qulī Khān 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 Qulī Khān could go to Sambal Qambar Diwāna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola he fought with Rūkān Khān Afgān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Mālāūn, but was subsequently defeated by the Afgāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort arrived at Badāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Ali Qulī Khān sent to summon him, he refused to yield to him and said, 'My relations with the Pādshāh are more intimate than yours,' this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown.' 'Ali Qulī Khān upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman...
(Diwāna) who know no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another; and in consequence of his want of trust in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot, and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going out from there a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post; suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my ears, dig up the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine which 'Ali Quli Khān had laid from outside the fortress. The people who saw those mines said that from the side of the fort in whatever direction they struck into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of solid wood arranged under its foundations, bound together for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qamar been vigilant, the men under 'Ali Quli Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Ali Quli Khān was

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1 The word دیوان. Diwāna means a madman.
2 MS. (B) reads اعتماد. The text reads اعتقاد، an incorrect form by imāla.
3 MSS. (A) (B) read خود بخشی به خود before میگشت، شویا before فروست.
4 This appears to be the meaning, though the word فروست is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS, and in two others.
5 Both MSS. (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct.
6 A footnote variant reads بقال for خالی. The text is correct.
7 MS. (B) omits. بخشی.
8 MS. (A) omits. نگی.
9 Text. MS. (A) reads
10 MS. (B) omits. دیوان.
11 MS. (A) reads طرف for رد.
12 Text. MS. (A) reads روزی for خوردن.
13 نمودند MS. (A) reads روزی for خوردن.
14 Read رد. MS. (A).
astonished at this degree of vigilance,¹ and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Ali Quli Khan saying, “On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack² up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders.” Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Ali Quli Khan, Shaikh Rabib Badāoni, who was one of the most notable men³ of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princess,⁴ who were the relations of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpūr, 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 Khan spoke gently to him,⁶ saying “Bow thy head,” 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 Badāon. 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 Diwān is the cook of God.”

When the despatch from 'Ali Quli Khan reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabi‘u-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 Dinpānah in Dihli, as he was coming down, the mu‘azzin⁹ uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

¹ MS. (B) omits اٍ.
² MS. (A) reads نِحَيْلٍ.. نِعَمٍ for حمّلة.
³ Text reads زُكَٰمِهِر. MS. (A) reads شُخْدُازَة.
⁴ MS. (A) reads بُارِبُ بُرَبِيمَةَ گَنَتَ.
⁵ Text reads ِکمیِّ اَزِ گلیمَ لغَتَ وَیِ نَشَائَهَ بَرَد گلیم, but it seems as though we should read بُدٍ in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بُد.
⁶ Text reads یَرَوش آو. MS. (A) reads یَرَوش آو. ⁸ Supply کمیِّ MS. (A) (B).
⁹ معاذِینَ. The crier whose duty it is to utter the azān or summons to prayer. The Azān was instituted at first when the Moslims came from Makka to Madīnah; 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 \( \text{Azān} \); and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps\(^1\) to the ground. When he recovered a little,\(^2\) Nazar Shaikh Jūli\(^2\) was sent to the Panjāb\(^4\) to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth\(^5\) of the same month (Humāyūn)\(^6\) bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity; and this \( tūrīkh \) was written to commemorate the event.

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Rūwān

\( \text{Bihisht āmad maqūm-i-pāk-i-ū } \) gives the date.\(^3\)

and Maulānā 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 \( tūrīkh \) of that event,
Humāyūn Pādshāh az bām ustād \(^9\)

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billāl was ordered to repeat \( 'Allāhu Alλhor \) twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The forefingers were ordered to be put into the ear while repeating the \( \text{Azān} \) to strengthen the voice; probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The \( \text{Azān} \) has special virtues attached to it, for those who uttered it Thus it is said “The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection,” and again “Whoever acts as Mu'āzin seven years to please God, will be redeemed from hell-fire” See also Hughes' Dict. of Islam, et c., see Mīshkāt iv, Chapter 5, 6

1 MS. (B) omit \( \text{pām} \)
2 Firūštā says that he was taken up unconscious.
5 Footnote variant جمیعی Juma'āli.
6 MS. (A) \( \text{jumāab} \)
6 Firūštā says the eleventh. (Bo Text 459).
6 MSS. (A) (B) omit \( \text{pānāshāw'ūr} \).
7 MSS (A) (B) \( \text{dāriyā} \).
8 These words give the date 963 H. The meaning is, Paradise became his para resting-place.
9 The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is, Humāyūn Pādshāh fell from the roof.
The following was also found to give the date:

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!

The following tārīkh was also found:

Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,
And that Nile of whose bounty thou hearedest 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 condole with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign 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. He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the wuzū', nor did he ever

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1 MS. (A) reads hore. The meaning is "Has become of Huna and his good fortune."
2 MS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding tārīkh. Its value is also 963 II., and its meaning is 'Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.'
We must read ḫāṣib as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has ḫāṣib.
4 MS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding tārīkh. Its value is also 963 II., and its meaning is 'Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.'
5 MS. (B) reads ḫāṣib. The meaning is "Whence has become of Huna and his good fortune."
6 MS. (A) omits ḫāṣib.
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 those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed, and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults.
take 1 the name of God nor of the prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, without Ṯihārat; 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-i-ḥasna 5 such as ‘Abdu-Ilāh or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word ‘Abd (servant), for example he would call ‘Abdu-l-Haïyy, ‘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 ablution.” Again “The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablution.” The prophet also said “Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuzā’. For a full account of Wuzā’ and the acts requiring its performance, see Mishkāt-I-Musabih II, 34, also see Hughes’ Dic!. of Islam, art. Wuzā’.

1 MS. (A).

2  Ṯihārat. This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law.

See Hughes’ Dic!. 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:

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

نامي اعتباء وفيست دار جناك - إعتباهات بدنان لنجردن ست
بنده ربي شك أز مذب خداي - نرهد جز إعتباد - درست

The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS. ’A).

The best of names. See Mishkāt, xxii. 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are ‘Abdu-Ilāh (the servant of God) or ‘Abdār-Rahmān (the servant of the Merciful One).

The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, He alone is God. It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the Ismāl-ul-azum or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. See Qur’ān III, 1. La Allāhu ilə. ilâ. 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 as it were a part of his nature].

He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His vakils, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention the name of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shāikh Hamid, 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 Rāfīzī (heretics)." Humāyūn replied, "Shaikh. why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind; I find they are all Yār 'Ali (Friend of 'Ali), or Kafāh 'Ali (Shoe of 'Ali), or Hādā '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 6 being 5 and of 9 being 6, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (11) also stand for eleven
2 MS (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.
3 MS (A) omits and reads ُنامُ نُيَارُدَي. 4 MS (B) omits چب. راقصی
5 Rāfīzī. This term was originally applied to the Shi'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abī Dākr and 'Umar, the first two Sunni Khalīfahs: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shi'ahs. MS (B) alone reads راقصی. The Text and MS (A) have راقصی.
6 MSS (A) (B) read در َامِرَة ْالْبَيْنَة, omitting َالْبَيْنَة. Qalam-1-tawārī. Text and MS (A) MS. (B) has ْتَوْرَیْبِب ْتَوْرِیْب, taken writing, instead of ْتَوْرِیْب (drawing), no also a footnote variant.
name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikh' and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the khanum and returning, with great gentleness and kindliness informed the Shaikh 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, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign. Among these, in Badakhshān was Maulānā Junūnī, the enigmatist, who composed a qaṣīdah 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 qaṣīdah which Mīr Saiyyid Zūl-Qār Shīrāzī composed in honour of Khwāja Rashīd Vāzīr and the qaṣīdah of Salmān Sāwājī which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghias Vāzīr, this poet seized, for example the mu'ammā, and Ikhār-i-muźmar, and the tārīkh, 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 Shaikh Mirzā, second son of Tīmūr, was the father of Bābar. See Amd. Albar (B) p. 309.

2. MS. (A) reads ınā bātan bātan gāb bātan gāb wār ebn wār ebn. So also MS (B) except that ı̂ is omitted.

3. MSS. (A) (B) read bīshār. See Darūr dar būt būt (A) MS (A) būt būt būt. Text reads Jānū̇, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇, but MS. (B) omits ınā. See ınā. MS. (B) omits ınā. See Darūr dar būt būt.

4. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Junūnī. See Darūr dar būt būt. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt.

5. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt.

6. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt.

7. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt.

8. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt.

9. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt.

10. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt. Text reads Junūnī, but MS. (A) reads Jānū̇. See Darūr dar būt būt.
Verse.

Shahanshahā ṭuḥ-i-tū ẓa-lā o ṭasrin lab-i tū jān
Hami binam lab-i-tū plunka-i-rangīn ṭhuda khandaṅān
Namī ẓuyn ḫuṭt-i-tū sabzā o ṭaihān ḫad-i-tū gūli
Ṣhavaḍ ṣahīr ḥād-i-tū ṭifnā-i-daurūn ṭam-i-jālūn.

And by taking all the verses of this qasīda after the manner of an acrostic, the following opening couplet is formed:—

Shahanshah-i-dīn pādīshāh-i-zaman
Zi bakhī-i-Humāyūn ṭhuda kāmān.

While again, if the ḥashūw of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.

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† MS. (A) ٤ةٌلٌ. qasīda.

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.
As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, unfolds 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.

§ Taṣbīḥī. 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 Gurcan de Tassy, op. cit., p. 164.

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.

† The first foot of the first ṭuḥā (hemistich) is called ṭadīr, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called ‘urūz; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called ṭbūtā, while the last foot of this hemistich is called ṭarb. All the feet intervening between the ṭadīr and the ‘urūz, or between the ṭbūtā and ṭarb, are called ḥashūw which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (āgin-i-balīsh). In the above the ḥashūw of the verses is printed in red ink.

The scansion is as follows:—

Shaharschāhā ṭuḥ-i-tū ṭa-o-nasrin laḥītā jān
Mafṣī ṭuna Mafṣī ṭuna Mafṣī ṭuna Mafṣī ṭuna

The metre is thus Ḥazaj-i-Muṣamman.

Founded on the words Humāyūn and Kamrān will be observed.

The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(i) Ḥazaj-i-Muṣamman. See note 4 above.
Rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrin khatt-i-tū sabza o raihūn
Lab-i-tū ghunchea-i-rangin qadd-i-tū fitna-i-dānrūn.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 qāliyāh ³ and radīf ⁴ in the following manner:⁵—

Khatt-i-tū sabza o raihūn, rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrin
Qadd-i-tū fitna-i-dānrūn,⁶ lab-i-tū ghunchea-i-rangin.

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening
couplet remained. Other tours de force also existed in this
opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the
work.

(i) Ramnā-i-muṣaṭma muḥbūn, and the scanse is:

(īi) Mujtahād-i-muṣaṭma muḥbūn, and the scanse i:

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ranjing) pp. 49, 67, 90.

1 MS. (B) reads ṣamān in place of ṣawān, so also footnote variant.

2 The three metres are those given in note 5, on the preceding page.

Qāliyāh. This signifies the rhymo of which the essential letter is
called the ḍaṭū, which may have the other letters preceding it and
four following.

Radīf. This is the name given to a quiescent alif following a fathā, a waqūf
quiescent following a sāma or a ye quiescent following a kasra, in other
words it is one of the letters 1, 3, 5 placed as a letter of prolongation
before the ṣaṭū. It is more accurately called ṣaf ṣaf Radīf.

Thus in the lines now cited the Radīf is the letter ye in the words ṣaṭūn,
and ṣamān, whereas in the former verses the radīf was alif, as in the words
kāhā and ṣamān. MS. (A) omits ūduāf and ṣawān. See also García de Tasse, op.
cit., p. 370.

For example, we can read

Shāhānshāhā lab-i-tū jān
Hāri binnām shuda khandān,
Hāni gūyām kād-i-tū gūl
Shāhī zābār dān-i-jānzān

King of kings thy lip is lifq
As I look it wreathes in smiles;
I say not thy cheek's a rose
Blooming as thou passest by.
And from the four couplets of a *qasidah* some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qita'h* containing the conquest of Badakhshan may be obtained, and the *qita'h* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qasidahs*.

**Qita'h.**

*Ti-i Shah-i-Shahin-i-dauran ki shud*  
*Hamishe tur qar fath o zafar.*  
*Girifti Badakhshan o tarih shnd.*  
*Muhammad Humayün Shah-i-bahr o bas.*

**Rubā'i.**

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,  
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.  
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved,  
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him.

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1 MS. (A) reads \( \text{کی} \)  
2 MS. (A) reads \( \text{کی} \)  
3 The \( \text{کی} \) *qita'h*. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse. The \( \text{کی} \) *qasidah* in this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also Garcia de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Discussions*.  
4 The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read \( \text{کی} \) for \( \text{کی} \). The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS, but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.  
5 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.  
Thou didst reize Badakhshan, and its \( \text{کی} \) was  
Muhammad Humayün king of sea and land.

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5 MS (A) adds \( \text{کی} \) *mushar*.  

Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith.
And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor. 
Death, this qasidah, 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 Najatu-r-Rashid, which I am anxiously longing to complete, should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it.

Another poet is Wafai, by which tukhallus Shaikh Zainu-d-Din Khāfi is commonly known, who was Sadr-i-mustaqill (Judge-pleni-potentiary) during the reign of Bābar Pādīshāh. There

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1 Gūshwāra. Lit., earring. The first line of a ghazal or qasidah, following immediately upon another.

2 The following is the correct reading. Immediately after the gūshwāra reads MS (A) and maqāma amsa. A footnote variant reads.

3 Najatu-r-Rashid. There is a MS. of this work of Badāoni, 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 tāriikh of its composition on the second and last pages. The "second daftar" here mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work.

4 MS. (A) reads dikeg or dāhī.

5 One Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfi, was a famous saint. His life is given in the Nafahātu-l-UNs, Calcutta edition, p. 569; but the one meant in this passage is the Shaikh Zain who read the Khudā in Dihlī in Bābar’s name after the battle of Pānīpāt, see Firishta, Bo. Text, p. 391 and Erskine, Memoirs of Baber, p 308.

6 Khāfi or Khawāfi means ‘coming from Khwāf’ which is a district and town in Khurāsān. Our maps have Khāf or Kāfīr on west of Herāt. See Jīn-i-Akhāri (B) I. p. 445 and footnote, also p. 32 and footnote.
a mosque in Agra to his memory, and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiae of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Babar Padshah, he asked, what is your age? Without premeditation he answered, Qabl azin ba panj sül chila 'budam, wa hulun chihal sula am, wa ba'd az dů sül-i-digar chihal 'tanam mi shavad. It should moreover be known that (Babar Padshah) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this Muntakhab saying: Pish azin ba yak sül panjäh sula budam, wa hulun panjäh sula am, wa ba'd azin ba dakh sül panjäh sula mi shavam.

It is well known that one day Sheikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sultan-ul-Mashih Nizamu-d-Din Auliyâ may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about "Al Hidâyah mushtarak wa tanhâ khushkurâk," repeated this qit'ah on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the Qâf and the Mir 'Adl. See Ain-i-Akbari, (B) I. 268-270.

1 MSS. (A) (B) read azin instead of azin (Text).

2 That is to say "Five years ago I was chil (پنج) years of age and now I am chihal (چهل) years of age, and two years hence my chihal (forty) years will be complete.

3 Apparently we should read chihal which would give 61.

4 This refers to a visit paid by Amir Khusrâ of Dihli to Nizam u-d-Din Auliyâ, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizamu-d-
Qig'ah.

Oh our Shaikh! may there come to thee from God gifts without ceasing,
What am I that I should say "Al Hidayā mushtarak"
Thou sayest "Tanha khushitarak" as thou didst say before
Make it "Mushitarak" if thou dost not say
"Tanha khushitarak."

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?

He wrote a tārikh dealing with the circumstances of the conquest of Hindustān, and explaining its wonders, in which he did fall justice to the claims of opinion.

His death occurred near Bār in the year 940 H. and he was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had founded.

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nādīr-i-Samarqandi, who was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compendium of perfection. 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 Khusrū exclaimed "Al hidayā mushtarak" "The gifts are in common," whereupon Nizam al-Dīn Auliya replied.
"Al hidayā mushitarak tākun ṭeṣha khushitarak" "The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy them alone."

1 MS. (A) transposes the last two lines.

2 MS. (A) omits أحوال.

3 MS. (A) reads و فضل جامع برد. See Ain-i-Attari, (II) I. 695 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 locks of my beloved.
And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

Ghazal

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.
Nādiri! go towards the wine shop,
And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

Verse

Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah towards which I turned.
A whole world was admitted to intimacy; and yet I remained forlorn.

1 نزامي Nizāme, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

2 غزل Ghazal. The ghazal or ode must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

3 prostration Sajdah, commonly pronounced Sijdah, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground; as a religious observance, the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands
All were accepted there but I was rejected;
Why do you ask 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. Mishkat-ul-Masāhid, Cap. xv. part i.
See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, art. Ka'bah.

1 MS. (A) مَجَّدَدَتْهَا (Qāhir).

2 The text reads *myself* contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read مَعَامِرَ.

3 MS. (A) reads مَحْيَاءٌ جَانِبَهُ. The text reads مَهْيَاءٌ مَجَّدَدَتْهَا. MS. (B) reads مَهْيَاءٌ.
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 subtilty 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 things 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.

1. قوم is the stay or support of anything, that in virtue of which it subsists.

2. إكراثي و جواهر. اكراثي, Arafa, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جواهر, "an essential," see Light, s. v.

3. جواهر also جواهر, s. v. حكة, and حكة.

4. MS. (A) reads preferably أيات طواهر for أيات طواهر which occur in MS. (A) before the line commencing فرتنثة حكمت as well as in this place.

5. مبني on certainty, equivalent to صن.

6. مكابير. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.
I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast become perfectly skilled.

When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good fortune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common material objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of bestowing Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār is also by him:

Verse.

That face is the Qur'ān, and that down on the cheek is the sign of tyranny and oppression.

The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of the mole of fidelity.

1. Read احسَس لِا. MS. (A).
2. MS. (A) reads كِبَر. MS. (B) reads كِبَر.
3. The text reads أَنْطَر with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads أَنْطَر.
4. The text reads أَنْطَر, MS. (B) reads أَنْطَر.
5. The verse in the original runs thus:

Mushaf ast ṣurrā 'an ḥaṭṭ āyat i ja'ur o ḥaṭṭā st
‘Ariz 1 un il-ṣūra bi bahra az ḥaṭṭ 1 waṣā st

The word مَوْضَعْ here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages مَوْضَعْ, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur'ān, (2) affected by tashīf, which is a technical expression for so altering a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its component letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word أَنْطَر the letter أَنْطَر is first dropped leaving أَنْطَر then أَنْطَر and then أَنْطَر is changed into أَنْطَر by transposing these letters we get بَر بَر بَر. The word بَر بَر بَر has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny and oppression." Now بَر بَر بَر, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represtated by its root كَاِل کَاِل کَاِل, which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable بَر بَر بَر above fonts gives the word كِبَر, thus completing the مَوْضَعْ or enigma.
The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H. and Mir Amānī Kābulī wrote the following tārikh of the event.

Verse.

Alas! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtilties Nādīrī 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 Shāikh Abūl Wahid Fārīghi, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a darvēsh 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.

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1 MS. (A) reads د.تار. This we may read An Nādīrī kī. That Nādīrī who, or, An Nādīrī kī.

2 يذكت مكن از سخن وران. Raft yake az sakhun waron. If from sakhun waron the value of which is 967, we remove that is one, we have left 966.

4 Footnote to text says that the Nafīṣu-l-Maṣūrī reads Abūl Wajid. MS. (B) reads Abūl Wajid. MS. (A) (B) omit بود after مشروب and insert it after شهور.
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 Fârighi 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 Hindustân, owing to their excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old psâlin between them. Shaikh Zainu-d-Din said to Shaikh Abûl-Wajd, "I will take this to the bazar of Kâbul upon the condition that you won't come and indulge in any pleasantries." He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

1 Sipând. Rue is said in the Qhâmu-l-lughât to be burned to avert the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in exorcism.
2 Omit يشي. MSS. (A) (B).
3 MS. (A).
4 A sheepskin coat.
5 MS. (A) reads أَبُرَّ اللَّهۚ مَعَهُ.
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 leaf, and this is the way you're going to pay for it"! Shaikh Abul-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jahi Yatman, who was from Bukhara, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kabul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustan obtained great favours from Humayun, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shah Muhammed Khan Saluh was left in Kabul as revenue commissioner, he treated the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant tarkib.
band lampooning Sālū, and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sālū in his service, he made an exception in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as 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 MSS. (A) (B) مستثنى صاخه.
5 MSS. (A) (B) استماع فرموده.
6 MSS. (A) (B) read بیتشورده be-kirade. The text reads نسیبه زنی qalbā
7 Text پر کی لر with a footnote زدته for پر.
As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have incurred ignominy.
Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.

This is also his:

Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,
Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,
Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,
Say truly, why are ye all thus false?
Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.
Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,
How often will ye ask what is your object in the world?
I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.
Jāhī cannot save his life from your hands
For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him:

Verse.

Last night the moon of the ‘Īd 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
Lailī?
Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale
and wan through grief?
The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants.
And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it.
Moreover thy messenger has bound on his belds, and has placed the feather of distinction on his head,
He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār.
It must be borne in mind that this verse

\[ \text{Khwesh rā dar silk-i-huddāmi tā mikhwāhad falak.} \]
(The very heaven wishes to enrol self among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the

\[ \text{āsidah of Nizām Astārābādī, which runs thus,—} \]

\[ \text{Shād njīmān az majna'ī-mardum nīshān āwarda and} \]
\[ \text{Waz mah i nau tāza hatfe darmiyān āwarda and} \]

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 Shāh of Zangbūr has taken his seat upon the throne of

Empire
And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him.

\[ \text{Rubū'ī.} \]

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction,
Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,
That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,
All these charms are the cause of my distraction.

The following is also his:

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pastime
The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent-moon as the hook.
Bairam Khan has a well-known qaṣīdat 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 qaṣāq 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 qaṣīdat by the celebrated Niṣārī Tūnī. The death of Aīūlā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Hādar Tūnī, 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 Malika-l-muqajjinīn 2 of the time of Humāyūn Padshāh, 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,6 accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure Fatimah, upon them be peace,6 is read during the 'Ashūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Hussain.

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1 The text reads ٌک. kāk and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kāf-i-kalīman (ٌک). MS. (A) however has ٌق. qaṣāq. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife.
2 Prince of Astrologers.
3 Husain, the second son of 'Ali by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbala, A. H. 61. See Hughes’ Dict. of Islam.
4 Al-Batīl. The word batīl literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article ۱ al, in its application to Fāṭimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. See Lane s. v.
5 علیهم السلام ‘alaikīmas-salām. MS. (A) The text reads علیهم السلام, with a footnote variant علیهم السلام, 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 معارزī mā‘ārik lit., battle fields.
Verse.

The month of Muḥarram has come and our eyes are constrained to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Ḥussain’s parched lips.¹

Rubā’i.

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones.
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord.

The following is also by him:—

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him.

And this:—

Every moment my heart’s desire has some fresh allurement,
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that? it is her life.

How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,
The bud is tightly pursed it is true, but is dumb and silent.

The son of this man Ḥaidar Tūnī was an arrant coward and spiritless;² accordingly in the months³ of the year 985 Il. he had entered the service of Ḥumāyūn; one day he was describing the circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour.⁴ I asked saying, May be you regret having gone on the Ḥajj?⁵ and I repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals said to the poet Qudāi.⁶

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 Muḥarram. See Hughes’ Dict of Islām, artt. Muḥarram, and Al-Ḥusain, where a full account of Ḥusain’s death is given.
² MS. (A) reads ينضب. MS. (A) (B) omit ينضب.
³ MS. (A) omit بيس.
⁴ Text este ⁴ MS. (A) إفاضت MS. (B) إفاضت.
⁵ MS. (A) إفاضت MS. (B) إفاضت.
⁶ For Ḥajj or greater pilgrimage.
⁷ Mr Ḥusain Qudai of Karbalā, see Amīr-Aḥbar (B) I. 602.
Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns, 1
Of the coming to the Ka'bah you are probably repentant

He repented instantly, "Yea! verily." The king said, why should
he repent of having visited the Ka'bah, though he may indeed
repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathin 2 Khan,
the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from
the king, made himself up 6 to represent a mad man bitten by a
dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Haidar, 4 and dragged
him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another.
He began running in all directions, 6 till at last he rolled on the
ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he
learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king at-
ttempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave
Hindustan. Another is Shāh Tāhir Khwāndi 6 Dakkani, the
younger brother of Shāh Ja'far; the Ulama of 'Iraq, however
ridicule his pretensions to descent from Khwāndi stock, and have
prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both
his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures, 7 as is
mentioned in the Kamīlu-t-tawārikh of Ibn Asir Jazari, 3 and also
in the Lubbu-t-tawārikh 9 of Qāzī Yahya Qazwini, and other works.
He claimed to be intimately connected with Shāh Tahmasp, but

1 خارمغيلان
2 MSS. (A) (B) reads Mathi
3 MS (B) reads 
4 MS. (A) reads Ibn Jindar-ra
5 MS (A) reads Khondi
6 MS. (A) reads Khondi
7 MS. (A) (B) reads خش بادن. The text reads خش بادن. MS. (B) reads خش.
8 The author of this celebrated history which is also called Al Kamī fi t-
tawārikh (the perfect history) or more commonly Al-Kāmil, was Shāhī Būy-
Hassan 'Abīl-Karān Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Karīm
ibn 'Abdu'l-Wāhid as-Shurbāni commonly known as Ibn-ul-Aṣīr.

He is called Al-Jazari (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn
'Umar, Jazirat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born
555 H. (1160 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson, II,
244, and Hāji Khalīfah, 9733.

9 لمعب-تавاریک. (Marrow of History). The author of this
work was Yahya ibn 'Abdu'l-Łuṭf Qazwini (Dimushqi) who died 960 A H
(1552 A D). See Elliot and Dowson IV, 293 and Hāji Khalīfah, 11078.
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 Jamālū-d-Dīn Sadr Astarabadi, to proceed to the Dakkan, 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 reached the rank of Jumlatu-l-Mulk (Chief finan-ceminister of the State). The Shi'ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tahīr. Nizām Shāh Bāhrī, who was afflicted with an incurable malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Jafār, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of Istidrāj, he attributed to the miraculous powers (kavāmāt) of Shāh Jafār, and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

1 MS. (A) reads

2 MSS. (A) (B) GAZIHED

3 Shāh Tahīr, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu-l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of Abī-Bakr, Ūmar, and 'Uṯmān, who are the three first Khalifahs of the Sunnis, from the Khulah, and to substitute those of the Imāms, thus proclaiming himself a Shi'ah. See Frishta, Bo. text, II. 220 et. seqq. Briggs, (III. 223) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

Read aloud MS. (A).

Banūfār-i-fusūn Muḥānā. This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read bānīl bā-fazli. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of Shirk, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the Mishkāt 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 Mishkāt-i-Masūdī, XX. Part II.

MS. (B) reads

صحتي نم دارد

4 استدراج. In the Kashshaf this is defined as follows: "A preternatural 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 Shura-i-l-Muhammadīyāh, "Istidrāj is a preternatural occur-
tenets of Sunnat\(^1\) and Jamā'at,\(^2\) which he held as one of the Māh-
dawīyah,\(^6\) and became a fanatical heretic.\(^4\) What cruel and vexa-
tions treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones\(^6\) 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\(^6\) from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Tahir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Nīgām Astarābādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his qasidahs 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,\(^7\)
The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch;

---

\(^1\) The word Ṣunnat, Sunnat means literally ‘a path’ and the Sunnis are known as Ahl-i-Sunnat “the people of the path.” The Sunnis have claim-
ed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four Khalifas to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the “six books” of tradition.

\(^2\) جماعة, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of sunnatun mu'allakatun an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah.

\(^3\) For an account of the Mahdawī sect, see A'in-i-Akbari (B.) I., pp. iii, iv.

\(^4\) مفتوض غالي. The meaning appears to be “became more of a Shi'ah than the Shi'ahs themselves.” The form of the word mutarafiq requires some such translation.

\(^5\) mishāfī. MSS. (A) (B) read mas'ūlī.

\(^6\) رفع lit. forsaking. The Sunnis Muslims call all Shi'ahs Rufiz; or heretics.

\(^7\) حمل Ḥamal, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.
Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by Bahman and Dai, ¹
And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal. ᵇ

The following Qasidah in praise of the Prophet ⁸ is also his, although the gurūz-gaḥ,⁴ 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.⁶

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 Neisūn, with the keen blood-hued dagger of the lightning
Erases the word "ico"⁶ from the pages of the earth's surface.
The close-eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Qabakā,⁷
Make a night-attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,
Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a branch!
The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in heaven is the rose.

¹ Bahman-o-Dai. Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh month of the Persian year; they answer to December and January. See Al-Biruni Chronology, p. 52.
² Sandal. Santalum album, N. O. Santalaceae.
³ 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 Maḥzan-i-Adwīya recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose-water. See Ibn Baljar II, 138. See ante, p. 434 n. 1, also Drury, Useful Plants of India, p. 283.
⁴ Mangabat. This word is used to connote enology of either the Prophet or holy men (Walūs).
⁵ Gūrūz-gaḥ. 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.
⁶ MS. (A) omits - also - هضرت علیه السلام - and - عليه السلام
⁷ Text reads حرف برف حرف برف حرف لب حرف لب. MS. (B) reads حرف برف حرف لب. Ḥarf-i-Ḥarf. MS. (A) omits حرف برف Ḥarf-i-Ḥarf.
⁸ The Turks are called tawâm-chajâm close-eyed, and the red petals tightly folded in the bud are likened to the "ṭūj" or red caps of the Qisâlahān.
And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be without a minstrel,
The nightingale has become the lute-player, the rose-branch with its buds are the lute;
The garment of the rock would have become wet from the moisture distilled from the clouds
Had not the mountain covered its back with the woollen cloak of verdure.
Had not the lightning smitten its goad upon the head of the elephant-like cloud
It would have laid in ruins the stately edifice of the sky.
The garden became the table of 'Isā, and the 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 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 snow will then hold in derision the impassioned nightingale,
And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

1 Text reads کپانک. MSS. (A) (B) read kapunak, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. أکنس - لغت.
2 Read روزن شینم. MSS. (A) (B).
3 Text reads شنک but we should read مسترک. MS. (A).
4 MS. (A) reads شوریده for شوریده.
The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden-glory,¹

While the Siparak² sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek
of the rose.

With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which
Dai³ 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.

Murtazā⁵ 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 Pūšān efrūs. A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-
Khurūs (Cockscomb) and Gal-i-Yūsuf. (Burhān-i-Qātī) Amaranthus caudatus
Love-lies-bleeding or Celosia cristata (Cockscomb) N. O. Amaranthaceae.
² Siprāk a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steinger). This
line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the
rose.
³ This couplet is in MS. (A), as follows.

-Zard yāshd-gī lā zīyām, kānk šahna dī
-Gūrēnā, rūʿānī, rūʿānī, rūʿānī, yāk bāk

The text reads yāshd instead of

-Zord yāshd-gī lā zīyām, sīyām.

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjis bears the name Sa'd, and 'Utārid that of Zirak.

The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table, has brought the Pleiades in his hand as salt-cellar and salt. The moon has become the censer of his assembly, and the rays of the moon are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval, Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.

[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train, We recognise his other competitors, each one of them. He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers, The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise and glass beads;]
Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of
Faddak.
The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her.
The following opening couplet of his 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 qasīda 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;

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury, as the stone attracts
to itself the whole force of the blow. Mani Mālā I., p. 83. It is also sup-
posed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Tarquoise
is commonly worn set in an amulet.

1 Faddak 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 امر.

4 Text reads در غم از عشق از دل ناشت رفت. MSS. (A) (B) read در غم از دل ناشت رفت. In grief for her the joy of love has left
my sorrowful heart.

5 MSS. (A) (B) read قصيدة نيزار. Insert after MS. (A).
His death occurred in the year 952 H. in the Dukkan and for
the tārikh of his decease the words Tābi‘u ahl-i-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 inheri-
ed, have become proverbial for indifference, the one in Ṭrāq 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 maṣla 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 faith-
fulness 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 ya in
the last hemistich was meaningless, and in its place he should
have written tā. The Khwāja repeated the following qīt‘ah
extempore by way of excuse:

Qīt‘ah.

Whatever comes before men of discrimination,
They do not draw lines by way of criticism.
They take the dots either above or below (as may be required)
Wise men are not bound by simple dots.
They read ya and carefully consider,
They do not read ya but make it tā in error.

1 MSS. (A) (B) Tābi‘u ahl-i-bait. Follower of the people
of the House. See Qur‘ān, xxxii. 33. The text omits the article al before

2 Text reads wābi‘. 8 MS. (A) reads Abūl-barakah.
4 MS. (B) reads for Maktubī Maktubī.
6 MS. (A) again reads Abūl-barakah
8 MS. (A) omits wa. 7 MSS. (A) (B) omit here.
8 MS. (A) reads kānā. 9 MS. (B) reads kānā. In the
last line we should read kānīna for kānīna, and in the last
but two hadīr for ḏīrūrī. 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 Qāzi of Nishāpūr:

Verses.

A certain theologian wrote contrary to the religious law of the Prophet,3
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 Qāzi, 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 bireling in his place.
The Khwāja in his poems sometimes uses the takhallus of yūb and sometimes that of Fīrāqī; the following ghazal is by him:

Verse.

Thou hast twined a line of emerald around thy lips,
Lovely rose-branch, whose stature is straight as the cypress,

The last lines also mean—
Either they read and consider carefully
Or they do not read lest they should make mistakes.

1 Salmān Sāwaji, whose surname was Jalālū-d-dīn Mūhammad, was a celebrated poet, a native of Sāwa, and flourished in the reigns of Shaikh Hasan Jalāyir and his son Sulṭān Aweis. He died 779 A. H. (Bealo, O. B. D.)
2 Not in MS. (B).
3 MSS. (A) (B) پیدا یا (B) رنگ for بنزی.
4 Poetical name: non-de-plume.
Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened],
And thine eyebrows are extended like the madda over the Alif.¹
Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou hast drawn the line of refusal;
Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter
of Chin,
Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes
and locks like her's.
Firāqi, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands
of thy beloved.²

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of
that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the Khwājah.
Accordingly, so³ desirous was he of his society that he joined
him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begams, in the hope⁴ that
he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and
rectitude, but the Khwājah was held so close a prisoner⁵ by his
evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death
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 good-
ness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked,
"My dear Khwaja what sort of manners are these!" The Khwaja
sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,⁶
and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

¹ An Alif J with a curved line written across it horizontally is called Alif madda. This cross line was originally the word ص, mudd which means lengthening or prolonging.
² MS. (B) transposes the two last lines. ³ MS. (A) omits ４ MS. (A) reads ５ MS. (A) reads ６ MS. (A) omits 　MS. (B) omits.
requirements for a sea-voyage, he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what are the advantages of going thither? They replied "Purification from past sins."

He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin." Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sultān Bahādur 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 bāzār of Ahmadābād, seeing the Khwāja in the Tīrpauliya mosque, he reclined back and with great kindness and empressenment asked "How is the Khwāja 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?" Sultān Bahādur notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.

Just at that time too Shāh Tāhir Dakkani came to Gujrat with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassage from Nizám Shāh Dakkani, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, 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 khilat, a horse, and a bag of coin and valuable gifts in his own lodging, sent the Khwaja an invitation. In the warmth of their meeting and the enthusiasm of their conversation, suddenly the conversation turned upon religion and sects. The Khwaja enquired of the Shah, what is the reason that the Shi'ahs among you say such unbecoming things regarding the companions of the Prophet on him be peace? He answered 'Our jurisconsults have decided that cursing (la'n) is an element of faith (Imān). The Khwaja rejoined, 'Curses on a faith of which cursing is an element.' The Shah was astounded at this, and their colloquy came to an end, and that urbanity and courtesy which he had thought to shew remained hidden by the curtain of his anger, and was lost. Finally he departed thence in wretchedness and ignominy to the Dakkan, and had an interview with Nizām Shah, who likewise sent all that was necessary to his honourable reception, and received him cordially, but neither there could the Khwaja remain, owing to his perverse temper and his want of self-restraint, till by leaving the world he freed himself from the torment of existence.

Verse

My heart, be patient for that stern-hearted friend,
Is sitting and grieving sore at his own unhappy fate.

Verse.

Where was the black horse? whither did I wend?
Who am I, and what words are these? but what can I do, for the rein of my restive, hasty 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 مهرب.
2 مyasud. Muytahid (one who strives) is the highest attainable title among Muslim divines. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s. v. and Janā.
3 MS. (A) ملائکے نمودند.
4 MS. (B) read 'نبی اعظم' for 'نبی اعظم'.
5 MS (A) reads خوي شديد for دند رود (A).
The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains.¹

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this 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 Hindustān, 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.

Qīn'ah

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 إناه ينصدع بالأنواء. Every vessel exudes what it contains.
² MS. (A) (B) درين هنگام ته اي لام ته
³ MS. (A) (B) which omit تعالى وتقديم
⁴ MS. (A) (B)  بمردیم

THE END.
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