on His Majesty, there grew, gradually as the outline on a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like Islám, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old? Why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself?

Moreover, Samanís¹ and Bráhmans managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty. As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs, based on reason and testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their doctrines so firmly, and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder.

Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islámític revelations regarding resurrection, the Day of Judgment, and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the tradition of our Prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he showed, in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands.]

Christian Missionaries.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 260.] In A.H. 986 the missionaries of Europe, who are called Pádrís, and whose chief Pontiff, called Pápa (Pope), promulgates his interpretations for the use of the people,

¹ [Hindu ascetics, Sans. Sramana.—Ed.]
of which has been to place upon record the deeds of the great Muhammadan kings, 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.

"As it is my intention to write only what is true, I hope that God will forgive me, if I should ever allow myself to descend to the relation of minute and trivial particulars."

At the conclusion, he says that it was at one time his intention to have added a history of Kashmir, Gujarât, Bengal, and Sind, and an account of the wonders of India; but as they had no necessary connexion with the history of the Delhilí Emperors, he changed his determination, and concluded his labours, in the year of the Hijra 1004, and as Nizámú-dín died in 1003, it would appear that he was only one year employed upon this history. But the preface is not very explicit upon this point, and the meaning must be conjectured.

This is one of the few works which would well repay the labour of translation; but it would require a person to bring to the task a greater degree of knowledge of the Persian language than most Indian histories demand, as well as a thorough acquaintance with contemporary historians; for the author not only uses some uncommon words, but indulges in religious controversies, invectives, eulogiums, dreams, biographies, and details of personal and family history, which interrupt the unity of the narrative, and often render it a difficult matter to restore the broken links of connexion. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that these digressions are the most interesting portion of his work; for rarely do the other obsequious annalists dare to utter their own sentiments, especially such as would be ungrateful to a royal ear, or to confess their own errors and foibles, as 'Abdu-l Kâdir does with so much complacency and indifference. His own extensive knowledge of contemporary history also induces him very often to presume that his reader cannot be ignorant of that with which he himself is so intimately acquainted. He consequently slurs over many facts, or indicates them so obscurely,
as frequently to compel a translator to supply the omissions from his own resources and conjectures.

The abstract of Indian history, from the Ghaznivide Emperors to Akbar—Akbar’s history—and the Biographies of holy and wise men, physicians, and poets—each occupy about one-third of the volume, as will be seen from the subjoined abstract.¹ Almost all the headings have been added on the margin by a copyist, the author giving very few, except the names of kings and others whose lives he records; yet these must be of some antiquity, as many copies concur in giving them in the same language and form.

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¹ See Sprenger’s Bibliog., p. 65.
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Shaikhs and holy men, thirty-eight persons, pp. 403–434.
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Conclusion, pp. 557–562.
Size—Folio, containing 562 pages, of 23 lines to a page.

The Tārikh-i Badaùní is one of the commonest histories to be met with in India. One of the best copies is in the Asiatic Society's Library. Other good copies are to be found in Banda, Lucknow, Kole, and Patna. [The whole of the work has been published in three volumes in the Bibliotheca Indica, and many passages have been translated by Mr. Blochmann as notes to his edition of the A’in-i Akbarí.]

EXTRACTS.

Muhammad Tughlík.

[Text, vol. i. p. 227.] In A.H. 729 Tarmah Shírín¹ the Mughal, brother of Katlagh Khwája Mughal, King of Khurásán, who had on a previous occasion invaded Hindústán, advanced with a large army to the province of Dehlí. He captured several forts, and committed ravages and massacres from Lahore, Sámana, and Indrí to the confines of Badáún, nor did he retreat till the victorious arms of Islám were arrayed against him. The Sultán pursued him as far as Kalánor, and leaving Mujíru-d-dín Aborjá to dismantle that fortress, he returned towards Dehlí.

At this juncture, it occurred to the Sultán to raise the taxes of the inhabitants of the Doáb ten or twenty per cent., as they had shown themselves refractory. He instituted also a cattle-tax, and a house-tax, and several other imposts of an oppressive nature, which entirely ruined and desolated the country, and brought its wretched inhabitants to destruction.


\[Text, vol. i. p. 327.\] Rái Bikramájít, who succeeded his father Rái Mán Singh in the possession of Gwálíor, found himself unable to withstand the royal troops, and was obliged to surrender the lofty edifice of Bádalgarh,\(^1\) one of the forts dependent on Gwálíor, and built by Mán Singh. On this occasion, a brazen figure which was worshipped by the Hindús fell into the hands of the Musulmáns, which they sent to Ágra. Sultán Ibráhím forwarded it to Dehlí, and placed it before one of the gates of the city. Ten years before the compilation of this history, in the year 992, it was brought to Fathpúr, where the compiler of this work saw it. Gongs, and bells, and all kinds of implements were subsequently manufactured from the metal of which it was composed. In those days Sultán Ibráhím, entertaining suspicions against his old nobles, fettered and imprisoned most of them, and transported others to various distant places.

\[Text, vol. i. p. 384.\] Salím Sháh, son of Sher Sháh Sur.

Salím Sháh,\(^2\) in the beginning of his reign, issued orders that as the saráts of Sher Sháh were two miles distant from one another, one of similar form should be built between them for the convenience of the public; that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindú, as well as Muhammadan, travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the madad-m’ásh and aima tenures in Hindústán which Sher Sháh had granted, and all the saráts which he had built and

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\(^1\) ["The cloud cap’t tower."] This was also the name of the old fort at Ágra, which was evidently within the area of the present one, because Jhángír, at the opening of his memoirs, says, "My father demolished the old fort on the banks of the Jumna, and built a new one." It must, however, have been pretty nearly destroyed before Akbar’s time, by the explosion mentioned infra, p. 491.

\(^2\) The correct name is Islam Sháh, but some historians style him Salím, and most copies of the Tárikh-i Baddání pervert it still more by giving the name as Islam. See supra, Vol. IV. p. 478.
the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits. He took away from the nobles all the dancing girls maintained in their courts, according to the common practice of India. He also took from them all their elephants, and let none of them retain more than a sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage.

It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed, and placed under the immediate management of the State, the lands enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Sháh. Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, whether they were in accordance with the Muhammadan law or not;—a measure which obviated the necessity of referring any of these matters to Kázís or Muftís.

In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the nobles in command of five, ten or twenty thousand horse, were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Salim Sháh's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks; first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the munsíf, or amin, and so on; after which, with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a secretary coming forward read to them the whole of the circular instructions above referred to, which filled about eighty sheets of paper. Every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to their purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the King, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family. These rules were in force till the end
of the reign of Salím Sháh, and the compiler of this history witnessed the scene above described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 955 A. H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend his grace to him!) to the camp of Faríd Táran, commander of 5000 horse, which was then pitched in the district of Bajwárá, a dependency of Bayána.

In the year 954 or 955 A.H. (God knows which year is correct) Khwája Wais Sarwání, who was appointed to command the expedition against 'Azam Humáyún, fought with the Niázís on the confines of Dhankot, and was defeated.1 'Azam Humáyún, flushed with this success, pursued the Khwája as far as Sirhind. Salím Sháh despatched a large force against the rebels, and a battle ensued at the same place, in which the Niázís were defeated. Some of their women who were made captives were sent prisoners to Gwálier, and Salím Sháh violated their chastity. He distributed among the vagabonds of his camp the tents, standards, and other spoil of the Niázís which had fallen into his hands, bestowing upon them the titles which were common among the Niázís; such as Saiyid Khán, 'Azam Humáyún, Shálbáz, etc. He granted them kettle-drums, which were beaten at their respective gates at the stated times. These low persons used to beat their drums aloud, and claim the dignity of the dogs of the celestial sphere. These people, in conformity with the practice of making rounds, which is occasionally observed among the prostitutes of India, went every Friday night to do homage to Salím Sháh, instead of saying their prayers. On their arrival at the palace, the heralds exclaimed, "Oh king, be gracious enough to cast Your Majesty's eyes upon such and such Niází Kháns, who have come to offer up prayers for your health and welfare." This proceeding exceedingly disgusted the Afgháns, who were of the same tribe as the King. The Niází titles, and the standards and drums, which were granted to them by Salím Sháh, are said by some historians to have been bestowed on them after the first battle. God knows whether this is correct or not. 'Azam

1 See supra, Vol. IV. p. 493.
Humâyûn, who was defeated in the last battle, was never able again to take the field.

The ranks of the Niážís began to be thinned day by day, and they soon dispersed. In the first instance they took refuge with the Ghakars, in the neighbourhood of Rohtás, and then settled themselves in the hills in the vicinity of Kashmir. Salím Sháh, with the view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force, and took up a strong position in the hills to the north of the Panjáb, where, for the purpose of establishing posts, he built five fortresses, called Mánkot, Rashíd kot, etc. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afgháns, he forced them, for a period of two years, to bring stones and lime for the building of those fortresses, without paying them a single fulús, or jital. Those who were exempted from this labour were employed against the Ghakars, who resisted strenuously, and with whom they had skirmishes every day. At night the Ghakars prowled about like thieves, and carried away whomsoever they could lay hands on, without distinction of sex and rank, put them in the most rigorous confinement, and then sold them into slavery.

These circumstances sorely afflicted the Afgháns, who felt that they were exposed to every kind of insult, but it was not in the power of any individual to lay their grievances before Salím Sháh; until one day, when Sháh Muhammad Farnulí, a noble noted for his hilarity and jocular speeches, who was a special companion of the King, took heart and exclaimed, “O my liege! two nights I dreamt that three bags descended from heaven; one containing ashes; another, gold; and the third, papers; the ashes fell upon the heads of the troops; the gold upon the houses of Hindús; and the papers fell to the lot of the royal treasury.” Salím Sháh did not take the allusion ill, and it had the effect of inducing him to promise that he would, on his return to Gwálíor, order his accountants to disburse two years’ pay to the troops, but his death, which occurred soon afterwards, prevented the fulfilment of this promise.
Sultan Muhammad 'Adil, otherwise called 'Adali, son of Nizam Khan Sur.¹

[Text, vol. i. p. 413.] His real name was Mubarez Khan; but when he ascended the throne, with the accord of the ministers and nobles, he assumed the title of Muhammad 'Adil. The people, however, used to call him 'Adali, and went so far as to alter the letters of this name and convert it into Andhal, which means "blind."

Ibrahim Khan, after an unsuccessful action at Khânwa, fled to Bayána, which is a strong fort in a commanding position. Himun immediately invested it, and skirmishes were of daily occurrence between the contending parties. The fort was well supplied with guns and ammunition, and Gházi Khan, Ibrahim's father, who was in Hindun, used to throw supplies into it by way of the hills to the west of Bayána. Himun invested the fort for three months, and devastated the whole of the country in the neighbourhood, and my father's library in Basáwar was almost entirely destroyed.

At this time a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Agra, Bayána and Dehlí, so that one sir of the grain called juvári rose to two and a half tankas, and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hindus perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the thorny acacia, upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, swellings rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the words khashm-i ixad, "Wrath of God." The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with the scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years,

¹ See supra, p. 43.
the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to
till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities of the
Musulmáns.

Amongst the remarkable incidents of the year 962, during the
war between Sikandar and Ibráhím, was the explosion in the fort
of Agra, of which the following is a brief account. When the
army of 'Adali Khán had left Agra, Gházi Khán Súr sent his
own officers with a garrison to protect the property, to keep the
fort in a state of preparation, and to lay in provisions, for which
purpose they had to examine the several storerooms and work-
shops. By chance, early one morning, as they were going their
rounds with a lamp, a spark fell into a room filled with gun-
powder. In the twinkling of an eye it ignited, and rising up to
heaven, the earth quaked, so that the inhabitants of the city
thought that the Day of Judgment had come, and prayed
devoutly when they were roused thus suddenly from their slum-
bbers. Planks, enormous stones and columns were sent flying
several kos to the other side of the Jumna, many people were
destroyed, and the limbs of men and of animals were blown away;
full ten or twelve miles. As the name of the citadel of Agra was
originally called Bázalgargarh, the date, 962, was found in the words
A'tash-i Bázalgadh—"The fire of Bázal."

While Hímún was encamped before Bayána, the people died
with the word "bread" upon their lips, and while he valued the
lives of a hundred thousand men at no more than a barley-corn,
he fed his five hundred elephants upon rice, sugar, and butter.
The whole world was astounded and disgusted. Hímún, once
every day, eat with his own followers in public, and calling the
Afghán to his own table, he would invite them to eat, telling
them to take up large handfuls, and he would shamefully abuse
any one whom he saw eating slowly, and say, "How can you with
such a slender appetite expect to fight with any rascally Mu-
ghal?" As the Afghán had now nearly lost their power, they
could not muster spirit enough to reply to the unclean infidel;
and laying aside the bluntness and hastiness for which they
are so celebrated, they consented, whether from fear of con-
sequences or hope of reward, to swallow his foul language like so
many sweetmeats, adopting the following verses as their maxim:

"Place not your hands submissively on my feet;
Give me only bread, and lay your slipper on my head."

Reign of Akbar.

Campaign of Khán-zamán.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 24. Year 964.] [Khán-zamán in these few
years, with a small force, fought bravely against the numerous
forces of the Afgháns, and obtained the victory over them. The
history of his campaigns is a bright page in the annals of the
time. At the battle of Lucknow Hasan Khán Bahgótí came
up against him with 20,000 men, and Khán-zamán had not
altogether more than 3000 or 4000. When the enemy passed
the river Karwí and attacked Bahádur Khán, he himself was
engaged taking a meal. When he was told that the enemy was
at hand, he called for the chess-board and played at his ease.
Afterwards being told that a foreign army was driving back his
forces, he called for his arms. His tents were being plundered,
and his whole army was in confusion. He ordered Bahádur
Khán to retire; then he, with a few men, beat his drums and
fell upon the enemy: He overpowered them, and drove them
for seven or eight kos. Many of them were slain, and heaps
were formed of the corpses.

So also at Jaunpúr he fought with the Gaurian who called
himself Sultán Bahádur, and had issued coin and caused the
khutba to be read in his name in Bengal. This man advanced
against Jaunpúr with about 30,000 horse, and the men of Khán-
 zamán were completely routed. When Khán-zamán arose from
his repast, he found the enemy engaged upon their meal or
occupied in plundering. The Khán fell upon them with a small
party of men, completely routed the Afgháns, killing many and
making many prisoners. He obtained such booty that his army
wanted for nothing. The victories which he and his brother achieved could have been accomplished but by few. These two brothers had many noble qualities; but the mark of rebellion was upon them, so that in the end all their exploits came to the dust.]

Gwálior and Rantambhor.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 31.] [In the year 966 the fort of Gwálior was taken. A slave of 'Adali's named Buhail Khán (Suhail), being besieged in the fort, made terms and surrendered the keys. The date was found in the words, Fath báb kil'ah Gwáhár. In this same year another slave of 'Adali's, named Sangrán Khán, sold the fort of Rantambhor into the hands of Surjan Rái Hádá. The facts of the matter are, that shortly before this, when His Majesty took up his abode at Agra, he sent a party of amírs, such as Hindú Beg Mughal, to reduce this fort. These amírs drove Sangrán Khán before them, and ravaged the country round the fortress; but they were unable to accomplish their object.]

Affairs of the Author.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 32.] In A.H. 966, I left my home at Basáwar, and went to Agra, for the purpose of completing my education. I became acquainted with Mihr 'Alí Beg, and lived in his house. The Beg pressed most earnestly upon Shaikh Mubáarak Nágorí, my tutor (the peace of God be upon him!), and Mulúk Sháh, my father (God sanctify his tomb!), his desire that I should accompany him on his projected expedition, and threatened that he would not depart, unless this request was conceded. These two dear guardians, moved by their friendly feelings, being persuaded that it was to my advantage to go, consented to the arrangement, and to please them, though an inexperienced traveller, and though compelled for the time to relinquish my usual studies, I started, in the height of the rains, on this perilous journey. Passing through Kanaúj, Lucknow, Jaunpúr, and Benáres, and

1 See supra, pp. 167, 175, 259, 260.
seeing all that was to be seen, and holding interviews with several holy and learned personages, I crossed the river Ganges, and arrived at Chunár in the month of Zí-l ka’da, A.H. 966.

Jamál Khán sent some of his dependents to meet Mihr 'Alí Beg, and they conducted him to Jamál Khán’s house. The palaces of Sher Sháh and Salím Sháh, and all the ammunition and resources of the fort were shown to him, and he was apparently received with the utmost hospitality and kindness.

When the farmán was read, which was intended to conciliate Jamál Khán, by conferring upon him five parganas of Jaunpúr in in'ádm tenure, in lieu of the fort of Chunár, Jamál Khán showed that he had further expectations, and placed the most unheard-of difficulties in the way, seeking to delay Mihr 'Alí until an answer should be received to the representation which he had made to Court. He insidiously wrote also, at the same time, communications both to Khán-zamán and to Fath Khán Afghán, who was in the fort of Rohtás with a considerable force, holding out to them separately promises of the fort.

When Mihr 'Alí was aware of the perfidy practised by Jamál Khán, and being not without suspicions of the fidelity of Fath Khán, he feared they would league together for his injury, and so he left the fort under pretence of taking an airing, and crossing the river in considerable alarm, proceeded direct to Agra, leaving me in the fort. As I thought it best to temporize with Jamál Khán by way of making my own escape, I proposed to him that I should try and bring back Mihr 'Alí, and effect a reconciliation. To this he acceded, and in the evening I got into a boat with the intention of crossing the river. It so happened that the boat fell into a raging whirlpool under the hill near the wall of the fort, and a fierce wind arose which made the vessel shiver. If the mercy of God, the ruler of earth and water, had not acted as my sail, the bark of my hope would have been dashed to atoms by the whirlpool of calamity against the hill of death.

1 This sentence is not in the printed text.
In the jungle which lies at the foot of the Chunár hills, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, one of the greatest saints of India, had resided for twelve years in the practice of asceticism, consuming the leaves and fruits of the forest as his food; and so celebrated was he for the fulfilment of his blessings, that even powerful kings used to come and visit him, and pay their respects. I fell in with one of his dependents, and arrived at the hermitage. He himself was not there, for in this very year he had proceeded from Gujarát to Agra, where he arrived in great pomp and circumstance, accompanied by several disciples, and gave considerable satisfaction to the Emperor by the principles and faith which he professed. * *

Shaikh Gadáí, with that spirit of jealousy, spite, and malice which is a peculiar failing of the saints of Hindústán, was vexed at this intrusion of a rival, and looked upon Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus as one shopkeeper does on another, who commences the same trade, in the storey directly over his head. Wise men know well the truth of the adage, "Two of a trade never agree." Khán-i khánán, who was much attached to Shaikh Gadáí, did not receive Shaikh Muhammad with that degree of respect and favour which was his due. On the contrary, he assembled divines and learned men, in order to ridicule the treatise of the Shaikh, in which he had said that he had in his waking moments had an interview and conversation with God, who assigned him a superiority over the Prophet Muhammad. He had written other nonsense equally pernicious and blasphemous. He sent also for the Shaikh, and made him the butt of his contumely—so that the Shaikh, much chagrined, retired to Gwálíor, where he engaged himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, and contented himself with the proceeds of a jágir, which yielded a kror (of tankas).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 53.] [On 27th Rajab of this year (969 A.H.) my father Mulúk Sháh (may God be merciful to him !) died in Agra of dysentery. I carried his bier to Basáwar, and there buried him. I found the date of his death in the words Jahán-fuzl.]
[Text, vol. ii. p. 63.] At the time when the compiler of this work resided at Agra, for the purpose of finishing his education, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus one day passed by in great state, and accompanied by acclamations which rent the air. He was clothed in the garb of a fakir. I was at first anxious to pay my respects to him; but when I learnt that he was in the habit of rising to receive the salutations of Hindūs, that desire vanished, and I was deprived of the satisfaction I had anticipated. Another day, I saw him in the bāzār at Agra, with multitudes of people thronging before and behind him, and he was so constantly occupied in returning the salutations of the people on all sides of him, that he could not sit up erect during the whole time of his airing. Although he was eighty years old, his countenance was wonderfully fresh, and his whole appearance betokened anything but old age and debility. The mercy of God be upon him!  

[Text, vol. ii. p. 64.] On the 20th of the blessed month Ramazān of this year (970 A.H.) I heard at Sansawán, in Sambal, of the death of my maternal grandfather in Basāwar. He had taught me several sciences, and I was much attached to him. He had many claims upon the respect of men of letters. The date of his death is represented by the letters composing the words, Fāzil-i Jahān, “The excellent of his time.”

Husain Khān Tukriya.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 125.] In A.H. 977 the pargana of Lucknow was transferred from the possession of Husain Khān Kashmiri to that of Mahdī Kāsim Khān, who had just returned from Mecca, and had paid his respects to the Emperor at Rantambhor. Husain Khān 2 was highly indignant at this, and exclaimed,

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1 Among the biographies which are given at the close of the work, one is devoted to the Shaikh, in which the author says, that there was so little pride and self-sufficiency in the Shaikh’s composition, that he was never known to utter the monosyllable man, I. The instance he adduces to prove the assertion is, by the studied attempt to avoid the use of that word, more offensive than the most rampant egotism.

2 This man, of whom some notice has already been taken in the Tabakdt-i Akbari, supra, p. 468, appears to have been an enthusiast, or a mad man, who could not get over the persuasion that inexhaustible wealth was to be procured, from possessing
"Our friendship is broken, we shall meet no more till the day of judgment." He then abandoned in disgust (his wife) the daughter of Mahdi Kasim, notwithstanding he loved her, and took the daughter of his uncle Ghazanfar Beg. After a while, leaving his wife in distress, and the daughter of Mahdi Khan with her brothers in Khairabad, he set forth from Lucknow with the design of breaking down the idols and of demolishing the idol temples. For he had heard that their bricks were made of gold and silver, and other false reports of their unbounded treasures had come to his ears. He proceeded through Oudh, towards the Siwalik hills. The hill-men, as is their custom, abandoned the lower hills after a slight resistance, and fled for security to higher elevations, of which the ascent was very dangerous. Husain Khan arrived at last at the place where Sultan Mahmud, nephew of Pir Muhammad Khan, was slain. He read the *fatiha* for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there, and repaired their dilapidated tombs. He then ravaged the whole country as far as the kasbah of Wajrai, in the country of Rajah Ranka, a powerful zamindar, and from that town to Ajmir, which is his capital. In that place are to be found mines of gold and silver, silks, musk, and all the productions of Tibet, from which country he was only distant two days' journey; —when, on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, the neighing of the horses, and the sound of the himself of the mines in the hills. Five or six years afterwards, he plundered the Doab, and then made an attack on Basantpur in the hills, where there was a royal garrison, and died from the effects of a gun-shot wound received there. Abu-Kadir, who declares himself a devoted friend and admirer of Husain Khan, says that, though to all appearance he was a fool, he was in reality a very intelligent man. See *infra*, p. 503.

1 An impression of the great wealth of Kumau was generally prevalent about this time. Firista at the conclusion of his work, in speaking of the native Rajas of Hindustan, says, "The Rajas of Kumau possess extensive dominions. A considerable quantity of gold is procured by washing, and copper mines are to be found in the country. The treasures, too, are vast. It is a rule among the Rajas not to encroach upon the hoards of their ancestors; for it is a saying among them, that whoever applies his father's treasures to his own use, will become mean and beggarly in spirit, so that, at the present day, fifty-six distinct treasures exist, which have been left by the Rajas of Kumau, each with the owner's seal upon it."
kettle-drums, as well as the voices of his followers, caused the clouds to collect, and so much rain fell, that neither corn nor grass was to be procured. Famine stared the army in the face, and although Husain Khán, with the mostundaunted intrepidity encouraged his men, and excited their cupidity by representing the wealth of the city and the country, in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to second his resolution, and he was compelled to retreat.

On their retreat the Káfirs, who were in possession of the passes, showered down stones and arrows tipped with poisoned bones upon them. They also blocked up the way, and most of the bravest of his warriors drank the cup of martyrdom. Many of the wounded, who escaped at the time, died five or six months afterwards from the effects of the poison.

Husain Khán returned to Court, and requested that Kánt and Gola might be conferred upon him in jágār, in lieu of the one he held before. This was graciously acceded to. Several times he made incursions to the foot of the hills with various success, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows, who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition, now felt the malarious influence of the climate, and died off, but not in battle. After some years Husain Khán, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of his friends, mustered his forces for a final

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1 This story reminds us of the succour which was so opportunely offered to the army of Marcus Aurelius, when it was engaged in a hopeless conflict with the Marco-manni, in the barren mountains beyond the Danube.

2 Tertullian, Eusebius, Jerome, and other Christian authors ascribe the miraculous shower to the prayers of the Christian soldiers in the army. Suidas and Dio Cassius to a magician. The fact is indisputable; the cause is more probably explained by our Oriental writer. In modern days, it has frequently been observed that severe actions have been followed by rain, and philosophical reasons have been assigned for this curious effect.

3 This district, which pretty nearly corresponds with Sháhjahánpúr, in Rohilkhand, is sometimes styled Kánt Gola. For the position and varying extent of this tract, see Supplemental G. assary, Art. GOLA.
struggle to get possession of the hills, and perished in the attempt, as, please God, will be mentioned in its proper place.

About this time I went, after taking leave of Husain Khán, from Lucknow to Badáún, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Shaikh Muhammad, whom I loved from my very soul, nay, better than my own soul, for he was endowed with every excellent and angelic quality. Three months did not elapse before he died, he, as well as 'Abdu-l Latíf, the light of my eyes, the earliest fruits of the garden of my life (my first-born), who, when time cast an evil eye upon him, was carried off, in the twinkling of an eye, from the cradle to the tomb, and I was suddenly reduced from the happiest to the saddest of men. God created me, and to God shall I return!

Death of Shaikh Salím Chíshti.—The Author wounded.—
Conflagration at Badáún.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 136.] In the year 979 A.H. the palace at Agra and the palace at the new town of Fathpúr were completed. * * *
At the close of the month of Ramazán of this year, Shaikh Salím Chíshti, of Fathpúr, died. He was one of the chief saints of Hindústán, and his sayings are worthy of commemoration. I will hereafter give a notice of him, please God, in the supplement to this history.

During this year an unfortunate accident befell the author, of which the following are the particulars. At the period when Kánt and Gola was held in jágir by Muhammad Husain Khán, and when it pleased fate to associate me with him for some time, as I was appointed Judge of that district, I went on a pilgrimage to Makanpúr, a dependency of Kanauj, where is the tomb of the holy Shaikh, Badi’u-l Hakk wau-d dín Sháh Madár (may God sanctify his tomb!). This son of man, through the disposition which he inherited from his sinful and ignorant nature (which

1 This triple repetition of the word eye is intended for a witticism—frigid enough, and in a most inappropriate place.

وقيق... اسم صدارت آن صوبه وعهد خدمت فقد رداشت.
he imbibed with his mother's crude milk, and which is the cause of shame and reproach), and through innate darkness and ignorance (which are the source of presumption and baseness, and which came down to him by inheritance from father Adam), the eyes of his wisdom were covered with a film of lust, and he was inclosed in the net of lasciviousness, so that he committed all of a sudden, as was of old forewilled by Providence, a gross impropriety within that shrine. Since the chastisement as well as the mercy of God was upon me, I received upon earth the punishment of my sin, by his ordaining that several connexion of the girl whom I fell in love with should inflict nine sword wounds upon my head, hands, and shoulders. They were all slight, but one penetrated the bone of my skull, and reached to the brain, exposing me as a brainless fellow, and another partially severed the veins of the little finger of my left hand. I fainted away, and appeared to be travelling to another world. May God bless my resurrection!

I met with an excellent surgeon in Bângarmau, who closed my wounds within a week, and in the midst of my pain and illness, I made a vow, that if I recovered I would go to Mecca—a vow which I have not yet been able to perform, but which I hope, God willing, to do before I die, and before any obstacle intervenes to prevent the execution of that excellent resolve. The rest is with God!

Afterwards, I arrived at Kânt and Gola, and had no sooner bathed after my recovery, than I was again laid on my bed by sickness, the wound having become ulcerous from the effect of excessive cold. Husain Khán (may God bless him with eternal Paradise! for he showed himself more than a father or a brother to me) administered some medicine, in the shape of a plaster and electuary, both made from the wood of the tamarisk, and enabled me to proceed on my journey to Badâún. There another surgeon took off the dressings, and re-opened the wound on my head. I was nearly expiring from the intensity of the pain.

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badâún, and an
immense number of Musulmáns and Hindús perished in the flames. Carts full of the remains of those who were burnt were driven down to the river, and no one could tell who was a believer, and who an infidel. Many who escaped being burnt rushed to the ramparts, and were so scorched by the flames, that men and women precipitated themselves from the wall in despair. Some had their skins burnt and disfigured. Water seemed only to add fuel to the flames. All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears. Some it warned, others it destroyed. A short time before this, a half-witted fellow came from the Doáb, whom I took into my own house and society. He said to me one day in private, that I ought to flee out of that city, as some infliction of Providence was about to befall it. But I paid no attention to him, as he was a frequenter of taverns.

Erection of the fort of Surat, in defiance of the Portuguese infidels.¹

[Text, vol. ii. p. 145.] One day in the year 980, the King went to look at the fort of Surat, and gave orders to repair the portions that had been battered and destroyed. During his inspection he saw the large mortars, which had been despatched with a powerful fleet and army by Sulaimán Sultán, the Turkish Emperor, to assist in capturing the harbours of Gujarát, and had been left on the sea-shore, covered with rust, because Sulaimán Ağá, the admiral, had abandoned the enterprise through meeting with some obstacle.² There they remained, until Khudáwand Khán

¹ [See suprâ, p. 350.]

² Muhammadan authors slur over the precipitate retreat, but Sháikh Zainu-d dín confesses to a panic.—See Rowlandson, Tahfut-ul-mujahideen, p. 143. Maffei—who styles the admiral Sulaimán, "Solim anus Pelopon nesius, vir enormi non minus adipe, quam avaritiá et crudelitate notissimus, "—tells us, that the Turks were so terrified by the four lanterns, which the Portuguese hung out from some of the ships of the Goa fleet, that they set sail for Arabia in the utmost alarm, leaving behind them five hundred wounded and a great portion of their ordnance.

Nonnius, (Nuno de Cunha) dum ab subsidium inclusis ferendum reliquam ornat classem, celeriter premisse liburnica sexdecim ad Madra fábam accesserant noctu, quaternis in singulas puppes luminibus ad speciem augendam haud frustra sublatis:
wuzir had them carried into the fort of Surat, at the time it was building. The few which remained had been taken to Júnagarh ¹ by the Governor. The King inspected them, and gave orders that some of them, which were not wanted there, should be sent to Agra.²

The reason assigned for Khudáwand Khán’s³ building the fort of Surat is, that the Firingís used to oppress the Musulmáns in every kind of manner, devastating the country, and tormenting God’s servants. At the time of laying the foundations of the fort, they tried to throw every obstacle in the way, by firing cannon from their ships,⁴ but all without effect.

That expert engineer laid the foundations of one side within the sea, dug a deep ditch round the two sides which faced the land, and built the walls with stones and burnt bricks. The wall was thirty-five yards long.⁵ The breadth of the four walls was fifteen yards, and their height twenty yards, and the breadth of

1 Florishta, in his reign of Mahmúd Sháh III. of Gujarát, says that they were brought from Júnagarh for the defence of Surat; and this is the most probable, as the ordinance was abandoned at Diú.

2 The Mir-d–t Ahmádí says there was only one Sulaimání gun which the King wished to transfer to Agra, but could not find the means of transport for so heavy a piece.—See Bird, History of Gujarát, p. 322.

3 This is the same chief that we read of in Sídí’All’s journal.—See Diez, Denk- würdigkeiten von Asien, vol. ii. p. 180.

4 [This sentence was not given in the original translation, but a note in the printed text says that it is found in all the three copies consulted. There must be some omission or error, or the fort must have been a very small affair.]
the ditch was twenty yards. All the stones, the joints and
interstices were fastened together with iron clamps, and made
firm with molten lead. The battlements and embrasures are lofty,
and so beautiful that every one was astonished at beholding them.
On the bastions, which projected into the sea, was erected a gallery
(ghurfa), which the Firingís, especially the Portuguese, profess to
say is an invention of their own. When the Musilmáns began
to erect this chaukandi,¹ the Firingís exerted every kind of op-
position to obstruct it; and when they found they could not
prevail by force, they offered large sums of money to prevent its
being built; but Khudáwánd Kháñ, through the regard which he
bore to his own religion, sternly refused, and plied the work till
it was finished, in contemptuous defiance of the Christians.

Husain Kháñ Tukriya.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 151.] In 980 A.H. Husain Kháñ Mahdí Kásim
Khán, jágírdár of Kánt and Gola, had gone off to quell the insur-
gents of Badáún and Pattiáli, before he heard of Ibráhím Husain
Mirzá’s arrival in the neighbourhood of Dehlí.² In the mean

¹ It is quite incomprehensible why this building, whatever it was, should have ex-
cited so much rumour on both sides. One might suppose it was rather a battery,
than a small palace. Literally, it may be said to mean “a four-cornored room.”
Briggs calls it a four-storied palace. He translates the passage thus:—
“Within the town is a beautiful building, four stories high, which the Hindus call
Chowkunda, and the Europeans compare it to a Portuguese palace. Finding they
could not prevent by force the construction of the fort, the Portuguese offered large sums
of money to induce Khodubunda Khan not to fortify Surat, but their gold was

This differs much from the original, which runs thus:—
“The Firingís said, ‘If you will not abstain from building the fort, do not, at
any rate, build the chaukandi after the model of Portugal; and to secure that, we
will pay as much money as we offered to prevent your building the fort.’ Ghasanfar
Akáí Turk, surnamed Khudáwánd Kháñ, replied, ‘Through the liberality of the
Sultán I am in need of nothing; and to show my detestation of you, I shall build this
kind of chaukandi, and secure for myself the peculiar blessings which attend good
works.’ He then sent for the ordnance and other stores, which were called Sutáimúnt
on account of the Turks having abandoned them, and which were then in Jánagarh,
and placed them in different parts of the fort of Surat, and strengthened it.”—
(History of Gujärät, Mahmúd Sháh III.)

I cannot find mention of the transaction in any European author.

² [See suprâ, p. 355.]
time, Makhdúmu-l Mulk Mauláná ʿAbdu-lla Sultánpúrī and Rájá Bihár Mal, who were entrusted with the chief direction of affairs during the King’s absence in Gujarát, wrote to Hussain Kháń from Fathpúr, to inform him that Ibráním Hussain Mirzá had experienced two defeats, and was then in the vicinity of Dehlí, and that as no person of importance was now present to defend the capital, he ought to hasten to Fathpúr without delay.

He accordingly prepared to obey their summons, and was well on his road, having arrived at the village of Oudh, in Jalesar, when he learnt that the Rájá of Awesar still continued the depredations which he had practised since the accession of the King, in the neighbourhood of ʿAgra, and had become a predatory robber (kassyák). He had been engaged in several hard conflicts with some loyal nobles, and had slain many excellent men, and at that time he was concealed in the jungle of the village of Nauráhí, in the pargana of Jalesar.

We had scarcely time to ponder on this intelligence, when all of a sudden, while we were marching at mid-day on the 16th of Ramazán, the men being off their guard, and going on in separate parties, most of them, also, being exhausted with the fast, an attack was made upon us, with matchlocks and arrows. The Rájá of Awesar had formed stages of wicker-work on the tops of the trees, and from this secure position several of our men were killed and wounded. At the very commencement of the attack, a ball struck Husain Kháń below the knee, grazed his thigh, and, passing through the saddle, was spent upon the head of his horse. He was very nearly fainting and falling from his saddle, but his self-possession enabled him to keep his seat by clinging to the pommel. I threw water on his face, and his immediate attendants, not aware of the accident, at first thought that his fasting had worn him out. I then seized hold of his bridle, for the purpose of carrying him for safety behind a tree out of the storm of arrows, when he opened his eyes, and, contrary to his usual habit, looked sternly at me, and made signs that there was no need to hold his reins, but that we should dis-
mount and join in the fray. We accordingly alighted, leaving him there to take care of himself.

The contest then raged with fury, and many were killed on both sides. At last, towards evening, victory inclined to our party, which was the smallest, and the infidels were put to flight like so many sheep, but not before our sipáhis were so tired, that they could scarcely wield a sword or shoot an arrow. We had all been so jammed together in the forest, that we could with difficulty tell friend from foe. Some of our men had strength of mind and body enough, to deserve the reward, both of engaging in holy war, and of maintaining a strict fast. I, on the contrary, in my weakness, at last took a cup of water to moisten my throat, for the want of which some poor fellows died. Several excellent friends of mine attained martyrdom in repelling this attack.

After this victory, Husain Kháń returned by rapid marches to Kánt and Gola, and strengthened those places. Shortly after, Ibráhím arrived in the pargana of Lakhnor, fifteen kos from Sambal. As Husain Khan was still suffering from the effects of his wound, he was obliged to be carried on a litter, but nevertheless he advanced to Báns Bareillí, in order to force Ibráhím to action, and from Bareillí he made Sambal in one day by a forced march. Ibráhím, alarmed at this exhibition of confidence and courage, thought it better to decline an action, and retreated by way of Amroha, in the environs of Lakhnor, leaving a distance of seven kos between him and his opponent. Had Husain Kháń been compelled to fight in his then wounded state, God knows what would have happened! It was one of the Mirzá’s mistakes that he did not attack Husain Kháń while he was in this weak state.

[Mu’ínú-d dín Kháń Faránkhúdí, governor of Sambal, with a large party, and several other amírs and jídghráirs of the neighbourhood, who had taken refuge in the fort, when they heard at

1 Sambal was the paternal estate of Ibráhím Husain Mirzá. Gulrukh Begam, his wife, was a daughter of Kámrán Mirzá, and, consequently, Akbar’s first cousin.
midnight the roll of the drums of Husain Khán, they thought
the Mirzá was upon them, and were quite overpowered by fear.
But when the cry arose that Husain Khán had come to their
assistance, they came out joyfully to meet him. Next day we
went to the abode of Shaikh Fathu-lla Tarbati, one of the vicars
of Shaikhu-1 Islám Fathpúrí, and there held a council. It was
then considered advisable that all the amirs of the neighbourhood
of Dehlí who had turned out against the Mirzá should go with
Tolak Khán Korchí and * * to the pargana of Ahár on the
Ganges, and there wait for us; then, after the junction of the
forces, further operations might be decided on.

Husain Khán exclaimed, "Good God! The Mirzá came here
with a small party of horse, and although your numbers more than
doubled his, you took refuge in the fort of Sambal; and now
twenty or thirty amirs and old soldiers with a large force are so
dismayed that you want to shelter yourselves in the fort of Ahár,
which is a mere rat's hole. This will encourage the Mirzá to
make further attacks upon the Imperial territories. Now there
are two courses open, one of which we must follow. You must
cross the Ganges, and, under the cover of that old fort, must
intercept the Mirzá, and prevent his getting over the Ganges.
I will follow up in his rear, and we shall see what will happen.
Or I will hasten over the Ganges, and head the Mirzá, while you
pursue him. This seems to be our duty." But they could not
agree upon any course until Husain Khán, driven by necessity,
went off in haste with the horsemen he had to the amirs at Ahár,
and inveighed loudly against their going into the fort. He
brought them out, and again held a council with them. "The
enemy," he said, "is in the heart of the country, and is like a hare
in the midst of a camp. If we follow him up sharply, we may settle
his business, and take him alive. The glory of this victory will
be yours." The soldiers said, "Under the orders of Makhdúmu-l
Mulk and Rájá Bihár Mal, we have driven the Mirzá out of the
Delhi territory, and have come into Sambal. Mu'inu-d din Ahmad
Khán is the master and fáqirdár of this province, and he is now
responsible. "Our orders were to protect Dehlí, not to make war upon the Mirzá, for there are risks in such a course."

Intelligence now arrived that the Mirzá had attacked Amroha, and having crossed the Ganges at the ford of Chaubála, was marching rapidly towards Lahore. Husain Khán, convinced of the apathy of the amirs, separated himself from them immediately, and made a forced march to Garh-muktosar, in order to arrest the Mirzá. Of the royal amirs, Turk Subhán Kulí and Farrukh Díwána were the only ones that accompanied him. A letter now reached him from the amirs of Áhár, urging him to come speedily and join them. The Mirzá, like the rook on a cleared chess-board, now came into the heart of the country, plundering and ravaging the towns in his way. When he was at Páyal, his men committed such atrocities upon Musúlmán people as cannot well be described. In that town twelve virgins were ravished with such violence that several of them died. Other places fared in the same way. Husain Khán followed the steps of the Mirzá, and the amirs came after him, until they reached Sirhind. Here they became refractory, and would go no further. But Husain Khán was not content to remain. With the small force under his command, not exceeding 200 men in all, and with the two persons (above named), he marched rapidly from Sirhind to Lúdiyána. There he learnt that on the Mirzá's approaching Lahore, the garrison had closed the gates against him. Upon this the Mirzá went to Shor-garh and Jahní.

Husain Kulí Khán, who was besieging Nagarkot and the fort of Kángra, heard of these movements of the Mirzá's; so he patched up a treaty with the Hindús. He received five mans of gold as tribute from the people of Nagarkot, and had the khutba read in His Majesty's name. He then marched away along with Mirzá Yúsuf Khán, Masnad-i 'Alí, Fattu (Katlú) the slave of 'Adalí, Ism'áil Khán, Rájá Dírbál and other amirs, and proceeded in pursuit to Sankra. When Husain Khán heard of this movement, in that madness which a thousand times had got the better of his judgment, he swore an oath that he would not eat food
until Husain Kulí joined him. Crossing the Biyáh at the ford of Talwandí, he made a forced march to Sher-garh, one of the dependencies of Jahní. There he paid a visit to Shaikh Dáúd Kádirí Jahní-wál. When food was served, he excused himself from eating on account of his oath. The Shaikh observed that it was easy to atone for an oath, but silly to distress one's friends. The Khán instantly called for a slave, and having set him free, thus atoned for his oath. Then he partook of the food, and benefited by the gracious words which he heard. He remained there that night. The monastery of the Shaikh provided entertainment for all the party, and his fields furnished grass and corn for the horses.

Three days afterwards I came from Lahore to Sher-garh, and stayed there four days, seeing and hearing things which had never entered into my imagination. I was anxious to withdraw from the world, and to devote myself to the sweeping of the monastery. But the Shaikh would not allow me, and told me I must go to Hindústán. So I took my leave in a very forlorn and distressed state. * * *

One stage from Talwandí, Husain Khán addressed a letter to Husain Kulí Khán, saying that he had come four hundred kos by forced marches, and begging for one day's delay, so that he might join him, and share in the victory to be won. Husain Kulí Khán said, "Very well," and sent the messenger back. On the same day he hastened on to the town of Túlamba, four kos from Multán, and attacked the Mirzá, who was out hunting, and quite unaware of his approach. Some of the Mirzá's men were preparing to march, and others had dispersed, and were not in condition to fight. Mas'úd Husain Mirzá, younger brother of Mirzá Ibráhím Husain, took the initiative, and attacked the forces of Husain Kulí Khán; but his horse stumbled and fell upon the broken ground, and he was taken prisoner. When Mirzá Ibráhím Husain returned from hunting, all chance was gone; and although he fought well, and made several charges, he was unable to gain any success; so he turned his reins and fled.
The day after the victory Husain Khán arrived at Túlambá, with eighty or ninety men, and drums beating. Husain Kuli Khán showed him the battle-field, and told him of each man's exploits. Husain Khán then said, "As the enemy has escaped alive, you must pursue him and take him prisoner, for the business is not yet completed." Husain Kuli Khán replied that he had come from Nagarkot by forced marches, that his forces had suffered many hardships in that mountainous country, and were not in condition. A complete victory had been secured, and now there was an opportunity for other friends.

Husain Khán now hoped that his turn was come, and that the hardships and the forced march of five hundred kos had opened a way for him, so he took his leave, and pressed forward. Some men, who were worn out with fatigue, he sent to Lahoro with the elephants and drums. With a small party of men he took up the pursuit of the Mirzá. There was but a short distance between him and the unfortunate Mirzá, when one night the Mirzá and about four hundred horsemen halted on the banks of the Biyáh and Sutlej, where the rivers unite. The jhil, who are a low class of Multán peasants, having collected together, made a night attack upon him, and assailed him with arrows. The Mirzá, with a party of men, some wounded and some disabled, did what they could to beat off their assailants; but the jhil came on successfully. At length an arrow, guided by fate, struck the Mirzá at the back of his head, and came out through his throat. Unable otherwise to help himself, he changed his clothes, and his men left him. They fled, sorely distressed, in every direction. But wherever they went, they were marks for the arrows of death, and met their fate. One or two old slaves of Mirzá Ibráhíím, having dressed him in the garments of a kalandár, were desirous of getting him out of the way of danger. His helplessness was so great that they took him for refuge to the dwelling of a darwesh named Shaikh Zakariya. Outwardly the Shaikh applied ointment to his wounds, but privately he sent information to Sa’íd Khán at Multán. The Khán sent a slave named Daulat Khán
to bring in the Mirzá a prisoner. Sa’íd Khán wrote a despatch, and sent it to the Emperor as he was coming to Ajmír on his return from Gujárát.

Husain Khán, when he heard of the capture of the Mirzá, hastened to Multán, and saw Sa’íd Khán. He made a difficulty about seeing the Mirzá, and said: "If when I see him, I salute him, it will be inconsistent with my duty to the Emperor, and if I do not salute him, it will be uncourteous, and the Mirzá will say to himself—‘See this uncircumcised fellow, who, when he received quarter at the siege of Satwás, made obeisances without end, and now that evil days are fallen upon me treats me cavalierly.’" The Mirzá heard these ceremonious words of his, and said "Come and see me, and without obeisance, for I waive it." Notwithstanding he made his bow, and saw him. The Mirzá, with an anxious look, said, "I had no intention of rebellion and disturbance. When the matter took a serious turn, I took my own course, and threw myself into a foreign country. But they would not allow me to stay there. If it was my fate that this defeat should fall upon me, would to God that I had received it at your hands, that it might have been the cause of the advancement of you, who are my co-religionist, and not from Husain Kulí Khán, who is alien in religion and sect!" Husain Khán then returned to Kánt and Gola, and soon afterwards he heard that the Mirzá had died in prison.

Husain Khán proceeded from Kánt and Gola to Court. Husain Kulí Khán also came to Fathpúr from the Panjáb, bringing Mas’úd Husain Mirzá, with his eyes fastened up, and a number of the Mirzá’s men as prisoners. They were nearly three hundred persons, and they were brought before the Emperor, with skins of asses, hogs, and dogs cast over them, some to be put to death with divers tortures, and some to be set at liberty. * * Sa’íd Khán also sent the head of Mirzá Ibráhím Husain from Multán, having had it cut off for the purpose after his death.]
Sulaimán Kiránt.¹

[Text, vol. ii. p. 163.] [In this year (980) died Sulaimán Kirání, ruler of Bengal, who had assumed the title of Hazrat-i 'ala. He had conquered that mine of infidelity, the city of Katak and Banáras,² and had made Jagannáth a home of Islám. His authority extended from Kámrú (Kámrúp) to Orissa. His son Báyazíd succeeded him; but in the course of five or six months, the Afgháns put him to death, and his brother Dáúd bin Sulaimán attained the sovereignty.]

Abú-l Fazl.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 173.] About this time (Zí-l hijja, 981 A.H.), Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubárak Nágórí, the star of whose knowledge and wisdom was brilliant, came to Court, and received many marks of distinction.

Building of Palaces.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 173.] In 981 fine spacious palaces were built on the road to Ajmír. His Majesty’s devotion induced him every year to go on a pilgrimage to that city. So directions were given for building a palace at every stage between Àgra and Ajmír, and for erecting a pillar and sinking a well at every kos. Some hundreds of thousands of stags’ horns, which had been killed in the course of His Majesty’s life, were placed upon the pillars as a memorial for the world.³ Would that, instead of these, gardens or sarúts had been formed!

Lodi Afghán.⁴

[Text, vol. ii. p. 174.] [Dáúd was now at Hájipúr, and at the instance of Katlí Khán, governor of Jagannáth, he threw

¹ [See suprá, p. 372.]
² [Katak was called “Katak Banáras.” See suprá, p. 386.]
³ The pillar, which is in the best state of preservation, is to be seen at Pathpúr Súkrí, where the garrulous cicérone gives a very different account of its origin. It is called “hírán minár,” or “pillar of the antelope.”
⁴ [See suprá, p. 372.]
into prison his amiru-l umárá Lodí, who had been ruler of Orissa, but who had since taken a hostile course, and had set himself up in opposition in the fort of Rohtás. He got Lodí into his power by holding out the bribe of an elephant. They tell the story that one day Dáúd went out hunting with a small escort, and that Lodí, with ten thousand horsemen of Sulaimán’s, formed the design of putting down Dáúd. But Dáúd went back to the city, assembled his forces, and scattered Lodí’s followers. By his crafty management, he got Lodí into his power, and appropriated all that he possessed. Lodí, knowing his death to be certain, did not withhold his advice from Dáúd. He said, “Although I know that you will be very sorry after my death, and that you will derive no benefit from it, still I will give you one counsel, which if you act upon you will prove victorious. My advice is, that you place no reliance upon that peace which I effected not long ago by means of two lacs of rupees. The Mughals will never let you alone for this trifling sum. Be beforehand with them, and make war with them immediately, for there is nothing like the first blow.” Dáúd thought he had an evil design in what he said, and, proud of the hollow peace which he had made with Khán-khánán, but which was no better than a shadow, he put the devoted Lodí to death. Thus he struck his own foot with the axe, and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity.]

Building of the fort of Payág.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 176.] On Safar 23rd, A.H. 982, His Majesty arrived at Payág (Prayág), which is commonly called Illáhábás, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with the object of obtaining the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of tortures. Some place their brainless heads under saws, others split their deceitful tongues in two, others enter hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from
the top of a high tree. Here His Majesty laid the foundations of an Imperial city, which he called Illáhábás.

Translation of the Singhasan Battist.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 183.] [In Jumáda-l ákhir, while the Court was at Sher-garh, otherwise called Kanaúj, a book called Singhasan Battist, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Rájá Bikramájít, King of Málwa, and resembles the Túti-náma, was placed in my hands; and I received His Majesty's instructions to make a translation in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a sheet of my work on that very day. A learned brahman was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day I completed a sheet, containing the beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it Khirad-añzát, a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library.]

Revenue Arrangements.2

[Text, vol. ii. p. 189.] [In this year (982) an order was promulgated for improving the cultivation of the country, and for bettering the condition of the raiyats. All the parganas of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in deserts and jungles, by rivers, reservoirs, or wells, were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation, would produce one kror of tankas, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called krot, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, and whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers. So that in the course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the public treasury might

1 [See Vol. I. p. 35.] Here is still further testimony to this tree being in the open air, at the point of the confluence, to a very late period. It is the celebrated Akhádár, or immortal fig-tree. See Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol. i. p. 302.
2 [See suppl., p. 383.]
be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers. The measurement was begun in the vicinity of Fathpúr. One kror was named Adampúr, another Shethpúr, another Ayúbpúr, and so on, according to the names of the various prophets (and patriarchs). Regulations were circulated, but eventually these regulations were not observed as they ought to have been. A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the krorís, the wives and children of the raiyats were sold and scattered abroad, and everything was thrown into confusion. But the krorís were brought to account by Rájá Todar Mal, and many good men died from the severe beatings which were administered, and from the tortures of the rack and pincers. So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes. Their condition was like that of the devout Hindús in the country of Kámrúp, who, having dedicated themselves to their idol, live for one year in the height of enjoyment, appropriating everything that comes to their hands; but at the end of the period, one by one they go and assemble at the idol temple, and cast themselves under the wheels of its car, or offer up their heads to the idol.

1 All the country, with the exception of that which was under the khátilis (exchequer), was held in jágir by the amírs. But from the prevalence of indulgence and debauchery, extravagance in household expenditure, and accumulation of riches, there was no means of maintaining the soldiery or of fostering the peasants. When the services of the amírs were required, they came into the field attended only by a few slaves, or some young Mughal soldiers. Able soldiers were nowhere to be found. Sháhbáz Khán, the mir-bakhshí, revived the regulations of the dágh (branding), and the mahallí, which were instituted by Sultán ʿAláu-d dín Khiljí, and were afterwards maintained by Sher Sháh. It was also settled that every amír should be first appointed commander of a score

1 [Since translating these passages, I find that Mr. Blochmann has also translated this and several of the following paragraphs. See Aín-i Akbarí, vol. i. p. 242.]
(bistii). When he brought up the horses of those twenty horsemen for the dâgh according to the regulation, he might be promoted to be a sadî (commander of a hundred) or higher.

They were also to keep elephants, horses, and camels suitable to their rank. When they brought this number of horsemen for inspection, they were to be treated according to their deserts and position, and might attain to a mansab of 1000, 2000 or of 5000, than which there is none higher. If they did not do so, they fell from their rank.

But under this regulation also the ill-used soldiers fared worse. For it was found that the amirs, having effected their objects, dressed up many of their dependents (khâss-khailân) and horsemen (bârgîr) in the garb of soldiers, and bringing them to the muster, they made up the complement of their mansab, and received jâgîrs in proportion. Then they dismissed the bârgîrs until they required them again, when they would once more enlist, according to their requirements, a number of temporary soldiers, and dismiss them again when no longer wanted.

The treasure, the collections, and the expenditure of the mansabdârs remained unaltered, but in every way dirt fell into the plate of the poor soldier, so that he was unable to gird up his loins. Tradesmen, such as weavers, cotton-dressers, carpenters, and Hindú and Musulmán grocers (bakkîl) would hire a horse or charger, and bringing it up for the dâgh, would obtain a mansab, and would become a kroît, ahâdi (guardsman), or dâkhîlî (substitute) of some one. A few days afterwards no trace would be found of the hired horse or of the missing charger, and they were reduced to the position of footmen.

There were many men who at the time of the royal inspection at the public office were placed in the scales, bound hand and foot with their garments on, and their weight would reach to two and a half mans or three mans more or less. Afterwards it would be found out that the clothes were hired, and the horse borrowed. His Majesty used to say, "I with my eyes open, and aware of what

1 [Here follows an unintelligible passage.]
I am about, give something to these men, so that they may have some means of living.” After a while they would present themselves again as hadits of two horses, of one horse, or even of half a horse. For two horsemen would be partners of one horse, and receiving for it the forage allowance, amounting to six rupees, would divide it between them. This sort of trade was carried on to a great extent; but for all this the Emperor’s good fortune was so great and flourishing that his enemies were everywhere annihilated, and soldiers were not so much wanted. The amirs also were set free from the unseemly blandishments of the uncircumcised.]

Abú-l Fázl’s second introduction to Akbar.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 198.] In 982 Abú-l Fázl, now styled Allámi or “very learned,” came a second time to Court. He set the world on fire, and “lighted up the lamp of the Sabáhí,” a proverbial way of saying he lighted his lamp by daylight. In accordance with the saying, “He who contends gains his object,” he set himself in opposition to all sects, and bound the girdle of reform about his loins. He presented a commentary on the Ayatu-l kusr, which treated on the nice points and subtleties of the Kurán. People say that his father wrote it, but he presented it, and got much praise. The words “tafahr-i Akbart” give the date of its composition. The Emperor received him graciously, and (in order to humiliate the arrogance of the proud mullás) looked upon him more favourably than he did upon me. The reason of Abú-l Fázl’s antagonism and rancour was that at the time of the persecution and massacre of heretics like Mír Habshí and others, Shaikh Abdú-n Nábí, Makhdúnu-l Mulk, and the learned in general took counsel together, and with one accord they represented that Shaikh Mubárak Mahdawí also was a heretic, who was lost himself, and led others to perdition. Having got tacit permission to repress and remove him, they sent officers to apprehend him; but as the Shaikh had absconded with his sons, they broke the pulpit of his mosque. He then sought the protection of Shaikh Salím Chishti in Fathpur, who was then at
the height of his prosperity and eminence. Shaikh Salīm sent him something for his expenses, and recommended him to leave the country, and fly to Gujarāt. As he obtained nothing in this quarter, he went to Mirzá 'Azīz Koka, who represented to the King, that Shaikh Mubārak was a learned and indigent man, that his children were clever, that he held no land in in'ām, and inquired what was the advantage of persecuting a worthy man. So the Emperor gave up the intention of hurting him, and in a short time everything went on to his heart's content. Shaikh Abū-l Fazl ingratiated himself with His Majesty by his unremitting devotion to the King's service, by his temporizing disposition, by his duplicity, by his study of the King's temper and sentiments, and by his boundless flattery. When he at last obtained the opportunity, he took his revenge upon that sect whose works and efforts have met with so little reward. He was the cause not only of the destruction of these old labourers, but of the disasters which fell upon all God's wise and holy servants, upon the infirm and upon orphans, by the resumption of their allowances in money and rent-free lands. **When trouble and misery fell upon them, he used frequently to quote this quatraine:—

“I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy?
No one is my enemy but myself,
Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands.”

If any one, while remonstrating, cited the precepts of religious men, he would say in reply, that the precept quoted was the composition of such and such a grocer, such and such a cobbler, such and such a currier, for he thought proper to reject all the wise sayings of Muhammadan Shaikhs and Doctors:

The *Ibādat-khāna.*—Polemical Discussions.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 200.] [In the year 983 the buildings of the *Ibādat-khāna* were completed. The cause of their erection was

1 [See supra, p. 390 ]
this. In the course of the last few years the Emperor had gained in succession many great and remarkable victories, and his dominion had grown in extent from day to day. Not an enemy was left in the world. He had taken a liking for the society of ascetics and the disciples of the celebrated Mu'tinyyah (God rest his soul!). He spent much time in discussing the Word of God and the sayings of the Prophet; and he devoted his attention to questions of Sufism, science, philosophy, law and other matters. He passed whole nights in meditation upon God and upon the modes of addressing him as yā hū and yā hādī. Reverence for the great Giver filled his heart. In order to show his gratitude for some of his blessings, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and mortification upon the stone bench of an old cell which lay near the palace in a lonely spot. Thus engaged in meditation, he gathered the bliss of the early hours of dawn. * * *

Having completed the building (of the 'ibādat-khāna), he made a large hall in each of the four divisions of it. He also finished the construction of the tank called anuptalo. He called the building 'ibādat-khāna, and by degrees it became at last a

1 On Fridays after prayers he would go from the new khānkhān of the Shaikhu-I Islām, and hold a meeting in this building. Shaikhs, learned and pious men, and a few of his own companions and attendants, were the only people who were invited. Discussions were carried on upon all kinds of instructive and useful topics. * * * Every Sabbath evening he invited saiyyids, shaikhs, doctors and nobles. But ill feeling arose in the company about the seats and order of precedence, so His Majesty ordered that the nobles should sit on the east side, the saiyyids on the west, the 'ulamā on the south, and the shaikhs on the north. His Majesty would go from time to time to these various parties, and converse with them and ascertain their thoughts. Quantities of perfume were used, and large sums of money were distributed

1 [The meaning is here doubtful. The text has three variant readings, 'ibādat, 'iyādat, and 'ibdrat-khāna, no one of which seems applicable.]
as rewards of merit and ability among the worthy people who obtained an entry through the favour of the Emperor's attendants. Many fine books which had belonged to 'Itimád Khán Gujarátí, and had been acquired in the conquest of Gujarát, were placed in the royal library, but were subsequently brought out and distributed by the Emperor among learned and pious men. Among the rest he gave me a book called Anwáru-l mashkút.* * *

One night the vein of the neck of the 'ulamá of the age swelled up, and a great outcry and tumult arose. This annoyed His Majesty, and he said to me (Badáúní), "In future report any one of the assembly whom you find speaking improperly, and I will have him turned out." I said quietly to 'Asáf Khán, "According to this, a good many would be expelled." His Majesty asked what I had said. When I told him, he was much amused, and repeated my saying to those who were near him.

He used to summon Makhdúmu-l Mulk Mauláná 'Abdu-lla Sultánpurí to that assembly, in order to annoy him; and he set up to argue against him Hájí Ibráhím and Shaikh Abú-l Fazlí, then a new arrival, but now the prime leader of the New Religion and Faith, or rather the infallible guide and expositor de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis. His Majesty used to interrupt the Mauláná at every statement, and at a hint from him his companions also would interfere with interjections and observations, and would tell queer stories about the Mauláná, and exemplified in his person the verse of the Kurán, "And some of you shall have life prolonged to a miserable age."

The Pilgrimage.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 203.] One night (during the year 983), Khán Jahán mentioned that Makhdúmu-l Mulk had given an opinion that in those days it was not a religious duty to go on a pilgrimage, and that it was even sinful to do so. When he was asked his reasons, he replied, that there were only two ways to Mecca, one by 'Irák, the other by Gujarát. By the former, a man must hear abusive language from the Kazibáshees (Persian Shi'ás); by the
latter, he must, before he embarks at sea, suffer the indignity of entering into an engagement with the Firingsis, which engagement was headed and stamped with portraits of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ (upon whom be peace!), and so is tinctured with idol worship. Therefore both ways should be prohibited.

Another device of Makhdúmu-l Mulk’s was the trick by which he avoided payment of the legal alms due upon his wealth. At the end of each year he used to make over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he took it all back again. It was said that he practised some other tricks, of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed. Stories were told, one after another, about his meanness and shabbiness, and baseness and worldliness, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy and deserving men, especially those of the Panjáb, and which one by one came to light, verifying the saying, “There is a day when secrets shall be disclosed.” They told also other stories founded upon his villany, sordid disposition, and contemptible conduct, and they ended by deciding that he ought to be shipped off by force to Mecca. When he was asked if he thought the pilgrimage a duty for himself, he replied in the negative. About this time, Makhdúmu-l Mulk began to fall into discredit, and Shaikh ʻAbdu-n Nabí succeeded him in the good graces of the King.

1 Maffei mentions a toll, and Osorius tells us that the Portuguese allowed no one to sail without one of their passports. Faría-e-Souza says that these passports were not unfrequently mere “letters of Bellerophon,” to the effect that “The owner of this ship is a very wicked Moor; I desire that the first Portuguese captain to whom this is shown may make a prize of her!”—See Rowlandson, Táhíf-ul Muḥáhidūn, pp. 90, 104.

2 [Or, more familiarly, how he avoided payment of income-tax.]

3 An account of each of these ecclesiastical judges is given among the Biographies of learned men at the end of the work. That of ʻAbdu-n Nabí will be found among these Extracts.

Respecting Makhdúmu-l Mulk, an intelligent author, who has written on the subject of Akbar’s defections from the path of the Muhammadan religion, observes:—

“A learned and pious writer, Makhdúmu-l Mulk, published about this time a tract injurious to Shaikh ʻAbdu-n Nabí. He accused that teacher of having been wrongfully instrumental to the deaths of Khizr Khán Shirwání, who had been condemned for reviling the Prophet, and ʻAlí Habsb, who had been charged with heresy.”
Rent-free Tenures.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 404.] This year the King gave orders that the rent-free land throughout his dominions, whether in the shape of ayma, madad-m'ash, wakf or pensions, should not be considered valid, and that the revenue-officers should not recognize them until the Sadr had approved the grants. The consequence was, that the people whose rights were assailed flocked from the farthest east of India, and from Bakkar in the west, to represent their grievances. Whoever found a powerful friend among the nobles and people at Court, secured his wishes, and whoever could not obtain a similar introduction, had to give large bribes to Saiyid 'Abdu-r Rasúl, and all the subordinates of the Shaikh, even to the faráshes, door-keepers, grooms and sweepers, and by these means contrived at last to "save his blanket from the whirlpool." He who could not succeed in procuring either of these passports, was well thrashed and kicked by the attendants; besides which, many of the unfortunates perished from the effect of the hot air in that immense crowd. Although the King knew all these particulars, yet such was his regard for the Sadr, that he could not be persuaded to interfere with his proceedings. Whenever the Sadr sat in state and dignity in the diván-khána, and held public audience, the nobles would, now and then, taking forward some learned and respectable man, represent his case for consideration. But he used to receive them with little respect, and after much entreaty and importunity, some able man, who could explain the Hidáya, or any equally abstruse book, would get a paltry hundred bighas, more or less, restored to him, and the rest, of which he might have been in possession

added also, that the Shaikh was unworthy to mount the pulpit, both because he was subject to a bodily infirmity, and because he had been disavowed by his own father for his perverse and undutiful conduct when a youth. To these attacks Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabi replied by calling Makhdám-i Mulk a heretic and a fool. Opinions were divided, some of the religious men sided with one, and some with another; the dispute ran high, and a complete schism ensued. The enemies of Islam took this opportunity to augment the King's disgust and dissatisfaction, and those impressions becoming progressively more intense, he lost in the course of five or six years every particle of his original belief."—Oriental Quarterly Magazine, vol. i. p. 51.
for many years, would be resumed. But the ordinary run of ignorant and worthless fellows, even down to Hindús, would get as much land as they asked for, without question. From these proceedings, learning and its professors declined in estimation every day. Even in the middle of the assemblage, while seated, "aloft in awful state," if the time for midday prayers came, he would wash his hands, and care not how much water he sprinkled on the faces and clothes of the surrounding nobles and courtiers. They meekly submitted to the indignity, because they knew it was to the advantage of their poor clients, and would bestow upon the Sadár every kind of eulogium, compliment, and flattery, to his heart's content, in the hope by this means to secure at last some compensation for the insult. In the time of no former king had any Sadár such extensive powers and jurisdiction.

*The Author's Appointments and Emoluments.*

[Text, vol. ii. p. 206.] About this time the King appointed me a preacher, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the royal horses with the brand. I had no fixed salary, but I was told from the first to act like a mansabdar of twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abú-l Fazl arrived at Court about the same time, so that we were, as was said, loaves out of the same oven. Yet he, beginning his service by marking horses and attending to the mahallát, managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a mansab of two thousand, and to the dignity of wasir. But poor I, from my inexperiance and simplicity, could not manage to advance myself. I reflected within myself that there were still hopes of securing contentment (that best of possessions!) by means of a madad-n'ásh, which would enable me to retire from the world, and apply myself to study and devotion, while free from the cares of the world. But even in this I was doomed to be disappointed.

In the month of Shawwál, 983, on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused; but I received a horse with suitable

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1 [This last sentence is a free rendering of a rather offensive expression.]
trappings, and a grant of a thousand bighas, which was a mere nothing, being only equal to an allowance for the maintenance of twenty men, but in accordance with the unfriendly disposition of the Sadr and my unlucky fate. It was styled also in the grant a madad-m'ash.\(^1\) I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be constantly in attendance at Court, to which the King replied, that he would give me presents also during the marches. Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabî too observed, that no person of my quality had received from him so large a grant of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of fate. These fine promises were nothing better than a baseless mirage. I have performed services without reward, and undergone restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the goodness of God.

"Allâhu Akbar."

\(^1\) [That is, an eleemosynary grant, not a mansab or military tenure indicative of dignity.]

\(^2\) [The signification usually attached to these words is "God is great"; but the meaning "Akbar is God" may be given to them.]

\(^3\) [See Blochmann's A'in-i Akbari, vol. i. p. 166.]
The Emperor's Heretical Associates.

[Text, vol. ii, p. 211.] [In this year (983) there arrived Hakím Abú-l Fath Gíláni, Hakím Humáyún (who subsequently changed his name to Humáyún Kuli, and lastly to Hakím Humám), and Núru-d dín, who as a poet is known under the name of Karári. These three were brothers, and came from Gílán (near the Caspian). The eldest brother, by his subserviency, obtained an extraordinary ascendancy over the Emperor. He flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, and pushing forward, he soon became a most intimate friend of Akbar. Soon after there came to Court Mullá Muhammed of Yazd, who got the nickname of Yasti. He attached himself to the Emperor, and concocted the most extravagant censures against the sahába (companions of the Prophet, the peace of God be upon them!). He told extraordinary stories (about them), and tried hard to make the Emperor a shi'a. But this man was soon left behind by Bírabal, that bastard, and by Shaikh Abú-l Fazl and Hakím Abú-l Fath. They turned the Emperor from the Religion, and made him a perfect sceptic of inspiration, the prophetic office, the miracles and wonders, and the law. They carried matters to such a length that I, the author, could no longer bear them company. The result of all this, as regards each one of them, will be told in its proper place. About the same time, His Majesty ordered Kází Jalálu-d dín and several other learned men to write a commentary upon the Kurán, but they fell to squabbling about it. That scoffer, Deb Chand, Rája of Manjhola, used to say, that if the cow had not been greatly esteemed by the Almighty, she would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Kurán. As history was read from day to day, His Majesty's faith in the Companions of the Prophet began to be shaken, and the breach grew broader. The daily prayers, the fasts, and prophecies were all pronounced delusions as being opposed to sense. Reason, not revelation, was declared to be the basis of religion. Europeans also paid visits to him, and he adopted some of their rationalistic tenets.]
Death of Dáuid Afghán.\(^1\)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 238.] [In the early part of the engagement, a cannon-ball struck the knee of Junaid, and broke his leg. When the armies closed, defeat fell upon the Afgháns. The horse of Dáuid stuck fast in the mud, and Hasan Beg made Dáuid prisoner, and carried him to Khán-jahán. The prisoner, being oppressed with thirst, asked for water. They filled his slipper with water, and took it to him. But as he would not drink it, Khán-jahán supplied him with a cupfull from his own canteen, and enabled him to slake his thirst. The Khán was desirous of saving his life, for he was a very handsome man; but the nobles urged that if his life were spared, suspicions might arise as to their loyalty. So he ordered him to be beheaded. His execution was a very clumsy work, for after receiving two chops he was not dead, but suffered great torture. At length his head was cut off. It was then crammed with grass and anointed with perfumes, and placed in charge of Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khán.]

*Personal to the Author.*

[Text, vol. ii. p. 252.] In a.H. 985 the King, after visiting the shrines of the holy saints in the neighbourhood of Dohlí, went towards Pálam on a shooting excursion. At the close of the blessed month Ramazán, news reached me at Rewári, that at Basáwar\(^2\) a son had been born to me, of which happiness I had been a long time in expectation. On this occasion I presented an offering of a gold ashráft to the King, and requested he would be good enough to name the child. After reading a prayer, he inquired the name of my father and grandfather. I replied, "Mulúk Sháh was my father, and he was the son of Hámíd." He said, "I call your son 'Abdu-l Hádí,"—Hádí being a name which at that time he had, night and day, upon his lips. Not-

\(^1\) [See page 400 suprd.]

\(^2\) This place, which is so frequently mentioned in the course of this history, is within the territory of Bharatpúr, on the road from Agra to Jaipúr. It is situated on the side of a rocky eminence, with a ruinous palace on its summit. Heber calls it Pesháwar. See Narrative of a Journey, vol. ii. p. 385.
withstanding that Háfiz Muhammad Amin, the preacher, was constantly citing the seven imáms, urging me in high-flown language not to commit this absurdity, and to invite some learned men to my house to read the whole Kurán, in order to secure a long life to my son, he could not persuade me, and at the end of six months my son died. May God be pleased on his account to pardon me in the day of judgment!

From Rewári I took five months' leave, and went to Basáwar, on account of sundry affairs of consequence, but I unavoidably extended my absence to the period of a year. This unwarranted neglect of duty and the machinations of my enemies made me fall in the King's estimation, and by degrees I was entirely forgotten. To this day even, although eighteen years have since elapsed, I still perform my duty, but am not honoured with an interview; and I can neither go in search of other employ, nor maintain a firm footing in my present position.

Rent-free Tenures.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 254.] Kázi 'Alí Baghdádí, grandson of Mír Kázi Husain Maibazi, was deputed to the Panjáb to make inquiries respecting the lands held in rent-free tenure, under the name of madad-másh and ayma. He was directed to resume the old tenures, to measure them, and to include them all in one district. The greatest anomalies had been perpetrated in this department, which were all to be attributed to the perversity of Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabí and the dishonesty of his subordinates.

Religious Difficulties.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 255, A.H. 986.] [His Majesty used frequently to go to the 'ibdídat-khána, and converse with the 'ulamá and the shaikhés, especially on Sabbath evenings, and would sometimes pass the whole night there. The discussions always turned upon religion, upon its principles, and upon its diversifications. The learned doctors used to exercise the sword of their tongues
upon each other, and showed great pugnacity and animosity, till the various sects at length took to calling each other infidels and perverts. * * * * Innovators and schismatics artfully started their doubts and sophistries, making right appear to be wrong, and wrong to be right. And so His Majesty, who had an excellent understanding, and sought after the truth, but was surrounded by low irreligious persons, to whom he gave his confidence, was plunged into scepticism. Doubt accumulated upon doubt, and the object of his search was lost. The ramparts of the law and of the true faith were broken down; and, in the course of five or six years, not one trace of Islam was left in him. The state of affairs was changed.

There were many reasons for this. But as "small things are suggestive of great ones, and fear betrays the culprit," I will only mention a few. Learned men of various kinds and from every country, and professors of many different religions and creeds, assembled at his Court, and were admitted to converse with him. 1 Night and day people did nothing but inquire and investigate. Profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, the wonders of nature, of which large volumes could only give a summary abstract, were ever spoken of. His Majesty collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most diverse phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every (Islamic) principle. Thus a faith, based on some elementary principles, traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and, as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear

1 [The rest of this Extract is taken from Mr. Blochmann's translation. See Ata-i Akbari, vol. i. p. 179.]