TO

SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, KNT. F.R.S. F.A.S. F.L.S.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE.

SIR,

I FEEL most happy, that I am able to lay before you the production of an Establishment which is unparalleled, both in its extent and prosperous success, and for the foundation of which your exertions were so material, that full justice cannot be done to them by the praises of a single individual: they have already met with a most flattering acknowledgment, in the fact, that after hardly a year has elapsed since the first steps were taken for carrying the objects of the TRANSLATION COMMITTEE into effect, several Works lie before the eyes of the Public, and many are offered for translation; fully exemplifying the Motto of the Committee: *Ex Oriente Lux.*

The Establishment is not of a confined nature: it is to extend its operations over the whole world. And how fast it will approach its intended aim, is evident from the circumstance, that its paramount importance is not only duly appreciated in Europe, but even acknowledged in several parts of that quarter of the globe which is to

furnish the materials for its operations. And if we look for a well-auguring parallel in History for it, we only need turn our view a thousand years back, and recollect the times of the Arabian Empire, when, under the Khalifs of the Abbasside Race, and especially under Almansur, Harun Alrasheed, and Almamun, literature was most sedulously cultivated; and chiefly under the latter Khalif many Greek Works were translated into Arabic, by which the Arabs became acquainted with the literary productions of Aristotle, Porphyrius, Hippocrates, Galenus, Euclid, Ptolemy, and others. And whilst these labours were encouraged and supported by Sovereigns, those of the Translation Committee are not less patronized by the most Illustrious Names.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the importance of Oriental Literature. Its importance does not consist alone in the enlargement of Science in general, in amplifying our views of General History, Geography, and in making us acquainted with new idioms, &c.; but it lies nearer to us, and materially assists us in elucidating our own history and languages: for, to adduce one instance, the affinity of the Sanscrit and Persian to the Teutonic and also the Greek and Latin languages, is universally acknowledged; and the results which recent researches into that department of Science have produced, can only serve to entitle us to more extensive expectations, and to encourage similar inquiries in the highest degree. Even in those ages in which the taste for science, so predominant among us,

was scarcely cultivated, the literature in question was more or less attended to, and in several countries measures were taken to encourage its dissemination. But the difficulties of publishing books relating to that branch of Literature, of editing Texts or Translations, proved, at every time, an insurmountable check to further progress; and, notwithstanding such eminent Scholars as Walton, Castelli, Pococke, Sale, Jones, Ludolf, Reiske, Erpenius, Schultens, Golius, D'Herbelot, De Guignes, &c., several of whom, even with the loss of all worldly emoluments, devoted themselves to Oriental Literature, we are not so much acquainted with the Literature of the East as the high degree of literary attainment of which we may justly boast seems to require we should be.

This imputation the present Institution will, I sincerely hope, remove. The materials are plentiful; and the Libraries of England, Germany, France, Holland, Russia, Italy, and Spain, preserve the most valuable monuments of Eastern Literature. Had so universal an Institution been established some centuries ago, many of those Arabic Manuscripts, on Divinity, Philosophy, Politics, History, &c., which, under King Philip III. of Spain, Peter de Lara captured from the Moroccans, to the number of three thousand volumes, and which were deposited in the Escurial—where, in 1671, the greater part of them were consumed by a conflagration—would, perhaps, have been preserved, at least in Translations; whilst many of them are now, probably, lost for ever.

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The idea of amplifying the field of Science by Translations from Eastern idioms was cherished a long time ago. Frederic Barbarossa, as early as the twelfth century, ordered Translations to be made from the Arabic. A long time after, Sir John Anstruther, President of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, conceived the idea of having published and translated such Works of Sanscrit Literature as should be deemed worthy of publishing.—(See *Ramayana of Valmeeki.* Serampore, 1806.)

It was in the year 1806, that the Asiatic Society of Calcutta resumed that plan on a more extensive scale; not confining their operations to Sanscrit alone, but extending them to other Asiatic Languages also. But the object seems to have been dropt again.

Whilst, thus, all circumstances concur in ensuring the most prosperous and permanent results to the Translation Committee, and promise a happier success to it than the attempts alluded to enjoyed, a new era will arise for Oriental Literature; and the field of human knowledge be enlarged, to the great advantage of mankind.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

B. DORN.

*London,*
*May* 22, 1829.

# PREFACE.

AMONGST those Histories which, in recent times, have attracted the attention of the Learned, and have been made the object of their researches—by w' h much light was thrown upon them, and the obscurity, that envelope' .em before, partly removed—we may justly number the HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS; a nation which, for many reasons, claims our particular attention : for it is not only remarkable as being a link between the Indian and middle Asiatic nations, and probably belonging to the extended assemblage of Indo-Teutonic nations, but as having, at different periods, acted a conspicuous part in history; where these people seem to appear first in the seventh century of the Christian era; when, about 682 A.D., they issued from their mountainous habitations, and caused desolation and destruction in the contiguous countries: in which incursions, however, they were checked by the Raja of Lahore. After that, an Afghan, Sheikh Hameed, was nominated Governor of the Multan and of Lumghan; from which time we see the military services of the Afghans eagerly sought after, and themselves much honoured by the kings of the Ghaznevide race; which, at length, was dispossessed of sovereignty by those whom it had formerly cherished and loaded with honours. In the year A.D. 1186, Sultan Khosru, the last king of the Ghaznevides, was compelled to surrender to the Afghan Chief, Shehab Uddeen Mohammed Ghori; Lahore was delivered to him; and he ascended the throne of the unfortunate Khosru.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, another dynasty of Afghan sovereigns established their power in Dehli, under Behlol Lodi (1451—1488); Sultan Sekunder (1488—1517); and Sultan Ibrahim (1517—1526).

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, Sheer Shah raised himself to the throne of Dehli: and he and his successors were in continual struggles with the Moguls, whom they often successfully opposed.



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During almost the whole of the eighteenth century, the Afghans carried on war with Persia; where they, about the year 1720, captured Isphahan under Meer Vais; and remained in that country, until, in 1737, they were totally subdued by Nadir Shah.

In 1747, Ahmed Shah Durrani was crowned King, at Candahar; and from that time the Afghans were governed by a king chosen from their own people; and in this state they continue up to the present moment.

Besides this historical curiosity attaching to them, they are remarkable in other respects: amongst which, is their pretended origin from the Jews; and the multitude and number of their tribes and clans; which, according to Historians, amount to three hundred and fifty-nine; in which regard they bear a great resemblance to the ancient Scottish clans, and afford much matter for reflection. But another most striking circumstance, in a psychological point of view, that occurs in their History, from its first commencement till this day, and which characterizes them before all other Asiatic nations, is their indelible love of freedom and liberty. They never submitted to a despotic government; but, at every time, succeeded in maintaining their natural right: and the present King of Kabul is little more than the first citizen of the empire. Hence it is, that their history does not reek with blood shed by blood-thirsty sovereigns, with which the histories of other countries of Asia are filled; and although the whole government centres in the king, yet security against the arbitrary power of the sovereign is the object of the Afghans' most fervent praises; and how deeply this feeling is rooted in the breast of this people, is best illustrated by an answer given to Mr. Elphinstone by an Afghan:—"We are content with discord; we are content with alarms; we are content with blood: but we never will be content with a master."

It was however, as mentioned, only in recent times, when the British power in India was daily increasing, and came in contact with all the nations that inhabit India and the adjacent countries—when missions were sent to different courts, and the countries, through which they were obliged to take their route, explored and described—that the History in question was subjected to a closer investigation. For it is unquestionably true, that, for a critical and diligent investigation into the history of any people or nation, it is by no means sufficient

to possess a stock of authentic facts or events, which at different periods happened; and which might be construed into a whole compass, and called History: —unless these facts be illustrated by a full knowledge of the geography, the climate, manners, &c. of the country, this History will never bear the character of perfection; and many facts recorded in it will appear either impossible, or, at least, the most remote from common nature, merely because the circumstances, in which they originated, have remained unknown to us.

If we apply these remarks to the History of the Afghans, we shall find, that, in spite of celebrated scholars who drew this branch of Oriental History into the sphere of their researches, and whom we shall enumerate in the Annotations, it has gained but little towards a state of perfection; not only in consequence of the want of materials or facts, but particularly in consequence of the want of a more accurate and fuller acquaintance with the country itself, its manners, form of government, language, &c. These wants being now, for the greater part, supplied, chiefly by Mr. Elphinstone's excellent account of Kabul, which furnishes ample materials for the historian, it is our duty to proceed to a careful inquiry into the historical records furnished by Mohammedan authors, and by the Afghans themselves, on their history; as there is no hope of ever possessing a complete history of this people, until the works that exclusively treat on them shall be translated, and the notices occurring in Oriental writers, relative to them, collected.

It was for this reason that I determined on translating the book now before the public: and it was the more encouraging to me, when that excellent establishment, the Oriental Translation Committee, by the exertions of which no doubt the most important Works of the East will in a short time be made accessible to Europeans, consented to publish it. But, in order to enable the readers of this Translation to consider the work in its true light, it will be necessary to premise a few remarks, which will at once point out the view I wish they may adopt in forming a judgment of this production.

It is a fact well known, that every history begins with fables and traditions: and this is the more the case, the more remote the commencement of history is, either in age, or the country in local situation, from those who attempt to preserve that history in records. A long time, after a nation has fully formed

itself, is generally required, before mere Chroniclers become Historians, who know how to sift traditions from real facts: and the higher a degree of civilization a nation has obtained, and the more refined its taste is, the less its historians allow themselves to indulge in relating traditions, which are either entirely banished from their works, or at least minutely discussed and divested of their embellishments, and, if possible, reduced to their original facts. Such is the case in the ancient Greek and Roman authors, as well as in those of our age; and the first attempts that were made to write a history produced mere recorders, abounding with traditions. A long time was required before Thucydides, and Xenophon, in Greece; Livy, and Tacitus, in Rome; Hume, Gibbon, and others, in England; acquired the renown of accomplished Historians. The Oriental Historians are mostly mere narrators of events; and there are very few who may justly claim the name of Historian, in that sense which is, according to our notions, attached to it.

It will appear, at the first sight, that the early history of the Afghans rests on traditions, which are repeated by every Oriental writer upon the subject, and have even induced learned Europeans to attach credit to them. That eminent scholar, Sir W. Jones, from the general consent of Oriental Historians to trace the origin of the Afghans to the Jews, endeavoured to corroborate that statement, amongst other proofs, by that derived from the Pushtoo language, which he supposes to bear a strong similarity to the Chaldaic. But this proof was unfortunately the weakest that could be produced; and the Pushtoo language points to quite another origin of this people, than it was supposed by Sir W. Jones to do. The truth of this assertion is now generally understood; and neither in the grammatical construction, nor the dictionary of the Pushtoo language, nor in any other Pushtoo book, after a careful search, could I succeed in discovering the least resemblance of that language to the Hebrew or Chaldaic; for such words as ابا, *the father;* Chal. st. emph. אַבָּא; Heb. אָב—آخسِتَلْ, *to seize, take;* Heb. אָחַז—اَرْخ, Heb. יָרֵךְ *the side*, (cf. אָשַׁם and יָשַׁם) I cannot consider as proving any thing. The fact, that the Afghans make frequently use of Hebrew names, as Esau, Yacoob, Musa, &c., and that their tribes bear Hebrew names, as Davudzye, &c., is as little proof of their Jewish origin, as the circumstance that their Nobles bear the title Melik (Heb. מֶלֶךְ *the King*), which title, even according to their own assertion, was not introduced before Mohammed's time, and is undoubtedly the Arabic مَلِكٌ, *a ruler, king.*

The traditions, according to which they are descended of the children of Israel, and the Coptes, (whilst the Armenians assert them to be of Armenian origin,) are circumstantially related in the present work: and the incorrectness of most of them being evident, they can only serve to induce to a more minute research into truth.

The present work, which is the first Afghan History translated from an Oriental language, and in compiling which the best works on that subject were used by the author, will at once afford a full insight into all the mysteries related by the Afghans, of their origin. It contains their history from Adam, to the sixteenth century. In the Third Book, the lives of sixty-eight Sheikhs are found; after which follows an account of the numerous tribes. The materials of the book of the Afghans were collected by Hybet Khan of Samana; but, under his patronage, composed into a History by Neamet Ullah, Historiographer (Wakianuwees) at the court of the Emperor Jehangheer, between the year of the Hejra 1018—1020 (A.D. 1609—11) and upwards. The copy from which this Translation is made, belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society; and is written very carelessly, by one Fut'h Khan, for his own use, in the year 1131 of the Hejra (A.D. 1718). It bears the title of "Makhzen Afghani;" and appears to be a different and, in some parts, abridged edition of the original work of Neamet Ullah; when Ibrahim Batni, who mentions himself at the end of the Second Book, supplied the deficiencies from the original of Neamet Ullah, and other Histories: and thus it is generally much more minute in the history it relates, than any other book that treats on the same subject. The style is the Persian, as generally spoken in India; and many Hindustani words are found in the course of the narrative.

Another edition, or perhaps the original work itself*, is preserved in the East-India House, and entitled "Tareekh Khanjehan Lodi wa Makhzen Afghani," and was also composed between 1018—1020 A.H. and upwards. The coincidence of the first part of this work with ours is perfect; and they correspond almost word for word: but afterwards it frequently does not enter into such

* In Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, p. 18, LXIV. a book is mentioned under the same title, and of the same arrangement and contents as this: its author is called Hybet Khan. The book is said to be in folio; and it is therefore probably different from the Manuscript in the E. H., which is in octavo.

details, as our work does ; and mostly leaves out the speeches, which so frequently occur in the translated copy. But it gives a history of Khanjehan Lodi, which is not to be found in the work here translated ; which circumstance, undoubtedly, is the reason that the latter is called only "Makhzen Afghani." It is written much better than the copy I have used, and served in many places to bear me out in such passages as seemed to be unintelligible. The proper names are often differently written.

Neamet Ullah was contemporary with Ferishta ; and commenced the History of the Afghans in the same year, when Ferishta finished his work; but he is nowhere mentioned. The identity of the sources they used in compiling their respective works is evident, from the extreme, often verbal, coincidence of the style and thread of the history of the reigns of the Lodi race and the family of Sheer Shah.

During the time I was employed in translating, I thought it my duty to apply myself to the Pushtoo language; by which I might perhaps be enabled to speak with more confidence on objects hitherto not yet elucidated. I have succeeded in compiling the outlines of a Pushtoo Grammar, and a Vocabulary ; and I shall, in the Annotations, expatiate on this subject : for I may remark, that I have reserved all the Notes for the Second Part of the Translation ; where all that I have been able to find in Oriental writers on the Afghans will be introduced, and carefully discussed : and to them I refer the reader, in all such points as may appear to require elucidation or confirmation. In order, therefore, to enable every one to examine the Annotations, and the truth of the assertions and statements laid down in this book, and to rectify by them any mistakes that may occur, I shall subjoin here a list of those Manuscripts which I have consulted, and from which I have made extracts. It will appear from this, that I was so fortunate as to meet with most of those books which furnished the materials of the present work : they generally are verbally extracted, and inserted into our History : and never have I been so forcibly struck with the truth of the assertion, that Oriental authors are mostly mere copyists of their sources, than in this instance.

# A.

## MANUSCRIPTS IN THE AFGHAN LANGUAGE, AND OTHER WORKS EXCLUSIVELY TREATING ON THE AFGHANS.

1. رياض المحبّت Riaz Ulmuhabbet, or Bowers of Friendship; written by Nabob Muhabbet Khan. This book, a thick volume in folio, and preserved in the East-India House, contains a Grammar and Dictionary of the Pushtoo Language, in Persian. One of the copies (for there are two) was obtained from the eldest son of the author, Ali Akbar Khan, who, like him, was devoted to literature.—The Dictionary, although short, was of great use to me.

2. آمدنامه افغاني Amednameh Afghani; a treatise, in Persian, on the Pushtoo Language (Paradigmata of Verbs).—E. H.

3. بابو جان Baboo Jān; a Moral work in Pushtoo, finished in the 14th year of the reign of Ahmed Shah Durrani (1761).—E. H.

4. فوايد الشريف Fawaid Ulshareef; a work Moral and Religious.—Pushtoo. E. H.

5. رشيد البيان Rasheed Ulbian, written under Shah Alem. An Exposition of the Duties of the Islam.—Pushtoo. E. H.

6. مخزن Magazine, written by Akhund Dervizeh; a Compilation on Canon Law (فقه), from Arabic and Persian works. The author is one of the most celebrated Saints of the Afghans, and author of many voluminous works on ethics, religion, &c.—(See Elphinstone, I. 333.) Pushtoo. E. H.

7. ديوان عبد الرحمان Divan Abd Ulrahman in Pushtoo, transcribed by Fuzl Mohammed, son of Mulla Abd Ulghani. Abd Ulrahman is the most popular of all the Afghan Poets.—(See Elphinstone's Kabul, P. I. p. 306.) E. H.

8. ديوان مرزا Divan Mirza, in Pushtoo.—E. H.

9. Kalila wa Dimna; translated into Pushtoo, by Melik Khushhal. The copy was transcribed by Said Mohammed Ali, in 1183. (On Kushhal, see Elphinstone's Kabul, I. p. 306.)—E. H.

10. تاريخ حافظ رحمت خاني Tareekh Hafiz Rehmetkhani, by Hafiz Mohammed Zadeek; written in 1184, in Persian. It contains a history of the Yusufzyes, their occupation of Kabul, Bajour, Sewat, Peshawer, Lungherkot, and other districts; and was founded upon the history, in the Afghan language, on the same subject, by Kujoo, a celebrated historian and genealogist. The author of the present work, Hafiz Mohammed, as he himself mentions, lived at a place called Neltoo (نلتو), belonging to Attock. His book contains the following chapters:—

I. On the emigration of the Yusufzyes into Kabul; and the assassination of their Chiefs by Mirza Ulugh Beg. II. Their arrival in Peshawer; occupation of the Duab, Bajour, and Ashenghur; and war with the Dilazaks. III. Occupation of Suad, &c.; and Babur's campaign against them. IV. Emigration of the Gughianis from Kabul to the Duabeh; Melik Ahmed's mission to the Dilazaks; and Babur's wars with the Dilazaks, and others. V. War between the Gughianis and Dilazaks. VI. Distribution of the conquered lands by Sheikh Mulli amongst his people; his and Melik Ahmed's death; government of Khan Kujoo; and rebellion of the Gooriakhail. VII. Defeat of the Gooriakhail, by the Yusufzyes.—E. H.

11. نسب نامه افاغنه Written in Persian, under the patronage of Mr. Ellis, by Seid Mohammed Alisphahani, in 1224. A.H. It contains a meagre history of the Afghans, but more particularly of recent times; as, The history of the invasion in Persia, of Ahmed Shah Durrani, &c.; A description of Herat, Candahar, Kabul, Peshawer, some tribes that live thereabout; &c.—R. A. S.

12. حادثات اصفهان واستيلاي افاغنه An Account of the Afghan Invasion of Persia, and Conquest of Isphahan, under Meer Vais. Written by Mohammed Ali Yakhrin, in Persian.—R. A. S.

13. خلاصة الانساب Khulassat Alansab; written, in Persian, by Hafiz Rehmet ben Shah Alem. The author, Hafiz Rehmet, as he mentions in the Introduction, has most diligently inquired into the history of his people, he himself being an Afghan of the Kot'akhail. After having given an account of their origin, which he, with all the Afghans, derives from the Israelites, he proceeds to give an account of the different tribes, as descended from the three sons of Abd Ulrasheed. In the course of the works, several verses in the Afghan language occur; and, at the end, a Hymn in Arabic, with an Afghan translation, is annexed. This Manuscript belongs to the E. H.; but there are two copies of it in the Cambridge Library. In the Translation of Ibn Batuta, published a short time ago by Professor Lee of Cambridge, an account of the contents of this book is given. (See p. 98.)—E. H.

14. تاريخ شيرشاهي Tareekh Sheer Shahi. A very valuable History of Sheer Shah; his successors, Islam Shah and Adeli; as also of Sultan Behlol, Sultan Sekunder, Sultan Ibrahim, Sultan Humayoon, &c. There appears no name of the author in the book; but we may perhaps assume it to be the Tareekh Sheer Shahi, written by Abbas Servani. It almost literally coincides with the history given in our Translation.—E. H.

15. رسالهء انساب افاغنه Risaleh-i-Ansab Afaghineh; written, in Persian, by Fareed Uddeen Ahmed, in 1803. This Manuscript contains a concise history of the Afghans.—R. A. S.

*** Besides these Books on the Afghan Language and History, I have used the Pushtoo Translation of the New Testament, published at Serampore in 1818.

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## B.

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS, WHICH WILL BE CITED IN THE ANNOTATIONS, AND FROM WHICH EXTRACTS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF SUCH FACTS AS OCCUR IN THE MAKHZEN AFGHANI, WILL BE GIVEN, ARE THE FOLLOWING :—

16. روضت الصفا Rowzet Ulsaffa; the celebrated and well-known Universal History of Mirkhond.—R. A. S. E. H.

17. تاريخ طبري Tareekh Tabari; the Universal History of Abu Jafar ben Jorair Altabari; originally written in Arabic.—I have used a Persian Translation. R. A. S.

18. خلاصة الاخبار Khulassat Ulakhbar; a History, written in Persian, by Khondemir, and containing much useful information on the History of Persia &c.—E. H.

19. تاريخ گزيده Tareekh Gozaida; written by Ahmed ben Abu Beer Aleazvini. The fourth chapter, containing the History of several Dynasties in Persia &c. has chiefly been extracted. It has been used by our author.—E. H.

20. مجمع الانساب Mujmul Ansab; written, in Persian, by Mohammed ben Ali. It contains, first, treatises on Natural History, &c.; after which the Genealogies of Persian Dynastics follow. Used by our author.—E. H.

21. طبقات ناصري Tabakat Nasseri; an excellent and well-known History of India.—E. H.

22. طبقات اكبري Tabakat Akbari. A most valuable work on the History of the Hindoos; of the first Invasion of India by the Mussulmans; of the Ghaznevides, the Kings of Dehli, the Deccan, Golconda and Bijapoor, Gujerat, Bengal, Malwa, Sind, Joonpoor, and the Multan: by Nizam Uddeen Ahmed ben Moham. Mokim of Herat.—Stewart's Catalogue, p. 11. E. H.

23. تاريخ فتوح شام Tareekh Futtuh Sham; History of the Conquests of Syria by the Mussulmans; a Persian Translation of the Arabic work of Wakedi, made by Abu Ismael Mohammed. It is the same which Ockley has chiefly followed, in compiling his History of the Saracens.—E. H.

24. تاريخ اليافعي Tareekh Alyafaï; an excellent work on History, which furnishes many notices for the History of the Crusades and other remarkable events. It was written, in Arabic, by Abu Mohammed Abd Ullah ben Alyafaï. (See D'Herbelot, p. 281.)—E. H.

25. حبيب السِيَر Habeeb Ulsiyer; compiled by Khondemir.—E. H.

26. تاريخ فرشته The History of Ferishta.—E. H.

27. مسالك وممالك Mesalik wa Memalik; The Routes and Kingdoms. A most curious work on Geography, in the Persian Language; with nineteen illumined Maps of the Countries described. It appears, from the character in which it is written, to be very old. Some of the Maps I propose to lay before the Public, in the Annotations.—E. H.

28. روضة اولي الالباب في تواريخ الاكابر والانساب Rowzet Ula 'lalbab fi Tawareekh Ulakaber walansab; *i.e.* the Garden of the Learned in the Histories of Great Men, and Genealogies. This valuable History is compiled by Abu Suleiman Davud ben Abi'l Fuzl Mohammed Albenaketi, in the year 717 of the Hejra, under Sultan Abu Said ben Ussultan Oljaitoo. He has chiefly followed the جامع التواريخ or the Universal History of Rashid Uddeen, but most sedulously made further inquiries on the subject he was about to write. The book consists of nine chapters. I. History of the Patriarchs from Adam to Abraham. II. History of the Persian Kings, and the Illustrious Men that lived under them. III. History of Mohammed, and the Khalifs, up to Mostazem, the last Khalif of the Abbaside Race. IV. History of other Sovereigns during the period of the Abbaside Khalifs; viz. The History of the Soffarides, Samanides, Dilemides, Ghaznevides, Seljukides, &c. V. History of the Jews, from Moses to Hosea. VI. History of the Christians and Europeans, of the Roman Emperors, and the Popes (بابان) up to the time of the writer, (about sixty-four in number); as also the Genealogy of the Virgin Mary. VII. A short Treatise on Chronology and Physical Geography, and the History of Hindustan. VIII. History of China. IX. History of the Moguls.—British Museum.

29. مرات العالم Mirat Ulalem, the Mirror of the World: a most valuable Universal History; written, in Persian, by Bukhtaver Khan, who by travels and assiduous study had qualified himself for the task of a Historian. He lived under Aurungzebe. As the History of the Afghans, as given by Neamet Ullah, frequently corresponds, word for word, with that found in the present work, I think it proper to give a full prospectus of this book.—Section I. History of the Patriarchs, (amongst whom there are Harkeel and Dhul Kafl, who occur in our

History); of the Israelite Kings; of Loeman, and Daniel; of the Hebrew Prophets; of Jesus and the Apostles; of the Seven Sleepers; of some Saints, as Georgius, Barseesa, Simson, &c.; of the Ancient Sages, as Solon, Pythagoras, Socrates, Diogenes, Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, Homer, Zeno, Ptolemy, Thales, Euclid: after that follows the History of the Persian Monarchs and of the Yemen Kings. II. History of Mohammed. III. History of the Khalifs, of other Dynasties, as the Soffarides, &c. IV. History of the Roman and Turkish Emperors, &c. V. History of the Sherifs of Mecca and Medina. VI. History of the Turkish Khans, &c. VII. History of Jenghiz Khan, and his successors. VIII. History of different Dynasties in Iran &c. after Sultan Abu Said Behader Khan. After that, a History of India follows; in which there is the History of the Kings of Dehli, from Shehab Uddeen to Ibrahim Lodi; of the Kings of the Deccan; of Humayoon, Sheer Shah, Islam Shah, and Adil Shah; of the Kings of Bengal, &c.; of Joonpoor, Kashmeer, &c.; Humayoon's Conquest of Kabul.—B. M. Bib. Rich. 22.

30. جامع التواريخ Jamiul Tawareekh. The General History by Rashid Uddeen. One large folio volume.—B. M.

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I have to add a few remarks with regard to the spelling of Proper Names occurring in the Translation. I have endeavoured to approach their pronunciation as nearly as possible; and therefore expressed خ by *kh*; ج by *j*; چ by *ch*; ت, ط by *t*; ظ, ص, ض by *z*; &c. In spelling the Consonants, conformity was possible; but not so in expressing the Vowels, the pronunciation of which, in the Arabic and Persian, is not so fixed as in the Spanish, Italian, and German languages. For Fatha, I have used *e*, *a*, and sometimes *u*; for Kesra, *i*, and *ee*; and for Damma, *u* or *o*; according to what the pronunciation seemed to require.

I cannot conclude the Preface, without acknowledging the great services which I derived from the assistance of Mr. Mitchell, both in translating the work, and in reading and correcting the proof-sheets.

## ERRATA.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P. 10. | l. 29. | *read* Khokh *for* Knokh. |
| P. 15. 37. | l. 35. 18. | ..... Gozaida *for* Kozaida. |
| P. 35. | l. 13. | ..... Fahel *for* Kahel. |
| P. 38. | l. 34. | ..... Serbun *for* Serbunni. |
| P. 49. | l. 31. | ..... Jelal Khan Ajoodheni. |
| P. 61. | l. 26. | ..... 910 *for* 901. |
| P. 63. | l. 32. | ..... Neamet *for* Niamet. |
| P. 64. | l. 36. | ..... Sheikhzadeh *for* zada. |
| P. 73. | l. 7. | ..... Behader *for* Nehader. |
| P. 77. 100. 128. | l. 4. 35. 9. | ..... Naseer *for* Nazir. |
| P. 101. | l. 8. | ..... village *for* fort. |
| P. 126. | l. 27. | ..... Muhalli *for* Muhbeli. |
| P. 816, &c. | l. 20. | ..... Naïb *for* Naseeb. |
| P. 166. | l. 15. | *add* of *before* Kumaon. |

# HISTORY

OF THE

# AFGHANS.

SUCH praises as Historians who record important events, and Authors who investigate memorable occurrences, utter by day and by night with a tongue spreading jewels of eloquence—and such adoration as is expressed in the morning and evening with a speech pouring forth pearls of eloquence, by those who explore notable events, and elucidate novel facts—be offered in the sublime temple of HIM, who has distinguished man above all other creatures by the noble gift of intellect and the ornament of speech; who has endowed every individual with an adequate stature, and made him the seat of His knowledge; who has raised some above others, constituting them chiefs and commanders; who has placed the crown of dignity and the diadem of prophecy on the head of the illustrious Prophets, by the clouds of whose benevolence He has caused the rose-garden of the world and the rose-grove of religion to flourish in verdure and freshness, and thus shed blessings on all mankind; in the temple of the All-Wise, who, in accordance with His consummate wisdom, has distinguished every individual of the creation with peculiar habits, and assigned him his particular station; who lets generation succeed generation—of the All-Beneficent, who, fastening the chain of sublunary beings to the imperative standards and world-conquering banners of powerful monarchs and mighty sovereigns, in conformity with His absolute command, "Obey God, and obey the Prophets, and those exercising authority amongst you," has ordered all men to submit to

their sway, and appointed the sword of authority to rule over mortals, that they might be secured in a state of perfect happiness, in the shadow of their benignity, and the shade of their world-ruling justice, and be engaged in providing for their subsistence, in cultivating the knowledge of the All-Gracious God, and in paying obedience to the ordinances of Islamism, that the hand of oppressors be altogether removed from the oppressed—His glory be glorified, and His beneficence universal.—Praises be also to the First of the creatures—upon him be glory, and thousands of thousands of benedictions! The most hearty congratulations be expressed, and blessings be upon the most excellent Being of both worlds, the Intercessor in both habitations, the Lord of the Legates, the seal of the prophets—upon Mohammed, the Legate of God, whose diploma of prophecy was adorned with the sublime signet, "If thou hadst not been, the spheres would not have been created;" and whose Togra of prophecy was ornamented with the title of the seal of the prophets! Felicity and prosperity be also the portion of his race, and his Companions of all denominations.

As to the reason of compiling and writing this history, it is a fact well known to every intelligent, learned, and accomplished scholar, that it was the custom of learned, eminent, and ingenious men of every time and age, according to their abilities, capacity and erudition, with proper explanations, to commit to the pages of perishable time the transactions of every mighty sovereign, powerful monarch, and distinguished minister, ever since the beginning of the world and the creation of Adam, in order that the judicious and intelligent, reflecting on the memorable events of the time and novel facts of the world, and entering upon a close consideration of the works of the Creator, and the vicissitudes and junctures of time, might derive information. Yet of the prosperous state of the affairs of the Afghan Nation, relative to their number, increase of Tribes, and conversion to Islamism, nothing at all has hitherto been satisfactorily recorded in any book or history; owing to which circumstance, the links of their genealogy, as well as the cause of their transmigration to the countries of Roh and Koh Suleiman, have remained quite unknown and unnoticed. This may be accounted for as follows. First, the Afghans were, ever since the time that Musa (Moses), the interpreter of God, vanquished Pharao, and ever since the Coptes, in Bokhtnasser's time, were expelled and exterminated, Jerusalem sacked, and the Israelites carried into captivity, continually living amongst mountains and in deserts, without any science gaining ground among them, except Islamism, through which the Almighty raised Derveeshes of

exalted dignity and holy conduct; who having strenuously exerted themselves on the field of, "Fight for the religion of God," returned from the minor combat to a greater one, namely, to the combat against their passions, which they eradicated with the sword of abstinence and resistance, as will be related in the Third Book. Secondly, from the time of King Talut, to whom their pedigree descends, to the epoch of Khaled ben Valeed's conversion, who was one of the Prophet's most celebrated Companions; (by whose dextrous conduct, under the first Khalifs, whom God bless! most of the countries of Room, Irak, Arabia and Azerbijan, were subjected to Mohammedan sway, and, by his excellent management, blessed with the true faith;) and from whom, next to Talut, the genealogy of the Afghans is deduced, according to several Historians, as will be soon related in the history of Talut and Khaled—to as late as the time of Sultan Behlol Lodi's accession to the throne, no one amongst them having raised himself to sovereignty and become a monarch: the history of this exalted nation has not been written by any Historian of the time, such-like compositions prospering only under mighty sovereigns. Hence it is, that, in this last period, the exploits of Sultan Behlol Lodi were recorded by Khuaja Nizam Uddeen Ahmed, in the Tareekh Nizami; by Sheikh Abbas Servani, in the Tareekh Sheer Shah; by Moulana Mushstaki, in his History; and by Moulana Mahmood ben Ibrahim Kalvani, in his History, which he has dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim, and entitled Tareekh Ibrahim Shahi; none of whom, however, had sufficiently and satisfactorily traced the pedigree of the nation in question, to exhibit it in perfect clearness. When, therefore, the humble writer of these pages, Khuaja Neamet Ullah Habeeb Ullah of Herat, in the year 1018 of the Hejra, under the reign of Noor Uddeen Mohammed Jehangheer Ghazi, and at the command of Nuwab Khanjehan Lodi, who, by an ordinance of this all-protecting Padishah, was honoured and invested with the title Ferzend (Son), and whose dignified company was courted by all distinguished persons; supported by the amiable kindness and consummate erudition of Hybet Khan Kaker ben Selim Khan of Samana, one of Khanjehan's attendants, who collected and arranged the scattered and confused genealogy of the Afghans; undertook to write their history in accordance with the labours and researches of the said Hybet Khan, from the beginning of their pedigree, going as far back as Yacoob their grandfather, and to elucidate as fully and clearly as possible the events during the reign of Talut up to the time of Abd Ulrasheed, distinguished by the title Pat'han; and made selections from authentic Histories, as the Tareekh Tabari, Mujmul Ansab, Gozaida Jehankushai, the Mutli Ulanvar, and

Maaden Akhbar Ahmedi (the Mine of Ahmedian Records), which was compiled in 1020 by the eloquent Ahmed Khan ben Behbel Khan Kumbooh, and made a repository of history (and is, in fact, of unparalleled value); he gave to this work the title Makhzen Afghani; and divided it into three Chapters, three Books, and a Conclusion.

CHAP. I.—The History of Yacoob Israel, to which prophet this people trace their origin.

CHAP. II.—The History of King Talut; and of the transmigration of the Afghans to the mountainous country of Ghor, and from thence to Koh Suleiman and Roh.

CHAP. III.—The History of Khaled ben Valeed, till the end of the Khelafat of Omar, the Prince of the Faithful.

FIRST BOOK.—The History of Sultan Behlol, Sultan Sekunder Lodi, and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

SECOND BOOK.—The History of Sheer Shah, Islam Shah Soor, and several other Afghans.

THIRD BOOK.—Memoirs of Derveeshes amongst this people, whose purity and holiness advanced them to eminent stations.

CONCLUSION.—Account of the Afghan Tribes descended from Serbun, Bateni, and Ghurghusht, the sons of Abd Ulrasheed Pat'han.

## CHAPTER I.

*The History of Yacoob Israel, to whom the genealogy of this people descends.*

It is well known to the intelligent, that when the Almighty had produced Adam from the vacuum of non-existence to the area of life, and invested him with prophetic dignity and adorned him with the signet, "We certainly have honoured the children of Adam," assigned him Paradise as his residence: after which He created Eve from his left side, and gave her to him as his consort and companion. The father of mankind had resided in Paradise for the space of two hundred years, until the third hour in the afternoon of a Friday, according to several Historians; (one day being at that time equal to one thousand years with us;) when the Divine Wisdom, determining to create mankind from him—which however being impossible in the habitation he then occupied—despatched the Devil to him; who, with the co-operation of the serpent and the peacock, conveying himself into the garden, and enticing Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit, made him forfeit that delightful habitation. For, according to the command, "And he went out with his consort," he was expelled from it, and transported to the terrestrial world; he himself alighting in Serendib, Eve in Jiddah, the Devil in Nisibis, the serpent in Ispahan, and the peacock in Hindustan. He wandered about in the mountains and deserts for the space of three hundred years, repenting of his transgressions, entirely devoted to supplication and bewailing, and so overwhelmed with shame for God, as not to lift up his head towards heaven. The Almighty being at length induced to forgive him, taught him to pronounce the prayer of mercy, and to take Mohammed as his intercessor. Adam, therefore, according to the words, "Adam has received the prayers from his Lord," renewed his supplications and assurances of repentance, and applied for the intercession of the First of the creatures; upon which, God pardoned him. While walking about one day, he unexpectedly perceived Eve on Mount Arafat, which, from the knowledge they both obtained there, was denominated Mount Arafat (Mount of Knowledge); and, after jointly returning thanks to God, they proceeded to the place called Muzdelifat, where they cohabited together. Eve soon after became pregnant, and from this period date the successive generations.

The time having approached that the prophetical light, which the Creator had deposited in the forehead of Adam, and which fulminated like lightning, should be transferred, Adam was one day walking about in a delightful spot, when the

angel Gabriel made his appearance, carrying with him a stream of living water running upon the ground, and presented a plateful of fruits, saying: "Oh father of Mohammed, blessings be upon thee! take these fruits, and, having purified thyself by entering into this water, embrace Eve; for to-day the light of the Seal of the prophets is destined for transmission." Adam acting in conformity with these divine instructions, Eve, between whose breast a light shone like the sun, became pregnant with Shesh; but was, in the sequel, for the period of a thousand years, which God permitted Adam to live, always delivered of twins of both sexes, giving birth to forty children—nineteen of the female, and twenty-one of the male sex; or, according to others, twenty-one sons, and quite as many daughters. Thus, when Adam's life was drawing to a close, his children and progeny amounted to forty thousand persons, all of whom were devoted to Islamism. When his end approached, he appointed Shesh his successor; but at the same time made him plight his faith that he would not confide this light to any but pious females, and that every subsequent generation should be obliged to observe the same injunction. Soon after, he departed to the clemency of God; and Shesh, taking charge of his burial, deposited him on Mount Jiddah. Upon which, the Almighty conferred the dignity of a Prophet upon Shesh; granting him, at the same time, a life of nine hundred and twenty years. Many children were born to him; but the prophetical light appeared on Anush's forehead, in whose time men began to worship idols. He lived seven hundred and fifty years; and had born from his wife Saroogh, Mahaliel, to whom the light passed over from his father. Mahaliel had a son called Yezd, who was the founder of a town named after him, and father of Idris, who preserved the prophetical light, and was sent in the capacity of a legate to all mankind. Idris' life amounted to six hundred and sixty years. He had a son called Methusalah, who lived seven hundred years, and had a son, Melik, whose life-time amounted to seven hundred and seventy years. This Melik married a wife, Kious by name, by whom he begot Noah. The whole period, from Idris' time to that of Noah, comprising a space of one thousand nine hundred years, was a series of disorder, and the people were addicted to idolatry and infidelity; on which account God sent Noah unto them, to summon them to Islamism; but they, in spite of his exertions during nine hundred and fifty years, with the exception of only seventy, or, according to others, seven persons, rejected it. He himself had, from a pagan wife, three sons born to him, Ham, Japheth, and Kanaan; and from another wife, Sam, the father of the prophets, was born. When he, at length, had abandoned all hopes of introducing Islamism, he pronounced

upon the people the imprecation, "O Lord, do not leave upon the earth any habitation of the infidels!" and God accordingly sent the deluge, from the inundation of which only seven were saved; namely, Noah, Sam, Ham, Japheth, and their three wives. From these seven sprung a new generation; which being exclusively descended from Noah, he (Noah) was called the second Adam. From him the above-mentioned light passed over to Sam, who was the father of Arfakhshad, whose son was Saleh, the father of Ghaber, whom they likewise call the Prophet Hud. The son of Hud was Sarugh, whose son was Nakhur; whose son was Tarukh; and whose son was Ibrahim, the beloved of God. As the history of Adam and Sheshis fully recorded in historical and biographical works, we will dwell upon it no longer, but, with the divine assistance, proceed to give a full account of Isaak and Yacoob, to whom the genealogy of the Afghans ascends.

Those who have compiled histories, preserved traditions, and committed the transactions of ancient times to the rose-garden of composition, relate as follows.

When God the Almighty, in accordance with His unlimited power, and the command, "O fire, be thou cold, and a preservation unto Ibrahim!" had suffered His beloved to be thrown into the fire, but preserved him unhurt from that destructive element; while Nimrod witnessed this miracle from a terrace of his palace with his whole family, God resolved on imparting the blessing of Islamism to Sarah, a daughter of Nimrod, and removed from her eyes the veil of infidelity and idolatry, by which she was enabled to behold Ibrahim, amusing himself in a rose-garden with roses, odoriferous flowers, and wells of living water, and engaged in the adoration of the Lord of the Universe. She then turned to her father, asking whether or not he saw what she did; and on Nimrod's asking what it was, she replied, that Ibrahim's God must be powerful and great, preserving him unhurt in his perilous situation, and changing the glowing coals into roses and odoriferous flowers. At this Nimrod became enraged, and, with a view to frighten her, remarked, that she herself, pronouncing the praise of his God, appeared to be inclined to Ibrahim's creed. But she replied, that Ibrahim had so great and powerful a God, that He had even saved him from this destructive situation. Nimrod now bade her go to Ibrahim, as he would give her to him; at the same time ordering one of his attendants to conduct her to Ibrahim, who had not yet been released from the fire, when she approached him. She was the first who, being called on by him after his escape from destruction, embraced Islamism; and Ibrahim, at Nimrod's command, married

her. Other Historians however record, that she was a daughter of an uncle of Ibrahim, and was given him in marriage after the occurrence just related.

Ibrahim, being expelled by Nimrod from his country, went, in obedience to divine instruction, to Sham. From Sarah he had born one son, called Isaak, who, on arriving at the age of discretion, took an Amalekite wife in marriage, with whom he begot twins of the male sex: the one he called Isa, the other Yacoob. He was also, after Ibrahim's death, invested with the prophetical dignity, and during his life-time directed the people in the right way. When his age was greatly advanced, he named Isa his successor; to whom the Almighty, in consequence, assigned the supremacy, and bestowed upon him felicity and prosperity, in the enjoyment of which he resided a good while in Arabia; but, owing to the hot climate and the scarcity of water, he abandoned the seat of his ancestors, and subsequently moved further to Sham and Room, where he found both the water and air so salubrious, that he there fixed his abode. He was blessed with sons, who became the founders of towns. The eldest and most distinguished of them, called Room, being of a yellow complexion, the Roomans proved to be of the same colour. It is related by some, that also Kanaan and Medain were populated by the sons of Isa.

Yacoob was not only younger than Isa, but had no share in the property and worldly emoluments; his brother having taken possession of the whole, and thus become so rich, that people always had recourse to him. For although, after Isaak's demise, Yacoob insisted on having his share in the property, that he might be enabled to devote himself entirely to the divine service, yet Isa could by no means be prevailed upon to part with any thing whatsoever. This disregard on the part of his brother determined Yacoob to abandon him, as well as his mother. When he accordingly came to her, to ask leave to depart, she advised him to repair to his uncle Laban in Sham, an exceedingly rich man, and father of two daughters; and to demand one of them in marriage. Having thus obtained leave, he set out secretly by night; for which reason he was surnamed Israel, that is to say, Night-runner. Upon his arrival in Sham, he presented himself to his uncle, who was highly pleased with the visit of his nephew. Yacoob then told Laban one day the advice of his mother to ask a daughter of his in marriage; upon which Laban replied, that he would give his consent, upon condition that, for the space of seven years, he would take charge of his herds; with which Yacoob complied. But Laban had two daughters, the one called Lea, the other Rahil; and when Yacoob one day remarked, that he had asked Rahil but not Lea, Laban replied, that it was not at

all becoming to have the elder daughter in the house, and to give the younger in marriage to a husband; but that, if he would apply for the elder also, he had no objection to comply with it, provided he would continue pasturing his herds seven years more. Yacoob accepted this offer; and married both sisters, according to the agreement.

When the intelligence of Yacoob's departure was brought to Isa, he seriously repented of the disregard he had evinced towards his brother, and felt compunction at the separation: he was unhappy, and incessantly addressed letters to him, inviting him to return. This determined Yacoob, seeing the solicitations were sincere and hearty, to comply with his wishes; and therefore, taking his whole family with him, he set out towards that quarter. On approaching the territories of his brother, he directed his people to reply to every one, who might inquire who they were, where they came from, and whither they were going, that they belonged to Yacoob, a servant of Isa. It so happened, that on the very day when Yacoob had the intention to enter the town, Isa went out a hunting; but perceiving travellers apparently coming from a great distance with a flock of sheep, he spurred his horse towards them, inquiring who they were, and for what they came; upon which, Yacoob's servants replied, they were in the service of Yacoob, Isa's servant, who had just arrived from Kanaan, to present himself before him: but Isa, upon whose mind his brother's departure had long since preyed, alighted from his horse on hearing his name, and calling Yacoob, who at this very moment came in sight of him, his Eye-Light, closed him in his arms, and caused a convenient mansion to be fitted up for his reception. The next day he divided his whole property into eleven parts; ten of which he settled on his son, and one on Yacoob, who now entirely devoted himself to the adoration of God, and took up his residence in Kanaan: but God, soon after, making him a prophet, sent him to the Rooman country.

The author of the History and the Narrations of the Prophets has the following relation. When Isaak, owing to his advanced age, had become weak of sight, he, being predisposed to Isa while Yacoob was the favourite of his mother, requested Isa one day to dress for him a rich meal of venison; for which he would pronounce upon him his benediction, that God might entrust to him the dignity of a prophet. Isa, in expectation of the paternal blessing, went out a hunting for the intended purpose; but Yacoob's mother knowing that the benediction would be fulfilled, directed her son, in consequence of her predominant affection, to dress, in anticipation of Isa, a fat kid, and to serve it up, that he might have the divine prophet's benediction pronounced upon himself. In

concurrence with this suggestion, he brought a dressed kid before his father, without however betraying himself; and Isaak, greedily taking the whole dish, lifted his hand in a praying attitude, and said, "O God, send this son of mine out in the capacity of a prophet!" when Yacoob stood forward, and kissed his father's foot; who now perceived that his blessing would take effect on Yacoob. In the meanwhile, Isa returned from the chase; and, being apprised of the whole transaction, conceived a hatred against his brother, and exchanged hostility for fraternal affection. Isaak, however, perceiving this hostile disposition towards Yacoob, bade him compose his mind, as he had solicited God to multiply his posterity, and to raise many prophets from amongst his progeny: and, in fact, not only was the whole country filled with his descendants, but God raised four hundred prophets from their number. But Yacoob, after Isaak's decease, could not forbear being apprehensive of Isa; and returned again, with his mother's permission, to Sham. He was blessed with twelve sons, born from two wives and two concubines; the names of whom are as follows: Yehooda, Ruyel, Simeon, Levi, Manun, and Isashar, who were born from his chief consort Lea; further, Yusuf, and Benjamin, sons of Rahil. This latter possessed a servant called Zilfa, whom she presented to Yacoob: she bare Koslan and Dan: another concubine was the mother of Ziad and Shari. At length Yacoob and Isa, who had been born twins, died on one and the same day, being one hundred and forty years old, and were deposited in one tomb. The twelve tribes, who sprung from Yacoob's twelve sons, were called the Children of Israel, from Yacoob's surname Israel, which God had conferred upon him.

The elder of Yacoob's sons, Yehooda, to whom the lineage of the Afghans descends, was adorned, when a youth, with every accomplishment, being distinguished for fortitude and liberality: he divested himself of all attachments, save God, to whose adoration he was entirely devoted, and performed the duties of a prophet. He was blessed with many sons, the eldest of whom he called Saroogh, who, on arriving at the years of discretion, married a daughter of the children of Levi, Yacoob's son, and became his father's successor. A son whom he had born to him he called Khokh; whose son was Mohaleb; whose son was Kali; whose son was Kais; whose son was Sarool, who was distinguished by the name Talut, as will soon be mentioned.

## CHAPTER II.

*History of King Talut—Recovery of the Ark of the Covenant amongst the Israelites—The Genealogy of the Afghans traced back to Talut.*

When the Israelites were established in Jerusalem and Sham, grown in numbers, and in the enjoyment of prosperity, they began to disregard laws and interdictions, gave themselves up to injustice and iniquity, were addicted to dishonesty and corruption, and entirely neglected the veneration of Jerusalem. This induced God, in His divine wrath, to permit Pharao to subdue them, so as to throw them altogether into thraldom. He employed them in his service, and tendered his own religion to them: but although they had suffered his oppressions, yet from the religion of their fathers and forefathers they could not be prevailed upon to swerve; and Pharao, abandoning all hopes with regard to them, now caused such infant children as had not yet any knowledge of Islamism to be brought up with all the kindness possible; after which his religion was tendered to them, which they readily accepted, being quite unacquainted with the creed of their ancestors; and intermixing with the Coptes, were excluded from the people of the twelve tribes. The Israelites, on their part, having borne Pharao's thraldom many years, and suffered much oppression and injury, were daily praying in the temple of Him who disposes of all wants, to rescue them from their oppressors; and the Almighty, looking with mercy upon their distress and misery, delegated Musa, the interpreter of God, to Pharao, who however, in spite of Musa's forty years' summons, did not relinquish his innate ignorance. This induced God to have him, together with a large number of Coptes, drowned in the Red Sea, as it is related in the Scriptures; whilst Musa was confirmed in the supremacy. When the Israelites had acquired sufficient strength, it was suggested to Musa, by revelation, to lead on their army towards Ilia, Ariha, and Belsa, three towns in Palestine, inhabited by infidels and idolaters; and in case they should embrace Islamism, to suffer them to do so; but if they should prove refractory, to put them to death. Musa accordingly assembled the chiefs of his people, and communicated to them the divine will; in obedience to which, the Israelites advanced towards the designed country, to make war upon the Amalekites. On Musa's mustering them, they were divided into twelve divisions; each of them consisting of one hundred and twenty-five thousand valiant horsemen, making up altogether a number of fifteen hundred thousand. Upon their

march, they arrived at a place where there was a scarcity of water, a river in the vicinity being dried up. To this river was Musa directed to repair, and, through the medium of prayers, to cause a well of living water to spring up, upon condition that no one but he himself should touch it; but the Israelites, notwithstanding this injunction had been made known to them, transgressed it: on their arrival at the river, with the exception of only three hundred and thirteen, they dipped their hands into the water, thus arousing the divine wrath against them.

When they approached the Amalekites, they detached twelve of their chiefs, amongst them Yoshua ben Nun, to procure information of the hostile army; but they unexpectedly falling in with Aj ben Anak, he inquired of them the reason of their coming thither; and upon their disclosing their design, he, casting them all into his boot, carried them to his home, where he let them drop out of it; and communicated to his people his intention to kill them, as they had arrived for warlike purposes: these, however, dissuaded him; remarking, that their death would be of no avail; they ought rather to be dismissed, that they, on their arrival at the army, might apprise it of the real state of things. Aj, thereupon, set them at liberty. This man is related to have been three thousand three hundred cubits high; so that, at the time of the Deluge, the water never reached above his breast. He used to go once a year to the desert, there to collect timber; which he carried to the town, and provided every house with as much of it as it consumed throughout a whole year; receiving, in remuneration, a plate of meal from every house, and thus gaining his subsistence. The twelve chiefs, when at liberty, observed to each other, that should the Israelites become aware of the might of Aj, they would grow despondent, and in that state enter the conflict; it would therefore be better to keep it all a secret from them. Some, however, having discovered the truth, the Israelites lost their courage, professing themselves unable to oppose such a man, and requesting Musa to have recourse to God in this emergency. Upon doing which, it was suggested to him that he ought to rise and begin the conflict; the death of Aj being put into his hands. He accordingly prepared for battle; when this untoward man lifted up a portion of a mountain, which is related to have been forty yards high, or, according to others, thirty spears, with a view to throw it at the army led on by Musa. Besides that, he armed himself with a stick of forty yards in length: but Musa, in virtue of his prophetical power, struck his rod so violently at him, that its point sunk into his ankle, and he, involuntarily bursting out in lamentations, fell down on the ground with the mountain fastened to his neck like a necklace, and delivered his soul to the guardians of hell: upon which Musa

ordered his head to be severed from the body, which was executed by five hundred men, having laboured with hatchets and swords during four days. A part of the Amalekites were slain, part wounded, and a part taken prisoners.

Musa, on a divine suggestion, continued his progress towards the three towns. When they entered upon the environs of Ilia, one Bileam, a son of Beor, a religious man amongst that people, whose prayers always took effect, threw imprecations upon the Israelites and the army of Islam; but by this action, his eighty years' adoration was frustrated, and all his doings terminated in infidelity. On the day of resurrection they will put him in the skin of the seven sleepers' dog, and throw him into hell; whereon this animal will be clad in his skin, and enter Paradise. The consequence of his imprecations, however, was, that God kept the Israelites in the desert Tih for forty years; for whenever they moved their camp in the morning, yet, after having travelled all the day long, they found themselves in the evening at the same place. Such calamity had they to sustain for thirty-three years, during which they were supported by manna and quails: and Musa, with his brother Harun, was taken from them by death; after the former had appointed Yoshua, the son of Nun, the son of Ephraheim, the son of Yusuf, the son of Yacoob, to be his successor.

After Musa's death, God entrusted the dignity of a prophet to Yoshua, who also died in the course of the forty years of the distress and calamity which God had inflicted upon the Israelites. When a hundred and seventy years old, he raised Kaleb, the son of Yefunna, the son of Efrahem, the son of Yusuf, to succeed him, and he was consequently invested with the prophetical dignity.

At the expiration of forty years the Israelites returned to Egypt, occupying the houses and habitations of the Coptes, where they themselves had formerly been in captivity and servitude; and rendering the country flourishing, it was not till they had firmly secured their possessions, and established their uncontrolled power, that Kaleb departed life. After him, the prophetical dignity devolved upon Harkeel, a descendant of Yehooda, whom they likewise call Ebn Alajooz, and also Dul-Kafl, because he had pledged himself for seventy prophets, and released them from the bonds of the infidels. In remuneration for this, the Almighty brought to life seventy thousand dead bodies for whose revival he had prayed. This occurrence was briefly as follows.

In that country there was a village called Averd, upon which God inflicted a plague. Most of its inhabitants, from dread, abandoned it; but part of them remained and perished, with the exception of a very few; whilst the former, soon after, returned unhurt: and from this circumstance the inhabitants drew

the inference, that they would also be saved by leaving the place. The next year, when the plague again raged, they all hastened out of it; but when they arrived at the place where they supposed themselves in safety, the Almighty sent two angels, one standing at the lower, and the other at the upper part of the valley; and both of them exclaiming, "Die!" the people fell down dead on the spot. In this emergency, Harkeel applied to God, addressing Him in this way: "My God! I have lived amongst this people, who were continually in the habit of praising Thy name, and affording me all assistance; but Thou hast now taken them away, and left me single and alone." No sooner had he pronounced these words, than it was intimated to him, that their life and death rested in his hand and power; and he, accordingly, calling on them in the name of God to revive, they came to life, and exclaiming, "Praised be our Lord with His due praise! There is no God but God!" returned, in number amounting to seventy thousand, each to his own house, and joined their families. But their complexion was tinged with the hue of death, and every dress they put on presented the appearance of a shroud. Harkeel after that lived a long while amongst them.

It was a long time after Harkeel's death, that God destined Ismuel, the son of Rian, the son of Alcama, the son of Levi, the son of Yacoob, for the prophetical dignity, and sent him unto the Israelites. He is related to have been educated by an aged Sage of the Israelites. During the time of his function, discords arose amongst the Israelites, attended with seditions and perpetrations of the grossest crimes. In punishment of this, God suffered a mighty pagan, called Baan, of Jalut's people, and his followers, who dwelt on the shores of the Rooman Sea, between Egypt and Palestine, and belonged to the nation of the Amalekites, to subjugate the Israelites, so as to occupy their country; and to carry not only four hundred and four of them into captivity, but to capture also the Ark of the Covenant, on which the whole prosperity of the Israelites depended, and which contained the signs of the former Prophets. It was made of box-wood, and had the likenesses of all the Prophets carved upon it. It was three cubits long, and two wide. God had sent it to Adam in Paradise: who, at his demise, gave it to Shesh; in which manner it finally passed to Musa. According to Ebn Abbas, it was a goblet of pure gold, in which the hearts of the Prophets had been purified by ablution: but Mojiahed relates it to have been an image like a cat, with a head and tail; both eyes sparkling with fire; and the forehead made of emerald, so that nobody was able to look at it. Its face resembled the human visage; and whenever a battle was fighting, it roared like thunder, and dispersed the enemies; and the Israelites, when they

heard its noise, could rely on victory. On the day of battle it was always carried before them, and they posted themselves wherever it preceded. Vahab ben Monabba informs us, that it was by divine command that it spoke, and explained anything that was laid before it, however difficult. It contained, according to the same, of Prophetical relics, the two tables of the Tora; the rod of Musa; the tiara, shoes, and rod of Harun; and one peck of manna and quails.

But to return to the history. God delegated Ismuel with the powers of a Prophet unto the Israelites : these, however, rejected his summons, alleging that he, as a mere boy, could not be invested with the pretended dignity ; but that, in case he spoke the truth, he might solicit God, who had sent him, to send also a King for them, that they, under his guidance, might carry on war against Jalut, the Amalekites, and the other nations of the Adites, who were, like them, idolaters, and hereditary enemies of the Israelites : this they would consider as the test of his alleged dignity. From this demand dates the subjection of the Israelites to Kings, whose power and glory consisted in obedience and adoration of God, and obsequiousness to the Prophets : it being so arranged, that the whole army should be under the command of the Kings ; but the civil administration was conducted according to directions given by the Prophets, who maintained the affairs of the state, by the help of divine instruction and the ordinances of the Tora; and were, on account of their uprightness and divine assistance, members of the royal council, without whose permission nothing was transacted.

No sooner had Ismuel, in the temple of the Almighty, uttered the request of the Israelites, than a rod, and a horn filled with anointing oil, appeared ; and a revelation directed him to constitute as King whomsoever he chose, provided he were as tall as the rod. He was moreover directed, that if, on any one entering his house, the oil should begin boiling, to anoint the head of this person with it; observing whether it would form itself into a crown; and in this case to confer the royal dignity upon him. In consequence of this instruction, the tallest of the Israelites presented themselves before Ismuel, but went away again without success: and he continued in expectation of seeing how the divine pleasure would manifest itself, and to whom among them it would entrust the authority in question.

There was a person called Kais, a son of Benjamin, Yacoob's son, or, according to Mestoufy, the author of the Tareekh Kozaida, and Mohammed Isaak Jorair Altabari, a son of Yehooda, Yacoob's son, who, it is said, was oppressed by the utmost indigence; the whole of his inheritance, from his father and uncle,

consisting in four sheep, which he had given in charge to his son, whom they, on account of his tallness, called Talut, his proper name being Sarool. This Talut kept an ass, with which he was in the habit of fetching water from the Nile; by the sale of which he obtained his livelihood.

It so happened one day, that one of his father's servants drove the sheep into the fields, for the purpose of shearing them; when so violent a thunder-storm, attended with abundant rain, came on, that the sheep were frightened at the sight, and two of them went astray. This loss of his father, whose poverty he well knew, afflicted Talut with grief and sorrow, and he began to run about in every direction in quest of them. This pursuit leading him unknowingly to Ismuel's habitation, he bade his servant come in with him to the Prophet, who perhaps would give them information in regard to their lost property. On their entering Ismuel's apartment, the horn at once began to boil; and Ismuel observing two Israelites standing on his right hand, inquired of them who they were: Talut replied, that he himself was Sarool, surnamed Talut, and that the other person was his servant. Ismuel's doubts were now removed; and anointing Talut's head with the oil, it instantly assumed the appearance of a crown, without dropping from its place; upon which, he apprised Talut of God's having entrusted to him the sovereignty over the Israelites. He however objected, on the ground that his own tribe was the weakest of all the tribes, his house despised, and his family the most insignificant of all; whereas royal dignity required grandeur and show, to induce people to submit to its authority: but Ismuel returned, that it was the divine command, and he had no choice in it at all; for, "God does what He pleases, and commands what He likes." Talut, however, observing further, that he must have a proof of the reality of his statement, Ismuel told him, the proof would be, that, on his return home, his father would have recovered the lost sheep. Talut accordingly went home with a heart agitated with expectation, and found that the sheep had actually been retaken.

Ismuel in the meanwhile assembled all the Israelites, and gave them intelligence of the Almighty's having invested Talut with the sovereignty. But this they rejected; urging, that he was not fit for this station, they themselves being by far more worthy of it. It must here be remarked, that there were two privileged tribes amongst the Israelites—the Prophetical, and the Royal; the dignity of Prophets being confined to the tribe descended from Levi, Yacoob's son, of which were Musa, Haroon, Yoshua, and Ismuel; and the Royal, being attached to the tribe descended from Yehooda, Yacoob's son, to which Davud, Suleiman, and all the other kings of the Israelites belonged. But Talut is related to have

been of the tribe of Benjamin, or, according to another tradition, to that of Yehooda; the former of which tribes had, in punishment for their enormous sins, that had drawn the divine wrath upon them, been rased from the register of Kings, and received the name of the sinful tribe, as they, notwithstanding their disqualification for the sovereignty, continued disdaining divine intimations. On this account the Israelites pretended that royal dignity required grandeur; whereas this man, although a relation of their own, being reduced to poverty and indigence, was quite unfit for it: they at the same time strenuously insisted that a person possessed of wealth and splendour, whose commands would be law with all people, should be elected. Ismuel, in spite of all his remonstrances and opposition, did not succeed; and retained Talut in his own house, taking all possible care of his education, and continually threatening the Israelites with the divine vengeance and wrath: the result of which was, that they being at length frightened, their great men all at once repaired to Ismuel, saying, that if it was by divine arrangement, and if he was ordered to carry it into effect, they were now apprehensive of the divine vengeance and wrath, which might induce God, from displeasure and disgust, to inflict punishment upon them; and therefore desired that Talut might, through the medium of his prayers in the temple, restore to them the Ark of the Covenant; after which they would suffer him to rule over them.

Ismuel, being aware by inspiration that all things, however difficult, which Talut might pray for, would be granted, made the Israelites plight their faith upon this occasion to adhere to their promise; and ordered Talut to appear in the temple towards the end of the night, when he himself would be present. Talut accordingly prayed; and the Ark, coming down from the sky, rested on the ground before him and Ismuel; and the latter, seeing the immediate co-operation of the Almighty in Talut's concerns, bowed his head in prayer and thanksgiving. We are told, that when the infidel subjects of Jalut had carried away the Ark from the Israelites, a ravaging plague broke out amongst them; which induced them, considering that the fate of the Israelites, through the blessing of this Ark, was welfare, prosperity, victory, and triumph, whilst they themselves were thereby plunged into distress and calamity, to throw it into a dung-hole, for the execution of which purpose they had previously assembled; but the plague daily increasing, an Israelite woman, that lived amongst them in captivity, informed them, that if they wished to be released from their calamity, they must send the Ark back to the Israelites. The pagans accordingly, on the next day, fastened it to the back of two bulls, which they, by

the infliction of some blows, drove out of their frontier, and left them; but two angels, in conformity with the divine will, to invest Talut with the government, were ordered to carry the animals over to Egypt, and to deliver the Ark to Talut; in consequence of which, they placed it down, opposite to him, at the time he was engaged in prayers. In the morning, Ismuel convened the great men and chiefs of the Israelites, and brought forth the Ark: on which, they, in entire resignation, offered up prayers to the Almighty; and conferring, in obedience to Ismuel, the royal title upon Talut, placed him upon the throne, entirely submitting to his authority, and binding themselves with the girdle of obeisance throughout the whole extent of the twelve tribes that were descended from Yacoob. Great prosperity now reigned amongst the Israelites; and Talut, establishing himself in power and authority, checked the iniquitous hand of oppressors.

After many years had elapsed in this prosperous state, God suggested to Ismuel to inform Talut that he must make war on Jalut's people: upon which the king assembled the chiefs of the empire, and disclosed to them the divine intimation received from Ismuel. The Israelites immediately assembled an army of seventy thousand of the bravest cavalry under his command, without experiencing, on the part of a single individual, the least objection or reluctance: all went, save the old people, the children, and the sick; and Talut entering upon the hostile territory, ordered the pagan temples to be demolished. Jalut, on his side, was at the head of an army of eight hundred thousand horse. They had continued skirmishing during eleven days, retreating by night into their entrenchments, when one night Jalut sent to Talut the following proposals: "How long shall we sacrifice human life, by carrying on war in this way? Come out in the morning, that we may meet in single combat; on condition, that if thou shouldst kill me, my whole possessions belong to thee; but in case I should take thy life, thy kingdom become mine: shouldst thou, however, not like to stand forward in person, send another one to fight me." This proposition Talut disclosed to Ismuel; who being perplexed by it, was informed, by divine intimation, that there was a person amongst the Israelites, a father of twelve sons, the youngest of whom, called Davud, was destined to put Jalut to death; in remuneration of which, Talut should be obliged to make him his son-in-law, and to resign to him part of the monarchy. Ismuel, extremely rejoiced at this agreeable intelligence, began to enter upon a diligent search, and succeeded in finding him. On his standing forward with his twelve sons, the Prophet asked which was Davud, in

whose hand God had placed Jalut's death; and being pointed out to him, he seized his hand, put it into Talut's, and at the same time mentioned the partition of the power about to be made: after which, Davud, with his father and brothers, repaired to their home, agitated with apprehension and hope. On their arrival, however, they cheered their spirits, convinced that Ismuel's command would be in entire conformity with the divine will; and in the same night Davud heard a voice saying, "Davud, Jalut is to be killed by thee with the stone of a sling: take, therefore, these three stones, and preserve them," which he did accordingly. The next day Jalut proceeded to the field of combat, clad in complete armour, with a helmet upon his head, and seated upon a Mankulusian elephant; and Talut, after having furnished Davud likewise with a complete armour, sent him forth to meet his opponent. Having first pronounced the name of the All-powerful God, he put a stone into his sling; and taking aim at Jalut, lodged it in his forehead: the second stone struck him behind the ear, and the third he directed against the forehead of the elephant; and both Jalut and the animal fell down on the ground, and the former delivered his soul to the guardians of hell. At this very moment Talut ordered a general attack upon the hostile army, who were either slain or taken prisoners; and such a quantity of effects, jewels, and cattle fell into the hands of the army of the faithful, that it baffles all description. Davud seating himself upon Jalut's throne, rode back to his camp in triumph and glory, and the whole hostile kingdom was subjugated to the true believers.

King Talut, in fulfilment of the command of God and the Prophet, gave Davud his daughter in marriage; and not only allowed him a share in his reign, but also entrusted to him the uncontrolled administration of the most important affairs, and settled on him Jalut's kingdom. Davud, on his side, pursued such an excellent conduct, that all the Israelites were delighted with him; and in acknowledgment of their grateful feelings, not only lavished high praises upon him, but flocked in vast numbers to place themselves under his protection. This, however, displeased Talut to such a degree, that he contrived to make away with him, that he himself might hold the sovereignty without a partner, and waited anxiously for an opportunity to execute his design: but Davud, who to his great surprise received information of the royal hatred through a relation of Talut's, by name Dulaeen, who himself bore a grudge against him, shunned the company of the king. The latter called one day at Davud's house, inquiring of his consort the situation of his bed-room; and having carefully examined it, went away again. When Davud came home,

his wife disclosed to him all about the king's calling, and his having viewed the sleeping apartment: he then placed a bag filled with water upon the blanket, in order to make Talut believe that he was resting there, whilst he kept himself secreted in a corner. Night had scarcely set in, when Talut conveyed himself to the apartment, and began to aim many blows at the bed; but on water running out of the bag, he perceived that Davud had been aware of his intention, and would now in his turn reciprocate the animosity. But Davud contented himself with stealing one night into Talut's apartments, and, beholding him fast asleep, he drew four arrows out of his quiver, which he put up in the four corners of the room; and taking the king's sword and dagger, withdrew again. In the morning, when the king observed what had been done, he became so enraged against his guard and porters, that he ordered twenty-two of them to be executed; and redoubled his precaution and vigilance. But in defiance of this, Davud re-entered his bed-room the night following; God inflicting such a drowsiness on the guard, that they were utterly incapable of keeping themselves awake. Davud, finding the king again asleep, with an unsheathed sword lying at his side, he took it away, placing his own in its room; and having laid a letter upon the cushion, retired.

When the king awoke, he perceived all that had taken place, and took up the letter, in which he read as follows: "Talut, fear God, who is omniscient; and do not imbrue thy hand in my innocent blood: had I been desirous to take thy life, I could have executed it but for the recollection of the former obligations I owe to thee: refrain from such abominable actions." The perusal of this letter put Talut in a still greater rage; and he contrived all means to have Davud killed, as he was very prone to spill blood.

It was much about this time that the Prophet Ismuel joined the presence of God: and Talut adopted such an iniquitous behaviour towards the Israelites, that for any trespass, however slight, that a person committed, he cast his whole clan into servitude. The consequence was, that his most faithful adherents deserted him; and the impoverished people, seeking relief in emigration, moved to other quarters. Within a short period, he had thirty thousand Israelites and other people deprived of life; but still continued, with equal fury, to shed blood, and rob men of their property and possessions. Davud himself was constrained to keep away from his company, and to live in complete retirement. The Almighty had entirely changed Talut's appearance and conduct, and the people called him a blood-thirsty tyrant.

It happened, one day, that Talut went on a hunting party; and beholding

a woman sitting upon a grave, in contrition and ejaculating lamentations and wails, he bent his steps towards her, to inquire after the reason of her affliction. The woman replied, that she had been married to a husband who, while alive, had been in the habit of going every day into the desert and fetching game, for which he was now subject to various torments; that beholding him every night, while asleep, in such pain, she had once asked him the cause of his distressing situatiou, and received the answer, that it was owing to his former occupation of huuting animals. This intense lamentation, she continued, had roused her from sleep, and induced her to repair to a woman in the town, whose prayers were always fulfilled, beseeching her to pray for her husband; by which means it was likely he would be released from his tormenting situation: and the pious woman having complied with her request, she, in the hope that these prayers would be granted, had come to the grave, and with the utmost contrition attested the truth of tho prayers, and thus burst out into tears. As the time was at hand when Talut should return and perform repentance, the speech of this woman found its way to his heart. His appearance and primitive disposition returned; he burst out into vehement lamentations; and being aroused from the sleep of negligence, and sensible of his former guilty conduct, he said to himself, "Woe! woe! This man, who was practising the allowed avocation of hunting, has been brought to an account, and beeu made subject to torments and the divine wrath: how will my affairs, who have killed thirty thousand innocent human beings, terminate?" He then laid hold of the woman, requesting her to lead him to this pious female, in order that she might point out to him the means of salvation, and guide him to the right way. The woman, who had recognised him to be Talut himself, being apprehensive of his violence and tyranny, accordingly conducted him to the habitation of the anchoret, and announced to her Talut's arrival and anxious request to meet her; upon which she admitted him. Talut, after the salutation, laying hold of her garment, requested her to pray in his behalf, and point out to him the way of salvation. Upon this she replied, that she knew the tomb of a prophet, to which she had recourse whenever any complicated matter occurred, sitting down upon it, and taking in answer whatever happened to come forth; and to this spot she was ready to conduct him also: at the same time stepping forward, and Talut following her, until they arrived at Ismuel's tomb. Here she told him that he might ask whatever he pleased, it being Ismuel's tomb: but Talut, overwhelmed with shame, burst forth into lamentations and wails, and professed himself to be incapable of breathing in the face

of that tomb: after which the woman began to exclaim, "Divine Prophet! behold, Talut is present to pay homage to thee; and, feeling compunction for his works and actions, is desirous to perform penance. In the name of God, become alive, and show him the way!" The tomb now burst asunder, at the divine command; and Ismuel appearing with a face besmeared with mud, and ascending from the ground, exclaimed, "What is the matter? Is the day of resurrection coming on?" But the woman replying, that Talut, being converted from his violence and tyranny, had come to pay him homage, he went on to say, "O Talut! what actions have been committed by thee! actions that have caused earth and heaven to lament, and the ears of the angels to grow dull with the wails uttered on thy account! Recollect the day that thou, in search of the sheep, camest to my house, and what pains I then took to induce the Israelites to admit thee to the sovereignty. But thou hast forgotten thy former state of poverty and destitution, and stretched out thine iniquitous hand against all the servants of God; so much so, that thou wert not afraid to put thirty thousand of them to death. The complaints of thy violence have reached the celestial empire, and commotion pervaded the spheres; nay, thou hast even contrived to take the life of Davud, thy son-in-law; who destroyed the infidel Jalut; who is the chosen of God, and will soon be invested with the prophetical dignity. Thou hast dispersed all the Israelites. O Talut! return, and offer repentance for thy detestable crimes before God, besides whom there is no one adored, and who is violent and severe: repent, for the Almighty accepts of repentance." Talut, on hearing this, drew up sighs from his inmost soul, and besought the Prophet to point out to him the means by which he might be saved. To which Ismuel replied as follows: "Talut, notwithstanding the heavy sins committed by thee, thy repentance will be accepted, and thou wilt arrive at the seat of salvation, after having resigned thy kingdom to Davud, and marched out, together with thy ten sons, to die as martyrs in combat against the infidels; for there is no other means but martyrdom to ensure safety to thee." This speech being finished, Ismuel re-entered the tomb: and Talut, returning to his house, assembled the Israelites, and told them that Ismuel had informed him that his own happiness could be obtained only by dying as a martyr: they ought therefore to search after Davud, wherever he might be; as he was ready to resign all his power to him, and then to depart himself for the purpose of dying in battle with the infidels. Davud was accordingly searched after, and conducted before Talut; who, having placed him on his throne, was engaged in administering justice to such oppressed persons as he had apprehended during the period of his

violence and injustice; and in discharging, as far as possible, from his own head, the claims of such persons as had been injured: in this he proceeded so far, that noone could step forward and prove any pretensions or claims on him. He lastly disclosed to Davud, that two of his wives, both descended of the progeny of Levi, Yacoob's son, were pregnant; about whom he had been told by Ismuel, it was the divine destination to let two manly boys be born from them, whose posterity was to be registered in the Book of Time till the day of resurrection, and would prove to be upright, temperate, possessed of dominion, authority, and bravery; whilst their tribes again would transcend, in number and multitude, the nations of the earth. This done, he invaded the frontier of the infidels, and, after an unrelenting struggle of forty days, swallowed, together with his ten sons, the draught of martyrdom; being thus released from eternal punishment, and partaking of everlasting happiness.

Davud treated the two afflicted widows with the utmost kindness; and Heaven blessed them each with an accomplished son, born at the same hour; of whom the one was called Berkhia; the other, Ermia. When they had arrived at the age of puberty, he appointed a person to instruct them in the most proper manners, and entrusted to each of them the government of a tribe of Israelites: so that they, by divine favour and Davud's patronage promoted to a state of high prosperity, bore on the arena the ball of bravery and fortitude; and every army they led on was, by their able conduct, visited by the breeze of victory and triumph.

Such proofs of superiority and bravery induced Davud to commit the superintendence over the civil affairs to Berkhia, and to settle the administration of the military department on Ermia; and by their prudent conduct, universal welfare reigned from tribe to tribe, and cultivation and population of towns and villages increased in a twofold degree.

Each of them was blessed with an accomplished son. Berkhia called his Asif: Ermia's son was called Afghana: upon which occasion they arranged splendid festivals; and subsequently paid all possible attention to their education. When they were come to years of discretion, their fathers died: but Davud supplied the room of a father towards their sons, until he also joined the clemency of the Almighty, after a reign of one hundred and twenty years and some days; whereas that of Talut amounted only to forty-seven years.

## CONCISE HISTORY OF SULEIMAN.

After Davud's demise, Suleiman, in concurrence with the divine command and the consent of the Israelites, mounted the throne of royalty and prophecy, and delighted his subjects with his justice and equity. The administration of the civil affairs he assigned to Asif, who highly distinguished himself in filling the duties of the Vezirat; and the chief command over the army to Afghana, who had gained the affection of all people by his vigilance and military abilities. As Davud had already laid the foundation of a temple at Jerusalem in obedience to divine instructions, Suleiman, being anxious to have the work finished and the mosque Alaksa completed, assigned to Afghana, who was particularly fitted for the task of superintending and carrying orders into execution, eighty thousand porters, janitors, and assistants, to take care of the completion of the edifice: for not only the rumour of Asif's integrity had, within a short period, spread over the seven climates, but the fame of Afghana's administration had extended to demons and men; and Suleiman never undertook anything without their advice and co-operation, so that the unlimited management of the state concerns rested in their hands.

The erection of the mosque was, after a space of forty years, nearly completed; and they pushed on the work resolutely, making every cupola tower to the sphere of Capella, and hanging up one hundred and seventy lamps in the temple. Thus was this structure brought to completion, through the care and labour of Afghana. But, to be short, God blessed Asif with eighteen, and Afghana with forty sons; whose posterity, but more particularly that of the latter, continued increasing in such a degree, that no tribe of the Israelites equalled them.

At the time Suleiman's life was verging to a close, he happened one day to deliver a sermon in the pulpit; when the Angel of Death stood forth, and, after saluting him on the part of the All-Nourisher, told him that he, in obedience to the divine decree, had come to bear his soul to heaven. On this, Suleiman asked for permission to return to his home, and take leave of Balkees: but being answered by the angel that this was contrary to his instructions, he further demanded so much delay as to resign his dominion to Asif and Afghana. But Azrael questioned him what he had to interfere in the realm of God, who knew his affairs best. Suleiman, however, further insisting on being spared so long as was required to perform two prayers, the angel replied, that he was

not empowered to grant it; and at the same time approaching him, and putting the two forefingers upon his eyes, took away his soul: all which was done while Suleiman was in the act of preaching, in which attitude he continued standing throughout a whole year, being supported by his staff. This had been so arranged, in order that demons and men might be led to imagine that he was engaged in devotion, and continue submitting to his authority, to the end that the mosque might be completed. In the meantime, Afghana persisted, with equal zeal, in directing the affairs of the army, and in advancing the completion of the work, till he at length succeeded; and through Asif's skilful administration, there occurred no disturbance or disorder for the space of a year.

When the demons became aware of the real state of things, they put a timber-sow at Suleiman's staff; and the body, owing to the gnawing of the animal, falling down upon the ground, the rumour of his death spread all over the world. The duration of his reign was ninety-five, or, according to others, eighty years.

Asif and Afghana continued to conduct the administration of both the military and civil affairs at Jerusalem, and to exercise an absolute authority over the Israelites, until they at length took leave of life; but their posterity and tribes, whose further history shall soon be circumstantially related, remained living in that quarter.

After this, God permitted Bokhtnasser to subjugate the territories of Sham, to rase Jerusalem, and vanquish the Israelites, so as to carry their families into captivity and slavery, and drive all those who had faith in the Tora into exile; amongst whom were Azeez and Daniel. Bokhtnasser thereon required of them, that they should worship him as a god, and relinquish their own creed: but perceiving how resolutely they adhered to the Mosaic faith, he ordered twelve of them, who were the wisest and bravest, for execution; sparing however the life both of Azeez and Daniel, in consideration of a dream they had interpreted to him, the meaning of which had dropt from his memory, in consequence of his great consternation. He reduced the whole of Sham to his subjection; carrying away the Israelites, whom he settled in the mountainous districts of Ghor, Ghazneen, Kabul, Candahar, Koh Firozeh, and the parts lying within the fifth and sixth climates; where they, especially those descended of Asif and Afghana, fixed their habitations, continually increasing in number, and incessantly making war on the infidels around them, most of whom they put to death, and maintained dominion over the mountainous regions, up to the time of Sultan Mahmood Ghazi, and Shehab Uddeen Ghori.

## CHAPTER III.

*History of Khaled ben Valeed—His Conversion to the Islam—Expeditions into Egypt, Haleb, Sham, and the Arabian Irak; till the end of the Khalifat of the Prince of the Faithful, Omar Farook.*

When Bokhtnasser had expelled from Sham the Israelites, and the posterity of Asif and Afghana, who in numbers exceeded all other people, part of them sought shelter in Arabia. There they remarked to each other, that being prohibited from visiting the temple built by Davud and Suleiman, and necessitated to part with this blessing, they ought at least not to neglect venerating the temple founded by Ibrahim, and destined for the birth-place of the last of the Prophets; in order that, though they themselves could not enjoy his company, the blessing of paying him homage might devolve on their sons and tribes. With this view, therefore, they took up their residence in the vicinity of Mecca; the Arabs calling them Israelites, as well as children of Afghana: until at length, after a period of one thousand five hundred years having elapsed since Suleiman's time, the sun of Mohammed's beauty, upon whom be peace! arose, and illumined the dark world by the directing light of Islamism; and all the nobles of the Arabs, resorting to this majesty, received the blessing of the Islam, a small number only of stubborn people preferring to hate and oppose it.

It happened in the commencement of the Prophet's appearance, that Valeed ben Otba ben Akrama, of the tribe of the Afghans, died: the author of the Mujmul Ansab, and the greater number of biographers, however, report him to have been a Koraish, since Abdol Shams, who possessed immense power and a vast number of adherents, was his maternal grandfather, on which account they trace his origin to the Koraish; but he was, in fact, an Israelite. He left two sons his heirs: the one called Khaled; the other, Valeed ben Alvaleed, because he bore a strong resemblance to his father. He eclipsed all his contemporaries and the Arabs in fortitude and liberality; and was sincerely attached to the Koraish Chiefs, as Abu Jahal, Abu Sofyan, Abu Lahab, and others.

When the Chief of all mankind arose in prophetical dignity, the Arabian Chiefs assumed a hostile and warlike attitude, as is related in the Rouzat Alahbab; and he flying, upon divine suggestion, from Mecca, honoured Medina with his presence.

It was much about this time that Abu Sofyan set an army of Arabs on

foot, in which Khaled ben Alvaleed was the commanding officer. They took the field on the day of Ohod, and combatted the Prophet; whose army was not only suffered by Heaven to be beaten, as it had engaged without the special order of its leader, but Emir Hamzah, and four teeth of the holy legate, acquired martyrdom. The cause of this disaster was mainly owing to Khaled's fighting on the side of the infidels; but in the eighth year of the Hejrah, he came, together with three Arabian Chiefs, to Medina, to embrace Islamism; of which occurrence we shall give a brief account, as follows.

The cause of the Islam excited one day a strong desire in Khaled's heart, but especially on that day when the Prophet was performing the prayer against fear (Namaz Khouf) in Medina, at a place called Ghassan. But Khaled reports this himself, as follows: "I contrived all means to lay violent hands on the Prophet, but was quite incapable to effect this design; a circumstance that led me to the conviction that God was his protector, and that he soon would overcome us, and the Koraish lose their whole power and strength. When peace had been restored between them and the Prophet, I was well aware that I could not take refuge with the Abyssinian monarch, Najāshi, he being attached to Mohammed; and that if I repaired to Heraclius, the Emperor of Room and Sham, this prince would tender to me either the Jewish or Christian religion, one of which I would be under the necessity of embracing, although quite averse to them both. I was thus in a state of suspense; and on the Prophet's performing the pilgrimage, I left Mecca. When he had finished the ceremony, he inquired of my brother, who had previously turned Mussulman, where Khaled was; which induced my brother to send me a letter to the following effect: 'Dear Brother, I am greatly astonished at thy not yet having embraced the faith of Islamism: and when the Prophet inquired of me, Where is Kaled? I answered, God perhaps may bring him hither: on which the divine Prophet observed: 'Khaled is not of that race, that the truth of the Islam should remain concealed from him: if he should become a Moslem, and exert his bravery, in conjunction with the Mussulmans, against the infidels and idolaters, he would fare much better; and I myself would receive him before any other.' Make haste therefore, dear Brother, to partake of this happiness and blessing; for thou hast already lost much good, from not knowing the value of the Islam.' On this letter being handed over to me, and perused, I felt great compunction at my former life; my inclination to the Islam grew stronger, and the idea of meeting the Prophet pervaded me with joy: in consequence of which I set out for Mecca; and having there arranged the travelling concerns, I proceeded to Medina, accompanied

by a friend of mine, Abdosselam Abdari. On our arrival at a place called Medeh, we met with Amru Ass, who himself came to Medina for the sake of Islamism, and with him I entered the town. When the Prophet was informed of my arrival, he said to his Companions, 'Truly, Mecca has yielded her best treasures to us.'"—Khaled proceeds: "As soon as I had divested myself of my travelling apparel, and put on clean clothes, I went to present myself before the Prophet. Upon the way thither, I fell in with my brother, who exhorted me to hasten, the Prophet being apprised of my arrival, and greatly delighted with it: I consequently accelerated my steps, and waited upon him. On seeing me, he smiled: and I said, 'Peace be upon thee, O divine Prophet:' to which he returned the salutation, and bade me pronounce the necessary words, which I did in the following manner: 'I testify that there is no God but God, and Mohammed the Prophet of God.' He then went on to say: 'Praise be to God, who has guided thee to Islamism. O Khaled, I thought I would make you the first proselyte to Islamism.' I replied, 'O divine Prophet, thou hast witnessed the resistance I have made against God, while residing among the infidels: perform, therefore, thy mediatory prayers on my behalf, in order that the Almighty may forgive me:' but he replied, 'Khaled, Islamism is kohol for all sins.' On which I returned: 'Nevertheless, pray on my behalf:' and he began: 'Almighty Creator, please to forgive Khaled his former sins.'" Khaled continues: "I can confidently assert, that ever since the day I was converted to Islamism, there was no friend whom Mohammed would, in any emergency, prefer to me: nay, he honoured me more than any of his Companions."

Since that time Khaled was a firm adherent of the Prophet; who, in the very year of his conversion, sent him, with Japhar ben Abu Taleb, to Muta. Japhar fell on the first day of the conflict; but Khaled raising in the morning of the next day the standard of the Islam, and drawing up his troops so as to move the right wing to the front and the rear to the left wing, commenced the attack upon the enemy; who being led, by this manœuvre, to believe that reinforcements had arrived to the aid of the Mussulmans, a panic was diffused through their ranks, and, exchanging a firm stand for flight, began to run away; but were pursued by Khaled, and part of them put to the sword, whilst others were led into captivity, and the rest submitted to Islamism. Khaled relates again, as follows: "On this day was my sword dashed to pieces, its hilt only remaining in my hand; notwithstanding which accident, we arrived, with plunder, at Medina in safety; where the Prophet said: 'Khaled is the sword of God. O Creator! grant him Thy assistance.' From this day dates Khaled's surname, 'Sword of God.'

He continued honoured and respected till the time of the Prophet's death; and was after that, in the first year of Abu Beer Zadeek's Khelafat, detached with a force, composed of Israelites, against Talha, who had set up for a prophet; but Khaled, after frequent combats, carried the day, and Talha perished. The booty, together with the intelligence of victory, he sent to Abu Beer, who wrote him back to enter upon a new expedition against Malek ben Nowaira, and accordingly he directed his march against him to Battah. This was the same Nowaira upon whom the Prophet had formerly conferred the government of that province, and the function of gathering the alms; but, after Mohammed's death, he had contracted intimacy with an Arabian apostate, and abandoned Islamism himself. In this regard, the order of the Khalif enjoined Khaled first to point out to him the way to Islamism. On his arrival in the environs of Battah, he divided his forces, in order to ascertain whether the signs of Islamism were to be met with in that quarter, or not: but the two detachments that had been sent out bore contradictory testimony; the one pretending that all were addicted to infidelity; the other, that Islamism was predominant; and in the meanwhile, Malek ben Nowaira, through inadvertency and rebellion, lost his life.

It was at this time, that an Ansar, Abu Kotada, one of the Prophet's Companions, considering it derogatory to him to serve under Khaled's banners, impelled by passion and anger, repaired to Medina, where he brought complaints against Khaled before the Khalif, alleging that he entirely disregarded his advice. The Prince of the Faithful came in person to the council; when Omar took the word, and said, that should it be confirmed that Khaled had drawn the sword against true believers, he ought by all means to be brought to justice: to which the Khalif assented so far, as to remark, that it was incumbent on Khaled to give an account of the affair; but at the same time addressed Omar, cautioning him to take care of his tongue with regard to the accused, as the Prophet himself had distinguished him with the title, "Sword of God;" and he himself was unable to replace that sword into the scabbard, which God Himself had drawn against the infidels. He then sent a message to Khaled, commanding him to quit the army and to come to Medina: and immediately on receiving it, he departed with all possible speed for that town; and having entered the mosque, and being admitted to the Khalif, he laid his excuses and the truth of the whole matter before him. His excuses being accepted, he was allowed to re-enter his services; and was ordered to equip an army, and proceed with it to Yemama, there to join Akrama ben Abu Jahal, Commander-in-chief of the Mohammedan troops, and to annihilate Mosaillema, who laid claims to the dignity of a

prophet. Khaled accordingly set out for Akrama's army, and marched in conjunction with him to Yemama; but, after a short struggle, Mosaillema was assassiuated by the hand of a slave of Abu Sofyan, called Vahashi, the same who had formerly killed Emir Hamzah: on which account he used to boast, that he had iu the time of infidelity advanced to the dignity of a martyr, Hamzah, the most excellent of the Arabs; but killed, in the time of Islamism, Mosaillema, the most abject of all creatures. Akrama and Khaled returned each to their respective armies; but the former soon after proceeded to Medina, whilst Khaled, reinstated at the Khalif's command in his former station, subdued most of the provinces in that quarter to the authority of Islamism.

When the report of these transactions reached the Persian monarch, he detached his commander, Hormuz, with thirty thousand horse and one hundred elephants, to check the further progress of Khaled; who, on his side, upon receiving advices of it, advanced with his army to meet him. Wheu the two armies had come in sight of each other, aud their undaunted warriors prepared for the attack, Khaled rushed in person, like a fierce lion, or frightful dragon, upon the field, anxious to meet an adversary with whom to engage in fight; when an infidel appeared eutering the field at full speed, and hastened to fight him: Khaled, however, with one blow despatched him, and sent him to hell, whither thirty more followed him on the same day, all of them slain by Khaled. Night coming on, both armies returned to their camps. Reuewing the fight on the subsequeut day, Khaled entered the field again in quest of an opponent; but no one venturing to meet him, he ordered a sudden and general onset upon the enemy, and the flame of the conflict raged on both sides: when quite unexpectedly, amidst the heat of the fight, he fell in with Hormuz, who being a famous hero, and challenging him, a fierce struggle ensued; until, at length, Khaled, with the divine assistance, bore down his opponent, and, despatching him with his crocodile-like sword, seized his armour and effects. Amongst them was Hormuz' crown, made of pure gold, worth oue hundred thousand denars. Hormuz being dead, and his army routed, immense plunder fell into the hands of the army of the Faithful: but Khaled ordering all the booty to he put together, took off the fifth part, and sent it, with the intelligeuce of Hormuz' death, to Medina, distributing the remainder in equal parts amongst his soldiers. No sooner had the news of Hormuz' death reached Persia, than a noble Persiau and chief commander, Karen by name, took the field with a numerous and chosen army against Khaled; who, on account of this circumstance, giving the Khalif immediate information of it, solicited reinforcements. Both armies drew near each other iu the neighbourhood of Madar, and rushed ou to battle; in the course of which,

after a desperate resistance, Karen becoming entangled in Khaled's noose, and falling from his horse in consequence, was taken prisoner; and, after the day was carried, he was sent to Medina.

In the thirteenth year of the Hejrah, when the Prince of the Faithful, Abu Beer Zadeek, ordered his armies to enter upon a campaign against the Rooman dominions and the countries adjacent, he appointed four governors; to each of whom he confided a principality of his empire: Amru Ass for Palestine, Abu Obaida for Hems, Zyd ben Abu Sofyan for Damascus, and Sherjebeel ben Hassana for Arden; with the injunction, that, whenever the whole army should be concentrated, Obaida should hold the chief command; but when it was divided, each of the above mentioned should be commander over the troops placed under him.

When Amru Ass had made his entrance into Palestine, and the Rooman Emperor Heraclius received advices of this expedition, he detached his brother Tedrak, at the head of seventy thousand valiant cavalry, to harass the Mohammedans; but Amru Ass sending word of it to the Khalif, solicited reinforcements: upon which, this Prince issued an order to Khaled to leave forces behind to keep the Persians in awe, and to march with all possible expedition with his own army to the aid of Amru Ass. In obedience to which, leaving Mothanna ben Hareth behind at the head of the Irakian army, he marched towards Room; on his route conquering several forts and districts of the infidels: and after taking much plunder, he effected a junction with Abu Obaida. The inhabitants of Bosra, owing to the strength and number of the Mohammedans, entered upon stipulations, and bound themselves to pay tribute; and soon after that, Khaled joined Amru Ass.

In consequence of this conjunction, the Romans abandoned their camp at Ajnadin, a place situate between Ramla and Beit Jabrein; and a bloody conflict ensued in that quarter, between the Greek army, consisting of three hundred and twenty thousand horse, and the Mohammedan, which numbered thirty-six thousand: but when Abu Obaida, with four Emirs, besides Khaled, directed the Mussulmans to make a general attack upon the enemy, the breeze of victory was turned, and triumph, by the divine assistance, at once secured to the Mohammedans; whereas flight pervaded the lines of the infidels, the greater part of whom fell victims to the holy warriors, who themselves suffered a loss of three thousand killed. Rich booty and immense baggage, and horses of Arabian breed, were captured: but from this also, Abu Obaida and Khaled, after having interred the dead and procured medical assistance to the wounded, took the fifth part, distributing the rest according to equity. Amongst it there was a

carpet of Nooshirwan's, wrought of emerald, ruby, pearls, and diamonds, upon which he used to sit at festivals and drink wine: no one was able to ascertain its value. This, together with the fifth part of the spoils and the news of the victory, they sent, through Abdorrahman of Persia, to the Khalif Abu Beer; who, in extreme delight at this victory, ordered the fifth of the booty to be distributed amongst the Companions of the Prophet and the inhabitants of Medina, in order that no one might be in want of worldly necessaries.

Khaled now bent his route towards Damascus, and encamped at a convent, which up to this day is called Khaled's Convent, situated at the distance of a mile from the eastern gate of Damascus. Abu Obaida took up his post at the gate Jabia, and Yazeed ben Abu Sofyan at another; thus investing that town on all sides. But intelligence being brought of twenty thousand Roomans approaching for the relief of Damascus, and being encamped at a place called Marj Ulasfar, Khaled marched against them; and having put them to flight four days before Abu Beer's death, returned, to continue the siege of Damascus. The news of this accident induced Heraclius to take the field in person, at the head of a large army: but Khaled went out to meet him, and both armies came in sight of each other at a place called Yermuk; the Rooman army amounting to more than three hundred thousand horse, but the Mohammedan only to forty thousand. When they formed themselves in order of battle, some one made a remark relative to the immense number of the enemy, and the smallness of their own forces; but Khaled replied, that this observation was anything but well founded, the matter being entirely different from what was asserted; as the strength of an army did not consist in the number of combatants, and that victory depended entirely on the divine assistance. He then ordered the army to recite the Surah Anfal, and proclaimed, that all to whom the honour attached of having been in the company of the divine Prophet should separate themselves from the main body: upon which one thousand horsemen stood forward, whom Khaled placed in the front, supplicating the Prophet, through their blessed presence, for victory and assistance. Amongst them were one hundred devotees and Ansars, who had been present with Mohammed in the engagement at Badr, where he, with complete success, combated the Koraish, the greater part of whose nobles were slain. On this occasion, five thousand angels descended to the field of battle; and three hundred and thirteen of his followers, whom he selected, and whose participation in the conflict he dispensed with, he directed to convey themselves to the temple of the Almighty, there to obtain His assistance, through the medium of prayers and supplications. This circumstance Khaled

kept in view, in arranging matters as he did; considering, that his only reliance and refuge rested on the benignity of God, but noways either on his own bravery and prowess, or the number of his army. In the meanwhile, a messenger arrived from Medina, apprising him of the death of the Khalif Abu Beer: this event, however, filling him with the apprehension, lest, if it should transpire, it might throw consternation among the Mussulmans, and his own exertions prove unavailing, he suggested to the messenger to mention, in the presence of the army, something about an illness of the Khalif; and, upon this person's acting accordingly, he made some further inquiries about the nature of the illness; and, at the same time, was told by the messenger, that the Khalif had detached two thousand men, who were just about to arrive, to reinforce him: this news filled the Mussulmans with strength and joy. Khaled asked him privately upon whom the Khalifat had devolved: and having understood that Omar held it, he let drop the remark that he himself was probably superseded; and being answered in the affirmative, he went on to ascertain to whom the command of the army had been entrusted; and hearing that it was to Obaida, he retired to the temple of the Almighty, uttering the words: "God, Thou art all-present and omniscient, and knowest well that I have not undertaken this war either for the sake of men, from covetousness, for worldly honour, or out of complacency to Abu Beer, but mainly for Thy sake, and agreeably to Thy will." This done, he directed an attack upon the centre of the enemy, aided on the left wing by Omar Ass and Yezid ben Abu Sofyan. The conflict raged on both sides, and several times both of them were constrained to give way, but always returned to their stations. In the end, however, the Mohammedans rushing at once upon the infidels, threw their lines into such confusion, that they, unable to stand any longer, turned their face to flight, pursued by the Moslems, who till morning continued slaughtering the fugitives. It has been ascertained, that on this day, at Yermuk, fell one hundred and twenty thousand infidels, but only one thousand Mussulmans; and the quantity of coin, cattle, baggage, jewels, and clothes that was captured by the victors, exceeds all description. Khaled then ordered the spoils to be brought together: and when they were to be distributed, he called Obaida, and informed him of Abu Beer's death, and Omar's succession, as well as his own dismissal, and his (Abu Obaida's) appointment to the government of the conquered provinces. He then went on to communicate the whole to the troops; exhorting them, at the same time, never to relax in their obedience to Abu Obaida, he himself being now placed under his command: on which the whole army hailed him.

While this was going forward, a despatch from the Khalif Omar arrived, which was as follows:—"The Almighty having taken the Khalif Abu Beer from this perishable earth to the future world, has assigned to me the sovereignty over the Moslems, with whose grief I sympathise; but Khaled having slain Malek ben Novaira, and uttered falsehoods too, cannot be suffered any longer to fill the dignity of governor over the Mussulmans, unless he profess, in the presence of the Companions of the Prophet, his guilt, not only of having committed the crime last mentioned, but of having killed Novaira, being a Mussulman: should he conform with that, he may retain his dignity; but if not, I herewith discharge him, transferring his dignity to Abu Obaida, who shall then demand the financial accounts from Khaled, and appropriate to himself what remains, after a fifth of the booty has been deducted: and, further, he shall divide his whole property in two portions, permitting him to possess one part, and seizing the other for the public treasury.

This letter being read, Abu Obaida turned towards Khaled, questioning him what he had resolved upon, and to which of the proposals he would give the preference: but he, requesting the night for consideration, and Abu Obaida granting it, had recourse to a sister of his, Fatema, a very intelligent and prudent woman, to consult with her. She advised him to resign his dignity to Abu Obaida, and, ceding the moiety of his property to the Khalif, to repair to Damascus; telling him that any other expedient would put his life at stake. He accordingly made up an account of his possessions the next day; and, having consigned half, amounting to one thousand dirhems, to Abu Obaida, proceeded to Medina, where he was admitted into the service of the Khalif, who was extremely pleased at Khaled's arrival and resignation, as affording a proof of his subservience as well as integrity. He waited every day on the Prince; who becoming fully aware of his candid disposition, cleared his own noble mind of all suspicion, and loaded him with bounties and favours, amongst which was, that he settled on him an allowance of ten thousand gold denars, to be yearly paid him out of the treasury.

Abu Obaida, who at the Khalif's order carried on the siege of Damascus, applied to him for succour: Khaled, in consequence, was detached with twelve thousand horse for that purpose. Khaled, after having completed the march, joined Abu Obaida, and they pushed on the siege in conjunction; but it was protracted during six months, notwithstanding every day was taken up with indecisive actions; till at last, one night, the Mohammedans, trusting to divine assistance, and in co-operation with their most gallant men, placed ladders at

the foot of the fort, and sealed the same from four sides, ejaculating thanksgivings and prayers to Heaven, and thus causing great consternation in the town. The inhabitants, on this, conscious of their weakness, threw themselves under the protection of Abu Obaida; and, entering upon terms of capitulation, paid down the sum of one hundred thousand gold denars for peace; binding themselves, moreover, to pay annually a tribute of four denars upon every male, and two upon every female inhabitant. The fifth part of this money, together with the intelligence of the victory, Abu Obaida sent to the Khalif; distributing the remainder of the booty amongst the army, and installing Abu Sofyan ben Zeid as governor of Damascus. He then proceeded himself, with Khaled, towards Kahel, the regions about which he reduced; and compelled, in the same year, Baalbec to surrender, upon which occasion he put a vast number of infidels to the sword. From thence they directed their march against the fort Mahdh, advancing in two divisions at a distance of twelve farsungs; the one led on by Abu Obaida, the other by Khaled, and each consisting of twenty thousand horse. When the news of this expedition reached Heraclius, he detached his commander-in-chief, Nooder, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, to check Abu Obaida; but the two Emirs joined their forces in consequence of these mighty preparations; and, addressing a report of the state of things to the Khalif, solicited reinforcements, who immediately sent off Acrama ben Abu Jahel with twelve thousand horse to their assistance.

When the Rooman commanders. Nooder and Sheesh, heard that Abu Obaida and Khaled had concentrated their forces, they imitated the example, and commenced the conflict; which being uninterruptedly protracted for twenty-one days, much human life was sacrificed: but the news of Acrama's approach with a chosen body of troops being received, Khaled drew up his forces, and ordered the twelve thousand to subdivide themselves into an equal number of squadrons; and each of these following the other at the distance of one farsung, in this manner they were ordered to combine with the army; by which contrivance their entry lasted a whole day, from morning till evening, and inspired the Mohammedans with great confidence. The infidels, on the contrary, grew despondent, imagining every single squadron to consist of twelve thousand men. They, however, renewed the conflict with equal ardour; so much so, that they did not alight from their horses during three days, each day being marked by a particular name: it was a foretaste of the day of resurrection. On the night preceding the day of victory (which day was called the day of demersion), Abu Obaida and Khaled were engaged in prayer and supplication

to the Deity for success, taking the Prophet himself for the mediator of victory and triumph. At the break of day, the drum of battle was beaten, and the combatants of both sides rushed on to slaughter. At this moment Khaled ordered a number of courageous Arabs to approach by all means the elephants, and to cut off the ropes on their feet, in order to silence their horrible roaring; and it was in obedience to this command, that a troop of bold Arabs, together with Jahjarch Ghafāri, taking their refuge with Him who has no similar, and distributes bounties, and imploring the aid of the Prophet's holy spirit, advanced towards the lines of the animals, and, approaching them under a hundred thousand perils, cut off the ropes; nay, a number of them attacked a white elephant with arrows and spears, and felled him to the ground. It was on the third day, at the time of the last prayer, that a breeze of victory beginning to blow, Khaled threw himself in person upon the centre of his opponents, and dispersed the lines of the infidels like a cloud dissipated by the wind. Nooder had posted himself on an elevation, for the purpose of reconnoitring; but Jahjarch Ghafāri, with his troops, advancing towards him, he threw himself into the sea; and the Arabian leader, following him, cut off his head and daggers with his own excellent dagger, and despatched him to hell. When Sheesh received information of this accident, being unable to keep the field, he took to flight; and eighty thousand infidels were slain, whilst only four thousand seven hundred and eighty Mussulmans died as martyrs. The surviving then pursued the enemy as far as Marj Ulroom, and captured immense booty, which was distributed according to equity; the fifth part being previously deducted, and packed upon seventy camels, to be carried, with the confirmation of victory, to the Khalif; who, when it arrived, ordered it to be distributed amongst the Companions of the Prophet, the wives of the fallen, the Muhajerin, and the Ansars.

Abu Obaida and Khaled moved off to Marj Ulroom, which fort they captured after a siege of seven days, incorporating the territories around it with the provinces of the Islam: and, while Abu Obaida fixed his camp at the same place, Khaled proceeded towards Kinesreen, where he passed the year; and victory spreading also there by his impetuosity and bravery, the True Believers flocked from all sides to see and congratulate him; nay, Ashath ben Kais Kendi composed a Kazide and a Ghazel in praise of him, for which he rewarded the poet with a present of ten thousand dirhems. This circumstance reaching the Khalif, he felt exceedingly offended at Khaled, and, recalling him from thence, summoned him to appear before him. On his arrival, he addressed and upbraided him, asking, how he had come by the ten thousand dirhems presented to the

poet; and remarking, that if he had discovered a treasure, and purloined the money, he had afforded ample proof of his perfidy, but if he had paid it out of the treasury, he had certainly embezzled public money: but Khaled remained silent, and was soon after despatched again in the Khalif's service; and on his return, not only frequently appeared before him, but had also offered him a principality, of which, however, he declined the acceptance.

Othman, the Prince of the Faithful, who had succeeded Omar, commissioned Khaled with the reduction of Irak, detaching Saad Wakkas by another route: in which expedition the last king of Nushirwan's race, Yezdejerd, lost his life, and that quarter fell under the power of the Islam. The greater part of Irak was compelled, by the two Mohammedan commanders, to surrender; and its inhabitants either embraced Islamism, or were subjected to the humiliation of paying tribute, until, at length, in the middle of Othman's reign, Khaled joined the presence of the Most Benign. His two sons, Abd Ulrahman and Abd Ullah, were then sent to reduce Khorassan; the former carrying on his operations in Nishapoor, the latter in Herat.

Mestoufi, the author of the Tareekh Kozeida, and the author of the Mujmul Ansab, furnish the following records. When the lustre of Mohammed's charming countenance had arisen, and Khaled had been ennobled by embracing the Mohammedan faith, a large number of Arabs and various people repaired to Medina, and were induced, by the splendour of the Mohammedan light, to embrace Islamism. At this time, Khaled sent a letter to the Afghans who had been settled in the mountainous countries about Ghor ever since the time of the expulsion of the Israelites by Bokhtnasser, and informed them of the appearance of the last of the Prophets. On this letter reaching them, several of their chiefs departed for Medina; the mightiest of whom, and of the Afghan people, was Kais, whose pedigree ascends in a series of thirty-seven degrees to Talut, of forty-five to Ibrahim, and of six hundred and three to Adam. The author of the Mujmul Ansab traces it as follows:—Pedigree of Abd Ulrasheed Kais, who is known by the surname Pathan: Kais ben Isa, ben Salool, ben Otba, ben Naeem, ben Morra, ben Gelundur, ben Iskunder, ben Reman, ben Ain, ben Mehlool, ben Salem, ben Selah, ben Farood, ben Ghan, ben Fahlool, ben Karam, ben Amal, ben Hadifa, ben Minhal, ben Kais, ben Ailem, ben Ismuel, ben Harun, ben Kumrood, ben Abi, ben Zaleeb, ben Tullal, ben Levi, ben Amel, ben Tarej, ben Arzund, ben Mundool, ben Saleem, ben Afghana, ben Irmia, ben Sarool, called Melik (King) Talut, ben Kais, ben Otba, ben Isa, ben Ruiel, ben Yehooda, ben Yacoob Israel, ben Ishak, ben

Ibrahim, ben Tarukh, called also Azer, ben Nakhor, ben Sarugh, ben Melik, ben Methusalah, ben Idris, ben Yezd, ben Mahaliel, ben Anush, ben Shesh, ben Adam.

But to return to the History.—As soon as these people had arrived at Medina, they were, under Khaled's guidance, ennobled by becoming adherents of the Prophet, and they rose to distinction in the empire of the Islam. The Prophet lavished all sorts of blessings upon them; and having ascertained the name of each individual, and remarked that Kais was an Hebrew name, whereas they themselves were Arabs, he gave Kais the name Abd Ulrasheed; and observed further to the rest, that they being the posterity of King (Melik) Talut, whom the Almighty had mentioned in the sublime Koran under the royal title, it was quite proper and just that they should be called Melik likewise. When he quitted Medina, with the intention to annihilate the army of Mecca, he placed Khaled and Abd Ulrasheed at the head of an Israelite force, by whom such vigorous exertions were made on that day, that Abd Ulrasheed, with his own hand, put seventy Koraishites to death; and the Prophet predicted that God would make his issue so numerous, that they, with respect to the establishment of the Faith, would outvie all other people; the angel Gabriel having revealed to him, that their attachment to the Faith would, in strength, be like the wood upon which they lay the keel when constructing a ship, which wood the seamen call Pathan: on this account he conferred upon Abd Ulrasheed the title of Pathan also. Amongst them arose derveeshes, devotees, and saints, excelling both in deed and speech.

The Prophet at length dismissed Abd Ulrasheed to return to Ghor and the adjacent Kohistan, there to propagate the new faith, and to direct the infidels to it. His death fell in the year forty-one of the Hejrah, and took place when he was eighty-seven years of age. Several relations are narrated about him, which, although not confirmed by traditions, have found a place in several histories: for instance, the story about the shirt sent to Mohammed, and of his having handed over a comb to Abu Riza, to bear it to Sheikh Ali Lala Ghaznevi: all which take up a particular section: but God knows the truth best.

The Pathans grew continually in number; and God blessed Abd Ulrasheed Pathan with three sons; of whom he called the eldest, Sarbunai; the second, Batani; and the third, Ghurghusht; from each of whom again descended sons and tribes, on such a scale as to surpass all conception, as shall soon be related.

When Abd Ulmalek ben Merwan had established himself in the sovereignty over those countries, he entrusted, in the year eighty-six of the Hejrah, his commander-in-chief, Hejaj ben Jusuf Thakafi, and his own nephew, Emad Uddeen, to subdue the countries of Sivistan and the adjacent parts: and when they, after a long march, had arrived in the districts of Ghor, they carried with them a number of this nation, treating them with all kindness imaginable. They subjected not only the country, during a stay of eight years, but put the Rajah of it to death, and captured vast booty; after which Emad Uddeen, at Hejaj's command, gave leave to the Afghans to return to their home.

It was after this time, in the year four hundred and four, that, when Sultan Mahmood Ghazi had, by the divine pleasure, ascended the throne, and subdued Irak, Khorassan, and Mauarannahr, as far as the river Sind, a number of Afghan chiefs, whose names are recorded as follows—Melik Khalu, Melik Amoon, Melik Davud, Melik Yahya, Melik Ahmed, Melik Mahmood, Melik Aref, and Melik Ghazi—coming to pay him allegiance, and entering his services, were, as their nobility both of mind and birth was engrossed on their forehead, honoured by him with various distinctions; and he presented each of them with a horse and an honorary garment, besides that he settled on them competent allowances, and distinguished them in other ways. He then undertook a campaign, with the intention of demolishing Soomenat, carrying these Afghans with him; and when arrived in the intended quarters, he overthrew Rajah Dabshaleem, the chief of the infidels in those parts, and destroyed the pagan temples. On this expedition he had committed every business and serious affair to the administration of the Afghans who were with him; and Heaven granted them to execute this charge to the fullest approbation of the Sultan; who, during a stay of three years in Soomenat, was so gratified with their services, that he advanced them to superior stations; and they, in their turn, became soon the pillars of the empire, almost all implicated affairs gaining a favourable aspect under their prudent administration; and were, during the Sultan's life-time, or during thirty-nine years, mighty and powerful Omras.

When this monarch, on a Thursday in the month of Rabea-ulakher, of the year four hundred and forty-one, had departed to the eternal world, his sons, Sultan Mahmood and Sultan Masood, retained these Afghans about them: but when the torch of the family of Mahmood Ghazi, after one hundred and sixty-nine years, had become extinct, the throne of that empire devolved on the Sultans of Ghor; one of whom, Sultan Shehab Uddeen Ghori, after having mounted the throne, turned his thoughts to the reduction of Hindustan, which

he invaded at repeated times from Ghazneen: the first time he returned from Lahore; and the second time, from Narvale. The third time he sent for twelve thousand Afghans from the quarter of Ghor, whom he took with him, and God granted him victory and triumph, so as to kill Rajah Pathor, the regent of Hindustan; whereupon he returned.

It was some time after this, that Sultan Shehab Uddeen ordered Melik Moëzz Uddeen, one of his first Omras, to remove the whole nation of the Afghans from the mountainous districts of Ghor, and to settle them in the mountains about the residence Ghazneen, that they might prove the guardians of the seat of the empire, and check the infidels about Hindustan. In concurrence with his instruction, Moëzz Uddeen prevailed upon all the Afghans to move from the Kohistan of Ghor, and to take up their abode in Koh Suleiman, Ashnaghur, and the territories of Bajour, from the frontier of Kabul to the Neelab, and from the districts about Candahar to the Multan, at any place he thought fit and convenient:—(Koh is the same with Koh (mountain); its length extends from Bajour as far as the districts of Bahkar; its breadth runs from Hassan Abdal to Kabul: Candahar lies within the confines of this mountainous district, as also Koh Suleiman and Ashnaghur, which was the first town inhabited after their emigration in Kohistan:)—with this Sultan Shehab Uddeen was so much pleased, that he showed them all sorts of kindness, and assigned to every clan estates to be held in fee; and they, being firmly established, and daily continuing to render their superiority more perfect, made war upon the infidels of Kittoor and Hindustan, and scoured those countries completely of the dust of paganism.

Sultan Shehab Uddeen, when marching the third time to Hind, had chosen the Afghan Melik Mahmood Lodi, whose clan was superior to all the other tribes, with twelve thousand horse, to constitute the van. On his arrival before Lahore, he invested Melik Khosru, the last of the Ghaznevide Sultans, in the castle of Lahore: he, however, entering upon pacific terms, came out and submitted to his authority.

After Shehab Uddeen's death, Kutb Uddeen Ibek mounted the throne, and redoubled the favours and distinctions towards the Afghans, by whose continued expeditions into Hindustan this country was at last conquered. After that, they were highly respected and distinguished by the Sultan of Delhi, Firoz Shah; and thus they lived two hundred and ninety-five years continually in immediate attendance upon sovereigns.

When Emir Sahibkeran Timoor, in the year eight hundred and one, had

resolved, in his world-adorning wisdom, on subduing Hindustan, he directed his march towards that quarter; and sending a firman to Melik Khyzer Lodi, Melik Baha Uddeen Jelvani, Melik Yusuf Servani, and Melik Habeeb Niazi, to repair to him from the Roh district, they came with twelve thousand ferocious soldiers, to pay him homage: upon which he presented each of them with a honorary garment, a horse, a sword, and a dagger inlaid with jewels; and, taking them with him, continued his march with a chosen army, by the route of Kole Jelali, on purpose to reduce Hindustan. At the time of his arrival in Multan, Mirza Pier Mohammed, a son of his, had shut himself up in the fort of Multan, on account of the Zemindars of that quarter, without being able to repair to his provinces; but was relieved by Timoor's approach, and hastened to wait on him, who distinguished him highly by favours and condescension. He then penetrated, by the way of Debalpoor, to Lahore, where he introduced his coinage and Khotba; and continued his progress towards the reduction of Dehli, whose governor, Melloo Khan, on learning this aggression, quitting the fort, betook to flight, and fled towards the northern mountains. Timoor took the capital; but proceeded, after a stay of seven days at the banks of the tank, with the intention of fighting, and exterminating the infidels, towards the mountains of Sewalik. On the very first day he took the fort Mairta, and slew the infidels around it; rich booty falling into the hands of his troops: but Melik Baha Uddeen, and Melik Khyzer, both Afghans, having fallen for the Faith in this expedition, Timoor called their sons before him, and heaped upon them many royal bounties; and was pleased to settle on them the districts of Khyzerabad and Sadhora, situate in the Duab; besides the pergunna of Sialkot, together with some other estates in the Punjab. He then left Khyzer Khan, one of Firoz Shah's first Omras, as governor of Dehli; and advanced himself with precipitation towards the capital Samarkand, by way of Kabul, where he gave leave to Melik Yusuf, and Melik Habeeb, and other Afghan Chiefs, to repair to their respective estates. Their co-operation, at the time of the various contests for the possession of the country in Hindustan, was material.

It was a long while after these transactions, in 835, in the time of Sultan Mobarek Shah, that Sultan Shah Lodi, brother of Melik Kala, obtained authority, power, and strength in Hindustan; and held Sirhind with the neighbouring countries in jagheer. From this time the welfare of the Afghans was daily increasing, as will be shown in the First Book: it having been intended in these pages to give an account of the emigration of the Afghans from Arabia,



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and then from the Kohistan of Ghor, after Sultan Mahmood Ghazi's time; from which period up to the present day, there is an interval of six hundred years that they inhabited this Kohistan. We shall now proceed to furnish a faithful account of the Sultans of this people, who sat on the throne in the principal provinces of Hindustan, and practised the right of having the Khotba read, and money coined in their name; who carried the ball of justice and equity; and perpetuated their fame in this perishable world. We shall begin with narrating the history of the Afghan Sultans, in Sultan Behlol Lodi, the son of Melik Kala Lodi, a nephew of Sultan Shah Lodi.

# FIRST BOOK.

*History of the Reign of the Lodi Family—of Sultan Behlol, Sultan Sekunder, and Sultan Ibrahim.*

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*The History of the Reign of Sultan Behlol Lodi, who raised the Standard of Sovereignty in the principal Provinces of Hindustan.*

It is related by the author of the Tareekh Ibrahimshahi, and the compiler of the Tareekh Nizami, that Melik Behlol was a nephew of Sultan Shah Lodi, who, in Mobarek Shah's time, bore the title of Islam Khan, and held in charge the Cirear of Sirhind. He took care of the education of his nephew, Melik Behlol; and, on witnessing in him evident marks of integrity and good fortune, constituted him, when dying, his successor, and put him in full possession of his dignity. After his death, Behlol consequently became governor of the Cirear of Sirhind, and exercised absolute power; but Kotb Khan, the son of Islam Khan, withdrew himself from obedience to him, and, repairing to Sultan Mohammed, then King of Dehli, produced complaints against Behlol: on which this monarch, owing to these accusations, fell into a rage, and detached Haji Shedeni, who had been distinguished by the title Hissam Khan, together with several Omras, against Behlol. They fought a fierce battle in the vicinity of Khyzerabad; in which Hissam Khan, being obliged to fall back, returned to Delhi; whilst Behlol gained strength and power by the spoils of the hostile army.

It is related, that when Behlol was in the service of his uncle, he went one day upon business to Samana, where he had occasion to visit, with three or four companions, Seid Ayen, a famous Derveesh residing there, and to present him his respects; when the Derveesh at once exclaimed, "Is there any one who wishes to obtain from me the empire of Dehli for two thousand tankas?" and on Behlol's instantly presenting this sum to him, he said, "Be the empire of Dehli blessed by thee!" His companions ridiculing him, and railing at his expectation, he replied, that he had not lost the donation, on two accounts; for in case the prediction should happen to be fulfilled, it would be a purchase for nothing; if not, it would, at least, be of use for the future world, being given for the service of Derveeshes. But such as assert Behlol to have carried on the business of a merchant, are wrong. His ancestors may perhaps have done so.

When Behlol had subjected to his dominion all the countries of Sirhind and the Punjab, he set a considerable force on foot; and being encouraged by Sheikh Ayen's propitious prediction to hope for victory, the eagle of his mind soared to the desire for independence. He in the meanwhile, acting the part of a denunciator, sent a full account of Hissam Khan's ill-behaviour and depravity, together with assurances of his sincere attachment to the Sultan; intimating to him, that if he would put Hissam Khan to death, and transfer the Vezirat upon Hameed Khan, he was himself ready to come to pay his allegiance to him. This letter was so well timed, that the Sultan, merely upon perusing it, at once cut off Hissam Khan, appointing, in his stead, Hameed Khan to the Vezirat: upon which, Behlol came to the capital, to submit to the authority of the Sultan; who, in a short time, advanced him in dignity, and dismissed him again for Sirhind. He soon commenced hostilities against Sultan Mahmood Khilji, who had established his powers in the strong-holds of Hissār Firozeh, Hansi, and Nagore; and, defeating him, captured not only a great many persons, but a large number of elephants: after which the Sultan conferred the title Khan Khanan (First of the Nobles) upon him. But he now began to conquer for himself Hissār Ferozeh and other districts; and took not only no notice at all of tho firmans the Sultan sent him in this respect, but, propitiating his army through the means of presents and remunerations, raised the standard of rebellion, concentrated his forces, and, marching straightways upon Dehli, invested Sultan Mohammed: but being unable to carry the place, he returned again to Sirhind, and declared himself Sultan Behlol, deferring, however, the usage of coining, and the Khotba, till the reduction of Dehli. During these events, Sultan Mohammed died, and was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ala Uddeen.

The whole of Hindustan was at this time in the possession of separate sovereigns. From Paniput to Lahore, Hansi, Hissar, and Nagore, as far as Multan, reigned Sultan Behlol; from Mahrwai to Lado Serai, Ahmed Khan of Mewat; the province of Sumbul to the pergunna Loni was held by Deria Khan Lodi; and Kole Jelali, with the contiguous parts, ruled over by Isa Khan: Kotb Khan was governor of Rebari, Chundwar, and Etaweh; Rai Partab occupied Bhowanoo, Kampila, and Pattialee; Biana was in the power of Davud Khan Auhadi; whilst Gualyar, Dholpoor, and Bhadora had each their own Rajas; and independent sovereigns resided in Gujerat, Malwa, Mandoo, Joonpoor, and Behar.

Sultan Behlol now resumed his warlike operations, and besieged Sultan

Ala Uddeen in Dehli; who having nothing left but this only place and Palam, with two or three pergunnas about Dehli, was prevailed upon by Kotb Khan Lodi and Rai Partab to enter upon an amicable arrangement, and Behlol returned to Sirhind.

Soon after, these two Chiefs offered to Sultan Ala Uddeen, that if he would remove Hameed Khan from his functions, and put him in confinement, they would wrest several pergunnas from the hand of the Omras, and reduce them again to his sway. Ala Uddeen accepted the offer; and having put the Vizier in prison, marched himself towards Amrava: and Rai Partab and Kotb Khan having recovered several districts, presented themselves before him, at the same time promising to subject forty more pergunnas if he would have Hameed Khan killed. The reason why Rai Partab insisted so anxiously on the latter point was, that Hameed Khan's father had, a long time back, plundered his dominions, and even taken his wife.

Sultan Ala Uddeen, being quite ignorant in the affairs of State, issued an order for the Vizier's death accordingly; but some brothers of the latter, who had procured information of the whole proceedings, freeing him by a stratagem from custody, conducted him to Dehli: after which, Melik Jemal, who had been charged with watching him, set out in pursuit of him, and penetrated to his very habitation. An encounter ensued; in which one of Hameed Khan's adherents slew Jemal by the stroke of a dart; which circumstance induced a great many to take part with Hameed, who, entering the palace, and driving the Sultan's wives and children out of the fort, seized upon his wealth and treasures.

Sultan Ala Uddeen, notwithstanding this accident, owing to his irresolute disposition, delayed from day to day to take revenge; and staid at Budaoon because of the rainy season, whilst Hameed Khan had taken it into his head to set up another in his room: but Behlol, who had become aware of this design, marched from Sirhind to Dehli, and besieged him; who, on his side, allowed Behlol to enter the town, after a convention had been arranged. Behlol called every day on him at his house, evincing towards him all sorts of civility and subserviency; at the same time, however, contriving a plan how to secure him, and raise the standard of the Sultanat. For the execution of this design, he joined with some Afghans who had recently arrived from Roh, suborning them to adopt, in the apartment of Hameed Khan, a conduct the most remote from good sense and common reason, in order to induce him to believe that they were thoughtless fellows, and of course banish all apprehension and fear of them from his heart. A number of them, accordingly, began, in his presence, to fasten their

shoes to their girdle, others to their head, and others to put them into the recesses of the apartment; whilst some praised the wonderful colouring of his carpets; remarking, that if he would present them with one piece, they would work them into caps and bonnets for their children, and send them to their homes, in order to convince their own tribe what honour and protection they were enjoying in his service. Hameed Khan smilingly replied, he would give them for their children fine clothes, which should be handsomer than those carpets. The plates of perfumes being brought into the room, they licked up the perfumes; others swallowed down arek-perfume, and devoured roses; whilst part of them uncovering the betel-box, first ate the lime, and, on their mouths being burnt, began to eat the betel. This strange behaviour induced Hameed to inquire of Sultan Behlol the reason of it; and he replied, they were rustics, who had never been in company with people of education; their business being, to eat, and to die.

It was customary, that when Behlol waited on Hameed Khan, he took a number of his attendants with him, part of whom remained waiting outside the house. But the latter arranging one day an entertainment for Behlol, the Afghans, at his instigation, began to beat the porters, forcing their way in, and exclaiming that as they were likewise servants of Hameed Khan, they should not be excluded from paying their respects: and the riot and tumult increasing, Hameed Khan inquired the cause thereof; when the Afghans, bursting out in invectives against Behlol, entered the room, and said to Hameed Khan they were his servants just as well as Behlol; why should they remain outside, whilst he had been admitted? Upon this, Hameed gave orders to let them all pass; and they rushed in at once, every two Afghans seating themselves, as well as they could, beside each of Hameed's people, whilst others remained standing. When the dinner was over, Koth Khan produced a chain from under his arm: and, laying it before Hameed, informed him that he must, for the present, be kept in confinement; but his life, by the rights of hospitality, would be spared. He then proceeded to put him in chains, and afterwards gave him in charge to his officers.

Sultan Behlol ascended the throne on the seventeenth of the first Rabea, in the year 855; and ordered money to be coined, and the Khotba to be read in his name. He propitiated the army, from the officer down to the common soldier, and the whole people, by presents and bounties; and, attaching to himself the dispersed Omras, wrote unto Sultan Ala Uddeen as follows:—"I, being brought up through the kindness of thy father, have put the ungrateful Hameed in chains, and am ready to secure to thee the empire which was wrested from thy hands; nor do I intend to expunge thy name from the Khotba." To this Ala

Uddeen returned: "As my father has called thee son, I will consider thee as my elder brother, and resign the empire to thee, being quite contented with the pergunna Budaoon. Would to God the Sultanat of Dehli might prosper under thee!" This welcome news transported Behlol with joy; and he now turned his whole attention to assume the reins of the empire. The provinces round Dehli he freed of factious men, confiding them to his adherents; and prepared, in the same year, which was the first of his reign, for an invasion in the suba Multan.

Some malcontents, who disliked the reign of the Afghans, gave to Sultan Mahmood of the East, who had the public prayers read and coins struck in his name at Joonpoor, information of all these proceedings, and invited him to come: and he, in accordance with this letter, and notwithstanding his near relationship to Ala Uddeen, entered upon the expedition, in 856, at the head of a large army. Khuaja Baizeed, a son of Behlol, on receiving the news of this circumstance, returned from Debalpoor; and, having arrived at Paniput, made every exertion to bring about an amicable arrangement: but Sultan Mahmood, from pride and arrogance, refused to give his consent, and detached Fut'h Khan of Herat, with forty ferocious elephants and thirty thousand horse, against Behlol. They soon came in contact, and a severe battle took place. An elephant of Mahmood's army destroyed a great number of men, and even brought into disorder the van of Behlol; when Kotb Khan Lodi, the first marksman of the time, rendered this animal harmless by the shot of an arrow; and then sent a despatch to Deria Khan Lodi, who had taken part with Sultan Mahmood, and who gallantly maintained his ground, to this effect: "Both thy mother and sister are besieged in the fort of Delhi: how does it behove thee to fight for a stranger, without any regard to thy own fame?" Deria Khan sent word, in reply, that he was willing to move off immediately, on condition that he (Kotb Khan) would not pursue him; upon which the latter took an oath: but the bare account of Deria Khan's retreat filled Fut'h Khan's army with terror, who himself was taken prisoner by the Afghans; which induced Mahmood, being now unable to keep the ground, to retreat, and return to Joonpoor.

Behlol's power being thus established, he carried his army with him, in order to regulate his provinces; and proceeded first to Meiwat, where Ahmed Khan offered him homage; and Behlol, having taken from him seven pergunnas, suffered him to retain the remainder. Mobarek Khan, an uncle of Ahmed, submitting likewise to his authority, he continued his route to the township of Berun. When Deria Khan Lodi, governor of Sumbul, paid him his obeisance, he curtailed his possessions of seven pergunnas; and then marched to Kole, where he permitted Isa Khan to retain his principality to its full extent. From

thence his way led him to Suckeet, whose governor, Mobarck Khan, offered him his allegiance, and was allowed to remain in the full possession of his territories. He further secured to himself the attachment of Rai Partab, and the Zemindars about Bhowanoo; and then proceeded to Rebari and Chundwar, where the governor of the former place, Kotb Khan ben Hossain, had fortified himself: but Rebari was soon carried; and the governor submitting by capitulation, was again invested with his authority; upon which Behlol continued his progress to Etaweh, the governor of which surrendered.

In the meantime, Sultan Mahmood, at the instigation of the first lady of his harem, Malka Jehan, a relation of Sultan Ala Uddeen, renewed hostilities against Behlol, and moved directly upon Etaweh. The armies commenced their operations on the first day; but on the next, Rai Partab and Kotb Khan, interposing, set up an amicable arrangement; by which it was agreed, that the countries now held by Mobarck Shah should be transferred to Behlol; and those ruled over by Sultan Mahmood, Padishah of Joonpoor, resigned to Sultan Mahmood; that Behlol should restore to Mahmood seven prisoners, taken in the battle with Fut'h Khan; and Shamsabad, then in the possession of Joona Khan, a vassal of Mahmood's, ceded to a vassal of Behlol's. Peace being concluded, Sultan Mahmood returned to Joonpoor; and Behlol, in fulfilment of the convention, sent a firman to Joona Khan to deliver Shamsabad to Rai Kerren; but upon the former bidding defiance to the firman, he advanced himself to Shamsabad, which he reduced, and settled on the Rai just mentioned.

When Sultan Mahmood received information of these transactions, he, infringing the treaty, recommenced hostilities; and the hostile armies met at Shamsabad. Kotb Khan and Deria Khan planned a nocturnal attack on the hostile army; but the horse of the former stumbling, he was thrown off, and became a prisoner to Sultan Mahmood; who ordered him to be carried to Joonpoor, where he passed seven years in captivity. Behlol detached Jelal Khan, Sekunder Khan, and Emad Ulmulk, to check him, and to succour the Rai who was besieged in Shamsabad; but, in the course of the conflict, Mahmood fell sick, and some time after emigrated to the eternal world: upon which, his mother, Bibi Raji, a prudent and intelligent woman, with the consent of the Omras, placed Prince Bhikun Khan, under the title Mohammed Shah, upon the throne; and a number of Grandees and Omras interfering, arranged a peace between the two monarchs, confirming Mahmood's possessions to Mohammed Shah.

At this time, Shams Khatun, a sister of Kotb Khan, and favourite lady of Sultan Behlol, sent word to him, that until he should release Kotb Khan from captivity, he would be denied all favours, and that she was even ready to lay violent hands upon herself. Roused by this intimation, he left Dehli, to resume his warlike operations against Mohammed Shah; who, on receiving intelligence of it, quitted Joonpoor precipitately, in order to take the field against Behlol; and when arrived at Shamsabad, he dispossessed Rai Partab of the government, and reinstated Joona Khan; and the former, although attached to Behlol, yet, being apprehensive of Mohammed Shah's ascendency, joined him. He advanced, in continued marches, as far as Surseeni; where both armies encamping in the pergunna Rebari near Surseeni, the conflict soon after became general. Mohammed Shah in the meantime despatched an order to the Kutwal of Joonpoor, to put his brother Hassan Khan, and also Kotb Khan, who were retained in prison, to death: but this officer sent back a representation, that Bibi Raji having received both into her protection, he was prevented from executing the order. The Sultan deceitfully addressed a letter to his mother; wherein he requested her to repair to a certain place, in order to arrange a reconciliation between himself and Hassan Khan, and to have some pergunnas settled upon the latter. This letter induced Bibi Raji to set out from Joonpoor; and the Kutwal, embracing the occasion, cut off Prince Hassan Khan, in obedience to his instructions. When the news of this accident reached Bibi Raji, she staid some time at Kanoj, to console herself for Hassan Khan's death, and then returned to Joonpoor, where she received a letter from Mohammed Shah; who, on hearing of his mother's affliction, was greatly enraged; saying, that she ought not to be so afflicted at the death of one prince, as he intended to inflict the same fate upon all the princes; so that she would be enabled to console herself for them at once:—and, in fact, he was of a very daring disposition, and the Omras and Grandees continued in fear of him, which gave rise to bloodshed and disturbances.

In the course of these events, Hossain Khan despatched a younger brother of Mohammed Shah, together with Shah and Jelal Khan, Ajoodheni with a message to Mohammed, that Sultan Behlol's army being determined upon surprising him by a nocturnal attack, a detachment of thirty thousand horse, with thirty elephants, had separated from the main body, and had posted themselves on the banks of the river Juhruz; which induced Mohammed Shah to detach a large corps, under Hossain Khan and Jelal Khan, to harass the

enemy. Hossain Khan requested that his brother Jelal Khan might accompany him: but he being called away by some one, and Sultan Shah remarking that there was no time for delay, as Jelal Khan would follow them, they immediately set out to meet Behlol. Jelal Khan soon after followed them with all expedition, and directed his route towards the Juhruz; but, mistaking a detachment of Behlol's troops for those of Hossain Khan, and approaching them accordingly, was taken prisoner, and conducted before Behlol; who, in retaliation upon Kotb Khan, cast him into prison. When Hossain Khan heard of his brother's fate, he, from fear and dread for Mohammed Shah, fled back to Joonpoor; and this prince, on his part, being apprehensive that, owing to Jelal Khan's capture and his brother Hossain Khan's flight, disturbances might arise in Joonpoor, and being, moreover, in no condition to oppose Behlol, moved his camp towards Kanoj, pursued by the latter as far as the Ganges; who, after having captured some horses, elephants, and baggage, returned to Dehli.

When Hossain Khan, upon his flight, arrived at Joonpoor, Bibi Raji, who was inconsolable at Hassan Khan's having been killed by Mohammed Shah's order, raised him, in 857, with the consent of the Omras and Grandees of the empire, to the throne, attaching to him the title Sultan Hossain, and detaching at the same time Melik Mobarek Gunk, Melik Ali of Gujerat, and other Omras, against Mohammed Shah, who had marched along the banks of the Ganges: but on Hossain Shah's approach, most of the Omras, who were in great apprehension for Mohammed Shah, deserted his army, and joined that of his adversary; which circumstance constrained the former to fall back with a small number, and to entrench himself in a garden; which Hossain's army immediately enclosed. Mohammed Shah, who excelled in archery, resorted to bow and arrows: but Bibi Raji had previously prevailed upon his armour-bearer to strip the arrows of their points: so that every arrow Mohammed Shah took out of the quiver was found to be bare, and he himself compelled to set aside the bow, and have recourse to the sword, with which he despatched a great number. But an arrow sinking into his throat, he fell from his horse, and obtained the dignity of a martyr.

> Dame Nature never had a son whom she has not slain; therefore upon her do not repose thy heart: beware of such as destroy their own children.

After these occurrences, the Almighty established Hossain in the monarchy, who arranged a truce with Behlol; and agreed with him upon the point, that they both should, for the space of four years, rest contented with

their respective dominions, and keep shut the doors of contest. He then presented Kotb Khan with an elephant, a horse, and a sword inlaid with jewels; and sent him with full honour to Behlol; who, in his turn, gratified Prince Jelal Khan, by lavishing on him hononrs and favours, and dismissed him to the Sultan.

Some time after, Sultan Behlol departed for Shamsabad, which he took from Joena Khan, transferring it to Rai Kirren; and assigned the standard and the kettledrum, which he had wrested from Deria Khan, to Rai Bir Singh Deo, the son of Rai Partab; for which Deria Khan, seizing the opportunity, assassinated him; which induced Rai Partab, Hossain Khan, and Mobarez Khan to take part with Sultan Hossain. Behlol becoming thus too weak to cope with his enemy, made good his retreat, and repaired to Dehli; but left it soon again, in the determination of quelling a rebellion in the Punjab and Multan; having left at Dehli, as his vicars, Kotb Khan Lodi and Jehan Khan: he had not, however, proceeded as far as Lahore, when intelligence was conveyed to him of Sultan Hossain's expedition against Dehli, which induced him to march back to this place with all haste, and to oppose the foe. The conflict was carried on during seven days; but when the field of slaughter had extended to the very tents, the Grandees of both parties interfered; and their exertions terminated in the agreement, that both sovereigns should, for the term of three years, keep themselves within the boundaries of their respective empires. All being in order, Behlol returned to Dehli, devoting his whole attention to settle the civil and military affairs. After that, he proceeded against Ahmed Khan of Meivat, who had, in the late transactions, taken part with Sultan Hossain; but, on his arrival there, Khan Khanan, one of Sultan Behlol's grand Omras, prevailed on Ahmed Khan to submit.

At the same time, the governor of Biana, Ahmed Khan, son of Insuf Jelvani, revolted against Behlol, assuming the Khotba, and the right of coining money; going even so far as to send word of it to the Sultan.

The truce having expired, Sultan Hossain advanced, at the head of one hundred thousand horse and one thousand fierce elephants, upon Dehli; which Sultan Behlol evacuated, and gave him battle at Mattewara: but Khan Khanan again acted the part of a mediator, and induced both parties to enter upon pacific terms: after which, Sultan Hossain proceeded to Etawch, where he halted for some time, and Behlol returned to Dehli. The former, however, some time after, infringed the treaty, and prepared for new hostilities against Behlol, who left Dehli in consequence. They came in sight of each other near

Serai, and several skirmishes ensued; but matters eventually terminated in peace.

About this time, Bibi Raji, Sultan Hossain's mother, died; and Kulyan Mull, a son of Rai Kirren, Rajah of Gualyar, and Kotb Khan Lodi, repaired from Chundwar to the Sultan Hossain, with a view to condole with him; when Kotb Khan, perceiving him to be hostile and exasperated against Behlol, remarked to him deceitfully, that Behlol was only his slave, and utterly incapable to come up with him; that he himself would not rest until he should have subdued Dehli for him. By means of such delusions was Kotb Khan permitted to depart; and repaired to Behlol, whom he told, that he had escaped from Sultan Hossain's hands by craft and prudence, and that he had found him to be full of hostile designs, in consequence of which he ought to be on the alert.

About the same time, Sultan Ala Uddeen, in Budaoon, joined the clemency of God; and Sultan Hossain, with a view to tranquillize his mind upon that accident, left Etawch for Budaoon, which latter place he took from the sons of the deceased, and added it to his own dominions: such mean actions this man thought pardonable in himself. From thence he continued his route to Sumbul, whose governor, Mobarek Khan, a son of Tatar Khan, he put in chains, and sent him to Sarun, whilst he himself turned again his view to the reduction of Dehli; and crossed, in 883, the Jumna, and pitched his camp at Kujeh. No sooner had Sultan Behlol, at that time in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, received intelligence of it, than he hastened back to Dehli, and marched out to fight the enemy. The contest was vigorously carried on for some time; but the Eastern army, owing to their superiority in number, prevailed; when Kotb Khan intervened, and brought about an amicable arrangement, agreeably to which the Ganges was settled as the boundary of the dominions of both sovereigns.

Sultan Hossain then left his camp-equipage behind, in confidence of the peace, and hastened to Joonpoor; but Behlol, embracing the opportunity, pursued him, and plundered his baggage; containing, besides part of his treasure, elephants, horses, and camels; and taking his Grand Vizier, Kutlug Khan, one of the most learned men then alive, as well as Oudhoo and other Omras, prisoners; nay, even Hossain's first consort, Malka Jehan, fell into his hands; upon which the monarch swam the Ganges, and turned his face to flight. Behlol sent Kutlug Khan to Dehli; but Queen Malka Jehan he entrusted to a confidential attendant of his, Kuaja Serayan, and sent her in perfect honesty and deference to her lord. He himself pushed further on, and subdued several

pergunnas of Sultan Hossain, which he gave in charge to governors, whilst he himself continued his operations: but peace was in the end concluded, upon condition that all the countries as far as Behlol had penetrated should remain in his possession, but that the rest should belong to Sultan Hossain; upon which both repaired to their dominions.

Hossain Khan, however, at the instigation of Malka Jehan, again violated the peace in the following year, and led a strong force against Behlol. A severe battle ensued near a place called Lubhar; where Hossain, being again put to flight, repaired to Rebari; and much booty fell into the hands of the Lodians. Behlol receiving about this time the news of Khanjehan Lodi's death, conferred the title of Khanjehan upon his son, and confirmed the same in his dignity; after that, he hastened to Rebari, to meet Hossain. An obstinate battle ensued; in which Hossain, being again defeated, crossed the Jumna, and turned his face to flight; but he was almost overwhelmed with grief, his whole family and children perishing in the river. He pursued his route, and arrived at Gualyar, with the view of reaching Joonpoor by this way: on his way thither, his camp was plundered by the Behdorian tribes. On his arrival at Gualyar, the Raja of this place, Rai Kirren Singh, paid him his respects; and furnishing him with some lacs of tankas, with tents, horses, and camels, ordered a detachment of his troops to escort him to Kalpi, and then to return.

Behlol, in victory and triumph, now turned his attention to the reduction of Etaweh, where Ibrahim Khan, a brother of Sultan Hossain, and Hybet Khan Gurg-andaz (the Wolf-slayer), had fortified themselves; but, after a resistance of three days, they capitulated, and delivered the fort to the deputies of Sultan Behlol, who settled it on Ibrahim Khan Lohani: and having assigned some pergunnas of Etaweh to Rai Dandoo, he went with a chosen force in pursuit of Hossain to Joonpoor, and encountered him in the vicinity of a place called Ranka, a dependency of Kalpi, where frequent skirmishes ensued; but they were separated by the river Jumna. It was there that Rai Telukchund, Raja of Buksar, went to Sultan Behlol, and, conducting his army by a ford over the river, fell upon Hossain; who, unable to stand his ground, retreated to Patna, whose Raja not only received him solemnly, but supplied him with some lacs of money, one hundred horses, and an equal number of elephants; and even ordered a detachment of his troops to escort him to Joonpoor. But Behlol took it into his head to reduce Joonpoor: and when near it, Hossain, being incapable to check him, fled towards Behraij, and then to the banks of the river Raheeb, closely pursued by Behlol. An engagement took place; but, after an obstinate

struggle, Sultan Hossain, to whom it was natural to fly, was entirely routed, and all the regalia fell into the hands of his opponent, whose army imbibed fresh spirit from this victory. After Behlol had assigned Joonpoor to Mobarek Khan, and left Kotb Khan and Khan Khanan, with several other Omras, behind in Mijouli, he himself took the route of Budaoon. Sultan Hossain, in the meantime, had collected a small force, and led it towards Joonpoor; upon which the Omras of Behlol left that place, and repaired to Kotb Khan at Mijouli, to whose assistance Behlol detached Prince Barbek Shah, he himself following: but Hossain, being too weak to resist, repaired to Behar.

At this time spread the news of the death of Kotb Khan Lodi, a son of Islam Khan, who himself was an uncle of Sultan Behlol; which latter halted some days, in consequence, on purpose to console himself; and then moved on towards Joonpoor: and having made Barbek Shah an independent sovereign of that town, he continued his route to Kalpi, which he settled upon Aazem Khan Humayoon. From thence he advanced, by the way of Chundwar, upon Dholpoor; but the Raja of this place submitting to his authority, received him solemnly, and, offering him some mauns of gold, conducted him into the palace. From thence he proceeded to Bari, whose governor, Ekbal Khan, paying him homage, was received amongst the royal attendants, and, after presenting him with some mauns of gold, he was confirmed in the feudal possession of Bari. He then went to Ilhapoor, which belongs to Rintimpore, whose districts he ravaged and plundered, and whose gardens and fields he laid waste; after which he returned to Dehli, where, in perfect security, he spent some time in distributing favours and presents, and in the indulgence of joy and hilarity.

After that he set out again for Gualyar, the governor of which, Raja Man, came out, in entire submission, and presented to him eighty lacs of tankas. The subjection of this place being secured, he proceeded to Etaweh; where he deposed Sickit Singh, a son of Rai Dandoo; and then returned to Dehli: but a fever attacking him, he departed, in 894, in the vicinity of the township Jelali, from this perishable confinement, to the eternal pleasures. One of the learned men of the time composed the following Beit upon his death:

In 894 he went out of the world; the godlike, the ruler, and world-conqueror, Behlol.

The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years, eight months, and eight days.

## HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN SEKUNDER,

### THE SON OF SULTAN BEHLOL.

At the time when Sultan Behlol took leave of this world, Barbek Shah, his elder son, was in Joonpoor; and Nizam Khan, a younger one, born of Bibi, lived in Dehli, whither he had been sent for his education. Bibi kept Behlol's death concealed; but apprised Prince Nizam Khan, through a courier, of it: adding, that if he would come at the present juncture of affairs, he might obtain the throne: if not, Barbek Shah would take it, all the Omras of Behlol being unanimously on his side, in consequence of his being born of an Afghan mother, and enjoying power and authority. Nizam Khan, upon account of this occurrence, repairing the next day to Behlol's court, in the vicinity of Jelali, ordered the coffin of the deceased to be carried off to Dehli; and Khanjehan, Khan Khanan Fermulli, and other Omras, knowing Barbek Shah to be at so great a distance and out of the way, placed him upon the throne, on the seventh of the month Shaban, in 894, upon an eminence near the township Jelali, called Koshk Firozeh, and conferred upon him the title, Sultan Sekunder. The new monarch gave a splendid festival, and presented fifty-three Omras each with a horse and an honorary dress; conferred high functions upon them, and gratified all their wishes: so that the renown of his justice, equity, discretion, uprightness, and protection, penetrated to the ears of the people in all regions and of all ranks; and justice reigned afresh in the administration of the empire. Soon after, when he had sufficiently established himself, he made the tour of his dominions, in order to regulate and settle his affairs. His first excursion was to Rebari, where Alem Khan kept himself shut up for several days, but at last fled and took refuge with Ali Khan and Tatar Khan Lodi, in Pattiali; upon which he assigned the place to Khan Khanan Lohani, and proceeded himself to Etaweh, where he passed the rainy season: and calling his younger brother, and thus separating him from Aazem Humayoon, settled the place on him. From this place he despatched Ismail Khan Lohani with pacific overtures to Barbek Shah; and advanced himself against Isa Khan, the governor of Shamsabad, in Pattiali, who had denied him obedience: but after the first battle he returned to his duty, and soon after died of a wound which he had received.

At this time, Rai Kishen, one of Barbek Shah's Omras, offered allegiance to Sekunder; who, in remuneration, settled Pattiali on him: and Ismail Khan,

who had been sent with overtures of peace to Barbek Shah, brought the news, that this prince had not only rejected the overtures, but was even meditatiug a war; which induced Sekunder to advance upon Joonpoor, to oppose him; and Barbek Shah, on his side, coming forth, a desperate battle ensued in the environs of Kanoj, wherein fell a great number on both sides. Barbek Shah, however, fled at last to Budaoon, pursued by Sekunder; who invested this place; but, after some days, Barbek Shah came out, being unable to hold out any longer, and submitted to the Sultan, who, pardoning him his disobedience, cheered him up with his sublime attentions, and carried him to Joonpoor. The Sultan here reinstated him in his former dignity, as governor of the place; at the same time, however, assigning estates in that quarter to trusty persons, and appointing prefects and governors in every place, and nominating faithful officers as attendants upon Barbek Shah, that any seditious plans meditated by him might be frustrated. He then pursued his march to Kalpi, of which he dispossessed Aazem Humayoon, the son of Prince Khuaja Baizeed, and bestowed it upon Mahmood Khan Lodi; after which, he proceeded to Kotra, whose governor showed the fullest subserviency and allegiance to him, and was confirmed in the government. He then directed his progress to Gualyar; from whence he despatched Khuaja Mohammed Fermulli with a horse and honorary dress to Raja Man, who acknowledged his authority; and sent, in return, a nephew of his with one thousand horsemen, for the service of the Sultan. His way now led him to Biana, where Sultan Ashraf, a son of Ahmed Khan Jelvani, presented himself before him in submission, and was requested to evacuate Biana; instead of which he was satisfied with receiving Chundwara and Suckit in jagheer. Ashraf, in conformity with this command, took Omar Khan Servani with him, and entered the fort to deliver to him the keys; but when within the walls, he foolishly shut up the gate, and put the fort in a state of defence; and was imitated by Hybet Khan Jelvani, one of his vassals, in Agra.

The Sultan had, in the meanwhile, pitched his tents on the banks of the Jumna; and was just amusing himself with fishing, when the news of these occurrences arrived. He immediately ordered a detachment to lay siege to Agra; and drew his army back to Biana, which he closely invested. Sultan Ashraf, being hard pressed, requested to capitulate; and handed over the keys of the fort to the agents of the district. This happened in the year 898. Sekunder entrusted the fort to Khan Khanan Fermulli, and himself returned to Dehli.

He staid at this place twenty-four days, when intelligence was brought from

Joonpoor, that the Zemindars about that place, and more particularly the Bujekutians, had united all their forces, and deposed Mobarek Shah, the governor of Joonpoor; and even killed his brother, Sheer Khan; that Mobarek Shah himself had crossed the Ganges by the passage of Joosy, but had fallen into Mulla Khan's hands; upon which Rai Behid, Raja of Patna, had seized and carried him along with him. Barbek Shah, from his inability to offer resistance, abandoned Joonpoor, and retreated to Mohammed Khan Fermulli, who bore the title Kala Par; but the Sultan marched, in 899, upon that town. When arrived at Dalmow, Barbek Shah, and all his Omras, presented themselves in submission; and Rai Behid, being apprehensive of the Sultan's displeasure, deputed Mobarek Khan Lodi to wait on the Sultan; upon which the latter proceeded to Kutra, where the Zemindars had concentrated themselves, and offered a well-contested battle; but, being finally defeated, dispersed themselves in all directions, and the army of the Islam captured a great quantity of booty. He now returned to Joonpoor, where he passed one month in hunting and amusements; and, having settled the administration of the place upon Barbek Shah again, set out on his return to Dehli: but when he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Oude, he received intelligence that Barbek Shah could not maintain himself in Joonpoor against the attacks of the Zemindars; upon which he detached Mohammed Khan Fermulli, Aazem Humayoon, Khanjehan, and Khan Khanan Lodi, by the way of Oude, and Mobarek Khan by that of Agra, with orders to put Barbek Shah in chains, and send him to court. This being faithfully executed, he gave him in charge to Omar Khan and Hybet Khan Servani, and proceeded himself to the fort of Chunar, to chastise some Omras of Sultan Hossain, and then to return. These, however, had concentrated themselves, and gave battle; but being obliged to retreat, fortified themselves in the fortress of Chunar; which being very strong and almost impregnable, he did not stop to besiege it, but proceeded towards Kuntut, a dependency on Patna; the Raja of which place, Rai Behid, came out to meet him, and offered obeisance to him; for which the Sultan confirmed him in the possession of Kuntut, and moved on to Arail and Biak.

It was at this time that Rai Behid, in consequence of his suspicious temper, abandoned all his camp-equipage and effects, and fled; which induced the Sultan to order his whole property to be plundered, and the gardens and habitations of this infidel to be laid waste; after which, he proceeded, by the way of Agra, to Dalmow, where he married the widow of Sheer Khan Lohani; and then continued his march to Shamsabad; from whence he, after a stay of six months, pro-

ceeded to Sumbul, but returned again from thence to Shamsabad. On his way thither, he slew, in a place called Madeomakul, the sink and receptacle of marauders, most of this rebellious set; and arrived at Shamsabad, where he spent the rainy season. In 900, he set out in the direction of Patna, for the purpose of chastising Raja Behid; but on his arrival at Gunganni, he fell in with his son, Bir Sing Deo, who offered battle; but, being put to flight, fled towards Patna, pursued by the army of the Islam. Being in dread of his father, on account of his flight, he continued flying towards Sirgujeh; but sickness attacking him, he committed his soul to the guardians of hell. Sekunder then penetrated as far as Behavund, belonging to Kanoj, which he desolated; but an extreme scarcity of provisions, opium, salt, and oil, befell him; and almost all the horses perished for want of water, and from the ill effects of the air in that quarter; so much so, that nine out of every ten died. In consequence of this accident, Likhimchund, a son of Raja Behid, together with the other Zemindars, wrote to Sultan Hossain, that Sekunder did not possess a single horse, all having perished. Hossain very inconsiderately raised a force, and marched out of Behar, with the intention of defeating Sultan Sekunder; who, on account of these events, detached Khan Khanan to Salbahen, son of Raja Behid, to gain him over to his interests, and carry him with him; and he himself crossed the Ganges at the passage of Kuntut, and arrived at Benares. Hossain drew near with equal expedition; and Sekunder, having marshalled his troops, with the divine aid, commenced the engagement, supported by Salbahen, at the head of a chosen force. The battle was well contested; but at length, with the divine assistance, the fortune of the day suddenly turned against Sultan Hossain, who fled towards Patna; but being closely pursued, he took the route of Behar: and when he found Behlol at his heels, he left Melik Kandoo behind, in the fort, and sought shelter at Kulgam, a dependency of Lucknowti. Sekunder then detached from his camp, at Deobar, a force to lay waste Behar: and Melik Kandoo, from his insufficiency to resist the Sultan's troops, betaking to flight, Behar was taken possession of in 901. Sekunder placed Mohabbet Khan, together with several Omras, in the citadel; and proceeded to Derveeshpoor, where he left Khanjehan in his camp; and advanced himself, in all haste, to Sirhut, whose Raja, submitting, received him solemnly, and offered some lacs of tankas as a tribute and present; for the receipt of which, the Sultan left Mobarek Khan behind, and proceeded, after eleven days, a second time to Derveeshpoor.

Khanjehan Lodi dying in 901, Sekunder conferred upon his son, Ahmed Khan, the title Aazem Humayoon; and went himself to pay a visit to the shrine of Sheikh Sharf Uddeen Yahya Muneeri, in Muneer. He there won the affection

of the Fakeers and Paupers: and from thence advanced upon Bengal; where Sultan Ala Uddeen detached his son, with a considerable force in advance, to oppose him; but Sekunder sent Mahmood Khan Lodi, and Mobarek Khan, against him. The rencontre took place near the village of Bar; but they entered upon a treaty, by which it was agreed, that Sultan Ala Uddeen should neither invade the country of Behar, nor afford protection to such as should act against it: whereas Sultan Sekunder should evacuate every place, nor extend his dominions beyond the Punjab. Sekunder gave his consent to these stipulations, and accordingly returned to Derveeshpoor. Mobarek Khan dying in the township of Patna, which belongs to Behar, he confided the government of the latter country to Deria Khan, a son of the deceased.

A scarcity of provisions happening this year, the Sultan, with a view to alleviate the distress of his subjects, issued commands to remit the duties on corn throughout his dominions. Some time after, he set out for Sarun, a dependency of Behar, then in the possession of the Zemindars, which he assigned to the Afghans; and then proceeded to Joonpoor, where he staid for six months. He then moved on to Panna, irritated at Salbahen's having refused him his daughter; and, on his arrival there, carried devastation so far as not to leave a trace of cultivation in this region. When he arrived before Bandoo, which is the strongest fort in that quarter, his warriors displayed surprising bravery; but his attempts failing, he returned to Joonpoor, where he remained for some time, occupied in regulating the affairs of the empire.

When, after Barbek Shah, Mobarek Khan Lodi had held the suba of Joonpoor several years, his accounts were revised; and, notwithstanding his eager solicitations to have, by the sublime grace, the balance remitted, the revenue of some years was exacted of him, and transmitted to the imperial treasure.

The Sultan one day came out of Joonpoor, to amuse himself with playing at club and ball (Chowgan), when, in the course of the play, the ball of Deria Khan Servani flew so violently at Hybet Khan, a son of Suleiman, that blood dropped from his head, and even the sash of his turban was knocked off. Uproar ensued amongst them; and Khyzer Khan, the brother of Suleiman, taking revenge for his brother, aimed at Deria Khan Servani's head: the Sultan, however, pacified him, and, having sent him to his dwelling, retired himself. Four days after this accident, they again went out to play; but, in the course of the games, Shams Khan, a near relation of Hybet Khan, intentionally struck the ball at the head of Khyzer Khan; upon which the Sultan ordered the latter to be bastinadoed. From that day he entertained suspicion of the Omras; and, accordingly, appointed some whom he knew to be sincerely devoted to him to

the office of personal attendants. But twenty-two Omras conspired together, to induce Prince Futh Khan, the son of Sultan Behlol, to take possession of the throne: and having, at this meeting, firmly settled all about their plans, began to spread rebellion and riot. Futh Khan, however, weighing in his mind the consequence of such an act, announced the names of the conspirators to his mother and Sheikh Zaher Kabuli, an upright and accomplished saint. They both advised him to forward all these names to the Sultan; by doing which, he would preserve himself clear of the dust of suspicion and rebellion. The prince, acting accordingly, sent word of the whole to the Sultan; who, with the consent of his Ministers, and on purpose to quell the sedition, sent the conspirators to different districts: and having composed his mind upon this emergency, departed, in 905, for Sumbul, where he resided for the space of four years; the air of this place being quite suitable to his constitution, and game plentiful. He was occupied in administering the state affairs, and passed the time in jollity and amusements.

At this time, Sheikh Jemali Kumbooh, the asylum of all erudition, and possessor of all knowledge, returning from his travels by sea and land, and repairing to Dehli, the Sultan transmitted to him a poetical composition of his own, inviting him to his court. A poetical intercourse between them took place, and both continued in intimate friendship during two years.

About the same time, intelligence of the ill-behaviour and misconduct of the governor of Dehli, Asghar, reaching the sublime ear, Khuvaz Khan, governor of Machiwara, was commissioned to apprehend and transmit him to court. But, prior to the arrival of Khuvaz Khan, Asghar had sent his son to offer submission; who, by the high command, was put in chains, and closely watched in prison. Khuvaz Khan, by order, repaired to Dehli, leaving there his son Ismail Khan, and returned then to Lahore to the presence. The Sultan received him most graciously, and presented him with an honorary vest. But when, soon after, Said Khan Servani, who belonged to the seditious party, came from Lahore to pay his respects, the Sultan banished him, together with Tatar Khan, Mohammed Shah, and the other disaffected Omras, from his empire.

Raja Man, of Gualyar, sent one of his attendants, Nehal, with valuable presents to the Sultan; but when this envoy was admitted to him, he returned such coarse and improper answers to the questions put to him about Raja Man's affairs, that the Sultan, in a rage, ordered him immediately to depart, and prepared himself an expedition against the fort of Tahd.

Meanwhile, the report of the death of Khan Khanan Fermulli, governor of

Biana, having reached the Sultan, he appointed the two sons of the deceased, Emad and Suleiman, to succeed him: but as Biana, owing to its strong fort and frontier situation, was the seat of sedition and tumult, they both came to Sumbul before the Sultan, to settle some affairs. But, deeming their arrival to be rather untimely, he was not at all pleased with it; and appointed Khuvaz Khan, governor of Biana; and Zafdar Khan, governor of Agra, which belonged to it. To Emad and Suleiman he gave Shamsabad, Jelaysur, and Tumlook, and some other districts. After that, he ordered Alem Khan of Meiwat, and Khan Khanan Lohani, governor of Rebari, in conjunction with Khuvaz Khan, to reduce the fort of Dholpoor, and wrest it from the hands of Mankedeo. When the Omras, in execution of the command, directed their route against that place, the Rai came out to repel force by force; and much life was daily lost on both sides. Amongst the killed, was also Khuaja Bein, one of the most gallant combatants. Upon account of these occurrences, Sekunder marched, on a Friday, the sixth of Ramazan, in 906, upon Dholpoor; but Raja Mankedeo, placing a garrison in the castle, retreated himself to Gualyar. This detachment, however, being unable to defend it, and abandoning the fort by night, it fell into the hands of the Mohammedan army. Sekunder, after a residence of one month in Dholpoor, marched to Gualyar; where Raja Man not only delegated ambassadors for peace, but drove Said Khan, Babu Khan, and Rai Guneis, who had formerly deserted the Sultan, and taken refuge with him, out of the fort; besides that, he sent his son, Bicker Majeet, with rich presents to the Sultan, with the assurance that he would henceforward be entirely subject to him. From thence the Sultan set out for Biana, the seat of the empire, which he honoured with his presence, and spent there the rainy season.

In the year 910 he raised the standard of war for the reduction of the fort Munderail; but the Raja capitulating, and delivering up the citadel, the Sultan ordered the temples of idols to be demolished, and the receptacle of the infidels to be rased and destroyed; after which he returned to Biana.

In the same year, the heat of the air grew so intense, that almost all the people fell sick; and it occurred to the Sultan to found a town on the banks of the Jumna, which was to be the residence and head-quarters of the army, and to serve to keep the rebels of that quarter in awe, and deprive them of further opportunity of growing refractory. With this view, he commissioned some judicious and intelligent men to take a ship, and explore the shores of the river all along from Chundwar to Dehli, selecting any site which they might deem fit for a town and fortress. The commissioners accordingly began most carefully to

examine both sides of the river; until, arriving at the spot where Agra stands at present, they made a report of it to the Sultan. He then came himself, and, taking a full view of it, expressed his pleasure to have a town built and a strong fort erected. It was thus, in 911, that the foundations of the seat of the Khalifat, and the refuge against misery and calamity, were laid.

But to return. Having assigned Dholpoor to Melik Moëzz Uddeen, he marched against the infidels about Gualyar, the Raja of which came out, and offered an obstinate battle. But the infidels finally took to flight, and a vast number of them fell victims to the unerring sword. He then left several distinguished Omras in Dholpoor; and, quieting the rebels of Gualyar, repaired to Biana, where he spent the whole rainy season in pleasure and amusement; but marched, on Sohail's re-appearance, to the fort of Tehunkur (Awintgur).

In the same year, 911, a violent earthquake, extending all over Hindustan, or at least over most of the provinces, took place, the violence of which surpasses all description. It was, in fact, so terrible, that mountains were overturned, and all lofty edifices dashed to the ground: the living thought the day of judgment was come; and the dead, the day of resurrection. Never, since the time of Adam up to the present day, had such a violent earthquake taken place, nor is a similar one mentioned in history.

On his arrival at Dholpoor, the Sultan detached Emad Khan and Mojahed Khan Fermulli in advance, with ten thousand horse and one hundred elephants, against Tehunkur: he himself followed. On the third of the month Ramazan, in 912, he arrived at the place; and encouraging a struggle of emulation by splendid rewards, intrepid men forced their way in every direction into the fort, massacring the infidel inhabitants, without lending an ear to supplications for mercy; and the Rajputs entered their habitations, and killed and destroyed their own family and children.

Sekunder, after the reduction of the place, having settled remunerations and rewards, gave the fort in charge to Bhikun and Mojahed Khan; enjoining them, at the same time, to demolish all the pagan temples, and fill their places with mosques: upon which, he returned to Dholpoor. At this time, a great many people perished for want of water.

Late in the month of Safar, in the year 913, the Sultan returned to his residence at Agra, where he remained during the rains. But on the first appearance of Sohail, he began his expedition for the reduction of Narvar, belonging to Malwa; and addressed a firman to Jelal Khan, governor of Kalpi, commanding him to march out with all the Omras and vassals of that quarter,

to invest that fort. On the prince's arrival, the garrison turned their face from peace, and began a sharp fire of musquetry upon them. Some days after, the Sultan made his appearance in person; when Jelal Khan drew up his troops for the inspection of the Sultan: but this monarch, being apprehensive of the number of the troops, after an anxious deliberation, was persuaded that Jelal Khan must be gradually subverted. The fort being in a state of complete fortification, they continued skirmishing every day, by which much human life was sacrificed; when the Sultan, perceiving the siege would be obstinate ordered both cavalry and infantry to go to work with arrows, knives, axes, and hatchets, and to undermine and scale the place. Brave soldiers accordingly commenced an assault upon the fort, on all sides; and the utmost exertions, attended with the greatest peril, were made, which the Sultan viewed from an elevated terrace. The heroes had already succeeded in opening a breach in the wall, and called on their companions to rush in, when the garrison, immediately blocking up the breach with stones and wood, brought destruction upon a vast number of the assailants. The Sultan, seeing that the place was not so easily to be carried, forbade his army to engage in battle; but ordered them to continue the siege, by which the infidels would be reduced by famine. He soon after caused Prince Jelal Uddeen to be put in chains, and delivered to the charge of Ibrahim Khan Lohani, Suleiman Fermulli, and Melik Ala Uddeen Jelvani, to keep him closely guarded in Tehunkur. It was not long after that, that the garrison of Narvar, being reduced to the greatest weakness by scarcity both of provisions and water, came out with their families; upon which, the Sultan rased the temples, erected mosques, and settled allowances on learned and scientific men.

About this time, Shehab Uddeen, a son of Nasser Uddeen, King of Malwa, being at variance with his father, had relinguished Chunderi, and arrived at Siperi, to pay his respects to the Sultan; who sent him a horse and honorary dress, with the intimation, that if he would deliver Chunderi to his agents in that quarter, he would so far assist him, as to enable him to return in reconciliation to his father. The prince, however, seeing no safety for himself when deprived of the fort of Chunderi, returned to it; and the Sultan gave orders to erect another strong-hold near this fort.

About this time, Niamet Khatun, the consort of Kotb Khan Lodi, arrived; and, on the Sultan coming to see her, she intercceded on behalf of Jelal Khan. He not only complied with her wishes as to this point, but presented her also with one hundred and twenty horses, fifteen elephants, and an honorary robe of the first degree.

In the year 915, he directed his route towards Hutkant, which he scoured of idolaters and banditti; and when he had put to the sword the rebels of that quarter, and established small posts at every place, he returned again to his capital.

Soon after, information was conveyed to him, that Ahmed Khan, the son of Mobarek Khan, governor of Lucknow, had formed an alliance with the infidels, and even apostatized from the true faith: on which he issued a firman to Mohammed Khan, a brother of Ahmed Khan, to secure and send him to court. It was also about this time, that Mohammed Khan, a grandson of Sultan Nasser Uddeen, of Malwa, from dread of his grandfather, sued for protection at the imperial court. A firman was issued to Prince Jelal Khan, importing that Chunderi being settled on Mohammed Khan, he was to reside there, and to be firmly supported, in order to avert from him any molestation on the part of the Malavian army. The Sultan himself came to Dholpoor, for the purpose of hunting; and caused a pavilion and a delightful palace to be erected.

When, in the year 916, his empire was firmly established and prospering, another kingdom happened to fall into his snares. This was briefly as follows:—Ali Khan and Aba Beer, two attendants of Mohammed Khan, governor of Nagor, concerted a plot against their master, and endeavoured, by stratagem, to do away with him. He, however, being informed of their treachery, prevented them from executing their plans, and determined to inflict capital punishment on them. But both, effecting their escape, repaired to the court of the Sultan. Mohammed, upon this, fearing of evil consequences from the defection of his relations, the disaffection of his intimates, and their having taken refuge with this powerful Sultan, sent not only the assurance of his allegiance, with a great many valuable offerings to him, but ordered the Khotba to be read, and sent coins to be struck at Nagor, in the Sultan's name. The report of this submission gave the Monarch such joy and delight, that he sent to Mohammed a horse and honorary dress. He then left Dholpoor, and honoured the capital, Agra, with his presence; and spent his time in administering justice, distributing favours, and in ambulation and hunting.

It was about this time, that Agra, formerly a dependency of Biana, was fixed upon for the residence of the sovereign: but he soon after departed for Dholpoor, and transmitted an order to Suleiman, a son of Khan Khanan, to advance against Suisuper, in support of the new convert, Hossain, whose name before was Rai Dunkar. But Suleiman making excuses, by alleging that he could not prevail upon himself to be so remote from the presence, the Sultan immediately discharged him, giving his appointment to Bhikun Sheikhzada. Not long

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after that, he returned to Agra; where he, according to his former custom, issued firmans to most of the Omras, to call them to court. He was at the time taken ill; but continued, notwithstanding, to be animated by such zeal, that, without relaxation, he held public council, and employed himself in expediting the state and financial affairs. His illness, however, was daily on the increase; so much so, that neither a bit of food nor a drop of water could glide down his throat: his breath was intercepted; and, in the year 923, he emigrated from this perishable world, to the blessed abode of the Eternal King.

> Sekunder, Shah of the Seven Climates, did not stay. Nobody can stay, as Sekunder did not stay.

His coffin was removed to Dehli, and deposited there. The life of this justice-loving monarch amounted to twenty-eight years and five months.

Although the virtues and praiseworthy qualities of this sovereign were so many that they do not admit of a full enumeration, yet we may briefly, and by way of abridgement, offer a sketch of his illustrious habits and actions. He was of a dignified appearance, and adorned with every intrinsic accomplishment. During the years of his reign, the rose-garden of the world flourished; and during the months of his Khelafat, rain fell so abundantly, that the produce of the soil was so plentiful as has not been recorded of any time. Every individual enjoyed security, tranquillity, and perfect comfort. He was himself so punctual in performing the ordinances of the law, that he never thought it allowable to deviate in the least from what the Ulemas had ordained; and most of the pagan temples were demolished. There lived in a place by name Katbhur, a Brahman, called Budhen, who one day uttered, in the presence of Mussulmans, the assertion, that Islamism was true, but his own religion not less so. This statement got currency, and reached even the ears of the Ulemas. Kazi Piada and Sheikh Bedeh, both the most learned men in Lukhnowti, differing in their opinions as to whether Budhen deserved capital punishment, the governor of these provinces, Aazem Khan, sent the Brahman, together with the Kazi and the Sheikh, to Sekunder, in Sumbul. The Sultan, in conformity with his principle, not to allow an innocent man to suffer, called on all the Ulemas of his empire to assemble, in order to expound the divine law. After much dispute, they agreed in the point, that the Brahman must be imprisoned, and the Islam tendered to him; but that he must suffer, in case he should reject it. With this view, they incarcerated Budhen for some time; but he persisting in his refusal, a firman was drawn up for his execution.—It was customary with him

every day to hold court, and to attend in person in the council: sometimes he was engaged in transacting business from morning till night, and performed the five prayers on one spot. Under him the oppressive hand of the Indian Zemindars was checked. He never did anything in a passion; but was always kind towards men whom he considered as a deposit from God. He was strictly addicted to veracity. One day, when his brother, Barbek Shah, had marshalled his troops, and engaged in battle, a Derveesh stood forward, seizing his hand, and predicting him victory; but he indignantly drew back his hand; and on the Derveesh asking why he did so, as he had predicted victory to his standard and pronounced a prosperous omen, the Sultan replied, that, whenever a battle was fighting between Mohammedan troops, one ought not to adjudicate victory to either; but rather say, that it might fall to the lot of that party where it was to prove to the advantage of the Mussulmans at large, and triumph turn to that, where it might serve to the welfare of mankind.

His liberality was so unbounded, that twice a-year he had a list of the indigent and meritorious of his empire handed over to him; to each of whom he allotted a suitable allowance. Whenever he met a royal servant, he would inquire after his father, and take his measures accordingly; after that, he gave a horse to him, with a competent assignment of land; permitting him to repair to his possession, in order to make regulations, and to return after a year to pay him his homage.

He was so much devoted to Islamism, that he broke down all the temples of the infidels, and exterminated their name and memory. In the city of Mutra, a place where the Hindoos used to perform their religious abluitions, he erected a college and mosques; at the same time appointing agents to prevent the infidels from continuing their worship at that place, and the barbers from shaving the heads of the Hindoos. He abolished, as an innovation, the annual procession of the spear of Masood Ghazi Salar to Behraïj, and prohibited women from visiting places of pilgrimage. In his time science was universally cultivated; and noble Omras engaged themselves in acquiring knowledge. We are told, that when, on Sultan Behlol's death, Sekunder, with a view to sovereignty, repaired to the camp of the deceased, he waited previously upon the Pole of the poles, Sheikh Jemal Uddeen Kumbooh of Dehli, with a view to begin his career under his assent and under his auspices. The Sheikh accosted him with these words: "May God bless thee, in both worlds!" upon which the Sultan kissed his holy hands, and professed it to have been his aim to hear such a speech in his humble favour. The Sheikh, exceedingly pleased with the modesty of the Sultan, told him, in con-

formity with his intuition, that he had obtained, by prayers, from God an intimation to the effect, that he would prove the Sekunder of his time, and many servants of God be benefitted by him. This speech he took as a propitious omen, and rode off. It came into my possession in the following manner:

> The speech of the pious is the interpretation of Fate; their mind and heart resemble the tablet and reed. Eternal felicity follows obedience to them; but everlasting pains pursue deviation from them.

He had a full knowledge of all the wants of his Omras and Grandees, with regard to their allowance, subsistence, and living; observing, that a well-founded edifice could not sustain any injury. He was so well instructed in all things relating to the army and to his subjects, that he knew even the most hidden secrets of every individual's household, and would sometimes tell the Omras their private affairs. For this reason he was reported to have a demon attached to him, who disclosed to him all secrets. Hence also arises the following anecdote:—During his reign, a certain person laid the foundations of a house. In the course of digging up the ground, a lamp was discovered, which he told his people to take care of, it being fit for domestic use. At night, when they put oil in, and kindled it, immediately two persons stood forward. The man asked them who they were? and what they had come for? They replied, they were the guardians of the lamp; and whenever it was lighted, they were compelled to obey, and furnish all that he might command. The man, who was just at that time desperately in love with the daughter of a merchant, disclosed to them his secret, by the way of trial. The guardians without delay fetched the girl, together with the bedstead in which she slept: and when he had abundantly amused himself with her, he directed the guardians to convey the girl back again to the place from which they had taken her. In this way they continued acting every night; and the man obtained all his wishes. The girl, however, growing gradually more and more sickly and pale, one day told her mother all about the matter; and the latter reported it to her father. The merchant, carrying with him suitable presents, laid the whole affair before the Sultan, who commissioned the Kutwal to investigate the matter: he, however, in spite of all his exertions, being unsuccessful, the Sultan ordered his Vizier, Mian Boa, to pursue the case. The Vizier then directed the merchant to let his daughter take with her a glass filled with saffron, which she was to pour out over the clothes and night-garment of the youth. The girl took a glass with her accordingly, and emptied it on the clothes of the youth: but perceiving, at the first moment, her intention, he inquired of the guardians, what course he should pursue; and they immediately went and spread saffron on all the clothes

of the Sultan and the inhabitants of the town. Sekunder was quite embarrassed, and professed that this complicated clue and entangled knot was not to be solved but by the way of connivance and lenity. He then, upon the most sacred assurances, made it known throughout the town, that if the author of this affair would discover himself, he should receive all that he could desire: and the youth being at length persuaded that an evil deed would, in the end, be attended with evil consequences, presented himself, with the lamp, before the Sultan; and informing him of the circumstances as they were, received the fulfilment of his wishes. This lamp, they say, was the source of the Sultan's knowledge, wonderful actions, and information about any hidden matters; the guardians explaining to him all that he could wish for.

Another anecdote is as follows:—During his reign, two brothers of Ġualyar left their home, from want of subsistence, and entered the army, when he had just marched it to lay waste the country of the infidels. In a battle, they took some pearls and two pieces of ruby: when one brother gave it as his opinion that they ought no longer to expose themselves to danger, having obtained the object of their wishes, but return to their homes, and spend their lives in comfort. The other brother objecting to this, he requested him to give him his share, as he was determined on departing. They consequently made two equal shares of their acquired property; one ruby and some pearls falling to the lot of each. The younger brother then preparing for his departure, the elder entrusted his ruby to him, to hand it over to his wife; which, however, this unprincipled fellow did not perform. When the former, at last, also returned from the campaign, he inquired about the ruby; and his brother assured him that he had delivered it to his wife: this she, however, denied; and he went on to accuse her of fraudulently concealing it. The husband now began to beat her, in order to intimidate her; but she resorted to the Vizier, Mian Boa, an eminent, sagacious, and acute-minded man, detailing to him the truth. He, in consequence, cited her husband and the brother before him, and examined them; but both asserted that the ruby had been delivered to her. The Vizier, at a loss how to act, laid the whole matter before the Sultan, and produced the false-witnesses whom the brother of the woman's husband had produced. The Sultan re-examined them; and, on their unanimous asseveration, that in their own presence the ruby had been given to her, he ordered them, as well as the two brothers, to form a ruby of wax, of the same shape as that in question; which the two brothers executed accordingly. But the witnesses, not having seen the gem, formed one quite different from the

original; and, in spite of all their contrivance to intimidate the woman, they were always foiled. The Sultan immediately saw through the whole; and subjecting the witnesses to torture, to extort the truth, they confessed the falsehood of their evidence, which had been given for worldly interests. He further ordered the brother to undergo the same punishment; who thereupon produced the ruby, and delivered it to the Sultan, who handed it over to his brother and his wife, and ordered the former for execution, and the witnesses to have their tongues cut out.

The Sultan was also deeply initiated in Persian poetry: he composed himself several poems, and assumed the poetical name of Gulrukhi. When, much about this time, the asylum of science and knowledge, Jemali Kumbooh, had returned from his travels over Irak and Mavarannahr, the Sultan, being then at Sumbul, from sincere attachment, addressed a poetical composition to him, to invite him to Court, and beg him for a book of his, entitled, "Mehru Mah." The Sultan's composition lies now before my eyes, in his own handwriting, and is as follows:

> "O magazine of a never-failing treasure, and going in the way of faith, Jemali! who hast perambulated all the world, and happily returned now to thy home! Thou art the traveller of the Universe. Praise be to God, that thou hast now returned! Thou wert in Meeca, and Medina also. Thou art a gem; thou art a treasure also. But if the Sheikh is far from friends on travels, it seems too long before we can enjoy his visit. It is thy book, Mehru Mah, that I desire. O Sheikh, who hast travelled so much all over the world, repair without delay to me: be pleased to wander to my royal court, to meet thy wishes from Gulrukhi. My eyes bear the appearance of a parrot: my heart is querulous like a bird. I am Sekunder; thou art Khyzer for me: it is much better that thou shouldst come to me. My eyes receive the light from the sun; but the moon must not be far from my eyes."

Upon perusing this address, the Sheikh repaired to the Sultan at Sumbul; who, on his part, owing to his unlimited attachment, solemnly received him, and contracted such an intimate friendship with him as is beyond conception: a great many religious persons were benefitted through his intercession. After Sekunder's death, he composed Kazeides and Odes, bewailing his loss.—When the family of the Lodians, who had held the reign of Hindustan during seventy-seven years, had become extinct, the crown, in 946, passed over to the race of Soor Sheer Shah and Islam Shah.

## HISTORY OF SULTAN IBRAHIM.

At a prosperous hour of the eighth of the month Dilkaada, in the year 923, Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sekunder, mounted the throne, and all classes submitted to the bonds of obedience and homage. But, owing to his irritable temper, several Omras, having great influence in the affairs of the state, agreed upon the arrangement, that the dominions and legislative power of Sultan Ibrahim should reach only as far as the frontier of Joonpoor; but that from Joonpoor to Behar and Bengal, Jelal Khan, then residing in the suba of Kalpi, should be acknowledged the sovereign. Jelal Khan repaired to Joonpoor in consequence, and nominated Fut'h Khan, a son of Aazem Humayoon, his Vizier. But Khanjehan Lodi, one of the noblest Omras of Sultan Sekunder, who held Rebari and the adjacent districts in jagheer, learning of the division of the empire, came to present himself before the Sultan; and began severely to upbraid and blame all the Grandees, and pointed out to them, that it was ruinous to have the sovereignty held by two; this giving rise only to sedition and calamity:—

Thero cannot subsist two souls in one body, nor two sovereigns in one kingdom.

After much debate, they came to the resolution, that, as Prince Jelal Khan had not yet acquired footing in these provinces, nor assumed sovereignty, nor established himself in the seat of the Khelafat, a firman, expressive of every respect and amicable distinction, should be issued, to the effect, that necessity being urgent, his personal presence could not be dispensed with; on which account he was desired, as fast as possible, to repair to the presence. In pursuance of this decree, Hybet Khan Gurg-andaz, who, however, was too careless in his expressions, was despatched to Jelal Khan, then at Kalpi; but was foiled in his attempt, in spite of all his arts, adulation, and flatteries; the prince peremptorily refusing to return. When Hybet Khan came back, and made his report, the Sultan, without delay, detached some noble Omras, Sheikhzadeh Mahmood, the son of Sheikh Said Fermulli, Melik Ismail, son of Ala Uddeen Jelvani, and Kazi Hameed Uddeen Hajab, to induce the prince to come; but although they conjointly employed every expedient, and soothed Jelal Khan by sweet words, yet with him they all savoured of bitterness, and he again flatly refused to appear before the Sultan. The envoys then returned, and made a faithful report of what had passed. The Sultan thereupon, in conformity with the advice of his ministers, issued firmans to his Omras and vassals of that quarter,

in which he heaped caresses and honours on them, and intimated to them, that they should always reject and abhor obedience to the commands of Jelal Khan, and pay not the least attention to his orders; and further bear in mind, that on their conduct, supersession or confirmation in their posts would depend. To most of them, who altogether could muster about forty thousand horse, such as Deria Lohani, the governor of Behar, Nazir Khan, vassal of Ghazipoor, and Sheikhzadeh, prefect of Oude and Lucknow, he sent a horse, a robe of honour, and a sword inlaid with jewels, in order to attach them to his service. All these Chiefs, upon the reception of the firmans, discontinned to acknowledge the authority of Jelal Khan, and addressed assurances of their loyalty and allegiance to the Sultan; who receiving the intelligence of the Omras having again taken part with him, arranged, on the 15th of Dilhije, splendid festivals, and celebrated his ascension to the throne anew. He presented every Omra, Grandee, and attendant, according to his station and dignity, with a horse, an elephant, and an honorary dress and allowance; and gained the affection of the army by presents and gifts; opening, moreover, the doors of beneficence to the poor and indigent, and increasing the salaries and allowance of every one. He called also before him the confidential, religions, and meritorious persons, from town to town, from fort to fort, from village to village. Thus the affairs of the reign prospered and flourished, and every one enjoyed ease and comfort.

When Jelal Khan heard of this loyalty, sincere attachment, and obsequiousness, he, with some adventurers who had joined with him, raised the standard of rebellion and the banner of sovereignty at Kalpi; and abandoning Joonpoor, he assumed the Khotba, and the right of coining. Kalpi he fixed upon as his residence, and usurped the title Sultan Jelal Uddeen. Having made the necessary arrangements relative to the army, artillery, retinue, and attendants, and other requisites for the campaign, he gained over the Zemindars, and thus acquired power and strength. At the head of a numerous army, he marched against Aazem Humayoon, who, in the name of Sultan Ibrahim, held the fort of Gualyar. This place he invested, and despatched experienced officers to its governor, in order to point out to him, that he looked upon him as his father and uncle; that he should consider that he himself had not committed any unlawful act; but that the violation of peace was owing to Sultan Ibrahim, who has usurped that portion of the empire which he had inherited from their father, and thus entirely disregarded their near relationship. He ought therefore to take his claims into consideration, and be actuated by the conviction, that it was a duty in him to aid the oppressed.

Aazem Humayoon, bearing a grudge against the Sultan, and seeing the humble petition, despondency, and affection of Jelal Uddeen, felt compassion for him; and not possessing power enough in himself to withstand his solicitations, he desisted from further opposition, and joined Jelal Uddeen, with whom he entered upon a firm league. He then resolved, first to reduce the provinces of Joonpoor, Behar, and the adjacent parts; and after that to proceed with other plans. In execution of this scheme, they led on their armies towards Oude; and Sultan Jelal Uddeen commenced hostilities against Said Khan, a son of Mobarek Khan, governor of this place. But he, well aware of his weakness to contend with his adversary, fled to Lucknow, and, at the same time, sent word of these proceedings to Ibrahim, who instantly determined on marching an army with all possible expedition against his brother. In order, however, to secure the Grandees of the empire, he commanded his brothers, Ismael Khan, Hossain Khan, Mahmood Khan, and Doulet Khan, whom he held in confinement, to be conveyed to, and closely confined in, the fort of Hansi. This being executed, in the first year of his reign, and on the 25th of Dilhije, he marched to Joonpoor and Oude, and arrived, in forced marches, at Bhoogong, and from thence at Kanoj.

Upon this march, the news was brought, that Aazem Humayoon had again deserted Jelal Uddeen, and was, with his son, Fut'h Khan, on the way to come and offer his allegiance. At this the Sultan was so exceedingly pleased, that, on his approach, he sent all his Grandees to meet him; and on his presenting himself, he assigned to him a horse, an elephant, and a sword inlaid with jewels. At the same time, Omar Khan ben Sekunder marched against a troop of Zemindars of Gay-Tolee, a place dependent on Kole, and the receptacle of the most notorious rebels; and inflicting the merited punishment upon them, and putting their Chiefs to death, suppressed the rebellion, upon which he waited on the Sultan at Kanoj. Part of the Omras in the suba of Oude, Joonpoor, and Lucknow, as Said Khan and Sheikhzadeh Fermulli, came likewise to pay their respects.

The Sultan soon after detached Aazem Humayoon Lodi, Aazem Humayoon Servani, and Nasir Khan Lohani, with a formidable army, and ferocious elephants, against Jelal Uddeen: but, previous to their arrival, he had left Emad Ulmulk, Sheikh Kadr Uddeen, and Neamet Khatun, who belonged to the family of Kotb Khan Lodi, and moreover his whole Harem, in Kalpi, and marched himself towards the capital, with a view to throw consternation over the kingdom, and capture, if possible, the fort of Agra. The Omras of the Sultan, on the contrary, had arrived before Kalpi, and laid siege to it. For some days the contest was carried on with fire-arms; and the fort, in the end, was demolished, the town

plundered, and rich booty captured by Ibrahim's troops. The Sultan, on hearing of Jelal Uddeen's movement towards Agra, detached without delay Melik Adam Kaker, with other Omras, to protect the place. This officer had already entered the town, when Jelal Uddeen, arriving, demanded of him to give up the town to plunder, and deliver up the fort to him. But Melik Kaker pacified him with words and amusing stories; and thus saved Agra from being plundered. Fortunately, not long after, arrived Schader Khan Lohani, Melik Ismail Jelvani, and Kabir Khan Lodi; who jointly intimated to Jelal Uddeen, that if he would abstain from further pretensions to the sovereignty, and give up the parasol, fan, the retinue, trumpet, kettle-drum, and other ensigns of royalty, and adopt the conduct of the Omras, they would reinstate him in his former function, and cede to him the government of Kalpi. Jelal Uddeen closing with these offers, Melik Adam Kaker had all the ensigns above mentioned delivered to him; which he sent to the Sultan, who had just made his entrance in Etaweh, when the messenger came and submitted the stipulations for his confirmation. But, owing to his unlimited pride, violent temper, and youthful temerity, he not only entirely disapproved the treaty, but issued orders to annihilate Jelal Uddeen, who, apprised of this danger, placed himself under the protection of the Raja of Gualyar.

The Sultan prolonged his stay at the capital, to establish the affairs of the empire, which had been shaken for some time by the seditious enterprises of Jelal Uddeen, and to gain over the factious Omras to his interests; thus securing a consolidated state of his dominions. Hybet Khan Gurg-andaz, Kerimdad, and Doulet Khan Lodi he charged with the protection of Dehli; and Sheikh-zadeh Munjoo, under Peishwa Sultan Mohammed, a grandson of Sultan Nasser Uddeen Khilji, with the government of Chunderi. He himself continued, with the utmost attention, to regulate the financial and state affairs. Mian Boa, a man unequalled in acuteness of mind and intellect, and formerly Grand Vizier to Sekunder, but who had fallen into disgrace during the present reign and had been superseded, he ordered to be put in chains, and given in charge to Melik Adam Kaker. The administration of the court of justice held by him, and his dignity and estates, were transferred to his son. Mian Boa soon after delivered his soul to its Creator.

About this time, it occurred to Sultan Ibrahim, that, although Sultan Behlol, as well as Sekunder, had always cherished the plan of reducing Gualyar, and had several times undertaken campaigns for that purpose, without however being successful, yet he might perhaps succeed in accomplishing his design if

Fortune should ever favour him; which conquests would secure him the attachment of the Grandees of the empire, and the extermination of infidelity in Hind. With this praiseworthy view, he detached Aazem Humayoon Servani with thirty thousand horse, and fifty elephants, besides engines for storming a fort, in order to subdue Gualyar. On his approach, Jelal Uddeen leaving it, repaired to Malwa to Sultan Mahmood Khilji, and Aazem commenced the siege.

About this time, the Raja of this place, Raja Man, died; who is said to have been inclined to Islamism, though externally bearing the appearance of a Hindoo; and to this circumstance it is to be attributed that he never exercised violence against any person. Martial young soldiers penetrated as far as the gate of the citadel, called Badel Kadda; but the greater part fell by the fire of the enemy, and thus set a pattern for imitation to others. There was a brazen bull, worshipped by the Hindoos, posted at the gate, which was thrown down by the Afghans with hatchets, and sent to the Sultan, who, being exceedingly amused with it, ordered the animal to be erected in Dehli, at the Bagdad gate; and despatched fresh troops, under Bihkun Khan Lodi, Suleiman Fermulli, Behader Khan Lohani, Ismuel Melik Firozad, Khyzer Khan Lohani, and Khanjehan Lodi, in order to succour Aazem Humayoon, and to accelerate the reduction of the garrison.

The Sultan continued distrustful of all his Omras: and Jelal Uddeen, who had abandoned Gualyar and repaired to Sultan Mahmood Khilji, without however obtaining the object of his wishes, fled further on, and took his route in the direction of Gurrakota. On his road, he was forced to engage the Zemindars of Goudwara; but being defeated, and becoming prisoner to his opponents, he was sent by them, in chains, to Sultan Ibrahim, who gave orders to transport him to the fortress of Hansi, there to be kept in close custody with his brothers. They accordingly carried him off; but, on the way, administered to him the draught of death. By means of such contrivances, the arrogant vanity of the Sultan endeavoured to secure to himself absolute monarchy.

Aazem Humayoon Servani, one of the first nobles, and lord of a standard and kettle-drum, and commander of a force of thirty thousand horse, was just on the eve of conquering Gualyar, which he was investing, when the Sultan recalled and imprisoned him. On advices of this action reaching his son, Islam Khan, a vassal holding Kurra and Manekpoor and the contiguous districts of the Sultan, unmindful of filial duty, seized upon the whole property of his father: but Sultan

Ibrahim instantly gave these provinces in charge to Ahmed Khan, who went thither; but being compelled to engage in battle, was defeated.

The circumstances of Aazem Humayoon and Mian Boa's undeserved confinement, and Jelal Uddeen's assassination, filled the hearts of all the Omras with dismay; so that Aazem Humayoon Lodi, one of the most powerful Omras, and governor of Lucknow and the adjacent territories, owing to his suspicious disposition, fled; and joining Islam Khan, son of Aazem Humayoon, used every endeavour to excite a rebellion. The news of this event being brought to the Sultan, he detached Ahmed Khan Lodi, a brother of Aazem Humayoon, several sons of Melik Hossain Fermulli, Sheikhzadeh and Mahmood Fermulli Ali Khan, Khan Khanan Fermulli, Buhkhari Khan Fermulli, Dilaver Khan Sarenkhani, Kotb Khan, a son of Ghazi Khan Beloti, Bihkun Khan Lohani, Sekunder Khan, son of Melik Kaker, and others, against Islam Khan and his rebellious partisans. On their arrival at the township of Banghermow, Ekbal Khan, a grand officer of Aazem Humayoon Lodi, rushed from an ambush, with five thousand horse and some elephants, upon the imperial army; and having wounded the greater part, and thrown them into disorder, effected his retreat.

When the report of this accident reached the Sultan, he became quite enraged, and issued a firman to the purpose, that as long as the Omras had not exterminated the rebels, and recovered the usurped provinces from them, their appearence at Court would be interdicted; and, at the same time, sent them fresh reinforcements. The whole force of the rebels amounted to nearly forty thousand five hundred horse; whilst the Sultan's numbered fifty thousand of the same description. When the troops on both sides were preparing for battle, one Sheikh Rajoo Bokhari, the pattern of the age, intervening, prevented them from proceeding to hostilities, and calmed their passion by salutary exhortations; at the end of which the insurgents declared, that, unless the Sultan would release Aazem Humayoon Servani from confinement, they would entirely desert his service, and engage in that of another sovereign. Upon this, both armies returned to their respective camps, and Sheikh Rajoo Bokhari, with the consent of the imperial Commander-in-Chief, Ahmed Khan, addressed a remonstrance to the court: but the perusal of the petition put the Sultan in a fit of passion, and he was so far from closing with the terms, that he, on the spot, issued a firman to Deria Khan Lohani, governor of Behar, in conjunction with Nassir Khan Lohani, Sheikhzadeh Fermulli, and all the other Omras, to march against the execrable rebels, and totally to extirpate and annihilate them. But the rebels, priding themselves upon their number, entirely

disregarded the Sultan's propitious star, and the victoriousness of the Suleimanian army, and assumed a warlike and hostile attitude. The armies now drew up in order of battle, forming the right and left wings, and the flank and main body, and martial warriors so furiously mixed in the struggle, that the day proved to be of the most horrible description. Dead bodies, heap upon heap, covered the field; and the number of heads lying upon the ground is beyond the reach of recollection. Streams of blood ran over the plain; and whenever, for a length of time, a fierce battle took place in Hindustan, the old men always observed, that with this battle no other one was comparable; brothers fighting against brothers, fathers against sons, inflamed by mutual shame and innate bravery: bows and arrows were laid aside, and the carnage carried on with daggers, swords, knives, and javelins. Ten thousand Afghans fell in that conflict on both sides. At length, when the smile of the holy institution (religious war) grew cheerful, and the efforts of the infidels proved fruitless, the breeze of victory and triumph turned to the imperial banners; and flight fell upon the Pagans. Their chief commander, Islam Khan himself, lay dead upon the field; and Said Khan Lohani fell a prisoner into the hands of Deria Khan Lohani's train.

The Sultan, on receiving this news, grew still prouder; and caused Mian Boa, and Aazem Humayoon, both in confinement, to be assassinated; nevertheless, causing a report to be circulated, that both had died of illness. But Deria Khan Lohani, chief commander and governor of Behar, entertained suspicion, and reasoning, that, the victory being gained by him, the Sultan might, on his presenting himself, conceive him to be an enterprising and turbulent person, and put him to death; the more so, as he had already expressed his dissatisfaction with him: he accordingly, entering into a league with Mohammed Khan Soor, and most of the other Omras, repaired to his principality in Behar, and assumed the right of coining, and having the Khotba read in his name; usurped the title Mohammed Shah, and maintained a force of eighty thousand horse. Khan Khanan Lodi, Hassan Fermulli, and several other Omras, being likewise in a state of apprehension, wrested their head from obedience to the Sultan, and went to their respective estates in Joonpoor, Ghazipoor, and the contiguous parts: but the apprehension and disobedience of the Omras was much more increased by the fact, that Hossain Khan Fermulli, governor of Chunderi, was assassinated at the intimation of the Sultan, by some base-minded saints of that place.

Not long after, Deria Khan Lohani died; and his son, Behader Khan,

succeeding to his father's dignity, assumed the new title of Mohammed Shah, at the same time ordering the Khotba to be read, and coins to be struck in his name. He equipped an army of one hundred thousand horse; and, having drawn on his side the Omras of the districts about Behar and Joonpoor, beat Nasser Khan Lohani, the governor of Ghazipoor, who commanded the imperial forces. After his defeat, he returned to the Sultan; but was ordered to take the field afresh, with a strong army, and to destroy the usurper.

About the same period, Doulet Khan Lodi, governor of Lahore, presented himself before the Sultan; but inferring, from the usual proceedings of this monarch, that he would be apprehended, he took to flight, and repaired to his father, to whom he gave a full account of the Sultan's temper, and the general dread entertained by the Omras. Doulet Khan, from this account, perceiving that there was no means of evading the Sultan's violence, and being sensible of his own inadequacy to oppose him, formed an alliance with Ghazi Khan Lodi and the other Omras of the Punjab; and turning his face from Sultan Ibrahim, addressed, through Alem Khan, an invitation to the Emperor Babur at Kabul, to repair to these districts. No sooner had this monarch perused the letter, than he despatched some of his most distinguished Omras, with the deputy Alem Khan in advance, to subdue the country; and he himself, on the first days of the first Rabea in the year 932, entered upon a campaign to reduce Hindustan. Alem Khan, with a Mongol force, penetrated as far as Sialkot; which surrendering, he continued his progress to Lahore, where he and Doulet Khan proposed to the Mongol Chiefs, in concurrence with their promises of assistance, to aid them in taking possession of the country, and in beating Sultan Ibrahim and capturing Dehli, before Babur's arrival. But this the Mongols refusing to comply with, Alem Khan separated from them, and marched, at the head of forty thousand horse, upon Dehli; which he invested.

When Sultan Ibrahim received the account of these transactions, he precipitately hastened out of Agra, with eighty thousand horse, then just disposable; and pitched his camp at a distance of six miles from Dehli. But Alem Khan one night surprised him so successfully, that his army being dispersed, and he himself, with about six thousand men, cut off from the main body, was compelled to station himself in a recess. Early in the morning he received information that Alem Khan was at his post, guarded only by three hundred horse; whilst the rest of his troops were employed in plundering and collecting booty. That moment appeared to afford him an excellent opportunity of gaining important advantages himself; and, with the rising of the sun, he threw himself

upon the foe, who, incapable of parrying this charge, fell back, and took the direction of the districts in the Duab; but the greater number of these gallant men were slain, and the remainder were dispersed in all directions, which rendered the Sultan's triumph complete.

About this time, Babur Padishah arrived at Lahore; when Ghazi Khan and Doulet Khan, in violation of the subsisting treaty, advanced on the fort of Belot. But the Grand Vizier, and Prime Minister to the Mongol Emperor, Meer Khalifa, came to them, and persuaded the former to present himself in submission before the Emperor. His example was imitated by Doulet Khan a short time after.

About the same time, Dilaver Khan marched from Lahore towards Samana and Sunam, and detached Berdi Beg Khan, with four thousand horse, in advance; to oppose whom, the Sultan sent Davud Khan, one of his principal Omras, at the head of ten thousand cavalry, besides a train of elephants. Upon information of his approach, Berdi Beg marshalled his troops, and concerted a night-attack upon Davud Khan's camp; who, unable to sustain the shock of the aggressor, fell back and dispersed in all directions, so that the whole army suffered a complete rout, and Davud Khan himself, with seventy men, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Sultan, however, would by no means brook this reverse, but, with princely efforts and imperial exertions, recruited his legions, and took the field in person, at the head of one hundred thousand cavalry, a strong force of infantry, and five thousand elephants. After a careful deliberation, which led him to the persuasion that his own harsh treatment of the Omras had forced them to revolt and slaughter each other, whilst others, from dread of him, had raised the shield of sedition, and collected in that field, a plan occurred to him, the execution of which he resolved upon. For, considering that there existed no remedy for what had already passed, he, yielding to necessity, and with a mind truly princely, resolved not to animadvert the slightest misdemeanour of the rebels; in consequence of which, and by putting an end to their distressful situation, he won over the greater part of them, and, taking them with him to battle, created for himself the fairest prospects: but Fate had irrevocably destined what should come to pass, as was the case with the ship in Saadi:

God directs the ship wherever He pleases, though the course be unpleasant to the mate.

Both armies encountered in the environs of Paniput; and Sultan Ibrahim, having formed his troops into a right and left wing, an anterior centre

and flank, entered himself upon the field of battle; whilst Babur Padishah, who had likewise marshalled the left and right wing, on the second line of the right wing, prepared for the contest. A sanguinary action ensued, wherein a vast number fell on both sides; and Sultan Ibrahim suffered martyrdom on a Friday, the seventh of the month Rejeb, in the year 932, and victory entirely devolved on Babur. Now, after a space of seventy-seven years, the Khelafat was wrested from the Afghans of the Lodian race, and transferred to the noble family of the Jagatean Moguls. The reign of Sultan Ibrahim lasted eight years, eight months, and eighteen days. He was entombed at the western side of Paniput. On every Friday night, an amazing number of people assemble, and the pilgrims of Narvar and Kanoj offer homage to the manes of this sublime martyr; no Sultan before him having obtained that dignity, than which none can be more exalted. But his glory rests in God, who has assigned him Paradise as his residence. Peace be upon him!

# BOOK THE SECOND.

*History of Sheer Shah, Islam Shah Soor, and some other Events of that period.*

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After the praise of God, and the eulogy of the Prophet, his race, and Companions, we may proceed to relate what Narrators of facts and distinguished Historians have recorded, as follows.

At the time that Sultan Behlol ascended the throne in Dehli, the different provinces of Hindustan were governed by many petty princes; and in every single town the Khotba was read for a different individual. But Sultan Hossain, King of Jooupoor, ranked foremost among the opponents and adversaries of Sultan Behlol; during whose absence, in Multan, he laid siege to Dehli: upon account of which, Behlol remarked, that the sovereignty over Hindustan ought to be held by somebody that ruled over a nation with tribes; and as he himself was distinguished above the Indian monarchs by the number of his tribes and clans, the whole nation of the Afghans being his relatives and brethren, although leading a life of poverty and indigence, he entertained the wish to send after them, and assign them estates in Hind, in order to relieve them from their straitened situation, and to defend them against powerful and mighty enemies. All giving their full assent to this measure, he issued firmans unto the chiefs of every nation and tribe to come: in obedience to which, a great number of Afghans arrived from the kingdom of Koh. Through them he acquired such an ascendency, that Sultan Hossain's military efforts being inadequate to oppose him, he returned to Joonpoor; and the kingdom of Dehli remained under Behlol's dominion. These Afghans were exceedingly pleased with Hind; and having engaged the royal favour and benignity, subsequently returned to their homes. But a number of them, employed in his immediate service, he selected, and appointed to different offices at his court, paying much attention to their welfare. This proceeding inspired others with a desire to visit Hindustan, and within a short period this country was filled with Afghans.

At the same time, Mian Ibrahim Soor, the grandfather of Sheer Shah, came to Hindustan; and, with his son, Mian Hassan, entering the service of Mian Mahty Khan, vassal of the pergunna Hurriana, took up his residence in the

pergunna Bejoura. It was also under Sultan Behlol that Sheer Shah was born, whose original name was Fareed. Some years after, Mian Ibrahim broke off his connexion with Mahty Khan, and went over to Kemal Khan Sarengkhani, who placed forty horsemen under his command, and gave him the pergunna Narnol in jagheer. Much about this period, Sheer Shah's father, Mian Hassan, left the service of Ibrahim, and engaged himself in that of Omar Khan Servani, one of the Grand Omras of Sultan Behlol, by whom a district, called Bhowli, belonging to Shahabad, and lying in the circar of Sirhind, was settled on him. He then petitioned that Fareed also might be received amongst his vassals; but Omar Khan, objecting that he was still too young for such a dignity, assigned him Melhum, a manor in Bhowli.

Soon after, the news arriving that Mian Ibrahim, of Narnol, had joined the clemency of the Almighty, and Mian Hassan representing to Omar Khan that, his father being dead, he wished, with his permission, to visit and console the survivors, after which he would return to his service, Omar Khan bade him compose his mind upon this occasion, as he intended to procure for him the estates of his father from Kemal Khan. At the expiration of a few days, he arranged a meeting between Mian Hassan and Kemal Khan, and settled the estates of the former's father on him; who evinced such attachment to Kemal Khan, that he was admitted into his favours.

Sultan Behlol, about this time, emigrating from this world, Sekunder mounted the throne of Dehli. He wrested Joonpoor from his brother, Barbek Shah; and conferred it on Jemal Khan, whom he ordered to equip a force of twelve thousand men, and direct his whole attention to a careful administration of his estates. Jemal Khan assigned to Mian Hassan support for five hundred horse, and settled, moreover, the pergunna Sahsaram on him. He had eight sons; two of whom, Fareed and Nizam, were born of an Afghan mother; another consort had brought him Suleiman, Ahmed, and Mudaher; and a third one, Ali and Jusuf. The eighth was Shadi Khan, born of a fourth wife. Mian Hassan's predilection for Suleiman's mother impairing his affection and love towards that of Fareed, he, in the distribution of estates, gave one to Suleiman and his brother, in preference to Fareed; which irritated him against his father to such a degree, that he engaged in the service of Jemal Khan, at Joonpoor. Mian Hassan addressed a letter to Jemal Khan upon this occasion, requesting him to appease Fareed, who had repaired to him merely from discontent, and to send him back for the purpose of his education. Jemal Khan accordingly called the youth, and apprised him of the paternal desire; but Fareed peremp-

torily refused to comply with it; remarking, that he had already acquired a taste for literature; that Joonpoor greatly excelled Sahsaram, and afforded more opportunities for instruction. He then began, of his own accord, to peruse the Kafia, with the comments of Kazi Shehab Uddeen; and to read, of Persian literature, the Gulistan, Bustan, and the Sekundernamah; but chiefly applied himself to Historical studies in general, and to the history of ancient Prince in particular.

Some time after, Hassan paid a visit to Jemal Khan, at Joonpoor; when his relatives so strongly called to his mind the injury he had done to Fareed, that they prevailed upon him to resign his tenure to Fareed, and remain himself in the service of Jemal Khan. Fareed, when taking leave of his father, asked him, "What remedy have I, in case thy other sons should, actuated by envy, resort to denunciations, and fill thee with hatred against me?" To this, Mian Hassan replied, that he had transferred the unlimited management of all affairs to his able hand, and he might therefore act quite at his option.

On Fareed's arrival at Sahsaram, he, by a firman, assembled both the soldiery and tenants, and harangued them in the following manner:—"My father having committed to my disposal the administration of your concerns, it is incumbent on me to pay all possible attention to population, agriculture, cultivation, and the welfare of the army, as well as of the other tenants, in order that all may enjoy a state of tranquillity and comfort, and that my time may be characterized by removing the oppressive hand of injury from the neck of the weak. At present, I will connive at crimes past; but henceforward I shall never grant pardon or forgiveness, unless their number decrease. Every individual therefore, who, in reliance upon his relationships and kindred, may be led to think that his crimes and trespasses will not be drawn to an account, must banish such idle thoughts from his mind, and know for certain, that, in the administration, I shall bring my own relations and kinsmen to justice before all others, that they may serve as a warning to the rest." After a long and threatening speech, he turned himself towards the tenants, and said: "The choice, to-day, rests entirely in your own hands; and I shall, according to your wish, either divide the sown fields, and assign them according to such measurement; or, if you prefer it, I shall order an average estimate of them to be made, and, in conformity with the same, allot to each of you the due portion." Some chose assignments of land; whilst others preferred the revenue, and gave documents of consent.

In the same assembly, he assured his prefects, surveyors, and partners, that he,

in the last days of every term, would call before him their servants and under-tenants, and strictly inquire of them regarding the regulations just laid down. "Should any one of you," he continued, "have extorted a farthing too much from any person, I shall inflict punishment on the prefect of the village: for both agriculture and cultivation entirely depend on the peasantry; and the result of their superiors charging them with unreasonable burthens is desolation of places and fields. The best collector is he who, being minute in realizing the revenues, does not allow the expenses to exceed them." He further apprised the tenants, that, in every occurrence or business of importance, they had free access to him, to communicate their concerns.

Having finished this harangue, he continued as follows: "It is now our duty to chastise all such seditious and refractory persons as have refused to pay their rents, and, by choosing the way of rebellion, have inflicted calamity upon our faithful tenants. What is your opinion upon the subject?" When all represented, that the greater part of the army being in the service of Mian Hassan, and that no force, capable of co-operating in the execution of such a design, was at their disposal, he ought to wait a few days, within which Mian Hassan could arrive; Fareed replied, that it being quite beyond his power to bear such an affront, he was determined by all means to endeavour to set matters at rest. He then ordered two hundred saddles to be provided; and observed to his faithful subjects, that the aim of all his exertions was to cut short the hand of their oppressors: he called on each individual, according to their means, to furnish horses as a loan, which should be restored to them after the accomplishment of that enterprise. In this way he levied from every place one or two horses, which he fully equipped; and gave them to such men as were distinguished for bravery, but without estates and allowances: he assisted them, moreover, with a moderate pay, to defray their most urgent wants; and promised to provide them with food and accoutrements, till the arrival of Mian Hassan. Not only all the booty they should capture from the rebels, he told them, should, without deduction, be their property, but every one displaying bravery and gallantry should be rewarded with estates and handsome pensions. Upon this, he formed them into a main body, and commenced hostilities against the rebels. Within a short period, he reduced several of their most important places; and taking their children and families prisoners, put them in confinement, in a certain place, distributing the rest of the spoils amongst the soldiers. He then sent the message to the rebels, that if they wished him not to place their people and families in a state of dispersion, they must desist from further disobedience, and

entirely submit to his authority; but that in case they should persist in their misdemeanour, he was not only determined to sell their children and wives, and thus to realize the money due to him, but never to suffer them to reside in their habitations: nay, he would pursue them to every place they might fly to, and to every recess where they might seek shelter, in order to extirpate their pernicious bands to the very root and ground. Such menaces induced a part of them to submit; who, delivering proper hostages, paid a tribute in produce, and had their families and children restored to them: but others, confiding in their forests and troops, and from pride and insolence, rejected all these exhortations and summons. Fareed, accordingly, set a large army on foot; and, ordering one-half of his faithful landholders to attend to agriculture and cultivation, and the other to take up arms, directed his views to the extermination of the rebels.

To execute his design, he erected a mud fort, in opposition to the fortifications of every village, and gave orders to cut down the woods. He sent out a detachment of light horse to secure the district, and instructed them to kill every person they might meet with, and to prevent every body from passing. While the squadron was strictly executing these orders, the infantry were employed in clearing the woods. This being completed, he penetrated further on, and erected another fort.

The rebels, witnessing his superior exertions, labours, and skilful conduct, were seized with a panic, and came out in humiliation and lamentations: but Fareed observed, that it was customary with the Hindoos, first to shew themselves seditious against their governor, and, on proving victorious, to refuse the due taxes and obedience; but on the governor's maintaining his superiority, and overawing them, to submit with pusillanimity and adulations, and to continue paying tribute, though continually watching a new opportunity for the execution of their plans: in accordance with this custom, they crouched before him at present: but as he, from the beginning, had addressed to them abundant exhortations, although perpetually without success, their submission and lamentations could be of no avail. The next day he fell upon the rebels, and dispersed and slew them; after which he dragged their families and children to market for sale. This instance of chastising was such a lesson for other rebels, that no one dared entertain any further thoughts of opposition; and all bowing the head before the firmans, threw the garment of presents and tribute over their shoulder. Thus, by a single blow, was this embarrassing affair settled, and both army and tenants enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

Hassan, hearing of this transaction, evinced all symptoms of joy; and extolled

Fareed in every assembly and meeting; and, in fact, the rumour of his excellent conduct, exploits, abilities, and bravery, spread in every direction. Soon after, Hassan obtained permission of Jemal Khan to visit his estates; where he found both the army and inhabitants attached to him; the estate itself in a flourishing condition; and such places as formerly lay waste, highly cultivated. This circumstance raised his joy to the highest pitch; and henceforward he not only evinced a strong affection towards Fareed's mother, but shewed also every regard to her son; so much so, that he one day informed Fareed, that his own advanced age not allowing him properly to conduct the administration of his principality, he would resign the uncontrolled management to him. When intelligence of this occurrence reached Suleiman and his mother, the vein of hatred and envy became agitated, and they began to have recourse to aspersions, which they abundantly uttered before Hassan, with a view to obtain their object: but he, far from listening to a single word of such unfounded insinuations, briefly replied, that Fareed was now entrusted with the administration of his concerns, the estate flourishing, the inhabitants in a prosperous state, and the productions in the most happy condition: he could therefore see no reason, why, actuated by their unsubstantial charges, he should remove Fareed, and thus render him the object of insult to friends and strangers.

In this resolution Hassan obstinately persisted, without suffering himself in the least to be diverted by the unrelenting intrigues of Suleiman and his mother, so that every one was convinced their arrow would never hit the mark. But that woman now began to grow peevish, and to shun the company of Hassan; and on being asked the reason of this behaviour, she replied, that "She, having been an humble slave of his, but raised by him to a lady of rank, his sons as well as wives bore a grudge against her; in which they were now joined by himself, he having forsaken all regard for her, and utterly ruined her own sons, by making over his lands and treasures to Fareed. For at the first moment, when he had constituted Fareed his Vice-regent, she, foreseeing what he was going to do in regard to herself and her sons, had touched upon the subject before him; and received the answer, that her sons, being under age, could not be entrusted with the administration of his possessions, but that as soon as they should be grown up he was willing to settle estates on them. But that they now, after they had actually advanced in age and were clever youths, owing to his disregard for them, were left in a destitute situation; whilst Fareed, being possessed of wealth, noways needed advancement and higher functions through his favours; for even without his (Hassan's) assistance he could draw his own blanket out of the

stream. The portion of her sons, on the contrary, was only want and indigence, he having not paid the least attention to their welfare: her only desire therefore was, to relieve both herself and her sons from their present state of humility and abjection." At this, Mian Hassan was so embarrassed, that he conformed with her pretensions, and promised to discharge Fareed; but she cunningly asked, how his own relations and kinsmen, all being equally attached to Fareed, would permit him to fulfil his promise.

Hassan, upon this, bound himself, by the most sacred assurances, to carry the matter into execution; and, in accordance with them, began, under some pretence, minutely to watch Fareed's actions. Fareed, however, by his superior acuteness of mind, very soon perceived what was actually Hassan's mind, and remarked to him, that he might settle the administration of the lands on whomsoever he chose; yet he himself could not but request, that he, being excited against him by the denunciations of malignant persons, might first of all ascertain both the faults and merits of his administration, in order to discover which party was right;—wise and experienced men having given the advice, that a governor, suspecting any of his functionaries of depredation, ought to suspend him, and proceed to a minute investigation of his conduct, by inquiring of every subject, and inspecting the account-books of the tenants, in which no extortion on the side of the collectors would be passed over unnoticed. For it was customary with most of the Indians, he continued, to keep the accounts a secret, lest the depredations of the prefects might be detected; which proceeding, in their opinion, was even attended by something meritorious and praiseworthy. His only aim, in preferring this request, was, to exhibit his innocence in such a light, as to prevent the paternal mind from harbouring undeserved animosity against him. To this, Hassan replied, that he was so fully aware of his good behaviour and superior qualities, that he at all events should succeed him; but that, at present, his worthless brothers importuned him so incessantly for some pergunnas, that though well knowing that nothing good would spring from them, yet, from mere complacency, he would make over to their charge the administration of some pergunnas for a few days, in order to ascertain their behaviour; but that the entire administration should eventually return to him.

Fareed, in the sequel, had again some disagreement with his father; which induced him to repair to Agra, then the residence of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi: and when this Prince, after Sultan Sekunder's death, had occupied the throne at Dehli, and set out for Kanpoor, Fareed followed him thither.

Hassan's relatives and favourites soon began to blame him for Fareed's re-

moval; alleging, that just at this time all India was in a state of anarchy; and, in consequence of Sultan Ibrahim's bad conduct, the greater part of the Omras entertained treasonable designs: to which must be added the report of an incursion of the Moguls, and the uncertainty of the issue: it had been in the highest degree inconsiderate, on his side, to remove a man of such address as Fareed. These representations were so well timed, that Hassan, with a view to bring on a reconciliation, addressed letters to Fareed; who, however, had been previously compelled to join the camp of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, and to take service under Doulet Khan, son of Budhoo, Aazem Humayoon's servant. This officer at that time stood in great favour with the monarch, and commanded a force of twelve thousand men; and Fareed conducted himself with such propriety, that he soon gained the favour of his master. Being aware of this circumstance, he represented to Doulet Khan, that "his father's mental faculties being on the decline, and failing him from age, he was quite unfit to superintend the military and civil concerns any longer. For," he continued, "the management of the dominions rests entirely in the hands of a concubine, who has so bewitched him, that she sways him at her will. He is not in the least master of his estates and property; he has driven away his sons and kinsmen, and has thus occasioned a general desolation and destruction of the lands. Should their paternal possession, by sublime pleasure, be entrusted to me, five hundred horse should be maintained for the royal service, by myself and my brother Nizam."

Doulet Khan embraced the first opportunity of representing this case to the Emperor; who however remarked, in answer, that he must be a bad man who raised complaints against his father. This reply silenced Doulet Khan at once; but, nevertheless, he continued his caresses towards Fareed; and advised him to console himself upon this occasion, as, perhaps, if Heaven should grant it, an opportunity soon would offer to put him in the possession of the object of his wishes. In the meanwhile, till this be effected, he might enjoy a daily allowance from his own revenues, in order to prevent his being reduced to despondency. Thus he was under the necessity of continuing in the service of Doulet Khan; when, quite unexpectedly, the news of Hassan's death arrived.

As soon as Hassan was dead, Suleiman placed the paternal sash upon his own head, and extended his grasping hand over his estates and treasures. But Nizam, Fareed's brother, being present at this juncture, wrested the sash again from Suleiman's head, and declared, that Fareed being the eldest brother, neither of them was entitled, as long as he was alive, to assume the dominion. He advised Suleiman to have patience, till Fareed should arrive, and arrange a just distribution of the property and paternal inheritance amongst the brothers.

Suleiman, being affronted, replied, that they had no concern whatever with Fareed's precedency and seniority, but that it was the duty of every individual living in splendour to evince benignity and kindness towards inferiors. In short, Fareed gave in a representation of the affairs as they were; and Doulet Khan interceded so effectually in his favour, that he was invested with the paternal dignity, and received the estates of his father. He then obtained leave of the Sultan, and repaired to his possession in Sahsaram, accompanied by his relatives, brothers, and a military escort. All the tenants acknowledged his authority, except Suleiman, whose heart was not disposed to yield, but whose power was insufficient for open resistance. He accordingly abandoned his possessions, and placed himself under the protection of Mohammed Khan Soor Davud Shah Khail, the governor of the pergunna Chund, and commander of a force of fifteen hundred horse. As this nobleman had for a long time continued in revolt and opposition against Mian Hassan Soor, he, considering the discord amongst the sons of the latter as an opportunity of promoting his own interest, accumulated all sorts of favours on Suleiman, to foster the disunion, and held out to him promises of assistance and aid; bidding him to have patience only a few days, till proper measures could be adopted for the accomplishment of the intended plans: "For," said he, "Hindustan is now in a state of complete anarchy; and not only have the Omras of thy father, with whom Sultan Ibrahim is not at all on terms, from a dread of their life, revolted in every place, but the report of Babur Padi-Shah's irruption is circulated: there exists great uncertainty about the issue. If Sultan Ibrahim should prove victorious, I will intercede and procure a decree, settling Khazpoor Tanda on thee, and the pergunna Sahsaram on Fareed: but in case the Moguls should prevail, I must adopt such steps as circumstances may require." Suleiman returned, that, as he had fled for his life, and implored his patronage, he might dispose of him at option. Mohammed Khan, after that, sent a message to Fareed, to the purpose, that if Fareed would act with discretion, he would come in person to effect a reconciliation between him and his brother, and appease their disunion, the source of two factions. To this Fareed sent the answer, "that as he was a mighty and powerful Khan, he did not need give himself the trouble of coming; but that Suleiman being already with him, he might call him (Fareed) also before his presence, to hear the pro and contra of both parties; and thus forming a judgment, settle the dignity and estates on whomsoever he might deem most worthy; enjoining implicit obedience on the other. He ought neither to pay the least attention to the numberless calumnies which Suleiman's

inveterate animosity and innate malignity suggested to him; nor think himself bound to afford protection to him who had acted so much in opposition to the rights of inheritance. The Khan knew very well, that, amongst all nations, the ascendancy attached to the elder brother; and as he himself was much older than Suleiman, this latter ought first of all to acknowledge him as the successor of their father, and, abstaining at once from further hatred and envy, join his brother and other relatives, and content himself with the estate he had held during the life-time of his father. If the Khan would conduct Suleiman to him, he would see what results the consideration of the right of friendship and fraternity might produce. "This demand," he continued, "is law with our nation, and a sacred statute of the family of the now-blessed Mian Hassan, and from thence proceeds every exhortation and admonition. Mohammed may therefore please to persuade Suleiman to observe the rights of seniority." Upon the perusal of this letter, Mohammed Khan said to Suleiman, "Fareed will by no means, of his own accord, remove his oppressive hand from thee, until his foot dash against the stone of calamity, and he himself grow weak and powerless; but be patient only a little while, and remain in good hope; for he will soon be under the necessity of courting a reconciliation with thee." Such charming insinuations prompted Suleiman to recur to his former hostile sentiments against his brother: but Fareed's spies sending him information about the whole matter, he continued his efforts to establish his authority more and more; and was in anxious expectation as to what was about to take place between the Afghans and Moguls.

Soon after, the news of Sultan Ibrahim's glorious death arriving, Fareed engaged himself in the service of Par Khan, the son of Deria Khan Lohani, and one of the principal Omras of the deceased Sultan, who at that time ruled over the country of Behar. This Omra, on account of the Sultan's base conduct, had raised the shield of rebellion; in which he was joined by a force of fifty thousand horse from the dominions of the neighbouring vassals, who were all in dread of Ibrahim. This monarch was quite at a loss what remedy he should adopt to quell the sedition; the report, too, of the Mogul invasion being in circulation. At this critical juncture, Deria Khan died; and his son, Par Khan, propitiating the army, put himself in entire possession of the government and all its appendages: but immediately on receiving advice of Ibrahim's death, he usurped the imperial title, and called himself Sultan Mohammed; ordering the Khotba to be read, and coin struck in his name. This induced Fareed to repair to him, as related; and he, within a short period, by his eminent services and dexterous



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conduct, insinuated himself into his master's affections. One day, when on a hunting party, he killed a lion, which action acquired him the title Sheer Khan (Lion Khan). Sultan Mohammed most graciously appointed him tutor to his son Jelal Khan; and allowed him so much power, that he had the unlimited control over his princely pupil. Not long after, he obtained leave of the Sultan to visit his estates; but tarrying there too long, some malicious people took occasion to accuse him of treasonable designs: thus Mohammed Khan Soor Daund Shah Khail suggested to the Sultan, that it was plain enough that Sheer Khan delayed his return, being in expectation of the arrival of Sultan Mahmood, the son of Sultan Sekunder; whom he was the more likely to join, as the greater part of Sultan Ibrahim's Omras had set him the example. The only expedient to bring him back to his duty would be for the Sultan to settle the two pergunnas on his brother Suleiman, who had held them during the life-time of his father; he being, in fact, much more worthy than Sheer Khan, whose affronts had induced him to repair to the imperial court and seek redress: this would compel Sheer Khan to return to his duty. Sultan Mohammed, however, replied, that Sheer Khan's excellent services and attachment to the throne had such weight with him, that he could not allow himself to wrong him for a slight inadvertency; but he himself being connected with him by the bonds of relation, he might assume the part of a mediator, in order to bring the differences to a happy conclusion. Mohammed Khan, however, who had long since watched an opportunity to give vent to his resentment, took leave of the Sultan, and set out for the pergunna Chund. Here he addressed, through the medium of his slave Sbadi, a letter to Sheer Khan; wherein he represented to him, that, having usurped the pergunnas of the estate and deprived his brothers of their right, it was but justice on his part not to consider partnership any further as derogatory, but to cede a part of the estate to them, and thus appease all quarrel and disunion. But Sheér Khan returned the answer, that this was no estate of Roh, where a partition amongst brothers is law, his possessions being imperial: that it was a practice with the Afghan Sultans, at the decease of an Omra, to distribute his inheritance according to the dictates of the sublime law, and to assign the estates to such member of the deceased's family as was distinguished by intelligence and sagacity above the other brothers: that he himself had, for a length of time, been acknowledged a vassal of the estate; but that Suleiman, from insolence and cupidity, had seized all the rest of the treasures, valuables, and coin of Hassan, and sought refuge with him, his present protector, although all the other brothers had well-founded claims upon Suleiman; and that, at all

events, their differences must one day come to a final decision: and that, finally, what he had mentioned in regard to the settlement of the landed property on Suleiman was a mere farce. Shadi made a faithful report of these transactions to the Sultan; who became so incensed, that he detached his whole army, under Shadi, against Sukka Khazikhail, who was governor of Khazpoor Tanda in the name of Sheer Khan. Sukka, the father of Khuvaz Khan, giving battle at his master's command, lost his life; and Sheer Khan, by the defeat of his army, was so much reduced, that he could not maintain himself in his pergunnas, Several persons then endeavoured to persuade him to enter the service of Mohammed Shah: but to this he objected, that this Prince, so far from offending, on his (Sheer Khan's) account, Mohammed Khan, who was one of his grand Omras, would undoubtedly enforce a division of the estates in question. Upon which, Mian Nizam, a brother of Sheer Khan, remarked, that, such being the fact, he had better seek protection with Sultan Jooneid Berlas, who resided at Kurra Manekpoor, on the part of Babur Padishah, and endeavour to obtain his assistance in taking revenge on his enemies. This counsel was followed by Sheer Shah; who, after the most solemn promises of assistance being given him by Sultan Jooneid, enrolled himself in his service; and, at the head of an army that had been granted him, took up the offensive against Mohammed Khan and Suleiman; and, defeating them both, regained not only his own estates, but seized also the pergunna Chund, then in the possession of Mohammed Khan. After that, he so successfully addressed invitations to his relations and kinsmen in the service of Mohammed, to come and take their shares in the province just occupied, that they who had followed their master into mountains and deserts, abandoned him, and joined Sheer Khan; who, strengthened by the conjunction with his brothers, sent with the auxiliary troops proper presents to Sultan Jooneid. But he went further: for he addressed a letter to Mohammed Khan, inviting him to return to his home, and retake the administration of the pergunna Chund; he having not the least intention to deprive him of his estate. Mohammed Khan, being at this time reduced to extremity, and considering this offer highly advantageous, came down from the mountains, and a second time took possession of Chund. When Sheer Khan had composed his mind after these tumultuous scenes, he left his brother Mian Nizam in charge of his estates, and went himself on a visit to Sultan Jooneid. He stayed some time with him; and when this Prince set out to pay his homage to the Emperor Babur, he requested the company of Sheer Khan; who, on this occasion, had the honour of waiting

on the Padishah, and offering his allegiance. During his attendance at the imperial throne, he had an opportunity to acquire a full insight into the manner and habits of the Moguls; and occasionally observed to his friends, that it would be a very easy matter to expel them from Hindustan.

Sheer Khan, they relate, was one day at an entertainment with the Emperor, when some solid dish was served up, a plateful of which was the portion of the former. But it being a dish that was not known in his country, and feeling embarrassed as to the manner of eating it, he drew his dagger, and, cutting the meat to pieces, began to eat it with a spoon. Babur, who had been witnessing the whole proceeding, remained in extreme astonishment; and remarked to his Vizier, Khalifa, the elder brother of Jooneid Berlas, that this Afghan betrayed much adroitness and evident prognostics of a future sovereign; for, though a great many Omras and mighty Chiefs of the Afghans had flocked to his service, yet never had their presence excited in him such thoughts as had intruded themselves on him while observing Sheer Khan:—he must certainly be secured. On Sultan Jooneid's committing Sheer Khan to the charge of Khalifa, the latter remarked, that Sheer Khan's military resources were too inconsiderable to give rise to fear and apprehension, and to enable him to infringe the existing treaty with impunity: his behaviour was only that of a stranger. Upon these representations, Babur's mind was diverted to other things. But Sheer Khan, whom the whispering of Khalifa and the intention of the Emperor had not escaped, was filled with suspicion; and quitting the room, he departed, without Jooneid's leave, for Sahseram. A short while after, when the Emperor in vain looked for Sheer Khan at his seat, he made inquiries for him; but his flight being ascertained, he began to scold Khalifa for having prevented him from securing that Afghan, who might be expected in a short time to give rise to disturbances; his apprehension now being beyond the reach of possibility.

Sheer Khan arrived safely at his estates; and immediately sent proper presents to Sultan Jooneid, with excuses for his having withdrawn; in that the news of Mohammed Khan Soor and Suleiman's having raised an army, with the determination of ravaging his lands, had overcome his patience, and inspired him with the fear of losing too much time in suing for leave to depart, which might possibly have been denied him: it was therefore only with the intention of preserving his honour and fame, and in confidence in the Sublime benignity and pardon, that he had ventured to take so bold a step. But all such delusive words, which Sheer Khan plentifully employed, to soothe Jooneid,

had no effect; and the former set out a second time for Behar, to enlist himself in Sultan Mohammed's service. The impression he made here was again so well preserved, that Sultan Mohammed Shah a second time appointed him private tutor to Prince Jelal Khan, and settled on him several estates. He did not relax in his excellent conduct, and in the punctual discharge of his important duty, till Sultan Shah joined the clemency of the All-Just; when the sovereignty devolving on Jelal Khan, Sheer Khan was confirmed as his tutor. Sheer Khan, during a space of four years, elevated himself to a state of complete independence; and gained the attachment of the greater part of the army, by bounties and honours lavished upon them; so much so, that, within the frontier of Behar, no one dared disobey his orders.

At this time, the most intimate friendship subsisting between Sheer Khan and Makhdoom Alem, viceroy of Hajipoor in the name of the Emperor of Bengal, this Prince determined on dispossessing the Afghans of Behar; and sent one of his Omras, Kotb Shah, at the head of a large army, to carry his resolution into effect. When both armies encountered, a fierce action ensued: but Kotb Shah being mortally wounded with an arrow, shot by Habeeb Khan Kaker, whose sister was married to Sheikh Ismail Soor, the battle terminated in a general rout of the Bengal army. We may add the remark, that this Sheikh Ismail, being descended of the family of Soor, was closely related to the Servanians; the greater part of whom, belonging to the tribe of Aazem Humayoon Servani at the time when Sheer Khan arrived in Kanpoor, were settled at the same place.

But to resume the thread of our history. Sheer Khan arranged a grand entertainment, at which he met the said Sheikh, and inquired who he was. Being told by one of the persons present that he was a Servanian, some one remarked that he belonged rather to the Soor tribe, but was related to the Servanians. Sheer Khan, somewhat offended, asked him, why he had kept his true family concealed from him. The Sheikh replied, he certainly belonged to the Soor tribe; but it was of no import if people called him a Servani. Sheer Khan, upon this, received him into his service; and the most gallant exertions were displayed by him during the war with the Bengals. When Habeeb Khan Kaker had slain Kotb Shah, as before mentioned, the victory was called after his name; and Sheer Khan not only conferred the title Shujaet Khan upon him, but subsequently, when he had declared himself Sultan, appointed him governor of Malwa; where he, by the people, was called Shujawul Khan. Habeeb Khan Kaker he dignified with the title Sermust Khan.

Thus Sheer Khan, by divine favour, had gained a glorious victory: but when

he selfishly appropriated to himself all the spoils captured from the enemy, without yielding any portion to the Lohanians, a bitter animosity arose between them, and they reciprocally assumed a rancorous demeanour towards each other.

It was at this time that the Emperor of Bengal sent an army against Makhdoom Alem, his governor at Hajipoor, because he had not co-operated in the last war. Makhdoom immediately caused his treasures and valuables to be conveyed to Sheer Khan; whom he apprised, that if victory should fall to his lot, he would fetch back his deposit; if not, it was in much better custody in his hands than if seized by the enemy. Sheer Khan granted him assistance; and detached Mian Hasood, a son of Abbas Khan Servani, who was married to one of his sisters, with three thousand horse, to succour Makhdoom; excusing himself, at the same time, for his not taking the field in person. Makhdoom however falling, by divine destination, Hasood returned to his master.

The Lohanians, about this time, in co-operation with Jelal Khan, devised a scheme to cut off Sheer Khan: for the execution of which design, they agreed to invite him to their house, on pretence of consultation. A number of Lohanians however, well affected and firmly attached to him in consequence of the bounties and benefits he had bestowed upon them, disclosed to him the whole plot, which his own vigilance was just on the point of detecting. He instantly, taking preventive measures, assigned a share of both territories, and the booty lately captured, to these Lohanians; but levied a new and numerous army, the assistance of which inspired him with fresh spirits, and the confidence that he now was in a condition to set the Lohanians at defiance. Upon this, he openly declared his hostile designs against them; but previously addressed a letter to Jelal Khan, as follows :—" The Emperor of Bengal designs to reduce this country; and the van of his army may be expected to-day or to-morrow. Against this accident a remedy must be provided, and measures taken to counteract the Emperor. The Lohanians have, during the time of three generations and more, held the territories of Behar in fee, and their number is very considerable: they even aspire after part of this province, which has been acquired through my exertions; and entertain a desire to extend their sway over all these parts. My intention therefore is, to levy a new army, in order that the enemy, at the sight of a formidable force, may abandon his pride. But these very measures have exasperated the Lohanians, and induced them, without intermission, to wage the tongue of defamation and calumny against me, in thy presence. Please, therefore, to convince thyself of my invariable loyalty; and, looking upon all my words and actions as springing from sincere motives,

do not lend thy ear to their unfounded insinuations. Now, I entertain a very strong apprehension indeed of the Lohanian army; it being customary with the Afghans, that whenever one party is stronger than the other, to bring destruction upon the latter. My fear is enhanced by the circumstance, that Hindustan is at present the seat of tumult and sedition, and irretrievable injury may accrue to me. After that, I shall enter thy service with my whole force."

Jelal Khan perceiving, by this offer, that Sheer Khan was aware of his design, began to lavish caresses on him; and assured him, that his own will was entirely subservient to his, and that he might carry into effect all his resolutions. From this day Sheer Khan girded himself with the belt of attempting to assuage the Lohanians, and to gain them over to his side, singly, and in numbers. But he went still further; for by condescension and flattery he attached to himself the friends and relatives of those whom he had previously rendered his adherents. Thus almost all joined him. He then assembled them, and addressed them with the following harangue:—"I shall, as long as life endures, always feel obliged and indebted to you, who are fully aware of the exertions I have made in promoting Jelal Khan's welfare; but, after all these services, I have no place where to find shelter. Having from his earliest infancy been brought up by my care, he certainly, in consideration of my loyalty, ought not to hearken to my denunciators. If therefore agreeable to you, we will tell him, either to drive all malicious people from his service, or to discharge me from the office of his Vice-regent." To this the Lohanians attached to him replied, that between them and the other Lohanians there was no possibility of an union: he ought by any means to provide for his security; and they would support him, at all events, and never show the face of reconciliation to his opponents. Thus Sheer Khan, through the medium of various caresses and favours, held the hearts of all people in his hand.

Sheer Khan addressed a representation to Jelal Khan, in the following terms:—"It is unquestionably true, that I have for many years served the late Mohammed Shah with sincerity and true faith; which even induced him to fix his choice upon me above all others, and to bestow upon me the honourable office of being thy tutor. Thou knowest thyself, how I have conducted myself in thy service: but whenever I, with redoubled and increased zeal, fulfilled the duties of my appointment, hatred and exasperation against me grew in the same proportion; and whenever I introduced a new regulation, I was in perpetual fear lest it might be attended with results directly contrary to those intended. Hence it is, that the most urgent businesses were neglected, and the affairs of the state thrown into disorder. The proceeding the most conducive to public

welfare at present is, to charge every one of that turbulent race with serious employment, in order to separate them, and thus prevent their causing disorders. At present, two affairs of paramount importance attract particular attention; first, to oppose the Bengal army; and, secondly, to realize the revenues of the province. Thus thy mind will be tranquillized in this emergency, and get rid of the contradictory insinuations of both parties."

Jelal Khan sent the following letter in answer:—"All thou hast written is perfectly true, and thy advice must certainly not be lost sight of. The choice now rests in thy hands; and I shall in all matters concur with thee. Yet there is some other business which absolutely requires thy presence; and which, if a meeting should be arranged, will be made known to thee. We must be patient for some days yet; for the seditious, who aim at our destruction, might perhaps be frightened, and deterred from their plans, on hearing of the disunion of the chiefs of the state. After that, all may be transacted according to thy wish and desire."

This letter being despatched, Jelal Khan convened the Lohanians; and reading Sheer Khan's representation to them, went on to say, that this chief had been apprised of their plans by some of their partisans; and although they themselves were nowise in dread of him, yet he, having directed his whole mind to the disunion of the people and tribes, the question arose what measures were to be adopted. To this the Lohanians replied, that they long since had made representations in regard to Sheer Khan's manifest rebellion; that this now had actually taken place; in the prosecution of which he had been allowed the most undisturbed leisure, so that he had gradually advanced his fortunes to their present height, and rendered subservient a great many, amongst whom there were also the greater part of their own brothers and relations. That this base man had not only squandered the imperial treasures, and seduced people to his interest, but likewise offered vast sums and other presents to the Moguls, and constituted them his protectors. But it now was a matter of the utmost difficulty to devise means for quelling the rebellion; that all Behar, where, on his account, quarrels and differences had arisen, lay in a state of confusion and ruin; besides that, throughout these districts, factious men were carrying on their intrigues: in short, that it would be utterly impossible, if the existence of all these quarrels and rebellions were amongst them, to secure themselves from further consequences; it having been beyond their power to prevent such a critical state of things, even whilst not the least disunion and discord had existed amongst them. The only expedient now was, to offer their country as a present to the

Emperor of Bengal, and to join his standard, and then receive it back again in fee. Further, that in order to obtain the object of their wishes by a stratagem, he ought to signify to Sheer Khan, that he was charged with the collection of the revenues, whilst they themselves would carry on war against the Bengal army. After that, when their entry into this army should be effected, and the necessary stipulations agreed upon, they, as allies, would receive auxiliaries, and thus annihilate Sheer Khan; the final result of which would be the re-occupation of Behar. Jelal Khan, approving this shallow counsel, intimated to Sheer Khan, that it was only through him that the Lohanians had conceived such a hatred against him, and, in consequence, spread confusion and uproar; but that they would very soon be retaliated upon, according to their own deeds and actions. He might now be quite at ease, and in security with regard to them; and, devoting his only attention and care to the most urgent affairs of the state, take upon himself, with his excellent mind, to guard the dominions, and collect the revenues: whilst he himself, with the Lohanians and the rest of the army, would take the field against the Emperor of Bengal. He would (should he return alive) take into consideration the merits of his services, and not fail to evince all regard towards him, and to confirm him in his station; whereas, in every complicated concern, he would undoubtedly take such measures as were best suited to the circumstances of the case. This intimation being made to Sheer Khan, Jelal Khan took leave of him, and set his numerous army in motion to meet the Bengals. Divine pleasure having determined to raise the Sheer-Shahian banners, suggested to his opponents, beguiled by their chimerical schemes and infatuation, to quit their seats, and thus enable Sheer Khan, without the least exertion and trouble, to occupy them, and extend his sway over all Behar. Jelal Khan, in the meanwhile, with the Lohanians, joined the Bengal army: but the news of this strange occurrence was so far from alarming Sheer Khan's mind, that he evinced every symptom of joy and delight, and uttered in a harangue, addressed to his adherents, that all Behar now being indisputably in their possession, it was a matter of the utmost facility to bid defiance to the Bengals, whose bravery and gallantry he properly estimated: that he had been apprehensive of the desertion of the Lohanians; and God ought, therefore, to be highly praised, that he had likewise escaped from this emergency. He would now, with the divine pleasure, gain victory after victory, and triumph after triumph; and cause such destruction and desolation, that all, submitting to the Afghans, should be reduced to a state of extreme insignificance. For as the Moguls had been incapable of equalling them in bravery and gallant

conduct, what would be the case with the Bengalians? If his life should be spared, all would see how he had scoured the provinces of Hindustan of the Mogul army, and reduced them under his sway.

The assembly instantly began to lavish high eulogies and praises upon him; and his soaring mind inspired every heart with confidence. He was, without intermission, diligently occupied in putting his old and new armies in readiness. It is related, that one night, as he was wandering about, by moonshine, with two or three attendants, in the bazaar of the town Behar, in order to regale himself, according to his custom, by walking—in which nightly excursions he used secretly to perform many acts of liberality, depositing gold and clothes on the cushions of the sleeping, who were oppressed by indigence, and then withdrawing—a Derveesh unexpectedly raised his head from his garment, exclaiming, "Praise be to God! the Emperor of Dehli is arrived." Sheer Khan considered these words a divine inspiration, and fresh strength pervaded his heart. Soon after, when his whole force, in full equipment, had assembled around him, he raised the standard of opposition against the army of Bengal; who, on their side, in proud confidence in their number, fierce elephants, match-lockmen, and superiority in multitude, laid no weight at all upon Sheer Khan; and the conjunction of Jelal Khan served only to heighten their insolence. Sheer Khan, however, trusting to the divine grace, addressed a letter to Ibrahim Shah, emperor of Bengal, saying, that his design in retarding warlike operations so long had been to await whether he would abstain from hostilities, and accommodate matters amicably; but that now, as all his enterprises and actions were sufficient proof that he was by no means inclined to peace, it was much better to bring the matter at once to a conclusion, and thus get rid of all further troubles.

"The sword shall be upon the wicked, until Fortune shall decide in my favour."

Ibrahim Shah returned, in answer, that there was no idea of a reconciliation; it being a long time since he himself, in full equipment, had taken the field. Both armies, upon this, moved their camps, and drew near to each other. When one watch of the night had passed, Sheer Khan sent his troops out of the circumvallation, which he never failed to draw round his camp; and he himself, at the approach of morning, followed, and occupied the field of battle in anticipation of the enemy. His troops he divided into two detachments; one of which he stationed in ambush, and the other he took with him. To the former he notified, that he intended to make an attack upon the enemy, and for some time

to keep his ground, but suddenly turn his face to flight, and wheel off in their direction; at which time they were to retain their station till the enemy should have passed the ambush. At this moment they were to rush upon the enemy's rear; and he being in front, the enemy would be exposed to a double attack, and thus entirely annihilated.

Sheer Khan now displaying his victorious standard against his contemptible opponents, and wavering for some time between opposition and flight, decoyed them to an ill-timed precipitancy. They accordingly abandoned their elephants and artillery, and came out of their entrenchments. At this moment, Sheer Khan, turning his back to the field of battle, betook to flight. The enemy being infatuated by their excessive self-confidence, blindly rushed on in pursuit, and passed beyond the ambush. At this moment the Afghans rushed out of their hiding-places, and surrounded these cowards. Escape was hopeless; there was no means of safety for the distracted Bengals; their hands and feet relaxed, and they turned to flight. Ibrahim Shah in vain maintained his ground, and endeavoured to bring his troops to a stand, by the prospect of ultimate success: no one, however, listened to his exhortations, and all at once tried to surpass each other in flight: a vast number were slain, and Ibrahim Shah himself lay stretched on the field. Jelal Khan, who fought in this battle on the part of the Bengals, was wounded, and fled more dead than alive. The whole army of Sheer Khan, by the booty they seized, became so rich, that not one was in want of a horse or camel, and the whole province was ravaged.

Much about the same time, the fort Chunar likewise fell into the hands of Sheer Khan; which occurrence came to pass by the following accident.—Taj Khan, one of Sultan Sekunder Lodi's chief Omras, and commander and governor of the fort Chunar, had, owing to its impregnable position, withdrawn himself from obedience to Sultan Ibrahim. He had a wife called Lad Mulk, to whom he was excessively attached, and in whose hands the uncontrolled management of his affairs was placed. But on this very account there subsisted such a strong animosity between him and his sons born from another mother, that the eldest of them, one night, embraced the opportunity of attacking Lad Mulk with his sword, and wounded her. A horrible uproar ensued; and Taj Khan drew his sword against his son, with the intention of killing him: the son, however, parrying the blow, despatched his father with one stroke; but well aware that a longer stay in the fort was anything but advisable, he made his escape, whilst Lad Mulk continued to rule in the former way. In that place there resided three Afghan brothers, Meer Ahmed, Meer Ishak, and Meer

Dad, charged with the war-administration of the army of Taj Khan, and the custody of the fort. Sheer Khan, immediately on the receipt of this news, wrote a letter to Meer Ahmed, bidding him to send Meer Dad, as he had some secret matters to communicate to him. At this, Meer Ahmed, being an old friend and ally of Sheer Khan, was highly rejoiced; and observed to his brothers, that Chunar was coveted by a great many; and though Lad Mulk was a lady of excellent intellect and skilful conduct, yet, she being a woman, it was not sufficiently protected by her superintendence. The best expedient would be, to offer the place as a present to Sheer Khan, and to place themselves under his protection. They then jointly waited on Lad Mulk, and laid the whole matter before her: on which she replied, that all her concerns entirely depended on their choice, and they might act as they thought expedient. Upon which Sheer Ahmed answered, that it would be a matter of tho most happy consequences if she were to enter into a conjugal union with Sheer Khan, and thus secure herself from fear and disorder, and, moreover, deliver up Chunar to him. At this proposal, Lad Mulk bloomed afresh; and she, accepting of this proposal with all her heart, deputed Meer Dad to Sheer Khan. Soon after his arrival, and after the usual preliminaries, he preferred his commission to Sheer Khan; who instantly observed, that, in an advantageous business, there was no occasion for much deliberation. The time of his departure approaching, Meer Dad made an agreement with Sheer Khan, that he should himself come to the fort as soon as possible. He then set out, and Sheer Khan followed soon after. On his arrival, he gave to the inhabitants notice of the whole proceeding, and persuaded them to be obsequious and subservient to their new master. They sent him back to Sheer Shah, to request him to hasten his arrival, and take possession of the fort; lest, perhaps, some son of Taj Khan might, in anticipation of him, gain a part of the garrison, and cause a violent termination of the proposed settlement. Sheer Khan, attentive to such an intimation, instantly made his entry into the fort, and celebrated his nuptials with Lad Mulk. Upon this occasion, she presented him with the fort Chunar, and, besides that, from her private property, with one hundred and fifty pieces of jewels, each of which was in value equal to the revenue of one province, seven mauns of precious pearls, and one hundred and fifty mauns of pure gold: her other hidden treasures, together with the possession of the contiguous territories, fell to the lot of Sheer Khan. But his wealth was still more increased by inheriting the effects of Guher Kusaeen, the relict of N~~azir~~ asgar Khan, one of the grand Omras of Sultan Sekunder: for, dying about the same time at Chunar, she left

him six hundred mauns of pure gold, besides many other rarities of various description. His wealth and treasures were well secured, his fort impregnable, his dominions extensive, and a number of other conquests fell into his hands; his power was formidable, and his army numerous.

It was about the same period, that Sultan Mahmood, the son of Sekunder Lodi, (whom, after Ibrahim's death, Rana Sanka and Hassan Khan of Meiwat, in concert with the grand Omras, had elevated to the throne,) giving battle to the Emperor Baber, in the vicinity of a ~~fort~~ village called Sickri, was defeated; and Hassan Khan ben Alauel Khan of Meiwat was slain in the territory of the Raja of Dunkerpoor. Mahmood and Rana Sanka, effecting their escape, fled towards the fort Chittor, where they halted for some time: after that, they continued their route to Patna. But Omar Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Ahmed Khan, Jusuf Khan ben Mobarez Khan Gukboor, the governor of the Punjab, Aazem Humayoon, the second brother-in-law to Sultan Mahmood, Isa Khan, the son of Omar Khan, Mian Bein ben Mian Atta Shahookhail, the governor of Sirhind, and Mian Baizeed Fermulli (who, after Sultan Ibrahim's fall, had retained his station), who were altogether Omras distinguished by numerous forces, and had in the war with the Moguls glorified their names, unanimously invited Mahmood to repair to them, and ascend the imperial throne. After that, they invaded Behar, and divided it among themselves; except Sahsaram, which was Sheer Khan's estate. The latter was compelled to acknowledge the authority and supremacy of Mahmood, as he was descended from the imperial race, to which the throne, by right of succession, belonged. But the Sultan not only confirmed him in the possession of Behar, but made a convention with him; by which it was agreed, that if the Sultan should, jointly with him, wrest Joonpoor from the sway of the Moguls, Sheer Khan should be governor of Behar, on his part, in the same manner as Deria Khan Lohani had been in the name of Sultan Sekunder. Sheer Khan demanding a written document in regard to these stipulations, the Omras above mentioned procured a firman to be drawn up in the name of the Emperor, which was handed over to him. He then obtained leave to visit his lands, for the settlement of some affairs; promising to return in a few days. At this time, Babur Padishah departed to the clemency of God, and was succeeded by Humayoon.

Sheer Khan protracted the stay at his estates so long, that Sultan Mahmood, making preparations to reduce Joonpoor, directed a firman to him, requesting his presence: but Sheer Khan sent back the answer, that, as soon as he should have made the necessary regulations, he would follow him. From this circumstance, the Omras took occasion to accuse Sheer Khan of having an under-

standing with the Moguls, and to advise his being brought back by stratagem. But Aazem Humayoon gave as his opinion, that if they wished him to accompany them on the expedition, they must at once march to his estates, and carry him off by force; and accordingly the Sultan took the route of Sahsaram.

Sheer Khan, on hearing of this occurrence, being exceedingly chagrined, reasoned in the following manner: That his plans were certainly not in correspondence with the divine decree: for he well knew that disunion prevailed through the whole army, and that such troops had never gained victory over the enemy;—that Mian Bein and Baizeed, though laborious and noble-minded men, and having large forces under their command, were destitute of experience, and had never meddled with political affairs;—that Aazem Humayoon Servani and Othmar Servani, both men of much experience, had only of necessity entered upon the campaign;—from all which he might draw the inference, that the whole enterprise would not prosper. He had therefore been desirous, by some subtle contrivance, to get rid of their company: for which purpose, however, no excuses would be now accepted; both Servanis having urged the necessity of his presence with the Sultan in the expedition.—Therefore, yielding to necessity, he prepared to give a solemn reception to the Sultan; and arranged a splendid entertainment in his house, distributing numerous presents to high and low, without passing over a single individual. After the entertainment was over, he protested that he was not in the least deficient in attachment and loyalty; at the same time adding the request, that the Sultan might stay a few days more, in order that, in complete preparation, he might accompany the imperial stirrup. Soon after, they broke up for Joonpoor; where the Mogul garrison, upon the approach of the Afghans, turned their face to flight; and that whole quarter, as far as Lucknor, fell a conquest to the victors. Mahmood quartered at Joonpoor, but sent his troops in advance.

The emperor, Humayoon, hearing of this manœuvre, put himself in motion towards Joonpoor. In the vicinity of Lucknor both armies encountered: and the warriors of both sides were in daily contact with each other, displaying the utmost bravery. But Sheer Khan, whose clear-sighted mind let him soon perceive that their own army was in no condition to fight and combat the Moguls with success, clandestinely sent a message to Humayoon, importing that he considered himself, just as before, his servant, and had only by force joined Mahmood; but that his loyalty would display itself on the day of battle. Humayoon, in return, held out to him the most splendid promises. An engagement taking place, Sheer Khan, who was stationed on the right wing in the first onset, turned his back to the field of battle, and cast the stone of confusion into

the whole army. To retrieve this accident, Ibrahim Khan Jusufkhail made all possible exertions, which only served to procure him the death of a martyr. Mian Baizeed likewise swallowed the draught of an almost superhuman strife on this day, but without enjoying the least success; and, with fierce eyes, fell a victim to the sword. Mahmood himself turned his horse, and fled to Patna; where he abdicated the throne, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement. The other Afghan Chiefs dispersed: and some of them united with Sheer Khan, whilst others, to whom some hopes of repairing their misfortune were left, retired, and quietly expected what, in this turbulent state of things, might emerge from the curtain of uncertainty.

Humayoon, after this victory, immediately sent Hindoo Beg, with a considerable force, to Sheer Khan, to take Chunar from him. But Sheer Khan, in disobedience to the order, retaining the fort, Humayoon marched his army against it. Sheer Khan, upon this, aware of his weakness to resist, left his son, Jelal Khan and Haji Khan, behind, to take charge of the place, and retreated himself, with the rest of his family, to the mountains of Berunda. Humayoon, in the meanwhile, continued the siege of the place; but Jelal Khan, and Haji Khan Khuaz Khail, who afterwards was advanced to the highest dignity, conducted the defence of the place with such bravery and gallantry, that Chunar was perfectly protected. Their opposition they carried to such a pitch, that it actually exceeded the exertions of human nature, and the greater part of the besiegers fell by the fire of their artillery. At this critical juncture, news was brought to Humayoon, that Behader Shah of Gujerat had conquered the fort of Mandoo; and that another division of his army was investing Nagor, whilst he himself intended to reduce Dehli. Sheer Khan, anxious to turn this juncture of affairs to his own advantage, addressed a representation to the Emperor Humayoon, saying, "That he always had been a true friend to the court, and had never displayed refractory habits and disobedience; that he had, moreover, shown his loyalty in its true light on the day of the battle at Lucknor; that after having, with the divine pleasure, manifested his fidelity, by the assistance rendered to the victorious army, and by the expulsion of the enemy, he was by no means desirous of incurring displeasure from a deficiency on his part. His only request was, that the Emperor might please to send him in the capacity of an imperial vassal, to protect Chunar; for which favour he would, under the command of his son, Kotb Khan, maintain five thousand horse for the imperial service, and be answerable for every misdemeanour that might be committed by the Afghans."

To this the Emperor sent the answer, that he would cede Chunar to him as a

present, provided he would send his son Jelal Khan to court. Sheer Khan wrote in answer, that sons, in the eyes of the father, were all equal; but that Kotb Khan, being the elder, and endowed with greater mental faculties than Jelal Khan, and attendance on princes being extremely familiar to him, he had sent him to the service of the imperial stirrup.

About this time, and during these negotiations, intelligence reached the Emperor Humayoon, that Mohammed Zeman Mirza had shown a firman for his liberation, and had left the fort Biana; that a vast number had collected around him; and great consternation pervaded the imperial dominions. Humayoon, whose alarm had already been wrought up to a high pitch by the news of Behader's approach, and was still more increased by this new intelligence, granted the request of Sheer Khan, and gave up all further designs of reducing Chunar. Sheer Khan, in consequence of such a fortunate turn of affairs, offered thanks to Heaven; and sent Kotb Khan, together with Isa Khan Hajab, to the service of Humayoon. Both accompanied the Emperor on his campaign as far as Gujerat; but an opportunity presenting itself, they returned to Sheer Khan.

Humayoon retreated towards Agra, and marched his army from thence towards Mandoo, to oppose Sultan Behader. An engagement ensuing, Humayoon gave his opponent a defeat; and while pursuing him, made himself master of Gujerat, the provinces of which he settled on his brothers; and then returned to his capital, Agra.

Sheer Khan, in the meanwhile, was sedulously employed in winning the attachment of his troops, and uniting his Afghans; everywhere the homage of this nation was offered him; and he employed all means to propitiate and attach them to his service. They relate, that a number of Afghans, abandoning their paternal avocations and comfortable situations, and preferring want and indigence, repaired to Sheer Khan; who, supplying them with horses and arms, enrolled them in the list of his troops. Every one who proved disobedient, he ordered to be put to death; and notified to the army, that every Afghan that occupied himself with another profession but that of a soldier should suffer the same punishment. Several great Omras, who since Sultan Behlol's period had lived in retirement from a sense of honour, arrived at that time to serve under Sheer Khan, and became his intimates and faithful attendants. Amongst them was Mian Isa ben Hybet Khan Servani, Aazem Humayoon Servani, Mian ben Lodi Shahookhail; in short, there was no Afghan of exalted rank, throughout India, but enlisted himself in the army of Sheer Khan.

But the result of his power was according to the verse: "Certainly, man grows insolent when he knows himself rich." Thus the gale of insolence and pride pervaded his brains; and he began to aspire after the Sultanat, and assumed the title of Sublime Highness. A fresh increase to his wealth took place on the following occasion:—The Princess Fut'h Mulk, a daughter of Kala Pâr, and niece to Sultan Behlol, who lived upon the revenues of her dower, had placed that district under the protection of the Moguls. At this, Sheer Khan was so enraged, that he seized upon her whole wealth and effects, settling on her an allowance sufficient to maintain her during the remainder of her life. This treasure is said to have consisted in six hundred mauns of pure gold, besides specie and other valuables. At the same time, Jelal Khan applied for her daughter, Muhr Sultan, in marriage. This application, however, Fut'h Mulk flatly refused; and Sheer Khan himself dissuaded his son. The young Princess was then married to a relation of hers, Sekunder by name, who, during her life-time, lived in affluence; but after her death, was, by his own folly, reduced to extreme poverty. Sheer Khan, with these treasures, hired a fresh army.

Nazib Shah, Emperor of Bengal, dying about this time; and his father, Ibrahim Shah, who had formerly lost his life in a struggle with Sheer Khan's troops, leaving no other successors; the Omras placed Jelal Khan Lohani upon the throne. He, however, being a man noways calculated to put the turbulent state of affairs in order, Bengal became the scene of dreadful disturbances and uproar. Such a state could not but fill Sheer Khan with the desire of reducing Bengal; and he accordingly marched towards the suba of Bung.

At this time, Humayoon returned from his expedition to Gujerat, and went to his capital, Agra; where one of his attendants, Khan Khanan Yusufkhail, represented to him, that Sheer Khan, having acquired considerable strength, and exercising absolute power, should by no means be lost sight of; all the Afghan Omras of Sekunder, too, being in confederacy with him. The best expedient, therefore, now was, to march all the serviceable troops against him: for, should he succeed in incorporating Bengal with his dominions, and seize upon the immense treasures and wealth of that quarter, to check his sway would be almost a matter of impossibility. But Humayoon, who, from self-confidence, and trusting to his superior power, passed the rainy season in his capital, Agra, replied to this Afghan, that all his horses and troops were wounded, and had, during the campaign against Gujerat, which was protracted six months, been

reduced in the extreme. As soon as the rains were over, he would carry his sublime standards into that country, (for what could Sheer Khan's endeavours avail against him ?) and, scouring Bengal of every sort of mutiny, return to his dominions. Soon after, he sent Hindoo Beg to take charge of Joonpoor, commissioning him, at the same time, to make inquiries respecting Sheer Khan, and send him an accurate account of his proceedings and transactions. When Hindoo Beg arrived at Joonpoor, Sheer Khan, in entire submission, humility, and contrition, sent a great quantity of gold and other offerings to him; and represented, that he had not in the least infringed the treaty subsisting between them, during the absence of the Sultan; and that his foot was still firmly established in loyalty and obedience to the Emperor. He (Hindoo Beg) therefore might send but two words to the sublime Court concerning the real conduct of its humble servant, and procure another firman for him, in order that he might collect his mind, and be thus enabled, with unshaken firmness, to execute the sublime mandates. Hindoo Beg, exceedingly amused with such handsome and precious things, replied, that, as long as he lived, Sheer Khan should rest secure from any trouble, nor should any disagreeable accident molest him; and thereupon sent word to Court, that Sheer Khan excelled in obedience and submission, and had, in the conquered provinces, coin struck, and the Khotba read in the sublime name; that, during the absence of the imperial banners, not a semblance of breach of faith or misconduct had appeared in him; and that, at present, he was unshaken in his loyalty and submission. Humayoon, in consequence of such representations, in that year took much concern in Sheer Khan's affairs.

Sheer Khan, having espied an opportunity to gain considerable advantages, sent his son, Jelal Khan, together with Khuvaz Khan, and other Omras, at the head of thirty thousand horse, to reduce Bengal. The governor of that country, Jelal Khan Lohani, was dead; but Sultan Mahmood, a relation of Nazib Shah, who had been raised to the throne of the empire, assumed a warlike attitude against them. But he soon perceived that he was in no condition to carry on the contest; and consequently retreated to a town of Lucknor, called Gour, where he made preparations for defence. All Bengal fell a prey to the Afghans; who, unrestrained, were occupied in seizing the wearied and unarmed; so that every day the interchange of captives was very brisk.

Humayoon, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, left his capital, and moved towards Behar. Upon his arrival at Benares, he consulted his Omras, and, amongst them, Hindoo Beg and Khan Khanan Yusufkhail, whether it were not more advisable, first to reduce Chunar, and then continue their march

towards Bengal. At that time, the fortress, which had never been conquered before, was defended by Jelal Khan. From this circumstance, the Omras, seconded by Hindoo Beg, took occasion to remark unanimously, that this would be the first reduction of the fortress, and that their principal object now was to encounter Sheer Khan: after his defeat, it would be an easy matter to capture that place also. This suggestion met with general approbation. But, at this moment, Khan Khanan Yusufkhail rose, and observed, that two plans occurred to him; the one, becoming a youth, the other, becoming an old man. The juvenile plan enjoined on them, first to put themselves in perfect security respecting the fortress, it being situated on the frontier of the imperial dominions; and then to proceed to the arrangement of affairs in Bengal. The second plan, becoming an old man, on the contrary, was, to think first of the reduction of Bengal, and of the capture of the treasures accumulated in the fortress of Gour; after which, the extirpation of Sheer Khan, and the conquest of Chunar, would be the more easily effected. Humayoon, in continuation, observed, that he, being a youth, was determined to act like a youth, and bent his attention to the reduction of the place. Sheer Khan, receiving the news of these proceedings, left Ghazi Khan Soor and Sultan Servani with a sufficient force in Chunar, strictly charging them with its defence and preservation, and retreated himself to the mountains of Berounda. Sheer Khan's mind was exclusively taken up with the idea of putting himself in possession of the fortress called Rhotas; which place, with regard to strength, fortifications, and height, has no rival throughout all Hindustan. It contains within its walls a large and extensive tract of land, calculated for agriculture, and abounding with overflowing wells of salubrious water. The Indians prove, from ancient records, that, since the time of its erection up to their period, no Prince ever succeeded in reducing it. It was at that time governed by a mighty Raja, who had admitted to the closest intimacy with him a Brahman named Churamen. Sheer Khan's penetration, and extreme skill in choosing proper measures, suggested to him to gain this saint over to his interests, and, through him, to assure the Raja of his friendship and amity. When he, accordingly, had secured Churamen's attachment, by honours and bounties abundantly conferred upon him, he began to make humble requests to the Raja; beseeching him to assign any corner of the fort that might serve as a refuge to his family, children, and the other Afghans. For this Raja had, some time ago, allowed the family and retinue of Mian Nizam, the brother of Sheer Khan, to seek shelter in Rhotas; and dismissed them again, after the disturbances had subsided. The Raja was, in this instance also, induced by Churamen to grant

Sheer Khan's request; but on beholding the vast number of Afghans, whom, as his adherents, Sheer Khan had drawn up at the foot of the fortress, he repented of his promise, and remarked, that when he had afforded shelter to Mian Nizam's family, the Afghans had neither been so strong nor so numerous, and the control over them had rested in his hands; but the view of such a numerous force excited in his breast considerations of a particular kind; and he, being noways capable of successfully opposing them, it would be folly in him to let his ascendency slip from his hand. Churamen used every means to induce the Raja to keep his word, but to no purpose. Sheer Khan also, extremely disappointed, sent a representation to him, to the effect, that he, in confidence of the Raja's word, had brought hither his whole retinue from the fortress Bercunda, in order to secure to them, under his protection, a refuge against accidents of every description; but that he now had broken his word, and refused to fulfil his promises, although Bercunda was at an immense distance, and the time of hardship was at hand, and the army of the Moguls approaching; who, in case they should become aware of these circumstances, would at once route the people and families of the Afghans—calamities that were merely owing to him. This representation was accompanied with six mauns of gold for Churamen; and an intimation to the same, that, should the Raja persist in his refusal, he was not only ready to resume his pacific relations with the Moguls, and to attempt the extermination of the Raja, but to lay waste the territories adjacent to the fort (which was now completely at his option), in such a manner, that no habitation should remain; it being shameful beyond a parallel, that he should have called his family from Bercunda, without any advantages arising to them from it.

Churamen, on reporting the whole to the Raja, severely upbraided him with breach of faith and promise; and went on to say: "Sheer Khan has, at my hint, conveyed his people and family from Bercunda, and brought them hither: if thou refusest to fulfil my word, I shall be greatly dissatisfied." The Raja, seeing Churamen so importunate in his applications, at last became fearful, lest a Brahman might be killed in his service, and thus his privilege be violated. He was perplexed and embarrassed; but finally granted the Brahman's request.

Previous to the arrival of the joyful news, sent by the latter, Sheer Khan had received intelligence from Gour, of Khuvaz Khan's being drowned in a ditch of that fort, and of the conquest of Chunar by the Moguls. This news put him in a state of utter despondency and perplexity; when, quite unexpectedly, the breeze of divine benevolence and clemency visited him, which transported his mind from

its former anxiety to perfect tranquillity. He sent Sahib Khan, a brother of Khuvaz Khan, in the direction of the fort of Gour, with a message to the troops there stationed, that Humayoon, having conquered the fort, would undoubtedly direct his operations against the whole country; on which account they must use every exertion in re-taking the fortress, before the irruption of the Moguls; for, on their arrival, their attention would be wholly employed in keeping them in awe. Khuvaz Khan, on the day of his arrival at Gour, waited on Jelal Khan, and explained to him the sublime command. Jelal Khan replied, that on that very day a sharp engagement had taken place, in which all the troops had greatly suffered, and were worn out with fatigue; but that on the next day the conflict should be renewed, and they themselves would not alight from their horses until the prospect of victory and triumph should reach the highest degree of certainty. To this Khuvaz Khan replied, that he was by no means authorised to throw any impediment or obstacle in his way; and Jelal Khan bade him repair to his house, there to visit the remaining, and to calm and comfort them; after which, anything he might desire would succeed according to his wishes. Khuvaz Khan accordingly came to his brother's; and, after having encouraged all his troops, and exhorted them to patience and perseverance, he told them, that the sublime mandate strictly commanded, that, immediately upon his arrival, all the troops, pioneers, workmen, and battering-machines should be put in motion, in order to reduce the fort without delay; therefore there was no time for tarrying any longer. He then directed the officers to inspire the troops with courage, that every private might exert himself to his utmost in the assault. Upon this, he sent a dispatch to Jelal Khan, apprising him, that, in conformity with the sublime order, his forces were moving to the field of contest; and that his operations being directed to the reduction of the fortress, the Prince must likewise, without the least delay, co-operate with him. Jelal Khan was anything but gratified by this command; yet, yielding to necessity, mounted, and led his troops to the field: but, previous to his arrival, Khuvaz Khan, by incredible exertions, had already occupied the place. The intelligence of this conquest, sent by the victorious general, gave Sheer Khan unspeakable delight; which was heightened by a letter from Churamen, apprising him of the Raja's compliance with his request: and he offered thanks to the All Benign and All Glorious for those two happy occurrences—the key to extensive conquests. After that, he drew up his people and family at the foot of Rhotas, when the Raja of it came out solemnly to receive him. Sheer Khan presented him with abundance of money and other precious things, which captivated his heart,

and blinded his eyes: by this stratagem he suffered himself to be decoyed into Sheer Khan's snares, according to the sentiment, "Put gold upon steel, and it will melt." The Raja then said, that they might consider the fort as their own; and leave it again whenever they thought proper. Sheer Khan ordered the Afghans to convey their families into the place; and then to follow, and spread themselves all over it. When all had made their entrance, he himself came in the last; and, surveying it throughout, remarked, that if the fortress of Chunar had been wrested from his hands, yet God had presented him with another one, by far better. Upon this, he turned to the garrison, and told them, that as between them and the Afghans there was no possibility of sociality, they had better go attend on the Raja, whilst they themselves would remain on the spot they now occupied. The garrison, however, refusing to accede to this suggestion, a wrangle ensued, in which the Afghans soon had recourse to the sword; and eventually, by cut and thrust, drove the Raja, with all his adherents, out of the place, which thus fell into Sheer Khan's power. Another account, better known to the Indians, of this affair is, that Sheer Khan had seated his Afghans in covered chairs, and so conveyed them into the fort, put the Raja to death, and retained possession of the place. But this relation is unfounded; and the account given here is the only true one, it being derived from men of that age; and the narrators of this history being, without exception, respectable and veracious men, who were present at the conflict; for instance, Muzaffer Khan, a nephew of Isa Khan, Hajab ben Hybet Khan, a son of Omar Khan Servani, Sheikh Mohammed ben Sheikh Baizeed Servani, Abbas Khan ben Sheikh Ali Servani, the author of our original, in whose history the following passage is found: "When I told Muzaffer Khan, a nephew of Isa Khan Hajab, that the account they gave of the conquest of Rhotas was quite different from another one generally believed, he replied, that he, having at that time been with his uncle Isa Khan, whilst his own people and family were in Rhotas, he must certainly know the matter best."

But to resume the history. Sheer Khan having rendered himself master of Rhotas, left his eldest son, Adil Khan, and Kotb Khan, to take charge of it, and drew towards the mountains of Bereunda. He had not yet gained footing there, when Humayoon captured Chunar. For when preparations were making to storm the fort, Ghazi Khan and Sultan Servani, who were charged by Sheer Khan with its defence, entered into stipulations, and abandoned the place, which fell into the hands of the Moguls. After this new acquisition, Humayoon sent a

firman to Sheer Khan, inviting him to come to his presence, and by this means to place himself in security against his formidable and triumphant armies; but Sheer Khan, in the answer he wrote back, professed that he was the humble servant of the Emperor, but could not, from a dread of his life, repair to the Court; for a great number of Afghans had gathered around him, and Jelal Khan, the son of his servant, had conquered the fort Gour. If a district of that extensive province should be settled on him, he would, with all his adherents, evince implicit fidelity and loyalty, like the other subjects, and be enabled, in every regard, to set his mind at rest, and without delay hasten to the service of the presence. The countries of Bengal, Gour, and Behar, were now placed under his absolute control; but if the latter should be assigned to his officers, and Gour and Bengal allowed him in jagheer, he was not only ready to send all the treasures and wealth of the fortress to the disposal of the Emperor, but also annually to contribute ten lacs of rupees to the sublime treasure, on condition that the sublime banner should be removed from Benares. Humayoon, complying with this request, sent a horse and an honorary robe to Sheer Khan; who, on his side, was so overjoyed at this happy issue, that he confessed to the imperial envoy he was by night and by day employed in devout prayer to God that he might render the Emperor's heart gracious towards him. Upon which, he conferred many bounties on the ambassador, and dismissed him.

About this time, an envoy of Sultan Mahmood, who was viceroy of Bengal, came to the court of Humayoon, and represented, that the Afghans having possessed themselves of the fortress of Gour, whilst most of the other districts were still in his power, the Emperor, instead of trusting to Sheer Khan's promises, ought to undertake an expedition against that quarter; as it would be a matter of facility to drive them out, and put down the rebellion, before they should have reduced those districts to their dominion, and established a firm foot in them;—that he himself would obstruct their continued irruptions and excursions, and then return to the imperial service: for they, being in no condition to withstand, would, immediately upon the account of the approach of the sublime standards, disperse themselves, and fall into confusion, or be made prisoners.

Humayoon, in disregard of the treaty recently made, ordered Huri Berlas, Khan Khanan Yusufkhail, both Afghans, together with twenty-two other Omras, to march out in advance; and detached Mirza Hindal towards Agra, to prevent uproar and sedition in the imperial states. After that, he, in person, led the rest of his valiant army to the mountains of Berounda, the refuge of Sheer Khan; whither the roads were almost impassable, in consequence of the hilly

and woody nature of the country. Sheer Khan, on receiving the intelligence of this expedition, sent the greater part of his troops towards Rhotas. He himself, with about five hundred cavalry, slipped away in the direction of Gour; where he lay in ambush in the mountainous parts of the region, and sent spies to Humayoon's army. The Emperor had arrived at a station in the mountains, when, being apprised of Sheer Khan's retreat to Gour, he immediately turned back.

Khan Khanan Yusufkhail, and Huri Berlas, who commanded the van, heard, on their arrival at the fort Muneer, that Sultan Mahmood, the governor of Bengal, having by night broken through the walls of the fort, and rallied his scattered troops, was on his way to wait on the Emperor Humayoon, and went to receive him in due solemnity. They were not yet come back to their camps, when the Emperor himself arriving at Muneer, Berlas presented the Sultan Mahmood to him. However, Mahmood, finding himself disappointed in his expectations, repented of his coming; and sorrow and grief preyed so much upon his mind, that he in a short time joined the clemency of the Supreme Being.

Humayoon, having regulated the affairs of the army in Muneer, ordered Muyed Beg, a son of Sultan Mahmood, together with his mother, Jehangheer Kuli, Ibrahim Beg, Terdi Beg, Huri Berlas, and Moharek Fermulli, with thirty thousand horse, formed in seven divisions, to march in advance of the main body. But Sheer Khan, who had procured himself information of this campaign to Bengal, secretly took the same route, with a force he had with him. When the Emperor arrived at Patna, an advanced post, he heard in a village, that a detachment of the Afghan army had bivouacked in a garden: and upon further inquiry of a peasant, he told them, they were a troop of Sheer Khan's adherents. On hearing the name of this chief, however, they made no further inquiries about the strength of the detachment, which they supposed to be very strong. When they made the report of it to Muyed Beg, the chief commander of the van, he immediately forwarded despatches, in relation to this fact, to the Emperor; and the belief grew general, that Sheer Khan had come to offer a pitched battle. Spies were accordingly sent out, to ascertain the truth; but, notwithstanding their unremitted exertions to scour all parts of the place, not an enemy was to be seen. On inquiring, therefore, of the prefect of the village, he told them that Sheer Khan had actually advanced as far as that spot; but the troops of the imperial army making their appearance he had, with all precipitation, retreated to Muneer. The Moguls had a strong inclination to pursue him; but night intervening, and the distance being too great, they gave up their design.

When Sheer Khan had crossed the pass of Gurhee, he met Yusuf Khan Atchakhail Servani, with his whole family, moving in the direction of Rhotas: upon which occasion he said, that the destruction of the Moguls was near at hand. Yusuf Khan remarked, "I am accompanied by a squadron of three hundred horse of the Servani tribe alone; and the Moguls, being aware of the small number of thy forces, intend to pursue thee. The distance between thee and the Moguls is very short; and consequently there is reason to apprehend thou mayest experience a serious stroke: all which has induced me, with unalterable resignation, to fight, with my other brothers, in thy defence. I have occupied a narrow pass at Gurhee, and have thus put an insurmountable check to Humayoon: this measure will enable thee to obtain the object of thy wishes. Take, therefore, my family with thee, and be in good spirits; for as long as a single individual of this troop survives, it will be absolutely impossible for the Moguls to pass." In this resolution Yusuf Khan persisted, in spite of Sheer Khan's utmost exertion to dissuade him. Sheer Khan then carried his family with him, and marched off.

On the first dawning, Yusuf Khan had just bade his brothers perform the ablutions, and hold themselves in readiness, when the van of the imperial army came in sight. The Afghans, like hungry lions, issued from the ambush, and commenced the contest. They fell upon each other, like the stormy waves of the ocean; but that small band stood like a mountain, and obstinately hindered their opponents from passing, till three wounds were inflicted on Yusuf Khan, and almost all his brothers had died a glorious death. Yusuf, in a state of insensibility, was carried by the Moguls before Humayoon; who observed, that every trusty servant ought to act, in his master's concerns, in a similar way, without fearing to sacrifice his life for him, or to take into consideration the weakness of his own party, or the great superiority of his opponents. He then gave Yusuf Khan the choice, either to remain with him, or take his departure; and he, choosing the latter, the Emperor set him at liberty. In the environs of Monghir he joined Sheer Khan, who ordered Hybet Khan Niazi, governor of that place, to take Yusuf Khan's whole family under his protection, and conduct them to Gurhee, as Humayoon was approaching in pursuit of them. Sheer Khan took a ship, and, embarking a detachment, set sail for Gour. His voyage lasted two nights; and on his arrival at the intended place, he charged his son Jelal Khan, and Haji Khan, with other Omras, at the head of ten thousand horse, with the defence of the defile of Gurhee, which is the only passage to the countries of Gour and Bengal; there being no possibility of penetrating into

those countries by another road. Sheer Khan gave particular instructions to both commanders, to block up that defile; and to post guns upon a height, from whence they might keep Humayoon in awe, whilst he himself was engaged in removing all his treasures, deposited in Gour, to Rhotas: he further ordered them, by no means to abandon their position, or to engage in battle with the Moguls, as they were to join him after the accomplishment of his design.

Jelal Khan accordingly occupied the passage; but the van of the Mogul army coming in sight, he made preparations to attack them. Haji Khan, however, and all the other Omras, opposed this measure; representing, that they were by no means authorised to engage the enemy; but that it was their duty, in obedience to the paternal injunction, to keep the defile in a state of close blockade; and to remain at rest, in order to enable their master, at full ease, to complete the transportation of the treasures from Gour to Rhotas. The vanguard of the Mogul army, which, in seven divisions, had marched in advance of the main body, pitched their camp at a distance of three miles; and coming up every morning to run their horses, and throw arrows and clubs into the passage, retreated. A part of them, with loud voice, poured forth the most bitter invectives against Jelal Khan, calling him an unmanly coward, hovering in the defile like an old woman; that if he were a man, and the son of a man, and in the least endowed with impetuosity and ardour, he would descend to the field of battle, to measure strength with men, as he had not yet come in contact with Moguls. Similar invectives were repeated every day, and a great number of Afghans perished by their fire. Jelal Khan, being informed of these proceedings by his attendants, went one day to Haji Khan, explaining to him, with the bitterest complaints, "that the Moguls, coming up every day to harass them in their position by missile weapons, and then retreating, uttered the most abusive language against him, which he could not brook any longer, his patience being quite exhausted. He himself certainly was too weak to put a stop to such injuries; but if the other Chiefs could convince themselves of the propriety of the measures, they ought at once to repel force by force; as from behind the curtain of idleness there was not likely to arise any good." But Haji Khan opposing his father's absolute command, Jelal Khan went on to assure him, that as long as his request should not be complied with, he was determined to abstain from food. Upon which, Haji Khan replied, that if such was his resolution, he certainly must yield; for every coward, returning alive from the battle, would suffer the deserved punishment, by Sheer Khan's order; but in case victory should crown their enterprise, all would be right. He then, in

order to ensure success to his enterprise, read the first Sura of the Coran, and Jelal Khan withdrew.

The next morning, the Moguls, according to custom, ran their horses, and retreated to their tents; where they put off their armour, and unsaddled their horses; the privates went out to forage, whilst the officers reposed on the cushion of idleness. Noon had approached, when the Afghans, opening the gate in the defile, sallied forth. A few only of the Moguls, whose horses were at hand, mounted, and put themselves in an attitude of defence; but the greater part, being disconcerted in the extreme, turned their faces to flight. The action, nevertheless, proved to be of the most obstinate nature; and Mobarek Fermulli, and Abu 'l fatah Lunga, besides most of the Mogul officers, fell victims to the sword: the whole camp of the Moguls, luggage, horses, camels, elephants, &c., fell into the hands of the victors: and all, with the exception of a very small number, were slain. It is related, that there was no Afghan but obtained at least four horses, and many boxes of precious things, out of the spoils.

Sheer Khan, who had such a mass of wealth and treasures to carry off from Gour, that he could not gather a sufficient number of porters for that purpose, was at a great loss how to convey these effects to Rhotas. In the meanwhile, he received intelligence from Jelal Khan of the victory gained; and immediately wrote to him, to procure, for a suitable compensation, all the captured elephants, camels, oxen, in short all beasts of burthen, from any person who might possess them, and to send them, as he was much in want of them. Sheer Khan, upon the occasion of that victory, made use of this adage, "That if a cock, in a fight, had been once beaten, he would, on being brought into the field a second time, burst out in cries, but never resume the fight." Jelal Khan, after his exploit, closed the gate, and resisted the numerous army of Humayoon for the space of one month; a circumstance that enabled Sheer Khan, at full ease, to transport all his treasures to Rhotas, whither he now likewise called Jelal Khan.

The Emperor Humayoon, upon this, made his entrance into Gour. Sheer Khan had previously fitted up all the mansions of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures, by party-coloured carpets and costly silk stuffs, in hopes that Humayoon, charmed with it, would be induced to prolong his stay there: and his plan was in perfect conformity with fate; for the Emperor's time, for the space of four months, was exclusively occupied in amusement and pleasure, and nothing was spared that might gratify his senses. During this time, Sheer

Khan found opportunity to capture Benares; and detached Jelal Khan ben Jaloo Soor, with five thousand horse, to draw near the hostile army in Gour, and cut off all forage, which caused a dreadful dearth of provisions all over the country. The Emperor, on hearing of these proceedings, sent Yacoob Beg, and Byram Khan, to keep Jelal Khan in awe; but Byram Khan being at that period but little advanced in rank, Yacoob Beg gave battle; but being defeated, he sent Khuvaz Khan to Monghir, to seize upon Khan Khanan Yusufkhail, whom he had left, in the name of the Emperor, in Monghir, to protect that fortress. But Khan Khanan, owing to the superior acuteness and sagacity of his mind, had been previously informed of it; and immediately upon Khuvaz Khan's arrival, he apprehended, and sent him in bonds to Sheer Khan, who then lay before Benares, which he held closely invested. This place, immediately upon the arrival of Khuvaz Khan, surrendered, and the whole garrison was massacred.

Sheer Khan sent Hybet Khan Niazi, and Jelal Khan Jaloo, at the head of a gallant detachment, towards Oude, Lucknow, and Behraich. These Chiefs driving the officers of Humayoon, with the drawn sword, as far as Sumbul, secured and released the whole country; but Sumbul was plundered in the midst of these disturbances, and its inhabitants taken prisoners.

Another detachment, under Kotb Khan Naseeb and Haji Khan, was sent to Joonpoor, the governor of which was killed, and the town itself embodied with the Afghan possessions. After this the body moved towards Kurra and Manekpoor, the governor of which sallying forth and venturing an engagement, lost his life; and Manekpoor and Kanoj were added to the dominion of the Afghans. Much about the same time, he ordered out Khuvaz Khan against Muharta Churoo, the Zemindar of the districts of Behar, to clear his woods, and take him prisoner. And thus, for the space of a whole year, the Afghans continued to make new conquests without much difficulty.

At this period, advices were brought to the Emperor Humayoon, that Hindal Mirza had raised his head in revolt at the capital Agra, and assassinated Sheikh P'hool, a brother of Mohammed Ghouth, who had been sent to the rebel to admonish him, and was a man unequalled in erudition and piety; and, moreover, that Mirza Kamran, upon hearing of these occurrences, had repaired from Lahore to Agra. The attachment of Humayoon to the learned Sheikh P'hool being unlimited, his grief upon that occasion was excessive. Mirza Hindal had no sooner heard of what was going on, than he moved his camp, and marched upon Agra. Sheer Khan concentrated his whole force, with the exception of those who, under the command of Khuvaz Khan, had marched against Muharta Churoo.

This man, at the time when Sheer Khan was engaged in a serious concern or pressed by enemies, descended from his mountains and forests, and harassed the tenants of the pergunnas of Behar; nay, even degraded himself so much, as to exercise highway robbery, and to molest all the travellers in Gour and Bengal; and, whenever he had an opportunity, he drove off the horses, camels, and cattle of Sheer Khan's troops. Thus his extermination had become a matter of the most urgent necessity, and Khuvaz Khan on that account was not called to the head-quarters. When all the troops had assembled at Rhotas, they mustered seventy thousand horse; besides which there were five hundred war-elephants. Sheer Khan is related to have once told one of his attendants, that, in a dream which he had, he and Humayoon had alighted from their horses, and struggled for life. When they were in the warmest strife, Humayoon threw him upon the ground; from which, in spite of all exertions, he was utterly unable to raise himself again, his hand being fast bound to the earth. He then called upon all present to hear the meaning of this vision, which he considered as a favourable omen: for in that Humayoon had vanquished him, he said it meant that he was to vanquish Humayoon; although this was just contrary to what the dream implied; and the ground signified the empire, which, in spite of all the exertions of Humayoon, he could not wrest from him. At this explanation, he was hailed by all present. However, intelligence being brought that Humayoon would not pass the fort of Rhotas, having, by a circuitous route towards the left, at the distance of a mile, already passed it, and was now in forced marches advancing upon Agra, Sheer Khan held a council upon this matter. The whole assemblage unanimously agreed in the point, that Humayoon was weakened by the noxious climate of Gour and Bung, by which his horses and men had either perished; or, such as had escaped with life, had been, by the scarcity of provisions, reduced to a state of unserviceableness, which altogether had served to render him perplexed and embarrassed, in which state he marched to that quarter: but should he succeed in composing the differences with his brother, and so repair his own affairs, he would certainly direct his operations against them. To this Sheer Khan replied, that all submission and subservience formerly shown him not having been of any avail, it was now quite useless to counterfeit further asseverations of loyalty, after the occupation of the countries of Benares, Joonpoor, Lucknow, Kanoj, Sumbul, and Kalpi, taken by force from his officers; that now, it being a favourable opportunity to gain something, they must without delay proceed to action, and be on the alert. He then, turning to the Omras of Sekunder and Ibrahim,

reminded them of the fact, that, whenever he had strictly adhered to obedience, and conducted himself as a loyal subject, all his submission and fidelity had been rewarded with degradation and oppression, and that the Emperor himself had brought things to such a state, that there was no expedient to prevent revolt and opposition; that the Emperor's concerns at present were in a state of confusion, and he himself in extreme embarrassment; whilst his own army was well equipped, in excellent spirits, and recently organized, which circumstance enjoined them to try their fortune, and to measure strength with Humayoon. Aazem Humayoon, one of the grand Omras of Sultan Sekunder, and afterwards of Sultan Ibrahim, then addressed them; and represented, that he ought not to ask the advice of the Lodian Omras; for as often as they attempted to drive out the Moguls, their undertaking had been found to be far beyond their power, and proved fatal to them. The advice of the Omras was most fortunate, and would ensure prosperous consequences: he, therefore, having understood their advices and views, might please to settle the affairs accordingly. Sheer Khan now addressed his Omras, such as Isa Khan Hajab, Kotb Khan Naseeb, Hybet Khan Niazi, Jelal Khan Jaloo, Shujaet Khan Soor, Sermust Khan Serbunni, and others; and asking their advice, they unanimously replied, that time having offered such an excellent opportunity, it must not be suffered to escape. Sheer Khan was extremely delighted with the fidelity of his followers; and quitting Rhotas, he followed the Mogul army slowly and leisurely, erecting circumvallations at every station.

Humayoon, hearing of Sheer Khan's approach, lost no time to return: but the Afghan Chief sent letters of submission, assuring that he was still the Emperor's servant, and strictly observed the subsisting treaty and convention. If the Emperor would be pleased to settle Bengal on him, he would never appear to be deficient in loyalty: upon this, he moved with his whole train to encamp opposite the imperial camp, between the Jowsa and the village called Shuyā. Both armies encamped on one bank of the Ganges; beside which a stream ran between them, the shores of which were so steep, that it could not be crossed without a ferry; and the bed of it was so filled with mud and clay, that the men as well as the horses and camels stuck in it. Here the guards of both armies encamped.

The Emperor Humayoon, being inclined to assign Bengal to Sheer Khan according to the wish expressed in the letter, sent Sheikh Khalil, one of the most distinguished adherents of his holiness Gunj Shuker, in the capacity of a legate to Sheer Khan, to represent to him, "that he having forsaken the respect

due to the imperial dignity so far as to fix his tents in the face of the sublime camp, to conclude peace, would only serve to render the royal dignity doubtful, and would prove derogatory to the sublime name. He must therefore forthwith break up his camp; and retreat, without halting at any place; whilst the imperial troops would pursue him, but soon return. After that manœuvre, which was indispensable, anything he chose might be granted him." Sheer Khan treated the Sheikh, and the other personages of the embassy, with due honour and deference; and made up his mind to assume the appearance of a loyal subject. In the course of the exhortations and representations made by the Sheikh, in the presence of the other members of the legation, and in the heat of the conference, the Sheikh, without hesitation, observed, that if Sheer Khan was averse to peace, he might rise, and begin the struggle. Sheer Khan, considering this expression as a prosperous omen for his concerns, replied, that he would take his measures accordingly. After that, he cherished the Sheikh with honours and rich presents, and conferred one day privately with him; in the course of which conversation, he told him, that the Afghan tribes having always displayed a sincere attachment and veneration to the family of his holiness, the celebrated saint, Gunj Shuker, he could not but consult him, and ask his advice, in the hope that he would point out measures best suited for the question in consideration. The Sheikh replied, that he might ask, since the answer would contain unfeigned truth. Thereupon, Sheer Khan said, that, in strict imitation of the veracity of the holy and blessed Prophet, nothing but bare truth would be expected; and proceeded to put the alternative question to the Sheikh, Whether it was more advisable for him to wage war upon the Emperor Humayoon, or to conclude peace. The Sheikh, for some while, bent his head into the garment of reflection; but then uttered the observation, "that, in case he spoke the truth, he would act insidiously against the Emperor, his master; but in case of a lie escaping his tongue, he would trespass on the injunctions of the holy ordinances, and, of course, act in opposition to the Prophet's order; but truth was, at all events, preferable. He accordingly gave his opinion, that it was at present by far more advisable to carry on war, than to enter upon peace; the whole army of Humayoon being destitute of horses, and the greater part of the Omras driven from their estates, which he now held himself; to which must be added, that all the imperial brothers were in a state of uproar and sedition, which altogether had induced Humayoon to open pacific negotiations; but immediately upon acquiring perfect security on the part of the rebels, he would raise his power again to a frightful degree, and,

first of all, bend his thoughts upon his extermination. Sheer Khan took his measures conformably to the Sheikh's insinuation; and, soon after, assembling the imperialists that were attached to the legation, turned his face to the Sheikh, and said, with high voice: "You all may, in my name, tell the Emperor that he demands war, whilst his army does not wish it; but that I do not wish it, whilst my army demands it. Such is, in fact, my sincere opinion; but the Emperor's pleasure is quite to the contrary." He then dismissed the Sheikh; and made preparations for either peace or war, regulating his troops, and putting the ammunition in readiness. Such like negotiations were carried on during a whole month.

In the meanwhile, Khuvaz Khan, who was ordered against Muharta Churoo in obedience to a suggestion of Sheer Khan, circulated the report amongst the troops, that Muharta had taken a post, which the spies, in spite of all efforts, could not ascertain; and that he probably intended to lull the Afghans into security, and to defeat them by surprise. This belief had, by Sheer Khan's exertions, pervaded the whole army; and he, under the pretext of putting his troops in motion against Muharta, moved on, every day, a distance of three miles; and then returning, told his people that he had been again disappointed in the quest of his enemy. This manœuvre he continued five or six days; and succeeded so well in rendering the Moguls secure, that they actually believed all his operations to be directed against another enemy. On the seventh day, when two watches of the night had passed, he secretly called his officers before him, and harangued them in this way:—"I have done all that was in my power to evince my submission and fidelity to the Emperor Humayoon, in order to convince him of my sincere attachment and loyalty, and to divest him from his intention to destroy me; but in spite of this, all his enterprises are calculated to ruin me. Some time ago, in the battle with Sultan Mahmood, by a diversion made in favour of the imperial army, I gained the victory for them, at a moment when this was possible only by my co-operation, and when Sultan Mahmood had taken possession of the greater part of the country; so that the discussion of the question, who should be the sovereign, entirely depended on that battle, in which Mahmood was defeated through me: for had I firmly stood with him, the whole matter in question would have been set at rest at once. The Emperor's conduct, however, proved to be quite the reverse from what might have been expected. No sooner had he recovered from those disturbances, than he sent an army to restore Chunar; and when I arose to defend my right, he came in person, and laid siege to that fort. But God

looked with mercy upon me, the oppressed, and suffered Mohammed Zeman to escape from confinement, and shake the throne to the very foundation. When this compelled the Emperor to direct his operations towards Gujerat, he, yielding to necessity, made up a peace with me, and advanced upon Sultan Behader at that town; for which expedition I had sent my son, Kotb Khan, with five thousand chosen horse, to his service. It then entirely rested in my power to usurp the empire; but, in unshaken adherence to the subsisting treaty, I never thought of such a thing: the reward for which was, that, on his return, he conducted his army against me; and, in disregard of all exertions and supplications on my part, persisted in his hostile sentiments, which actuated him to dispossess me of Chunar and Behar, and harass me as far as Bengal: thus, being placed by him in a state of despair, I rose in rebellion, drove his agents from those districts belonging to the imperial dominions, and put the Moguls found here to the sword. When, after that, fate suggested to Mirza Hindal to plan a meeting to assassinate a Sheikh that was his intimate friend, and to spread uproar everywhere, Humayoon again, from necessity, reconciled himself with me, and suspended hostilities: but he merely, in consequence of the domestic disturbances, has suited his designs to the circumstances of time, and resembles the wolf who makes peace: his real intention is, to lull me into a fast sleep, and conceal the burning fire of his vindictive plans, in order to have it in his power, after the termination of the differences with his brother, to wreak his anger upon me. Now that his army is destitute of all necessaries, their horses dead or unserviceable, and he consequently in extreme embarrassment, he again attempts to dupe me by delusive language, to turn his whole attention against the rebels. When he shall have restored concord between his brothers and friends, what will then happen? Let us embrace this favourable opportunity, and give him battle to-morrow: let us see how things will terminate!" The Afghan Omras unanimously approved his intention; and remarked, that everything promised victory to him; that it was a fortunate circumstance that all the Afghan tribes had desisted from mutiny and disobedience, and come to aid and assist him, being unanimously determined to expel and eradicate their common enemy, who now were in a state of dissolution, confusion, and perplexity; and had, in their plans to ruin him, been led by the divine will to give themselves up to inactivity, and to involve in confusion their own concerns; which altogether was a certain proof that God would grant him victory and triumph. He ought, therefore, in entire reliance upon the All Gracious, to combat the enemy the next morning.

Sheer Khan was transported with delight at the fidelity of his troops: and bade all withdraw, for the present, to their respective mansions; but appear on the next morning in full preparation; he entertaining excessive fear of Muharta's insidious designs. Night was not yet past, when Sheer Khan mounted, and made the usual excursion. When they had advanced about two miles, Sheer Khan, in execution of his plan, riding up with his troops, halted; and calling the grand officers before him, informed them, that his intention in circulating the rumour of Muharta's approach, and in making a round every day, had been to render the Moguls careless, by the belief that his operations were intended for another enemy, and thus to lull them into entire security; but that it was now time for them to turn back, and commence the attack upon their opponents, who had not the least notice of this manœuvre. They must, however, in recollection of their honour and renown, fight like men; victory not being likely to emerge, at the first onset, from behind the curtain of invisibility. They forthwith turned back their horses; and approached the imperial camp, without being observed by the Moguls: for there was no one in their whole army possessed of so much prudence and sagacity, that an idea should have occurred to him of the possibility of the Afghans acting one day perfidiously, and turning their operations against them. Humayoon ordered his cavalry to mount, and to charge the aggressors; but before his orders were executed, the Afghans had already penetrated into the entrenchments. In this conflict, Mohammed Zeman, with a large force, stood forth on the field of battle; but was, in one charge, not only defeated and obliged to retreat, but killed. There was no one who could withstand; and all, whose horses were safe, turned their face to flight. Pontons having been previously laid over the Gauges, all the fugitives endeavoured to escape by them. Humayoon had not yet performed the ablutions, when his troops were thrown into complete disorder: he therefore, immediately finishing them, lent all his thoughts to save his own person; for to save his favourite lady, with all the other beauties, was impossible. He sent Khuaja Moazam, with some other persons who were just at hand, in this painful situation, to conduct Mariam Makani from that distressful place, whilst he himself hastened to reach the bridge: but it having been broken down by the throng of the fugitives, and the pressure of the great and small, he plunged his horse into the river: he was nearly drowned, but for Shams Uddeen Mohammed Ghaznevi, who succeeded in drawing him from that destructive element by his skilful efforts and the aid and favour of fortune. In consequence of his excellent service, Shams Uddeen's sons

were raised to high and honourable stations. When, in the meanwhile, Khuaja Moazam had conveyed himself as far as the imperial tent, he perceived that the Afghans, then sedulously employed in massacring, would not allow him an opportunity to fetch out the ladies: he, nevertheless, sacrificed his life in the execution of his lord's command. The greater part of the Moguls perished in the river, and an immense number, besides them, fell by the sword; whilst the Afghans, by the rich booty they captured, had all their wants abundantly supplied: the imperial consort, likewise, fell into their hands. Hybet Khan, son of Omar Khan Gukboor Servani, relates, upon that occasion, that he had been, on that day, with Sheer Khan; who, on the Afghans conveying the imperial family before him, alighted from his horse, and evinced all deference and respect towards them: after which, he went to perform a new ablution, and to offer an extra thanksgiving; in the course of which, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and uttered the words: "O great and powerful God! this event is worthy of Thy omnipotence, that Thou, in benignity and grace, hast raised me, thy humble servant, above the Emperor Humayoon, whom Thou hadst rendered powerful above all great monarchs; thus displaying Thy omnipotence to mortals, by an event which no one's fancy could ever have imagined! How great is Thy glory! how manifest Thy majesty!" He then ordered, by a proclamation, all his officers to repair to and post themselves round the tent; and enjoined the command, that no one should put a single individual of the family of the Moguls into bonds, or carry them to his tent; but that all such captives should be assembled round the tent of the Beghum. No Afghan, from dread, ventured to act contrary to the command; and, in the evening, all the ladies and children were assembled round the tent of the Princess. Afterwards, Sheer Khan sent Mariam Makani, and all belonging to the imperial household, under the special superintendence of Hossain Khan Surk, then highly advanced in years, in the fortress of Rhotas: the other families he supplied with competent means, and set them at liberty, to depart at option. This happened in the month Moharram, in the year 946.

Sheer Khan, who was close at the heels of Humayoon, arrived at Kanoj; from whence he, a second time, detached Khuvaz Khan against Muharta; and Jelal Khan Jaloo, and Haji Khan Batni, to Bengal. Jehangeer Kuli, who was at that time imperial governor of Bengal and Gour, and commander of a force of six thousand horse, stood sharp battles; but such dreadful slaughter was executed on his troops, that no single individual escaped with life; and Bengal fell again under the sway of the Afghans.

Sheikh Khalil, with a great number of distinguished personages of Humayoon's army, came to Sheer Khan; who gave them rich presents, and dismissed them again; but the Sheikh he retained in his service, and admitted him to a high degree of intimacy with himself.

Sheer Khan despatched Isa Khan in the capacity of an envoy to the governor of Gujerat and Malwa, with the message, that he intended to send one of his sons to that quarter, whom it was their duty to aid in exciting the districts about Dehli and Agra to rebellion. At that time, the provinces of Malwa were held by separate princes; as the fort of Mandoo, Oujein, and Sarengpoor, were subject to Melloo Khan, who had usurped the title of Kader Shah, and aspired to the Sultanat: at Raisein and Chunderi, Puranmull reigned, in the name of Partab ben Bhoput: Sekunder Khan Miana held Sutvass: Peemgur and Mahoor were possessed by Bhopal. In short, the governors of Malwa, obeying Sheer Khan's commands, sent letters of allegiance and loyalty; with the only exception of Melloo Khan, who, from excessive folly and a wish to show his royal dignity, impressed his signet upon the letter; and, notwithstanding the efforts his well-wishers made to dissuade him, sent it off so. Sheer Khan, on beholding the letter, tore off the seal, and preserved it; observing, that the punishment for this impertinence would certainly one day overtake him. He further wrote to the different governors, in answer, that the Emperor was too young, and under age, and the Omras in rebellion; to which must be added, the great distance, which required an enormous time before auxiliaries could arrive to them. Isa Khan, on his return, induced the Afghans, who were in Gujerat, in a state of dispersion, to accompany him; and Sheer Khan, at the same time, not only circulated coin in his name, but assumed the title Sheer Shah.

With regard to Khan Khanan Yusufkhail, he remarked, that it was to him that all the calamity and distraction, to which the Afghans had been subjected, was owing; to whose advice the Emperor Humayoon had conformed all his actions; and not permitted a single Afghan, in the different districts of Hind, to enjoy his seat undisturbed. Khan Khanan was imprisoned; and, after being sparingly fed on a scanty portion of barley, was ultimately put to death.

Sheer Shah detached his son Kotb Khan to Malwa, in order to excite disturbances about Dehli, with the co-operation of the governors of that country. But Humayoon, who had arrived at his capital, Agra, charged Mirza Askeri and Mirza Hindal with the repulsion of the Afghan Chief; who, upon

this, was deserted by all the governors. Nevertheless, he came out of Chunderi, with a small force, to oppose the Mogul Chiefs; at the same time remarking, that Sheer Shah possessed a numerous army; on which account, it was better to die, than to choose flight, and return alive to his father. He then gave desperate battle, but found a glorious death; and his opponents returned safely and triumphantly to their imperial master.

Humayoon, soon after, undertook a new expedition, and marched upon Kanoj; and Sheer Shah, on his side, raised an army, and accepted the challenge. Both armies, separated by the Ganges, pitched their tents in sight of each other, and lay four months in this position. Sheer Shah had not then received the joyful intelligence from Khuvaz Khan of Muharta's death, which had happened in the commencement of this expedition; this commander being entirely taken up in occupying the recent conquests.

Sheer Shah addressed a letter to the Emperor Humayoon, representing to him, that they having already lain so long in view of each other, and wasted time in idleness, it was by far more advisable that one of them should cross, and move some miles upwards, in order to enable the other to come after him at full ease; after which they might draw up against each other. Humayoon, from excessive dread, replying, that Sheer Shah should not be behind-hand in crossing the river which they passed, the latter immediately crossed, and retreated twelve miles backwards. Humayoon then laid pontons, and went over likewise; upon which Sheer Shah changed his position, and approached his opponent at the distance of one mile, where he fixed his camp. At the first view of the imperial army, he alighted from his horse, performed his devotions, and, praying aloud and putting his hands in a praying attitude, exclaimed: "O, Omniscient God! should the prosperity of the human race be attached to my sway, let victory fall to my lot; but should the felicity of Thy servants depend on Humayoon's reign, let him prove the victor!"

Sheer Shah, without intermission, addressed firmans to Khuvaz Khan to join; but he always excused himself, by alleging, that, until he had settled his enterprise, it was not advisable to leave his enemy and return. A general conviction reigned then, in both armies, that the decision of their struggle was mainly depending on Khuvaz Khan's arrival. After Muharta's death, he seized upon all his treasures and lands, and marched to join Sheer Shah. At a distance of eleven miles from the camp, it occurred to Khuvaz Khan, that the present struggle involving nothing less than the Sultanat of Dehli, and the rumour

being circulated from land to land that the decisive battle between both princes was put off till his arrival, it would reflect less credit on him if he were to enter the army without having previously achieved even one exploit. In the same night he accordingly surprised the enemy; the greater part of whom were wounded, besides a vast number of killed and captives, with whom he entered his master's army. The tenth day of the month Moharram, in the year 947, was fixed upon to strike the decisive blow; and both armies drew up their legions in array, and entered upon the field of battle. Humayoon's centre was commanded by Terdi Beg, Mohammed Fermulli, Meer Youz, and Mohammed, commander of the noble guard: Muyad Beg, Terdi Beg, with all the other grand Omras, constituted the van: the right wing was confided to Mirza Hindal; the left to Mirza Askeri.

Sheer Shah, on his side, stationed Hybet Khan, Aazem Humayoon Servani Gukboor, Kotb Khan Lodi, Haji Khan, Bulend Khan, Yusuf Khan Servani, Bajeli Khan Servani, Adem Khan Batni, and others, in the centre: in the van stood Khuvaz Khan, Isa Khan Niazi; in the right wing, Jelal Jaloosheenzye; in the left, Adil Khan, the eldest son of Sheer Shah, Kotb Nasib, Mureeb Goor, and Rai Hossein Jelvani. The troops being arranged, Sheer Khan harangued and admonished them, as his brethren, in consideration of the results of concord or perfidy of the present or past times, to exert themselves as men; he himself being determined not to move a step unless as victor, or to die a glorious death.

"It so happens in the field with the enemy, that one either loses his life, or gains the victory."

The conflict began, and the flames of struggle raged on both sides. Khuvaz Khan broke the van of the imperialists; but Mirza Askeri overthrew the right wing of the Afghans, of whom only four individuals stood their ground like a mountain: these were Jelal Khan, a son of Sheer Shah, Mian Youb Gukboor Servani, Mohammed Gukboor, and Ghazi Muhbeli Silahdar (weapon-bearer). Sheer Shah perceiving his left wing broken, prepared to succour them: but Kotb Khan Lodi Shahookhail represented, that he ought not to change his place in such a situation. He, however, afterwards pushed forwards with his troops. Mirza Hindal fell upon the centre, but was totally defeated. Sheer Shah's left wing, under the command of Adil Khan, supported by Kotb Khan, attacked the left wing of the enemy, led on by Mirza Askeri, put him to flight, and penetrated to the heart of Humayoon's legions. At this moment, Sheer Shah's right wing, that had been overthrown, rallied again, and surrounded

Humayoon's centre on all sides. Hybet Khan Niazi and Khuvaz Khan on that day resembled Rustam in bravery; and, after a protracted struggle, the imperial army was completely routed, notwithstanding the personal efforts of the Emperor, who, with unshaken firmness, maintained his stand. But finally, when perceiving all further exertions to be fruitless, he followed the counsel given in the following verses of Sheikh Saadi Shirazi:

> "When thou perceivest thy friends have ceased to be friends, consider thy flight from battle as a prey."

Nizami, in his History, relates, that the day of battle had not been previously fixed upon; but that during the preceding night such abundance of rain had fallen, that the army stood in morass and mud; and the Emperor ordered the camp to be removed to an elevated height, by which the whole army was occupied in carrying tents and luggage. In this moment, Sheer Shah threw himself upon them; by which they were so alarmed, that they turned the face to flight. The writer asserts, that this rain, with the change of the position, was the reason of Humayoon's defeat. But God knows it best.

Humayoon, yielding to necessity, finally prevailed upon himself to save himself by flight: but when arriving at the bridge, he found it broken down by the excessive pressure, and human beings floating upon the waves, like wild grass or chaff. He, however, without hesitation, preferred to throw himself into the water, which at that time, being the rainy season, ran in rapid torrents, and occasioned instantaneous death to the greater part of the army. Humayoon himself was nearly drowned; and already was actually thrown from his horse, when a waterman, from the smell of musk, imagining him to be Humayoon, drew him out of the water.

Sheer Shah, whose triumph was complete, offered thanksgiving to the All Gracious: and then related to his attendants, that he, towards the end of the past night, while occupied in devotions and the perusal of the Coran, had seen, in a vision, an old man laying hold of his and Humayoon's hand, and conducting them both to a saloon, where sat the holy Prophet, with all the saints assembled around him. His conductor then accosted the Prophet, and informed him, that the government of India had been transferred from Humayoon to Fareed: upon which the Prophet dismissed him with the observation, "That he would not suffer any one to be deprived of his right and claims;" and placed the crown of Humayoon upon his head. This dream, he said, he had seen previous to the

conflict; but kept it a secret, lest people might be induced to declare it as a fiction of his, invented only to serve as a stratagem.

Sheer Shah, sending orders to Shujaet Khan, the governor of Behar, to proceed immediately to the siege of Gualyar, enjoined the bearer of the despatches to be cautious in his expressions; nor to give any information about the battle recently gained, which would only tend to relax his operations. Shujaet Khan, in concurrence with the firman, invested the place; and sent Bermuzeed Goor, with a brave detachment, to pursue Humayoon; forbidding him, at the same time, to engage. Naseer Khan he charged with the administration of the circar Sumbul.

Humayoon, after his escape, hastened with all expedition to Agra; where he told Meer Seid Rafea Uddeen, that not the Afghans had defeated him, but that he, with his own eyes, had beheld spiritual warriors engaged and beating his army to flight. The same he told in Sirhind, to Mian Mujid Uddeen Sirhindi. No sooner were the principal Omras and his brothers convinced of the fact, that after such a defeat the Emperor was by no means able to maintain himself in India, than they relaxed in their preparations, and left the evil to take its course, until things fell out so as they actually did. In short, the disunion reigning amongst the Emperor's brothers and Omras prompted Sheer Shah to move from Kanoj towards Agra; which Humayoon, from inadequacy to withstand, quitted, and retreated to Lahore. Bermuzeed Goor then entered the town, and put a vast number of Moguls, residing there, to the sword. This cruel deed was entirely disapproved of by Sheer Shah, who severely reprimanded its author, and went to Dehli in close pursuit of Humayoon. After a halt there of several days, he despatched Khuvaz Khan, Bermuzeed Goor, and Adem Khan Batni, to continue the pursuit of the fugitive monarch. Isa Khan Gukboor he entrusted with the protection and government of Sumbul; but he declining it, Sheer Shah graciously settled the pergunnas of Kantkole upon him, and assigned to him the support of five hundred horse. Upon Isa Khan's arrival at Sumbul, the following case happened:—Byram Khan, Humayoon's seal-keeper, had, with Mian Abd Ulvahab ben Mian Aziz Ullah Sumbuli, who was one of the most learned personages of the time, being separated from the army on that disastrous day, and fled to Sumbul. Abd Ulvahab, however, who could not shelter his companion from the inimical designs of the governor, conveyed him to Matarseen, the Raja of Lucknor, with the request to give him protection for some days. But the former governor of Sumbul, Naseer Khan, who, with Isa Khan,

had held appointments in Sumbul, and had become aware of that fact, sent orders to Matarseen to deliver up Byram Khan. The Raja, being in no condition to disobey, complied with the request; and Naseer Khan purposed to make away with the object of his hatred, when Abd Ulvahab, who, from Sultan Sekunder's time, was on intimate terms with Mian Isa Khan, preferred the whole affair to him, who demanded Byram Khan back, and conducted him, with all deference, to his own residence. Some days after, he sent him again to Matarseen, who pledged himself in his behalf; and promised, too, on his return to Sheer Shah, to procure the sublime pardon for his trespasses, and even get an appointment for him in Sheer Shah's service. He soon after actually took Byram Khan with him, and presented him to Sheer Shah, at Oujein. Sheer Shah asking where he had lived up to the present moment, Isa Khan replied, he had been at the house of a nephew of Sheikh Mulhi Kattal. Sheer Shah continued, that he had, for the sake of this very Sheikh, pardoned him: upon which Isa Khan answered, that if Sheer Shah had done so, he might, on his (Isa Khan's) account, present him also with a horse and honorary dress; with which request Sheer Khan smilingly complied. Isa Khan, upon his request, received, subsequently, orders to lodge him with Mohammed Kasem, who was governor of the citadel of Gualyar, in the name of Humayoon; but both soon after found an opportunity to escape. Mohammed Kasem, on the road, fell into the hands of robbers, and was assassinated; but Byram Khan reached Gujerat in safety; from whence he, under the guidance of Sheikh Gudai, a son of Sheikh Jemali, proceeded to enter the service of Humayoon, when, in the commencement of Akbar's reign, the uncontrolled management of the public offices rested in his hand. Abd Ulvahab, Sheikh Gudai, and Matarseen, came to wait on him, and had all regard and honour paid to them. Isa Khan at that time being in a distressed situation, some friends of his represented to him, that if he would meet Byram Khan, who strictly observed the rights of gratitude, so that the Khan might be put in remembrance of former benefits, he would undoubtedly, in a becoming manner, acquit himself of his obligations. But Isa Khan replied, that he having passed a life of nearly one hundred years in honour and prosperity, and enjoyed all worldly pleasure and amusements, he would not now, when only a few breaths of his borrowed life remained, exchange them for earthly concerns, and render himself an execration to mankind, by entering, at such an age, into the service of the Moguls; it being, moreover, by no means the custom with the sons of Omar Khan to court remuneration for benefits they had conferred.

But to return to the history. At the time that Sheer Shah had arrived at Dehli, and invested Isa Khan with the government of Sumbul, as above mentioned, and bestowed estates upon Khuvaz Khan, Humayoon arrived at Lahore. He there met Prince Kamran, and convened all the Omras from every part. But in spite of all efforts to take proper measures in opposing Sheer Shah, no concord could be established; every single individual following his own views and concerns, and disdaining even to be detained at Lahore against his will. On news of this state of things being brought to Sheer Shah, he, with precipitation, marched upon Lahore; from whence, however, after a stay of some days, he again retreated. When at a distance of three stations, he heard of Kamran's having separated from Humayoon, and taken the route of Kabul, by the way of Chuppara. Humayoon himself drew along the shores of the river called Ravi, towards the same place. To pursue him, Sheer Khan detached from his camp, at Khoshâb, Khuvaz Khan, Haji Khan, Habeeb Khan, Kotb Khan Naseed, Sermust Khan, Jelal Khan Jaloo, Isa Khan Niazi, and Bermuzeed Goor, but forbade them to engage. They accordingly pursued the enemy as far as the frontier, after which they returned: but Sheer Shah himself followed, at a distance of one station. At that time, advices being brought of the Moguls' having formed themselves into two divisions, Khuvaz Khan becoming apprehensive lest one of them might fall in with Sheer Shah, who had then a very small force at his command, he and his colleague separated likewise in two detachments; and Khuvaz Khan, together with Isa Khan Niazi and others, crossed the river Khoshâb, and advanced upon the shores of Sind, whilst Kotb Khan Naseeb and others took the way of Cohaut. It was soon after, that a detachment led on by Prince Kamran, who had separated from and raised a rebellion against Humayoon, and advanced towards Kabul, encountered Khuvaz Khan; but upon his charging them, they, unable to contend with him, turned their face to flight, and left behind a standard, a kettle-drum, and a great many killed. Khuvaz Khan prolonged his stay in that part till the return of Ismail Khan, Fut'h Khan, and Ghazi Khan Belloch; after which, they jointly repaired to Khoshâb, to pay their respects to their master, who himself had postponed his march to await them. When Sheer Khan ordered the Bellochies to sign the horses with the mark of his army, Ismail Khan replied, that the whole army had marked the horses with the royal sign; but they themselves were ready to impress his mark upon their own shoulders. This speech was received with such approbation, that Ismail Khan's mark was dispensed with, and he himself confirmed in the provinces of Sind.

The Afghans, from all the regions of Roh, hastened to congratulate Sheer Shah; who, in return, loaded them with all sorts of bounties, before their departure. Of all the Zemindars, Rai Sareng Kaker was so inflated with pride, that he neglected to wait on Sheer Shah; which induced the latter to say, "He would throw such a wedge into the breasts of all the Kakers, that it should stick there till the Day of Resurrection; he intending to have a fortress built in their territories, which they all together would be unable to take, and which would serve as a check to the inroads of the Moguls." He accordingly made a tour of the mountains circumjacent, until a proper place met his view; where he caused a fortress to be erected, which he called Rhotas. Besides that, he sent a large force against Rai Sareng; and not only was the country subdued, but the daughter of its Chief taken prisoner, and conducted before Sheer Shah, who presented her to Khuvaz Khan. Upon which, Rai Sareng, they relate, sent a quantity of hemp and millet to Sheer Shah, with the remark, that in such only consisted their raiment and food, besides which they could afford nothing: according to others, he sent a lion's skin and some arrows, which he said was their only property. With this conduct, however, Sheer Khan was by no means satisfied. Sareng's troops being weakened by skirmishes, he, after much desolation, submitted.

Sheer Shah issued firmans to complete the fortifications of Rhotas: but Toder Kuhteri is said to have represented, that the Kakers, to whom that country belonged, entertained such an aversion to work for wages, that they had agreed amongst themselves, upon oath, to expatriate every person that should act contrary to it. Sheer Shah, in answer, flatly told him, "that he should noways be allowed to give up that work, which he only wished to do in consequence of his greediness for gold." Toder, on the reception of this fresh command, fixed first a golden Ashraf as the price of one stone, which paramount sum induced the Kakers to flock to him; afterwards a stone was paid with a Rupee, and this pay gradually fell to five tankas: thus the fortress was completed.

When Sheer Shah, during his stay in the environs of Tatta, where he amused himself with hunting, received intelligence that Khyzer Khan Surk, the governor of Bengal, had married a daughter of Sultan Mahmood, and maintained a princely household, he felt exceedingly chagrined at such misconduct; and placing Rhotas under the protection of Khuvaz Khan, Hybet Khan, Isa Khan Niazi, Habeeb Khan Kaker, and Rai Hossain Jelvani, he in person led his troops towards Bengal. On his arrival at Dehli, he called the household-officers of Humayoon before him, and evinced much condescension towards them. Kala

Par Lohani he took with him; and caused elephant-seats to be fitted up in a princely style, which he sent by him to Kabul, to the Emperor Humayoon. He himself advanced to Bengal; where Khyzer Khan Surk came out to meet him, and was again admitted to the sublime graces. Having soon after, however, occasion severely to reprimand him for some misdemeanour or other, he imprisoned him, and appointed another governor in his room. He nominated Kazi Fazeelet, who is commonly called Fazeelet, trustee of his Bengal possessions; and returned to the capital Agra, from whence, by the route of Gualyar, he marched to Malwa. While he was passing Gualyar, Mohammed Kasem, the guardian of the citadel on the part of the Moguls, came out, and delivered up the keys. The whole country of Malwa being then held by separate Princes, Sheer Shah detached Shujaet Khan to Raisein, there to draw Puranmull to his interests, and induce him, by the assurances of personal security, to wait on him: which commission was so well executed by the envoy, that Puranmull actually complied with his overtures, upon condition, that he was to have leave to return after the first interview; and set out to pay his respects to Sheer Shah, escorted by a detachment of six thousand horsemen, of whom none exceeded the age of forty years. At the first presentation, he received one hundred and one horses, and quite as many robes of honour; after that he took leave again, leaving his brother Chund Bhoj behind, in Sheer's service. Sheer Shah continued his progress to Sarengpoor, when the agent of Melloo Khan told him that his master was approaching. Sheer Shah again commissioned Shujaet Khan to receive him solemnly, and present him at court. After many marks of condescension, Sheer Shah asked him where he had taken up his mansion; to which Melloo Khan replied, that he had arrived without retinue, and that his mansion was the royal court. The fact however was, that he had been escorted thither by two hundred horse. Sheer Shah caused a scarlet tent to be fitted up for his reception; but the sight of so strong and martial an army, which he had never before seen, and the formidable power displayed there, alarmed and filled him with suspicion. His uneasiness and fright were daily on the increase, by the circumstance that the Afghans erected circumvallations; when, quite unexpectedly, Kalpi was settled on him in jagheer, whither he had to repair, accompanied by Shujaet Khan. On his representing, when taking leave, that he was in want of beasts of burthen, Sheer Shah granted him one hundred camels, and the same number of mules, for that purpose: but that base fellow intoxicated the camel and mule drivers to a state of insensibility, and fled away. On the morning when the news of that action reached Sheer Shah, he

repeated extempore the following verse:—"Behold, what boyish trick this fellow has played me!" Abd Ulhay, the son of Sheikh Jemali Kumbooh, who was then present, immediately produced a second verse as follows:—"It is a saying of Mustafa (Mohammed), that there is nothing good in slaves."

Sheer Shah's whole anger, about this occurrence, fell upon Shujaet Khan; whom he, in a letter directed to him, coarsely blamed, that he, on the very first day, had afforded the fugitive an opportunity to escape, and had not even set out in pursuit of him;—that he consequently should be interdicted the court, unless he apprehended Melloo Khan again. Instigated by these rebukes, Shujaet Khan set out, to endeavour by all means to recover the fugitive, but was compelled to return without success; which so much exasperated Sheer Shah, that he superseded him in the government of Malwa, and allowed him only to hold the circa of Hindia and Sutvass, which maintained four thousand horse. His other estates, and, besides that, Sarengpoor, and the town of Oujein, he conferred on Deria Khan and Alem Khan Lodi, who, from discontent with the Emperor, had arrived from Gujerat, and engaged himself in his services. Haji Khan and Sader Khan Kharsin, whom he nominated Fowjdar of Malwa, he left behind in the town; and departed himself for Agra, by the way of Rintimpore; the governor of which, Khan Khanan Merdi, in the name of Melloo Khan, came out in submission, and delivered the keys to the deputies of the circar. Sheer Shah gave the place in charge to Prince Adil Khan.

About that time, Sekunder Khan Miana came out of Sutvass to pay his respects; but Sheer Shah imprisoned him, in punishment for his former refusal to aid Prince Kotb Khan: he was afterwards assassinated, at the instigation of the Mirzas. A brother of his, Naseer Khan, perceiving Malwa to be unprotected, and calculating upon the small force of Shujaet Khan, commenced hostilities against him, with a view to take him prisoner, and retain him in retaliation for his brother; at whose dismissal, he foolishly reasoned, he would set also his captive at liberty. He opened hostilities with six thousand horse and two hundred elephants. Three men of Naseer Khan's army, by name Mian Omar, Seid Taher, and Gunikurren, agreed together to direct their whole strength against Shujaet Khan alone; who, without minding the number of his opponents and his own weakness, reposed his confidence in the Almighty, and hoisted in the vicinity of Gurra the standard of opposition. The action soon became hot; and the vanguard of Shujaet was ultimately thrown upon the centre; when those three men spurred their horses and fell upon Shujaet Khan, the one with a sword, the second with a javelin, and the third with a scimitar.

With these weapons they struck his face so dreadfully, that two of his fore teeth were knocked out; and a stroke with the javelin cut through his helmet, and penetrated to the hair: nevertheless, he preserved a steadfast mind, and with one cut dissevered his opponent fighting with a scimitar; the second, armed with a javelin, was by one stroke thrown from his horse by Jejiar Khan Khuvaz Khail; and the third was despatched by Mobarek Khan Serbunni. The banner already thrown down and inverted, was hoisted a second time: the fugitive troops rallied again, and threw themselves from every side upon Naseer Khan, who, unable to stand his ground any longer, abandoned two hundred elephants, besides much spoil, to Shujaet Khan. He, after this victory, returned to Hindia; but on receiving intelligence of Melloo's besieging Haji Khan in Kangra, he, in spite of his wounds not yet healed, hastened to succour Haji Khan, and totally discomfited Melloo, who fled to Gujerat. When Sheer Shah heard of these achievements, he settled a maintenance of ten thousand Soor horsemen, together with Chittor, and all those dependencies of Malwa, on Shujaet Khan: the district of Sutvass he assigned to Shams Khan, Par Khan, and Meer Khan, relatives of Shujaet Khan.

Sheer Shah marched from Agra to Bengal; but, on his arrival at Behar and Patna, he was attacked with a severe illness, which affected him with all the torture of an uneasy and depressed mind, and caused him to express a wish that God would prevent his being long held in that state; as the best opportunity offered for him to march upon Raisein, and annihilate its governor Puranmull, who had ill used the wives of the Mussulmans, and vexed the people by all sorts of injury and violence. He further bound himself by a vow, that, if God should restore him to perfect health, he would revenge the Mussulmans on that perfidious, iniquitous fellow. Heaven soon granted him complete convalescence; and he, returning from those parts in the year 950, directed his operations against Malwa, where he besieged the fortress of Raisein. He received here a despatch of Khuvaz Khan from the Punjab, that between him and Hybet Khan a quarrel had arisen, the results of which might perhaps prove detrimental to the imperial affairs; but that by recalling either of them to court, the welfare of the empire would be preserved. Sheer Shah consequently recalled Khuvaz Khan, Isa Khan Niazi, and Habeeb Khan Kaker; and transferred the government of the Punjab to Hybet Khan Niazi, to whom he gave orders to wrest Multan from the sway of the Bellochies; and detain Fut'h Khan of Kot Kaboola, who had wasted all the woods of the districts of Lukhee, and caused such a general confusion from Lahore to Dehli, that complaints of his

violent behaviour were without intermission brought to court. Hybet Khan, in obedience to the command, arrived in forced marches at Songkehra; the vassal of which, Dhondana, he delegated to Fut'h Khan, to induce him, by the news of his arrival, to alter his conduct. Whilst Dhondana pursued his way to the intended place, Hybet Khan advanced, without halting, as far as the shrine of Sheikh Fareed Gunj Shuker.

Fut'h Khan had already sought shelter in flight before the arrival of that victorious army; but, retarded by his train and family, he shut himself up in Futtehpoor, and made preparations for defence. But he soon became weakened by the close investment in which Hybet Khan held him; and, through the mediation of a nephew of the celebrated Sheikh Fareed, he came out to the besieger. Hybet Khan however alleged, that he himself being a servant of Sheer Shah, was bound to do nothing contrary to his master's orders, and put Fut'h Khan in confinement till the arrival of fresh instructions. During the night, a Bellochian Omra, Meedoo by name, actuated by his strong attachment to the confined, found means, with his servant, whose name was Said, to leave the army, and carry the news of Fut'h Khan's imprisonment to the garrison of the citadel; but, in spite of his efforts to save it by resuming the defence, he was forced on the second day to surrender. Most of the inhabitants, with their own hands, put their families to death; the rest were taken prisoners. Meedoo himself was seized by Bukhshoo Lunga, and delivered alive to Hybet Khan, who took possession of the town of Multan and all its dependencies, and made the strongest efforts to re-people the country, which lay in a state of desolation by the oppressions of the Bellochies. He sent a full account of his successful operations in Multan to Sheer Shah; who evinced his gratitude, by not only bestowing upon him the title of Aazem Humayoon and a scarlet tent, but exempted Multan from all public charges, except the fourth of the productions which was to be levied. Thus, in a short period, Multan came again into a flourishing state. For the protection of it, Aazem Humayoon left Fut'h Jenk Khan, who afterwards founded a town, which he called Sikree, and departed himself for Lahore; hanging, according to his instructions, Fut'h Khan and Meedoo Belloch, and reinstating Bukhshoo Lunga in his former possessions. At that juncture of affairs, Sheer Shah entered upon an expedition against Raisein, which he invested; but forbade the Afghans to approach the fort within the reach of arrows and muskets, he being determined to take it without bloodshed, by skilfully conducting the siege. One day, the young noblemen of the army arranged a banquet: in the course of the entertain-

ment, the conversation turned upon bravery and gallantry; and they openly gave their opinion, that Puranmull's soldiers were unrivalled in the qualities mentioned, they coming out day after day and challenging their opponents; whereas their own army, composed of all nations, could not boast a single soldier who, actuated by zeal for his duty, would stand forward to accept the challenge. The whole company consisting of Afghans, endowed with their natural temerity, youth-like imprudence, and fool-hardiness, they agreed to appear on the ensuing day on the arena, without their master's permission, and measure strength with their adversaries. On the next morning, one thousand and five hundred mounted their horses and approached the citadel; where they sent a challenge to Puranmull, calling upon all his Rajputs to come out to make good their boasting and meet their combatants; as they themselves, having reserved their patience till that day, had finally come without their Chief's permission. They in the same strain continued to importune him to send out all whom he knew to be brave, in order that the fight might decide to whom the prize of bravery belonged. Puranmull accordingly sent Rajputs of every description, and sat himself upon the citadel to witness the affray. Both parties fell upon each other with indescribable zeal, fury, and temerity; and carried their exertions to such a pitch, that the elements were thrown into a state of alarm: for two parts of the day no party moved a foot from the field; but at length the Afghans drove the Rajputs, blow by blow, back into the fort, and then returned to the camp. The Shah, who secretly was highly rejoiced at this feat, severely reprimanded them for having acted against orders, and punished them with his displeasure for several days; at the expiration of which he advanced them in their ranks, according to their merits. He then drew the artillery of other citadels to his camp; and planting it upon high scaffolds, pressed so hard upon the fort, that the garrison had scarcely power to breathe: besides that, he placed mine pipes filled with powder at the foot of the besieged place, and, blowing them up, breaches were made in the walls of the place on all sides. It was however only after a space of six months that Puranmull, being reduced to extreme weakness, sued for capitulation, and came out to pay his homage to the Shah. Sheer Shah, with a view to save the lives of the Mussulman women in the fort, offered to him the government of Benares, whither he was to carry his family; but to deliver, in return, the Mussulman women in his harem. Puranmull however asserted, that there were none in his own house; but if there were any within the walls of the place, they must belong to the harem of the Raja; at the same time offering, if requested, to confer with the Raja upon the subject. To this

measure the Shah gave his consent; but on Puranmull's arrival in the fort, the Raja made preparations to destroy all his possessions, by setting fire to them. Puranmull lost no time to apprise Sheer Shah of this circumstance, with the remark, that if Prince Adil Khan and Kotb Khan would, upon oath, give the assurance that neither their property nor lives should be subjected to any injury, the Mussulman women would be spared, in whose behalf he had already made the strongest efforts. Sheer Shah sent the two Princes accordingly, and enjoined them to spare no promise and assurances to have them delivered. In their negotiations, they had complete success; and the women being set free, a recess in the camp was prepared for their reception. On the ensuing day, the inhabitants of Chunderi and the contiguous parts flocked to the camp with their wives and children, preferring the most bitter complaints against those infidels, who, they urged, had practised all sorts of oppression upon them, and robbed them of their daughters, for the purpose of teaching them dancing, and forcing them to amuse them in their banquets. In this exigence, they had, for a long time, addressed the most fervent supplications to Heaven, to send them that just and righteous monarch, to revenge them on their oppressors, and restore their rights to them: for which reason, God had constituted him King, and granted him to rule over men; and a refusal to aid them would be attended with dreadful consequences. These complaints put Sheer Shah in such a rage, that he immediately convened the Kazis, the Mufti, the Mullas, and others; and requested them to issue a Fetva, according to tradition, against these infidels, whom he had, upon oath, and by his given word, induced to come down from the fort, but whose deeds and actions were clearer than the sun.

Upon this, Sheikh Khalil, Meer Seid Rafea Uddeen, and others, unanimously agreed in the point, that it was the duty of a monarch addicted to the true Faith, in defiance of any treaty and oath, to extirpate and annihilate the infidels and impious. In consequence of this declaration, Sheer Shah ordered Isa Khan Hajab to surround their tents with troops and elephants, so as to preclude the possibility of any one's escaping: soldiers then drew up, and began, from four sides, to discharge a shower of arrows.

Puranmull cut off the head of his mistress; and winding her hair about his hand, carried it before the Rajputs, whom he admonished to imitate him in this action. The Rajputs complied with this request; but the Afghans, all at once drawing the sword, in one moment despatched them to hell; and taking

prisoners the rest of the women who had escaped the massacre, conducted them to the army. Of them, one little daughter of Puranmull, and two of his nephews and a niece, were confided to a dancing-master, to instruct them in his art. Sheer Shah entrusted Raisein to Shahbaz Khan, a son of Yusuf Khan Atchakhail; and returned to his capital, Agra. Having spent there the rainy months in the amusement of hunting, he resumed the field against Ajmeer; where Raja Ramdeo had, during the disturbances caused by the Moguls, seized districts of the royal possessions, from Lalsoont to Joudpoor and Malpoora, and declared himself master of them; whilst his army, consisting of fifty thousand horse and three hundred thousand foot, inflated him with pride. To extirpate them, Sheer Shah took the field. The army following his victorious banners is related to have been so numerous, that no one could see the end of it, even when ascending a height; and the oldest persons acknowledged it to have never before been equalled in number. Sheer Khan's first excursion was against Futtehpoor-Sikree, where he called upon all men fit to bear arms to put themselves in full armour. At every station, entrenchments were erected round the army; but, at a certain place, the excessive number rendered it a matter of the utmost difficulty to execute this work. Sheer Shah was at a loss how to overcome this difficulty; when a young nephew of his, a son of Adil Shah, Mahmood Khan by name, gave the advice, to fill gabions with sand, and heap them up upon each other till the fort should be completed. This advice was followed, and the whole work done up in an instant. Sheer Shah's dread of his enemy, however, was so great, that he resorted to the following stratagem. He forged a letter, as dictated by the chief officer of Maldeo's army, and more especially by Jeeta and Koopa, who both were privy-counsellors to Maldeo, in Koopa's handwriting, the import of which was, "That the Shah might be in perfect security, without suffering his mind to be troubled by the slightest alarm; instantly proceed to hostilities; and enable them publicly to declare themselves his servants, by seizing Maldeo during the action, and delivering him up to his disposition." This letter he put in a red case, and handed it over to a spy, with the instruction to convey himself to Maldeo's tent, and drop the letter on the way leading to the spot where he used to perform his ablutions, or where he was in the habit of passing. On the latter spot the spy deposited this letter, in concurrence with the instruction, and in expectation of his master's favour. This device was so well contrived, that Maldeo's sight soon fell upon the case, which he took up: upon the perusal of the contents, he was seized with such a panic, that he, in

entire diffidence of his troops, immediately broke up his tent and fled away, escorted by about five or six thousand horse. Jeeta, Koopa, and the other Omras, lost no time to follow, and to proffer the most solemn protestations of their innocence; but without success. Maldeo continued his flight; and his formidable army were, by that stratagem, in one moment dispersed, like the stars of the Great Bear. Jeeta and Koopa, who were known all over India, had no third expedient; and with the firm intention to testify their innocence and integrity, without minding Maldeo's flight, bound themselves together, and fought such a battle, that it is, down to this day, proverbially mentioned by all classes in India. The news of his enemy's flight filled Sheer Shah with joy; and he received, from all sides, congratulations upon his excellent device. He ordered his troops to commence a chase after these impure infidels, and employ only the bow, without the use of either sword or javelin; God having put the possessions of the pagans in their hands. He himself, in the usual way, was busied in his tent with reading the Coran, and performing devotions; whilst his soldiers were occupied in massacring their victims. This, however, was so far from being an easy game, that the royal troops retreated in confusion, and a complete overthrow seemed unavoidable. At this moment, an Afghan began to throw bitter invectives against Sheer Shah; calling him a coward, sitting in comfort and tranquillity in his tent, at a time when the infidels were breaking his army, and pushing their victory even to their victorious camp. Sheer Shah, though hearing those invectives, deigned not to give one word in answer; but persisted in reading the Coran.

After the performance of the prayers, he had mounted his horse, when intelligence was brought him of Khuvaz Khan and the Mohammedan troops having entirely annihilated Jeeta and Koopa, with all their forces, and despatched them to hell. Of twenty thousand, no single individual escaped the massacre; they being so fast bound together, that no one had it in his power to run away. When Sheer Shah heard of this proof of fool-hardiness, he exclaimed, "That he had almost given the government over India from his hands for a little barley."

We are told, that in the night previous to their separation from Maldeo's army, Jeeta and Koopa planned a nocturnal attack upon the hostile army with twenty thousand horse. Sheer Shah (who had well perceived the spy of the enemy) took, apparently, no notice of him, and counterfeited carelessness; but scarcely had night set in, when he called Isa Khan Hajab, and told him, that the

enemies having concerted hostile designs for the night, and their spy already left the army in its present position, the best expedient would be, to break up the camp, and move aside three or four miles; by which manœuvre, the enemy, seeing no camp, would become alarmed, and give up his designs. The whole army, accordingly, retreated secretly about seven miles to the right; but it being a winter-night, the aggressors lost their way, and went astray amongst the mountains and rocks, whilst the intense frost deprived them of the use of their limbs; and when they, in the morning, fell in with the enemy, they, as mentioned, altogether departed to the kingdom of non-existence.

Sheer Shah, leaving Khuvaz Khan and Isa Khan Niazi, with other Omras, behind, to conduct the administration of Marvar, returned himself to Agra. Khuvaz Khan founded a town in the vicinity of Joudpoor, which he called Khawazpoor: here he fixed his residence, and secured the whole country of the pernicious set of infidels. Maldeo, in the mean while, effected his escape, and shut himself up in the fort of Aboo.

Sheer Shah left Agra again, and bent his operations towards the reduction of Chittor; but the governor soon transmitting the keys to him, he came to survey the fortifications; and leaving there Shams Khan, a brother of Khuvaz Khan, proceeded to Kuchawan. When the Omras represented to him, that the rainy season unavoidably forced them to halt till the mud should be dried up, he replied, that he intended to pass that time at a place where they would be enabled to carry on their operations; and moved towards the frontier of Kuchwara, which is situated in Malwa. He permitted Prince Adil Khan to arrange a hunting-party, in the parts adjacent to Rintimpore; whilst he himself informed Shujact Khan, the governor of Malwa, of his intention to reduce the fort of Callinger, and to put an end to the violent oppressions of the infidels in that quarter; at the same time giving him orders, immediately upon receiving news of the conquest of the fort, to proceed with all the Omras of Malwa and Marvar to subdue the Deccan, whither the sublime standards would follow him. He then presented Shujaet Khan with an elephant, a horse, and an honorary vest; and, having taken leave of him, entered upon his march to Callinger. At the first station, advices arrived that Alem Khan Miana had revolted, in the province of Mairta; which induced Sheer Shah to alter his march to that part: but before his arrival, a slave of Khuvaz Khan surprised Alem Khan, and took him prisoner.

Sheer Shah then entered upon the environs of Callinger; but the governor of

that place, Kirt Rai, in confidence of its almost impregnable fortifications, made preparations for defence: and Sheer Shah, on his side, proceeded to carry on the siege, by erecting scaffolds, battering-rams, and mine-pipes: in a short time, another fort was drawn round it, from which Callinger was bombarded, and all its houses demolished: but the account of the beauty and dexterity in dancing of a lady of the Raja's harem detained Sheer Shah from taking the place by storm, from fear that the garrison might destroy their property, and burn that girl: this was the reason why he tarried in ordering an assault to be made. It was after that, on a Friday, the ninth of the first Rabea, in the year 952, some time after one watch of the night had passed, Sheer Shah took something to eat; after which he assembled the Ulemas in the room, and asked them what merit attached to fighting the infidels? Sheikh Nizam and Sheikh Khalil replied, that there existed no work that excelled the war and struggle against them; and that any one killing an infidel, was a holy warrior; but that he who lost his own life, became a martyr. Sheer Shah, upon this, ascended the scaffolds; and having cast, with his own hand, some bombs into the fort, he descended, and, going to the place where the bombs lay, gave orders for the bombardment to be kept up. At this moment, a shell that was thrown against the wall rebounded, and fell down amidst the store of bombs, which, catching fire all at once, blew up; and Sheer Shah was carried away half burned, seated in a palankin, and conveyed to his tent; whither Sheikh Khalil and Sheikh Nizam came to inquire after his health. Besides him, there were fifteen men burned, who had stood at the same place.

Sheer Shah called Isa Khan Hajah, and Said Khan Gukboor, a son-in-law of Isa Khan, before him; and told them, the only remedy for his pains would be the news brought him, while alive, of the fort being taken. On this circumstance becoming known among the army, the troops assaulted the place from all sides, and captured it about the time of noon prayers of the day mentioned; the intelligence of which filled Sheer Shah with joy. The Mussulmans, without mercy, drew the sword of vengeance, and executed a general carnage upon the whole population. On a Tuesday, at midnight, Sheer Shah performed his devotions the last time, and departed from this perishable world to the eternal, where exists the eternity of the Eternal, and the kingdom of the Almighty. Kirt Rai, the Raja of Callinger, fell alive into the hands of the Mussulmans, and was put into confinement; but the first act of Islam Shah, on having mounted the throne, was to order him for execution. On this accident of Sheer

Shah, a nephew of Sheikh Jemali Kumbooh composed the following chronogram, which is universally known :

" Sheer Shah, from whose dread the lion and the lamb drank peaceably together,
" Departed from this world to the eternal habitation, at the time he died by fir e."*

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## HISTORY OF SULTAN ISLAM SHAH,

### THE SON OF SHEER SHAH.

After Sheer Shah's demise, Isa Khan, Said Khan, Gukboor, Jemal Khan, and Sheikh Mohammed Gukboor, all men of the first influence, assembled to consult upon the succession; when Isa Khan began to speak, and delivered his opinion in the following words:—"It is very strange, indeed, that all the Princes are absent, aud nothing known upon whom the possession of the throne is to devolve: however, Sheer Shah had always destined the throne for Adil Khan, and never allowed him to be far from him; but he also is, at this moment, far off, and amusing himself with the pleasure of hunting about Rintimpore, at a distance of two hundred miles, whilst Prince Jelal Khan resides fifty miles from hence: however, he is very angry with me, as he once requested that my daughter should enter into a connection with Mohammed Khan, a brother of Khyzer Khan, who was the Prince's Abdar and Tenbuldar; with which demand I refused to comply, it being not at all suitable to my interests; at this, Jelal Khau felt greatly offended; and sent me word, that if I would not agree to that connection with Mohammed Khan, the demand would perhaps be renewed by the Afghans by force; as Mohammed would be compelled to become a decrepit old man. This statement I communicated to Sheer Khan, who severely reprimanded him, and dissuaded him from his desire. Thus I am still apprehensive that he may entertain vindictive designs. I recollect Sheer Shah's remarking occasionally, that neither of his two sons were fit for the throne; Adil Khan being so addicted to play, gaming, luxury, and amusements, as entirely to neglect his own concerns and estates, which was utterly incompatible with a concern of such paramount importance as the Sultanat; and Jelal Khau's disposition being too rancorous and feeble. These qualities, it is true, are in entire repugnance to the admiuistration of an empire; hut he is still brave, and the favourite of fortune."

Isa Khan Hajab declared it to be his opinion, that they must not suffer the

* The words, "he died by fire," in the Persian, make up the number 952.

throne to be taken from the reigning family: he asked the others their opinion, and they all agreed in the point, that although Adil Khan was the elder, yet he, being too luxurious and lazy, the state affairs would not at all be properly conducted by him; whereas Jelal Khan, although the minor in years, was an illustrious warrior, and had always excellently managed every business confided to him by the Shah; from which qualities, when taken together, it was evident that divine pleasure had destined him for the throne: nor was it to be denied that Sheer Shah had always kept Adil Khan about his person, to habituate and train him for the course of the affairs of state; but it was equally true, that he was now, after his father's death, at an immense distance, to return from whence a long time would be required: whilst Jelal Khan, without delay and difficulty, could immediately arrive, upon the reception of the despatch. It was, he continued, a true and well-known saying, "That fortune and kingdom used to fall to the lot of the present;" whom the people would heartily welcome, fasten the fringe of obedience and submission to him to their shoulders, and assign the crown to his illustrious head: for all the concerns of mortals depending on sovereigns, if a single oversight and fault should be committed by them, the affairs of high and low must necessarily fall into disorder and decay; for which assertion, the common saying, "That one thing springs from another," afforded sufficient proof. It was therefore a rule well established and well founded, at the decease of a monarch, to place any one of his family upon the throne, without the least regard to his minority, and without waiting for the arrival of the elder and mightier;—a case that had taken place after Sultan Behlol's death; when Barbek Shah, then viceroy of Joonpoor, to whom, as the elder, and the son of an Afghan mother, the crown belonged, was passed over; and his brother Nizam, born of a concubine, being not far off, arrived from Dehli, in one day, at the camp of the deceased, and took possession of the throne, under the title of Sultan Sekunder. Nay, it was known from ancient history, that fathers had been superseded on account of their remoteness, and sons adorned with the crown; in which manner Kaikobad Moëzz Uddeen, being at hand, during his grandfather's life-time, had succeeded him, with the exclusion of his father, Nasceer Uddeen, who was then far off. Their whole question was respecting two brothers; but Jelal Khan, being of an excessively passionate temper, would by no means acquiesce in his brother's mounting the throne; a circumstance that would rekindle the disturbances now at rest. The welfare of the empire would be provided for, by raising the standards of Jelal Khan, and resorting to the shadow of his protection. The

old animosity about the matrimonial affair would, after such strong proofs of sincere attachment, have no further weight: the more so, as animosity, by one kind act, often terminated in friendship; and, on the contrary, long friendship and attachment, by a slight discord, passed into hostility. The safest way, therefore, now was, to disregard such vain apprehensions, and settle matters accordingly; it being far from the conduct of the prudent not to adjust matters according to the dictates of prudence and policy.

Sheikh Mohammed Gukboor replied to Isa Khan, that they, without further preambles, ought to cut the matter short at once; and address a letter to Jelal Khan to come: to which Isa Khan gave his full consent. They then drew up two letters; the one, addressed to Jelal Khan; the other, to Adil Khan. Adil's address they handed over to his son, Mahmood Khan; and enjoined him, at the same time, to set out instantly for his father, convey the despatch to him, and, after a full account of things as they were, to urge him to repair as quickly as possible to the sublime camp, in order to anticipate Jelal Khan, who was not distant, in the possession of the throne. These pretexts, however, they used only to remove Mahmood from the camp, before he could learn the truth. The other letter they handed over to a courier, to take it to Jelal Khan, and inform him, that all the Omras of his father anxiously awaited him, in order to assign the throne to him; on which account he might please to come with all speed to the sublime camp, and solemnly take possession of the throne and crown.

Islam Shah (Jelal Khan) however objected, that by an immoderate haste on his side, his victorious troops would become aware of the whole proceeding, and, as it commonly happens in the world, spoil the whole: he, nevertheless, consulted with his Omras and vassals about it, who altogether agreed in the point, that he ought to depart as soon as possible. To this Islam Shah further opposed, that the consequence of following their advice would be, that all the troops stationed in the infidel parts, for the extermination of their inhabitants, would be put to the sword by the enemy; in which view he was determined to prolong his stay two days longer, till he should have recalled all the troops from those districts. Thus his departure for the camp was so retarded, that he arrived in the army after the fifth day. Isa Khan Hajab, and all the other grand Omras, who, up to that moment, had kept Sheer Shah's accident a secret, convened all the Grandees of the empire, and, disclosing the whole matter to them, added, that Prince Jelal Khan being near at hand, they proposed, if agreeable, solemnly to welcome him, in order to prevent all further disorder. All the Omras con-

curring in his proposal, they went out to meet him, paid him their homage, and conducted him to the army. The first question he addressed to Kotb Khan, when he had reached the royal tent, was, where his father's coffin lay. Kotb Khan showing him to the place, he offered all reverence towards the coffin; by which he stood, with his eyes intensely fixed upon it; and reading the first Sura of the Coran, and kissing the foot of it, whilst sobbing tears dropped from his eyes. He sat there for some time, comforted and consoled by all the Ulemas, learned men, Omras, and Grandees.

Isa Khan Hajab and others then agreed to convey him to the council-hall; where he had remained a short while, when they represented to him, that all the Omras of Sheer Shah having unanimously conferred the Sultanat upon him, a prosperous hour must be chosen for his accession to the throne, and assumption of the crown and royal majesty. To this Jelal Khan replied, that he never would perform such an act of baseness, as to accept of that power while his elder brother was alive: they ought rather to wait some days longer, till Adil Khan's arrival; when they, without exception, must cede the sovereignty, and fasten themselves with the girdle of submission, to him. Isa Khan, and the other Omras, rashly replied, that to tarry and delay, and enter into long discussions on minority and majority, was only productive of desolation of the empire, and injury of the subjects; that the sovereignty was nothing but a magnificent present bestowed by the Grandees of the empire on any individual they chose, which turn had now fallen to his lot; for he being present, all the Omras and disaffected had adjusted their heads to the dictates of his firmans, and elected him their monarch: and his brother being at the great distance of two hundred miles, a general uproar and confusion would result from putting off the arrangement of the affairs of the state till his arrival; it was therefore safer, that his Highness, without delay and procrastination, should please to mount the throne; and, considering this circumstance as a prosperous juncture to procure him the crown, not allow himself to tarry even one moment. Jelal Khan answered, that if all the grandees had actually agreed in that point, there was no doubt but their decree was in concordance with the divine pleasure; and he, in reliance upon it, was ready to take upon himself that important affair. They accordingly might make it known, to high and low, that he was determined strictly to observe his father's institutions and regulations, without allowing himself the least deviation, but in promoting the public welfare. All the Omras, congratulating and hailing him, and performing the ceremony of kissing the ground, Jelal Khan Jaloo joined hands with Prince Jelal Khan, bade

him rise and ascend the throne, and uttered the words, "The head of any person that should dare oppose his authority would be severed from his body by his (Jaloo's) hand." This ascension happened upon a Thursday, the fifteenth of the month Rabea Ulaval, in the year 952.

Jelal Khan, upon that occasion, assumed the title, Islam Shah. His original name was Abd Uljalil; but his services and exploits under Sheer Shah procured him that of Jelal Khan. When he had taken possession of the throne, Isa Khan Hajab, who had been Tenbuldar (betel-bearer) to Sheer Shah, an office than which, according to the Afghan institutions, none is higher looked upon, put down his betel-case before the monarch, and preferred the petition, that Mohammed Khan, and Khyser Khan, who held that function under him when Prince, might now be reinstated in it. To this, however, Islam Shah replied, that to that office such paramount importance was attached, that it must be confided only to persons of unquestionable fidelity and character: that formerly, while he was Prince, no opponent or adversary had started up against him, in consequence of which it was of no import whom he appointed; but that now, without doubt, a great many enemies and ill-wishers were likely to arise, which rendered it absolutely necessary that he should continue his function. With these words, he took up the betel-case, and returned it to Isa Khan; at the same time conferring upon his elder son, Elias by name, the title of Fut'h Khan, and upon the younger, called Ishak, that of Ikhtiar Khan. Thus the ceremony of allegiance lasted from morning till evening. Isa Khan Khan's and his son's dignity was daily on the increase; and every complicated concern that occurred to Islam Shah was successfully expedited by his skilful management. In short, all the Omras and officers of the empire, approving the proceedings of the Omras of the presence, came to proffer their congratulations, with the only exception of Prince Adil Khan: for when he learned the whole transaction, he bitterly repented of his backwardness, which, however, served only to enhance his consternation and remorse. At length, when his consternation had reached the highest pitch, he detached his son, Mahmood Khan, to Agra, to reduce it; but the governors, shutting themselves up in the citadel, rejected with disdain both his promises and menaces; which forced him to retreat in utter disappointment, and repair to Adil Khan, Khuvaz Khan, and Isa Khan Niazi, who filled the dignities of surveyors of Marvar. But a firman arriving from Islam Shah, they all, in obedience to the sublime mandate, set out to offer their allegiance. Adil Khan's impolicy and exasperation was then so great, that, on their arrival in the vicinity of Rintimpore, he neglected to come and see Khuvaz Khan, and

draw him to his interests, by loading him with favours and bounties. He, on the contrary, requested this Omra, through the medium of a deputy, to join his party. Khuvaz Khan sent back the answer, that, after all the Omras and Grandees of the empire had placed his brother upon the throne, it was anything but right, on his part, to oppose him, and render the country the scene of disorder, and himself the execration of high and low. Upon this, he dismissed the deputy: but he himself soon after advanced one stage, in the expectation that Adil Khan might perhaps come in person, and, induced by respect to his presence and his generosity, might thus feel inclined for a reconciliation.

When Islam Shah, through secret agents, heard of Khuvaz Khan's proceedings, he showed all symptons of joy, and considered his throne as firmly established;—that agreeable news induced him to leave Callinger, and advance to Agra; inquiring at every hour and station when Khuvaz Khan would arrive. This Omra's arrival coinciding with that of the King's, near Agra, the latter sent his Omras of every rank to meet him; whilst he himself halted at that station, and caused the ensigns of royalty, with all magnificence and splendor, to be fitted up anew; as the throne, he said, would then be secured to him, when Khuvaz Khan should have offered his homage. When the Omra, after his arrival and the prostration, was admitted to kiss the sublime foot, Islam Shah closed him in his arms, and covered him with kisses; whilst the Khan, in due reverence, stood unmoved upon his place, and uttered congratulations upon his reign; adding the profession, "that they all were his servants, who, upon his naming any rebel to them, were ready to extirpate all such infatuated persons." Islam Shah again exclaimed, with high voice, "that he was that day constituted Emperor, when Khuvaz Khan had joined him:" upon which he, in one council, bestowed three honorary robes upon him. After that, he made his entrance into Agra at a propitious hour; and gratified every soldier by ordering two months' pay to be given him from the treasury, which gained him the affection of the whole army. One day he convened his Omras, grand officers, and Grandees; and remarked to them, that although, through their loyalty and concord, he received from all sides the most joyful news of the general submission and obedience of the subjects, yet his heart still felt some uneasiness about his elder brother, whom he thought he had wronged; and that he was desirous, by all means, to effect a reconciliation, the attainment of which object he would entrust to their management; his brother being, perhaps, inclined to banish all rancour from his mind, and to co-operate in removing their reciprocal animosity and disaffection. The

whole council expressed their approbation of so illustrious a plan; and gave as their opinion, that a deputy must be despatched, to ascertain Prince Adil Khan's sentiments; after which, they could take their measures accordingly. Islam Shah procured a letter to be drawn up, expressive of kindness, amity, and plentiful caresses, and setting forth his desire to be favoured with a meeting. This letter he entrusted to Adem Khan Batni for conveyance. On the perusal of the letter, Adil Khan, through the conveyance of a trusty person, directed an address to every single Omra, and asked them their respective opinion upon the subject. Kotb Khan wrote back, That the welfare of the empire required his immediate presence, in order to settle the existing differences; it being much better for him to die there, than to live at another place. Khuvaz Khan's answer expressed, That all the Omras of Sheer Shah having unanimously elected Islam Shah King, and being attached and devoted to him with heart and mind, and his Majesty being desirous to meet him, it behoved him to banish all animosity from his mind, and to depart without hesitation. Isa Khan Hajah was at a loss how to answer, and to begin his reply. He therefore consulted with such persons of his retinue as he thought prudent; and remarked to them, that in case he should use the style of a servant towards his superior, he would offend Islam Shah; but by resorting to a contrary expedient, he was apprehensive of exasperating Adil Khan, it being still concealed behind the curtain of uncertainty in whose possession the Sultanat would be established; the Afghans supplicating God most fervently to excite the dust of discord between these two brothers. He finally came to the resolution to open the letter, with mentioning Sheer Shah, and to give both brothers the princely title. He then sat down to write, That at the time of the death of the illustrious and now blessed Sheer Shah, neither of the Princes being present, Jelal Khan, in consequence of his short distance, had hastily arrived, and taken upon himself the affairs of the empire. It was therefore highly desirable, that both princes, who had always stood in the relation of reciprocal friendship and amity, should now also keep up this friendly connection, in order to quell all disorder, and preserve the throne to their race. Jelal Khan Jaloo replied, That all the grand Omras having settled the sovereignty on Islam Shah, it was in contradiction to his sublime mind to oppose them; his troops being by far too weak to come up with them. It was therefore safer, putting aside animosity and enmity, nor contesting the dignity of his brother, to whom it was apparently assigned by divine direction, to repair to court. With this letter, that of Birmuzeed Goor was in full concord.

When Adil Khan had received these different letters, he sent a despatch to Islam Shah, requesting him to empower Khuvaz Khan, Kotb Khan Soor, and Jelal Khan Jaloo, by solemn assurances, so to pacify his apprehension, that he could repair to the presence. Islam Shah lost no time to direct the Omras mentioned, in every way to facilitate his brother's arrival, for which he felt an excessive desire. The three Omras, upon this, represented, that Prince Adil Khan did not pretend to the crown, but was quite contented to pass a retired life, in comfort and amusements: that, therefore, allowances, sufficient for him and his household, ought to be settled on him. They, on their part, humbly begged that his Majesty might please faithfully and strictly to fulfil the stipulations entered into by them, they being only the representatives of the royal word. Islam Khan assuring them that they might depend upon the strictest observation of the articles of the convention, they took their departure. But Jelal Khan Jaloo Soor, who, during the life-time of Sheer Shah, had been on intimate terms with Islam Shah, soon came back, and accosted the new King in the following way :—"The assurances given by thee to-day, I am convinced will not be kept to-morrow, on Adil Khan's arrival. It is therefore a very base plan to send such grave Omras to render him secure, and induce him, upon the most solemn assurances, to repair to the presence; for princes now enter into treaties and conventions, only when they cannot effect their plans by the hand of power. At present, all the Omras of thy father, of every rank, are firmly attached to thy cause; whilst he, with a small body of adherents, has shut himself up in the citadel of Rintimpore; and will, immediately upon hearing of the approach of the sublime standards, come out to submit, or, as an outcast, leave the imperial dominions, to wander about in deserts, where he, pursued by thy victorious troops, will soon become a prisoner, and be brought before thee. After all this, it will be in entire discord with prudence and policy, such power being at hand, to recur to pacific negotiations. Should the Omras really repair to him, and, upon solemn assurances, induce him to place himself under their shelter and protection, and to present himself before the presence, as long as no breach of that treaty and agreement is taking place, they will firmly persist in their attachment; but the first moment they perceive some doubt about it, they will abandon thy party, and employ their full influence to establish and strengthen his interests. It is therefore much more advisable not to send them at all; and to advance the sublime banners, under pretence of hunting."—Islam Shah, however, did not follow his advice. At that moment Mohammed Fermulli began to speak, and said, that no person ought to disdain perjury for the welfare of his master. To which

Jelal Khan replied, that he had only expressed the humble views of his mind, but that the advice of that eminent nobleman was well established. But Fate had destined it otherwise: for Islam Shah, on a sudden, approved Jelal Khan's statement; confessing, that in case he used hypocrisy and double-dealing towards his brother, he would then have no faith with his Grandees. But this profession of Islam Shah did not originate in the ground of his heart.

Jelal Khan accordingly, with the other Omras, departed for Rintimpore, and handed Islam Shah's message over to Adil Khan. He assured them, that he did not in the least aspire to the crown, but was apprehensive of his life; that the absolute control over him was placed in their hands; but that previously to taking their measures with regard to him, they must, by oaths, put him in perfect security. Upon this, the Omras assured him that Islam Shah was not at all actuated by grievances against him; but that he intended, instead of Rintimpore, to deliver to his deputies the fort of Biana, with all its villages and dependencies, whither he might afterwards repair himself, and pass his time in pleasure and comfort; previously to which he had to present himself at court, from whence he could set out for Biana. Adil Khan replied, that he would acquiesce in all these propositions, if all three, upon the divine word, would take an oath, that they, in case Islam Shah should violate these terms, and impair either his life or honour, would, with all their power, prevent him; and, in case he should not listen to them, even run the hazard of losing his favour, and assist and support him, the oppressed; and, finally, procure him leave to depart after the first interview. The three Omras promised to adhere to the terms mentioned, and took oaths accordingly. Adil Khan then handed over the keys of Rintimpore to the deputies of Islam Shah, and departed with them to wait on his brother. In the meanwhile, invitation after invitation arrived for him, and firmans for the Omras without intermission. When the report of Adil Khan's arrival at the station at Khano circulated, Islam Shah ordered, in the vicinity of Shikarpoor, the royal pavilion to be spread with costly carpets, and the throne posted up, bedecked with a variety of ornaments and embellishments, whilst he himself would go to receive and meet Adil Khan. The King, on the fixed day, seated himself upon the throne, his grand Omras standing up, when Adil Khan entered the pavilion and stood still. Sermust Khan, who was master of the ceremonies, then stood forward, and declared that Prince Adil Khan was offering his obeisance; but Islam Shah cast a glance of apparent negligence. After that, he beckoned Adil Khan to come up to the royal step; and on his having ascended, Islam Shah descended from the throne, closed him in his arms, in which

position they continued for some time, and, seizing his hand, seated himself with him upon the throne, where both brothers recited the first Sura for the name of their father, and omitted not the least mark of reciprocal affection. As a contrast with this, Sheikh Ali Servani relates from his uncle, Sheik Mohammed, a disciple of Mulhi Kattal, the following anecdote:—One day, when Sheer Shah was hard pressed, he ordered Adil Khan to make the round of the army, in order to investigate the terrain, for the purpose of erecting a circumvallation, as he used to do at every station. It then happened, that Islam Shah arrived from Behar at that station; and Sheer Shah told him, that his elder brother making a circuit on horseback to conduct the erection of a circumvallation, he must go after him to meet him. Islam Shah obeyed; and when approaching his brother, alighted from his horse, whilst Adil Khan remained on horseback: and when several persons of his attendance told him that Jelal Khan was saluting him, he took no notice of it at all, but went into another work, until Islam Shah came near him; and, having kissed his foot, was requested to mount again, and ride after him; in which manner he conducted him to the camp. The narrator relates, that he himself was present when Sermust Khan Servani conducted Adil Khan to the foot of the terrace, and noticed that he offered his salutations; at which Islam Shah, in extreme coldness, turned his eye towards him, who, in a too humiliating posture, and in a state of destitution and helplessness, stood before him and proffered supplications and assurances of his submission in profusion. Islam Shah, they further relate, had secretly appointed several young persons, upon whose strength and bravery he could rely, to post themselves in full armour behind the throne, which, at his special command, the chamberlain would allow them to do; and when all would be in serious consultation, to draw their swords, and put Adil Khan, with his son, to death. For that purpose, he gave orders to the porters also, not to allow more Omras to pass in with Khuvaz Khan. This circumstance, however, that the attendants of the Omras were refused admission, brought them to the conclusion that there was some machination going on; and they accordingly procured entrance for their attendants, by the way of force. This frustration of his scheme put Islam Shah under the necessity of resorting to dissimulation, and, with a view to this, he seated Adil Khan upon the throne, with the words: "Thou, as the elder brother, art to me in the room of a father: I have, till this day, preserved that place for thee. Praise be to God, that up to this moment no disunion in that regard has taken place! Rise, therefore, and adorn the throne with thy person, that all may take its right course." To this, Adil Khan replied, "Be the empire

blessed under thee! thou alone art deserving of such an exalted dignity; and thy empire is in fact mine." After that, he seized Islam Shah's hand, and seated him upon the throne, whilst he respectfully stood congratulating him; and the Omras renewed the ceremonies of allegiance, and expressed their belief that the dust of disunion was allayed by the water of concord. After that, Islam Shah rose; and, when mounting at the door of the pavilion, he beckoned Adil Khan to do the same: he obeyed, and rode after the king. Khuvaz Khan, and Jelal Khan Jaloo, then jointly informing the King of their promise to permit Adil Khan to depart after the first meeting, he was dismissed; but left his son, Mahmood Khan, in the imperial service. The King appointed Khuvaz Khan and Isa Khan Niazi to accompany his brother, and to reside in Sekundra, at the foot of Biana; which fort was to be held by Adil Khan.

When, after the settlement of Islam Shah's affairs, no adversary remained throughout India, the gale of insolence and pride pervaded his brains; and he reasoned, that as long as Adil Khan was alive, there would always be something to fear and apprehend for the throne; the more so, as the army of the Afghans, in consequence of their depravity, and of some chastisements and punishments that the statute of the empire and government now required, would, in violation of the treaty and convention, spread mutiny and rebellion, all which would keep his mind in perpetual alarm; especially if important affairs in a remote part of his dominions should ever require his presence; of which the recent history of Humayoon and his brothers, who had revolted and dispossessed him of Hindustan, was a sufficient example. It was therefore safer, at all events, first of all to secure Adil Khan, and then to proceed to settle other matters. He accordingly handed a chain over to Ghazi Khan, and sent him to Biana, to represent to Adil Khan, that it would at present afford an indelible proof of his submission and loyalty, if he, for some days, would allow himself to be put in chains, and repair to court; where the sovereign would take the fetters off again, and, after many favours, set him at liberty, as in the first time, to depart for Biana. When Ghazi Khan, on his arrival, delivered Islam Shah's message to Adil Khan, he became exceedingly alarmed; and, requesting him to wait a short time, left him alone, and, retiring into his apartments, went by a secret way to Khuvaz Khan. This officer, on seeing Adil Khan exhausted and quite unable to utter a single word, inquired, after the salutations, about the reason of his consternation. Adil Khan then said, "Dear uncle, we have left the fort of Rintimpore by thy advice, and, putting up with every situation, acquiesced

to submit to the younger brother : what may now be thy advice ? Upon this Khuvaz Khan called in Isa Khan Niazi; and fully explained to him, how a breach of the convention had been committed by Islam Shah, notwithstanding that it had been arranged upon oath, taken upon the holy book : that Adil Khan, himself a Prince and of royal blood, was, with all his claims, in consequence of his misfortune and destitution, so much humbled, as to address an inferior like him with the term Uncle. They, moreover, had sworn upon the divine word : the question therefore was, how he should act in that emergency. Isa Khan replying, that he would entirely conform with any expedient he might choose, Khuvaz Khan accosted Adil Khan, and said, " Prince Adil Khan, either put thy foot in chains, or take down the sword and fasten it to thy girdle; for I am ready, even at the risk of life, with unmoveable resolution, to keep inviolate the treaty and assurances given by me." Adil Khan impressed kisses upon the hilt of the sword, and handed it over to that Chief, with the observation : " Encouraged by thee, I now put on this sword, which I had laid aside ever since the day I left Rintimpore." Khuvaz Khan and Isa Khan then, with their own hands, fastened the sword to his girdle ; and calling Ghazi Khan Muhalli into the council, asked him about his commission; when he threw the chain he had about him before them, and said, that he was commanded by Islam Shah to put that chain on Adil Khan's feet, and convey him to court. Khuvaz Khan, shocked at this answer, replied, that that oppressed wretch had resigned the throne ; and, contenting himself with the scanty allowances granted him, had chosen a retired place to pass his life in tranquillity, without ever attempting to transgress his promises; which had induced Islam Shah, in consideration of his helpless and degraded position, and at the instigation of his own arrogance and violence, to infringe the treaty, without considering, that to rouse uproar was anything but compatible with the conduct of wise men. Islam Shah, aided by fortune, and by strong exertions, has become powerful and victorious ; but when the world shall have experienced his oppression, and when, in the broils that may arise, Mussulmans shall be slain on both sides, he will then be branded with the charge of perfidy. It was, moreover, infamous to draw the Omras of his father into his intrigues, after his very first designs had tended to perjury and knavery. They altogether could, therefore, by no means prevail upon themselves to fix their view upon worldly emoluments, and, violating their oath taken upon the holy Scriptures, desert the right way, and violate the treaty. It was, he continued, agreed, in the preliminaries to the treaty, that the brother infringing the stipulations should be forthwith deserted by all the Omras, who were to join and support

the right party: and Islam Shah having acted treacherously, they were determined to abandon his cause, and devote themselves entirely to Adil Khan. Whereupon he, at once, put Ghazi Khan in chains, and sent him into prison. After that, he was occupied in making warlike preparations; and directed addresses to Sheer Shah's Omras, then in the service of Islam Shah, calling to their mind, that Islam Shah, in violation of the treaty, and the pledge of faith, was entirely taken up with the plan to annihilate his brother; after the accomplishment of which, he would undoubtedly, in conformity with his temerity and precipitous and revengeful temper, turn his attention to their ruin and extermination; in regard to which they had the example of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who had put all the Omras and Ministers of Sultan Sekunder to death, but lost both Hindustan, and his life, in consequence. They ought, therefore, firmly to observe their agreements, and take their measures with constant deliberation on the consequences. To these representations, all the Omras, without exception, wrote back in answer, that they fully approved of and obeyed his Excellency's eminent advice; but that Adil Khan ought, now that only a small part of the night remained, without delay to repair to the environs of Agra, where the Omras of all classes would join him; the intelligence of which general defection would, without the least doubt, induce Islam Shah to immediate flight, or to shut himself up in the citadel, where his capture was sure. Khuvaz Khan was transported with joy at the news of this unanimous resolution of the Omras; and determined to advance, with all speed, towards Agra, there to commence hostilities against Islam Shah.

But we must now return to continue the history of this monarch. When the intelligence of Ghazi Khan's imprisonment, and Adil Khan's revolt with the assistance of all the Omras of Sheer Shah, reached Islam Shah, who moreover saw himself deserted by the troops of all his dominions, he repented of his conduct: but he was so much favoured by divine grace, that not only no detriment resulted to him from the defection of the Omras, but he, in a short time, dispersed them in all directions, and retorted on them the deserved punishment.

"What has he to apprehend from the revolution of Time, whom Fortune favours?"

In short, Islam Shah's confidence both upon the Omras and the army being entirely vanished, he called Kotb Khan and Jelal Khan Jaloo before him, and remarked to them, that if he really had acted impolitically and imprudently, it was the duty of Khuvaz Khan and the other Omras to notify it to him sincerely and with friendly admonitions; and in case these were rejected, then to

desert him, without blame attaching to them. Both Omras bade him be undisturbed by that occurrence, nothing being lost as yet; and bound themselves, at the same time, to remedy that evil, and allay the disturbances excited by Adil Khan and Khuvaz Khan. The King accordingly directed them to depart for that purpose, and execute any measures their loyalty and fidelity might suggest to them.

When Isa Khan Hajab, who had not been present at any of these conferences, understood that Jelal Khan and Kotb Khan had been dismissed to depart in the capacity of envoys to Adil Khan and Khuvaz Khan, he forthwith waited on the King, and expressed his astonishment at the mission of those two Omras to the army of the rebels: this proceeding merely serving to perplex all the lawful subjects; it being now absolutely necessary to give a full explanation of the matter before it grew irremediable.

Islam Shah replied, "that his intention in sending these Omras had been, to bring about a settlement of the affairs: besides, that their whole conduct had betrayed, more or less, evident signs of disobedience, which could have easily infected the minds of the faithful and loyal Omras with mutiny and disobedience. Of such people he had been desirous to rid himself; all the Omras of Sheer Shah having deserted him, and entered into a coalition, to set up Adil Khan against him, and fight out their enterprise. But it was his firm determination, until the whole empire should have fallen into their hands, not to share it with any person; but to fight like a lion, and to expect what might emerge from the curtain of uncertainty. With this view, he had removed these suspected persons from his army, under the pretence of a legation; and intended to march himself, with the rest of his faithful troops, to Rhotas, where all the treasures were deposited, and the governor of which was a lawful vassal; and to levy a new army with that money, and lead it against the rebels." He then asked Isa Khan's opinion, whom he, he added, reckoned amongst his most faithful dependants. This Omra, for a while, bent his head into the bosom of reflection, and began then to declare his views as follows:—"As to the plan to leave the capital, and remove to Rhotas, it is a scheme diametrically opposed to the welfare of the empire; for while the sublime standards will be moving towards Rhotas, people will imagine them to be in a state of complete weakness, and fancy their destruction to be possible without combat; for the Omras, as well as the other functionaries on the frontier, who have confederated with Adil Khan, will assuredly not allow us time to arrive at Chunar or Rhotas. At present, the capital is in our hands; and let them have as many

troops as they may, people will still consider them as rebels; whilst the moment we leave and abandon the capital, we shall become rebels against ourselves. A throne is a grand object; which cannot be obtained without running dreadful hazards, and undergoing depressing hardships. We therefore must place our confidence in the God of the universe; and, giving up such pernicious plans, banish all fear and dread of those rebels from our heart. Our army widely exceeds that of our enemy in number: there are six thousand excellent horse ready for service, from the time when thou hadst not yet mounted the throne: one thousand and eight hundred horse may be levied from my people and tribe; two thousand horse stand at my immediate command, whom I will not dwell upon; although being convinced, that, in the conflict, they will not be found deficient in their duty. The Fermullis and Niazians have not acceded to the coalition: the first of whom are firmly attached to court; the latter blindly adhere to their chief and commander, and, God excepted, care for nobody else. Besides them, there are a vast number of officers and Zemindars that have not relaxed in their fidelity. The army of the rebels, on the contrary, is divided into two factions: the one has joined them, and remains with them merely to gratify its feelings of honour, as Khuvaz Khan and Isa Khan Niazi; the other, who might as well be under the shadow of the royal army, and from which no use at all can be excepted, play an underhand game of denunciation between both parties, and feigns fidelity: I repeat it, no use whatever can be expected from them; for their mind is divided, and nothing can be achieved by an army in which discord is predominant. Thus the mission of Jelal Khan and Kotb Khan to the rebels is not in concord with the welfare of the state; and their presence in our army would be of much avail indeed: first, because the hostile troops will not be increased by their accession; secondly, because the ascendancy in number is attended by victory; thirdly, because, if they do not arrive at the time promised, the rebels will become disheartened, and their low spirits will be the cause of their defeat: for when the heart of the commander of an army is discouraged, the privates never are capable of accomplishing bold achievements, which circumstance always leads to the total rout of every army. These men, when retained in our victorious army, will have no opportunity to support the enemy; and it is, for that reason, much better and safer to countermand their departure, to amuse them with promises of their promotion, and, in appearance, connive at their conduct; as the wise and experienced have said, That if one has detected his followers in treacherous designs against him, he must, by caresses and kindness, draw them again to his interests;—the friendship of

mortals depending on the prospect of increased wealth; so much so, that, when they see their most bitter enemy forwarding their own designs, they forthwith contract friendship with him; whilst, on the contrary, when they find a warm friend but a little inattentive to their concerns, they become disaffected towards him. From these observations, it results, that all apprehensions must be banished from our mind, and our whole attention turned to the urgent business of the present time."

Islam Shah now asked the other Omras their opinion. Mohammed Fermulli, who had no second in bravery and acuteness of mind, asserted, on his part, that there was no advice that could be compared with Isa Khan's: in which opinion he was supported by all the other Omras. Islam Shah being thus convinced of the fidelity of his troops, was delighted in the highest degree, and wholly occupied in making warlike preparations: in which regard he said, that he would, on the ensuing day, stand his ground so tenaciously, that either victory should crown his exertions, or the foundation of his life be demolished. He then put the question to Isa Khan, under what plea he should recall the deputies, and whether they were to be invested with the command of a division. To this Isa Khan returned in answer: "The Afghans of experience, and veteran soldiers well instructed in the school of war by various expeditions, had given the advice that, if signs of disunion should appear between officers and their troops, it was advisable, in time of war, to remove them from their regiments, and call them to the presence; as, by an army without a chief, as well as by a chief without an army, nothing could be achieved." Islam Khan, following this advice, recalled Kotb Khan, Jelal Khan Servani, Par Khan, and Kala Par, and employed all means to appease them; assuring them, that his whole reliance and confidence was placed in them, after whose departure he would have nobody for his attendance: besides that, it had occurred to him, that Khuvaz Khan having detained Ghazi Khan in fetters, would probably not scruple to do the same upon them, which would only serve to create fresh embarrassment. It was much better, he continued, to have them in his company, from whom his arm derived his strength; and they, on their part, had better send agents in their name to summon the rebels.

The three Omras accordingly went back to their habitations, and deputed agents from their retinue to bring word to Adil Khan, Khuvaz Khan and Isa Khan Niazi, that all the Omras were pleading their cause, except Isa Khan Hajab; whilst no other one of the former Omras followed Islam Khan. They should, therefore, towards the end of the night, advance upon Agra, to be joined by

them. The rebels, with full pride, mounted at the commencement of the night, the twenty-seventh of the month of Ramazan, which was the night Kadr; and left Biana, with the sound of drums, and a large retinue, riding off at full speed, to perform the night-prayer at Khano; and then to proceed to Futtehpoor-Sikree, to wait on Sheikh Selim, a descendant of Sheikh Fareed Gunj Shuker, the pattern of the age, who lived there to guide the pious in the right way. Thither proceeded Adil Khan and Khuvaz Khan, where they found the Shiekh at midnight occupied in prayers. The night being half passed, all the Omras, who had waited on the Sheikh, admonished Khuvaz Khan to take leave of the saint, and advance, in order to arrive at the stated time in the environs of Agra. But Khuvaz Khan replied, that that night, being the night of Kadr, must be looked upon as a sacred one; of which he saw no reason why they should hasten to deprive themselves; the more so, as the hostile army was not at all so formidable, that they should choose just at this hour to break and route them, whom they could at any time annihilate. After that, he betook himself to prayers again, till only four watches of the night remained; when he, after having previously read the first Sura, departed. They had not yet arrived at the place called Mundagur, when the morning dawned; but they there performed the morning-prayer, and then drew up in order. On Islam Shah's receiving the news of it, he came out of the citadel to meet the insurgents; who, by not observing the stated time, through the fault of their leaders, prevented the greater part of Islam Shah's troops from joining them. The only persons who went over that night, were Par Khan Lohani, Kala Par, Kotb Khan, Bermuzeed Gour, and Alem Khan Miana. Kotb Khan however, apprehensive of evil consequences, returned, and arrived at the camp again, just when Islam Shah mounted his horse. This monarch removed Kotb Khan and Jelal Khan Jaloo, whom he held in suspicion of treachery, from their regiments, and called them before him; whilst he confided the vanguard to Isa Khan and his sons, with the order to charge Khuvaz Khan. In short, after an enormous affray and struggle, uninterrupted onsets, and numerous charges, which even an iron mountain would not have been hard enough to withstand, the heroes stood their ground with wonted bravery, and, in unshaken opposition to Khuvaz Khan, fought a contest of emulation. No party had yet moved back a step from the field, when the unfortunate Adil Khan, who stood against Said Khan Niazi, a brother of Aazem Humayoon, Jelal Khan Jaloo, and Shah Mohammed Fermulli, was at once repulsed, and fled, abandoning his troops to a complete rout. He, without stopping, crossed the Jumna, and arrived at Chundwar; from whence he, through the woods, continued his flight

to Patna. So long as Khuvaz Khan was not aware of this circumstance he stood his ground, in firm expectation of victory; but no sooner had Adil Khan's repulse reached his ears, than he gave way, overwhelmed by his opponent, Isa Khan Hajab, and retreated towards Biana, where he had left his retinue and family. It was especially Isa Khan Hajab, with his sons; Shah Mohammed Fermulli, Said Khan Niazi a brother of Aazem Humayoon, and the old troops who had served under Islam Shah when Prince, who in this battle played Rustam's game; but the victory attaches to the name of Isa Khan Hajab. Jelal Khan Jaloo, though a short while ago a rebel himself, yet, changing his recent desertion for old allegiance, achieved such exploits, that he proved the champion of victory. Par Khan Lohani, Bermuzeed Gour, and Alem Khan Miana, who, in the preceding night, had joined Adil Khan's party, seeing victory devolving on Islam Shah, repented of their desertion, and went over to the triumphant legions, to feed the flame of hypocrisy with the chaff of fraud. However, Islam Shah, too well aware of their seditious temper, forthwith ordered Alem Khan for death; but put off for the present the punishment of the other. He himself pursued Khuvaz and Isa Khan as far as Futtehpoor-Sikree, and then returned; but detached Par Khan Lohani, a son-in-law to Sheer Shah, Tatar Khan Kasi, Isa Khan Doulet Soor, Alem Khan Beg Yusufkhail, and other Omras, with Shah Fermulli, and thirty thousand horse, to propel the two hostile commanders. These ungrateful persons had hired celerity from the wind, and, with their families, saved their lives from the waves of adversity, and fled towards Meiwat. In the meanwhile, Shah Mohammed Fermulli accelerated his march, with a victorious body, and arrived in the precincts of Firozpoor, where the arms were in employment from morning till evening; but some of the faithless Omras preceiving Shah Mohammed remaining behind, Khuvaz Khan, embracing the favourable opportunity, went off with his retinue and gun-carriages he used to have with him in all campaigns to Sirhind; and the royal army, notwithstanding their excellent management of the pursuit, were, in consequence of their discord, constrained to give up the pursuit, and return to court; whilst Khuvaz Khan, with Isa Khan, safely reached their intended place.

Islam Shah was so overjoyed at the victory gained, that he rewarded his Omras, both the faithful and those who had been implicated in the rebellion, according to their efforts and urgencies of time, by promotion. Upon Isa Khan Hajab he bestowed the title Khuvaz Khan, and stipends for the maintenance of ten thousand horse, a cup, a kettle-drum, and a scarlet tent, and advanced his sons in dignity. But Isa Khan, who well knew that Islam Shah chose this way of acting

with a view to attach the Omras of his father to him, imagined it to be unbecoming for him to be ranked under that class; as Islam Shah one day would severely deal with the perfidious, and take revenge on them: and reasoning further, that every subject, whenever his master was in an embarrassing situation, was bound not only to decline any remuneration in money or other effects, but to offer his own property for his use in entire submission, he represented to his sovereign, that, in order not to give any occasion for suspicion, he was willing to accept the cup and drum as gratifications; but begged, at the same time, that the military assignment might be deferred for another time. But on Islam Shah's urging this point, he said, that if it was the sublime pleasure to have him signalized by so prominent a favour, it might at least be deferred for some days; after which he would, with the divine pleasure, accept of the intended honour.

The other Omras, by their advancements, became inflated with excessive haughtiness; and neglected to contemplate the consequences, till at length they experienced what they did.

Islam Shah addressed a despatch to Aazem Humayoon, the governor of the Punjab, informing him that Khuvaz Khan and Isa Khan had found means to break through the imperial army, and made their way to Sirhind, where they were now encamped. By an expedition in those parts, he would annihilate these ungrateful rebels; for the accomplishment of which purpose he ought to join himself with the other officers, by doing which he would pacify the inquietude of his sovereign's mind. No sooner had Aazem Humayoon received the letter, than he broke up from Lahore, and ordered his officers to take charge of the equipment of the new and old army, and sent the ready detachments after him. Within a short period, an army of forty thousand horse was raised, and led on against Khuvaz Khan and Isa Khan. A letter was then directed to them, to the effect, "That it being incumbent on them to be on their guard against Islam Shah's resentment, they would act in concordance with their own concerns, when retreating for some days from Sirhind, and repairing to the northern mountainous regions, there to receive a place from the Zemindars, and to await the result. That if Islam Shah should give up his vindictive designs, and, conniving at the trespasses of his father's Omras, suffer them to continue in the dignities he had now assigned them, with a veiw to soothe them, he was himself ready to repair to the presence, and implore forgiveness for their misconduct; which intercession, when accepted, must be highly gratifying; but if not, he would call off Said Khan from his service, and, in co-operation with all the Omras of Sheer Shah, take proper measures."

This letter made Isa Khan and Khuvaz Khan entirely despair of the conjunction they had expected, and, in conscience of their weakness, to face the royal troops; and, yielding to necessity, they went off with their people and family to the pergunna Rupar, and from thence to the Raja of Kumaon, one of the greatest Rajas of India, whose ancestors had set the Emperors of India at defiance, and had perpetually been in a state of rebellion. With him they entered into a confederacy; and, retreating into the mountains of Kumaon, fixed their residence at a place called Akeeli. The Raja, according to his ability, assigned estates to them, and furnished them with what their heart could wish.

Aazem Humayoon, in obedience to his orders, returned to Lahore; but Islam Shah commissioned Kotb Khan, with several other Omras, to depart for the provinces between the Duab, to build a citadel on a proper place, and reside there, in order to prevent Khuvaz Khan from molesting those provinces; or, if occasion offered, to fight him. He himself moved towards Chunar and Rhotas; from whence he sent all treasures, deposited there, to Agra. Soon after, he returned, and took the route toward Khatempoor; where he quite unexpectedly fell in with Sheer Shah's troops, who had been implicated in the mutiny and rebellion. He, considering that that body had not only suffered for their misdemeanour, but even been advanced by it to higher stations, came to the resolution, that after having essayed the gold of their heart upon the touchstone of trial, it was much safer to wipe out the picture of their existence from the tablet of life. One day he demanded of Jelal Khan Jelvani to give him a list of all those who had been confederated with Adil Khan, and, of course, insurgents against him. Jelal Khan replied, that before the rebels had brought him over to their interest, they would not have dared to wage revolt; and that he had made common cause with them, in consequence of the intended imprisonment of Adil Khan, without his approbation: thus his folly and inconsiderateness had induced him to rise against him. Islam Shah asked further, whether Isa Khan Hajab, and Shah Mohammed Fermulli, had been accomplices in their coalition. To this, Jelal Khan answered in the negative; "for," he said, "knowing Isa Khan to be a sincere and faithful well-wisher of thine, we did not communicate the plot to him, being convinced that he, on no account, would plead and support our cause. Upon Mohammed Shah's word and assurance we placed too little confidence; and, besides, we knew that he had too small a body at his command, to expect material assistance from him. Moreover, we considered it as certain that thy army would be in no condition to oppose us: but divine

aid has so effectually supported thy cause, that the following Beit occurred to my mind:

"Thou hast, by the insinuations of thy enemies, forsaken thy friends. Thy old and sincere friends thou hast forgotten.

"I then said to myself, that it would be incompatible with human nature to give up a many years' friendship and attachment, in consequence of an insignificant accident, and to betake to desertion from the former master: with this view, I, reposing my trust in the Almighty, despatched, with the brilliant fire-flaming sword, the harvest of the enemies' life to the abode of annihilation, and accomplished such achievements, that the image of victory was reflected in the mirror of fortune." Islam Shah seemingly approved this bold speech; but inwardly the conviction preponderated, that it was safer to render him harmless in prison, he being of so variable a disposition, that one could rely neither upon his enmity nor attachment; and his mutinous temper allowing nothing to expect from him, but mischief in abundance. In the list of those on whom he intended to take revenge, Islam Shah included also Khalil Khan Jaloo, one of the factious Omras. He had, in Sheer Shah's time, been attached to Islam Shah, but subsequently deserted him, and joined the insurgents for some time; after which, he again resumed his former friendship and attachment, and fought so strenuously against Islam Shah's opponents, that the image of victory reflected in the mirror of the day, and the efforts of none of the Omras could be compared with his. But from his great folly and innate temerity he had assumed such a deportment, that he well deserved punishment and degradation: for, from pride and folly, he considered the capital crime of revolt as nothing; and was so inflated with self-conceit upon his achievements, that he, at every place, without the least title, claimed the precedence over all his companions attached to Islam Shah; became excessively impudent; and irritated Islam Shah's mind by his stupid expressions. All these complaints acted so strongly upon the King, that he watched an opportunity to cut him off.

It happened, one day, that Islam Shah played at bat and ball with Jelal Khan till noon, and gave him hourly more marks of condescension and favour. When the play was over, he put his hand in Jelal Khan's, and, conducting him to his private apartments, bade him take a seat till he should return after the ablutions; but he ordered his attendants to put Jelal Khan in fetters, and watch him in an apartment of the palace. A brother of the Khan, however, Khudadad by name, a man of intrepid courage and resolution, who had overheard that command, beat, without hesitation, the great drum, and advanced upon the palace. The

alarm in the army grew dreadful; and Islam Shah ordered Sermust Khan Serbunni Davudzye to go, and bring that foolish man to reason, and summon him to desist; or conduct him thither; and tell him, in his name, that his brother had been honoured with the highest favour, but forsaken the due respect and amity, and uttered some inconvenient words; on account of which he had been ordered for a few days' confinement, to raise him from the sleep of inadvertency, and make him sensible of his true station." Sermust Khan accordingly went to Khudadad, and accosted him in the following way:—"What means that uproar, excited by thee? Art thou an enemy to thy brother? Thy troops and followers are well known amongst the royal army. Thou hast, because of thy brother's imprisonment, which was not to exceed the space of two or three days, excited disturbances, which can only serve to cause the death of thy brother; for, should this affray continue, his head will be severed from his body, and stuck upon a spear; after which, thyself, with thy whole people, shall be exterminated, and on thy account many human beings will be exposed to the gale of destruction, and will be covered with ignominy; and thou, by the present and future ages, be stigmatized with the appellation of a rebel, and ungrateful person. But shouldst thou convert thyself from the misconduct of which thou art guilty, pardon may still be granted to thee. For that purpose thou must, without hesitation and fear, come with me before the King, and implore his pardon; for he is still so attached to thy brother, from the time of Sheer Shah, that he feels strongly disinclined to inflict capital punishment upon him. Had any other person but he used such improper language, he certainly would not be numbered with the living. Or, dost thou not recollect, that when Sheer Shah, in that serious affair at Raisein and Oujein, had incarcerated thy brother, and destined him for death, he was finally respited through Islam Shah's intercession? He certainly will set him at liberty now also, provided thou wilt meet him." Whilst Khudadad suffered himself to be deluded by such statements, the royal troops seized the opportunity to assemble in the palace court; and when Khudadad desisted from pursuing the sedition, and waited on Islam Shah, this monarch gave immediate orders to put him and his brother to death.

This violent action, however, filled the Omras of Sheer Shah with fear and dread; and Kotb Khan, who, in the countries of the Duab, was opposed to Khuvaz Khan, and dreaded evil consequences from the circumstance of his having countenanced Adil Khan's interests and shown himself disaffected to Islam Shah, fled away, and sought shelter with Aazem Humayoon at Lahore. But Islam Shah addressed a firman to the latter, to send the fugitive in

fetters to court: and Aazem, in obedience to it, put him, Par Khan Lohani, who was the King's brother-in-law, and twelve Omras besides, who had taken part with Adil Khan, in chains, and caused them to be carried to the citadel of Gualyar, and closely watched there. Said Khan Niazi, a younger brother of Aazam Humayoon, being likewise apprehensive of his life, and at the suggestion of his brother, deserted the royal camp with a small escort, abandoning his tent and retinue.

Islam Shah, with a view to prevent sedition in the Punjab, returned to Agra; but soon after proceeded to Dehli, where he gave orders to organize an army; and issued a firman to Aazem Humayoon, the governor of the Punjab, and Shujaet Khan, the governor of Malwa, to appear before him. The latter, in concurrence with his sovereign's will, forthwith made his appearance, and was distinguished by the royal favours. He equipped a force of ten thousand chosen horse, and placed them at the King's disposal. But Aazem Humayoon, from pride upon his force, assembled in the Punjab dominions to the number of forty thousand horse; and having his brains inflated with pernicious self-conceit, haughtily drew the chain of disobedience, and, turning his head to sedition, disobeyed the firman, and came not. He was joined by Khuvaz Khan, who, like him, raised the standard of ingratitude.

Islam Shah, upon the receipt of this news, instantly left Dehli, and hastened to those parts; and Aazem Humayoon, with Khuvaz Khan and a body of rebels, arrived, by forced marches, to fight him. Humayoon's camp was pitched about Embala; and Islam Shah's tent about two miles further off, to the eastward of Embala. On the insurgents coming in sight, the King ascended, with a strong body of his attendants, an elevated spot, to reconnoitre the enemy; and on beholding them, he stood still, and observed, it would reflect the greatest blame and contempt upon the principles of the state and the institutes of the Khelafat, if he, after having beheld the army of the rebels, would, without chastising them, return to his camp. He therefore sent orders to all his officers, to put themselves in arms and readiness; and to lead the regiments, in their respective order, with all speed to him. It being just the time of the post-meridian prayer, no engagement ensued on that day; but both armies, observing each other, remained all night drawn up in the plain. In the course of the night, Khuvaz Khan conferred with Aazem Humayoon, Isa Khan, Said Khan, and other Niazians, and asked them, who was to be set up for King, if they should gain the day next morning. Aazem Humayoon replied, that it must

be he who excelled in conducting the sword: at the same time promptly reciting the following distichon:—

> Nobody acquires the throne by right of inheritance, unless the sword is well managed by him.

But Khuvaz Khan, who immediately imagined him to aspire after the throne, resolved in himself, in case of victory falling to their portion, to call Prince Adil Khan from Tanna, and place him upon the throne. With this view he harangued his attendants in the following way:—"It is certain that victory will be our portion to-morrow, and defeat that of the enemy. Aazem Humayoon aspires after the throne; but what mischief has befallen me, that I should throw off the government of the Soor family, and submit to the Niazians? Whilst I live I will not incur the curses of the Faithful; nor will I stand before God and his Legate overwhelmed with shame, and as a sinner. The next day, when the conflict becomes active, we shall, before its commencement, recede from the field, and post ourselves aside from it, that the Niazians may be routed, and the throne be preserved in the Soor family. Nor will any thing come to pass but what the divine pleasure has destined with respect to me." And, in fact, when Islam Shah was apparently favoured and aided by fortune, the mutiny and disunion broke out.

When the King of the planets opened the window of the east, both armies drew up in order of battle, and engaged: a sharp action ensued. At the moment the ardour of action was in full flames, Khuvaz Khan drew off from the field, and retreated to an isolated place, with the intention, in case the imperial army should be defeated, to fall upon the Niazians, and cut them down. As soon as these troops became aware of what was going on, they grew despondent; but considering their destruction as unavoidable, did not, in resignation to fate, relax in their efforts; but no success at all crowning them, they turned their back to the field, and betook to flight. Khuvaz Khan had wheeled off aside, and watched the issue of the battle; but on perceiving the rout of the Niazians, retreated again towards the mountain of Kumaou; and sent Said Khan, his brother, with some other persons, to assassinate Islam Shah. Said, being covered with steel from head to foot, and uttering congratulations, eluded the eye of observers, and conveyed himself to the line of the elephants; which being trained to war, they use, on days of battle, to fetter their ranks with chains, and, fastening them with crampoons to the ground, thus form a sort of castle, where the sovereigns take shelter during the engagement. Said Khan told the driver to draw off the

crampirons, and lead the elephants aside, that he might congratulate the King; but the driver recognizing him at once, made his discovery known with loud voice, and struck Said Khan's head so vehemently with his iron stick, that his helmet dropped from his head, and he made his escape from that circumvallation bareheaded. The infamous Niazians fled on, and endeavoured to outvie each other in running. There runs a stream westward of Embala, which the Niazians had crossed when drawing up to battle, and which now proved destructive to them: for it being so filled with mud and morass that there was no possibility of crossing it but by a ferry or bridge, the fugitives, pressed upon by their pursuers, threw themselves into that pool, where the half of them perished; the rest flying towards Dinkot. To pursue them, Islam Shah detached Khuaja Vais Servani with a large body; and returned himself to Dehli, where he remained three months.

One day, under the pretence of hunting, he caused the royal tent to be moved to the tracts of the Duab; and Raja Kumaon hearing of this, was incapable of protecting Khuvaz Khan any longer. The latter banished his pernicious plans from his mind, and repaired to Dehli, to throw himself upon Islam Shah's mercy: but he was, by sublime order, put to death in the market of that town; and exposed there for three days, to serve as a warning to base people; a detachment being ordered to watch him. The first night, they relate such a load of fine roses to have been thrown upon his body as entirely to cover it. Islam Shah, apprised of this circumstance, doubled the watch, strictly enjoining them to allow no persons to approach the dead body; but the second as well as third night, an equal quantity of those flowers covered the corpse; which excited such a feeling of regret in Islam Shah, that he directed the assassinated to be solemnly interred. He then departed for Gualyar, which had been fixed upon as the seat of the Khelafat; where he remained for some time, busied in administering justice and bestowing favours.

It happened, about this time, that one Otman, an Afghan, who had been punished by Shujaet Khan, when governor of Malwa, by losing his hand, concealed himself behind a rock on the way which that Omra was to pass, with the intention to take revenge upon him. When he came in sight, he rushed forth to assault him, and inflicted a wound on him; without, however, accomplishing his designs. The Khan, imputing this attack to the King, fled, in the year 954 of the Hejra, from Gualyar; and repaired to Malwa, to which place Islam Shah gave orders to pursue him. But he, taking his route through the woody provinces, arrived safely in Gujerat, and engaged himself in the service of Sultan Mahmood.

Khuaja Vais, who was sent against the Niaziaus under Aazem Humayoon, engaged in a sharp battle near Diucot; but was defeated, and pursued by his adversaries as far as Lahore. Islam Shah forthwith detached fresh troops to reinforce him; upon account of which Aazem Humayoon retreated to Dincot, whither he was followed by Vais. Humayoon again moved on towards a place called Sumbul, situated at some distance from Dincot; where a bloody engagement was taking place. He was discomfited; and the train and families of the Niazians fell into the hands of the victors; whilst he, with other Niaziaus, sought shelter in the mountainous country of the Kakers. Khuaja Vais sent the prisoners, consisting in the retinue and families of Aazem Humayoon, Isa Khan, and Said Khau, in bonds to Islam Shah; and represented, that the Niazians having retreated into the mouutains of the Kakers, an expedition against them would, without the co-operation of the sublime standards, prove to be of no avail.

Islam Shah accordingly left Isa Khan Hajab, at the head of twenty thousand horse, in Malwa, to keep Shujaet Khan in check; and marched himself to the Punjab. When the Niazian families arrived before him, he ordered those of the three disaffected Chiefs to be lodged in a tent pitched in the market, and closely guarded by a number of volunteers. Every Tuesday, during three years, the women were ignominiously produced in the common couucil; where the officers, with high voice, exclaimed, that the Niazians, Aazem Humayoon, Isa Khan, and Said Khan, were uugrateful rebels. The news of their assassination arriving, Doulet Khan Oujala, who stood in particular favour with Islam Shah, resigned, aud retired. Islam Shah, in the mean while, arrived by forced marches at Lahore; from whence he, after a halt of a few days, marched out to quell the Niazian rebellion.

This struggle being carried on for two years, the Kakers became quite tired of the calamity thus brought upon them. The King, about this time, ascending on horseback the hills of Mankot, a person, who had waylaid him in a ditch, attacked him with a blank sword, aud aimed a blow at him, which fell on the flank of the horse. Islam Shah instantly jumped from his seat; aud laying hold of the person, gave orders to kill him: and uotwithstanding Doulet Khan's representation, that he ought first to be examined, the Shah remarked, that this would only cause the ruin of a great number, and therefore had him killed on the spot. The sword, Islam Shah recognized to be the same he had formerly presented to Ekbal Khau.

The Kakers being weakened, and reduced to distress by the continual slaughter and desolation of their lands, and unable to coutiuue the contest, Humayoon

and the other Niazians left that country for the mountains of Kashmeer. But the vassals of those districts, frightened by the state of the Kakers, and apprehensive of an invasion of the imperial troops, interrupted their road, and prohibited them from passing the frontier of Kashmeer. An action ensued, in which the Kashmeerians gained the victory, and cut off the heads of the three Niazian Chiefs; which they sent to Islam Shah, who, being thus secured with regard to the rebellion in the Punjab, returned. Upon some Afghan Omras belonging to the number of the disaffected, who had attempted to cut him off by the hand of an assassin, he revenged himself, by depriving them of their military maintenance and estates, which he consigned to faithful ones. Upon his arrival at Lahore, Prince Kamran, a brother of Humayoon, by whom he had been offended, came to implore his protection; and Sermust Khan Serbunni, then master of ceremonies, seized the hand of the Prince, and thus notified, that the son of the sovereign of Kabul saluted him: but Islam Shah turned his head round, without looking at him, endeavouring to conceal his internal commotion; and only after Sermust Khan had repeated his representation three times with high voice, he cast a glance upon the Prince. Kamran, whose notice this strange behaviour had not escaped, reasoned with himself, that Islam Shah, merely on account of an insignificant rebellion, having given vent to his displeasure against the Omras of his father, with entire disregard of their family, former services, and invaluable exertions, so as completely to ruin them, he would noways spare his life also: and, dubious what to begin, fled into the mountains of Sewalik, from whence he reached Kabul ten days after his departure from the imperial camp. Islam Shah, after that, left Lahore, and came to Dehli. Here the hot climate annoyed him so much, that he caused a salubrious house to be built on the river adjoining the town, and there he resided. His internal heat however continuing, the physicians agreed upon letting blood, and one day put seventy leeches on his throat. At this very moment, a courier from the Punjab bringing news of Humayoon's having arrived at the Neelab to subjugate Hindustan, Islam Shah started up, and, dropping the leeches from his throat, demanded his horse, and moved on that very day three miles from Delhi, where he encamped. Thirty thousand horse, without forage and provisions, followed him the same day till late in the evening, from dread of his violent temper, carrying with them their tents and luggage. A number of them represented to him, that the whole army, being destitute of provisions and maintenance, must necessarily receive a slight support, to provide for the most urgent wants: but Islam Shah objected,

that should he be so anxious about them, and give them the demanded support, they would, in every hardship, have recourse to him: he accordingly allowed them nothing; but the whole army followed him from dread and fear, without a single individual daring to remain. On further representations being proffered before him, that the bullocks for dragging the artillery were absent in the country, he ordered men to drag the guns, instead of the animals. He is said to have had sixty guns with him, each of them drawn by one thousand persons: notwithstanding which, he advanced every day twelve miles; the artillery always arriving in advance at the stations. Thus he had, in forced marches, reached Lodiana; when Humayoon, receiving intelligence of it, returned to Kabul. Islam Shah did the same; and ordered, at Gualyar, where he halted, the maintenances and allowances for the whole army, which had been due for two years, without fail to be defrayed from the public treasury within two days, and those who had just claims to be reinstated in their possessions. We are told, that when Islam Shah was one day amusing himself with hunting in the precincts of the village Antree, some mischievous persons laid for him in ambush, in the way he had to pass, with the intention to assassinate him. Islam Shah, however, by mere accident, took another way. On being apprised of the fact, his acuteness of mind and sagacity let him clearly see through the whole affair: but he disclosed it to nobody till he had inflicted the deserved punishment upon the whole set. From that time, however, he held all the Omras in suspicion; and imprisoned every person affording the slightest reason for suspicion, and even put them to death, until he had satisfied his mind with regard to the least mutiny. He then betook to a settled life, and passed his happy time in pleasure, amusement, and in administering justice.

We beg to mention the following anecdote. It happened, one day, that his attendants denounced a Derveesh, by name Khuaja Hossain, of the Pat'henian Afghans, as infringing the Mohammedan law, and in wasting his whole time in conversation with the women of the town; for which purpose he had opened a shop, which was frequented by people of all denominations: in these occupations he was employed day and night, entirely disregarding the divine ordinances. Islam Shah, instigated by the denunciations of some idiots who were wholly ignorant of the divine mystery, called the Derveesh before him, and examined him respecting the alleged crimes; but in spite of all questions put to him, he uttered not a single word, and stood with the seal of silence impressed upon his lips. This put Islam Shah into a rage, and he ordered him to be bastinadoed; and, finally, threatened him, that in case he should, in future,

hear of further infringements of the law, he would, agreeably to the holy ordinance, burn him to death. To this the Derveesh replied, "Burn me, if thou dost not burn thyself;" and withdrew. That very morning, a boil broke out on the King; from which the inflammation spread through all his limbs, and extorted from him the cry, "I burn, I burn!" and the Derveesh, in spite of all inquiries, was not to be found again. In short, a great many medicines and physicians, of whom every one was a Galenus of his time, were consulted; but the inflammation gradually increased, and their exertions proved unsuccessful: he was unable to eat or to sleep, and frequently lost his senses; in his moments of sanity, he opened his eyes, and turned them towards Doulet Khan Oujala, and shed tears profusely. This Doulet Khan always seemed to be the object of his master's eye, which, when open, was constantly fixed upon him, and could not satiate itself in looking at him, till life was extinct.

"Mahmood did not give up his soul to the Angel (of Death), until he had seen the image of Ayaz."

They relate, that when his tongue could only stammer, he uttered Doulet Khan's name. This was an adopted son of Shujaet Khan, without possessing allowances or estates; but he had, by the Shah's special orders, been promoted to such a rank, that, without the Shah's previous consent, he could, at any time, draw a hundred thousand rupees upon the treasury. In short, in this state of agony, Mohammed Kerrani and Shah Mohammed Fermulli, both his intimates, inquiring of him, by motions of the hand, how he felt, he, well aware of his helpless situation, recited the following Beit of Khuaja Hassan:—

"With Hassan the pain of speech is different: for when Fate comes, it is blind."

He died, according to divine destination, on the twenty-sixth of the month of Dilhija, in the year 961, after a reign of eight years, nine months, and seven days. In this year, three sovereigns delivered their souls to their Creator: as Shah Taher Deccani has mentioned the time of their death, in the following chronogram:—

"In one year fell into decay three Princes; by whose justice, Hind was the mansion of happiness:

"The first, Mahmood King of Gujerat, who was as young as his reign was short.

"The second, Nizam Ulmulk Bahri, sovereign Prince in the Deccan.

"The third, Islam Shah, Sultan of Delhi, under whom Hindustan flourished like a rose-garden.

"If you ask me the time of the decease of the three sovereigns, you will find it in 'The Ruin of Sovereigns.'"

* The Persian words make up the number 961.

## THE HISTORY OF ADELI, BAZ BEHADER, THE KERRANIANS, AND LOHANIANS.

When the Omras and Grandees of the empire had performed the proper funeral, they sent the hearse of that excellent monarch to Sahsaram; and the ministers and grand officers unanimously placed Firoz Khan, the son of the deceased, then in his twelfth year, in the capital Gualyar, upon the throne; offered him, from all sides, the presents of allegiance; and caused the Khotba and the coinage to be executed in his name. But, after three days, Mobarez Khan, a son of Mian Nizam, Sheer Shah's full brother, and brother-in-law to Islam Shah, who had his sister, Bibi Bai by name, in marriage, and was so high in favour with him that he did not change his apartment without his consent, and was delighted in his company, entered Islam Shah's private apartments, under the pretence of seeing his sister, and assassinated Firoz Khan, in spite of all the entreaties and lamentations of his mother, Bibi Bai; who said, "Pray, do not kill my son: I consider him my only eye-light; and will take an oath, that I will resign all claims to royalty; and, with my son, depart for the Deccan. Recollect my services to thee, when Islam Shah, intending to put thee to death, I brought him with tears to desist from his intention; and he asked me to let him execute it, if I wished to see my son on the throne: but I, notwithstanding, with supplication and tears, represented to him that I had only one brother, from whose death no advantage would result to his empire; and so prevailed upon him to desist from his design." But all these earnest supplications produced no effect upon the heart of this unfeeling man; who answered, that her son was a boy, and better adapted for play than for the throne; and, at the same time, crowned, with one blow of his sword, the young prince with martyrdom; and thus rendered himself the detestation of both worlds.

The Grandees were compelled to acknowledge Mobarez Khan as Sultan, no one else being left of the royal race: and he assumed the title of Sultan Mohammed Adil, and the right of coining and the Khotba, and nominated Shams Khan, a brother of Khuvaz Khan, his prime-minister: but, in despite of his usurped title, he was commonly called Adeli (the Foolish).

Having read, in ancient histories, that liberality was the character of a sovereign, he, in imitation of it, opened the door of his treasures, and loaded the people with bounties. He used to cast arrows, the points of which were worth five hundred tankas, in every direction; and to give the possessor of the house

into which they happened to fall down, five hundred tankas, on his bringing them back.

At this time, Heemoon, a common shopkeeper in Rewaree, and afterwards surveyor of the kitchen, was raised to high dignity, and gradually admitted to intimacy with Sultan Adil, or rather Adeli (the Foolish).

When the news of Adeli's succession to the throne, and of Firoz Khan's death, reached the Omras in the distant provinces, each of them, in his own place, actuated by the desire after the throne, turned his view to rebellion; and, from country to country, from town to town, all was put in a state of sedition. The news of this state of things reaching the Emperor Humayoon, then in Kabul, he immediately took the field, to subjugate India. At Lahore, Sekunder Khan Soor, of whom we shall have afterwards opportunity to relate more, had excited a spirit of rebellion, and aspired to the throne: but upon Humayoon's arrival, he, being in no condition to oppose the army of this monarch, retreated to a recess among the mountains of the Punjab. Humayoon, amidst those disturbances, made his entrance into Dehli a second time; after he had left Jelal Uddeen, a son of Akbar Shah, in the Punjab, to keep Sekunder Khan in awe. Humayoon is related, whenever he visited the shrines and tombs, to have expressed a desire to die there. It was after two years, in the year 962, that this monarch, after the performance of the evening prayer, descended the staircase from a terrace, when his staff slipped from his hand; and he, falling down headlong, delivered his soul to his Creator. Upon this accident the following chronogram was composed:—

"The Emperor Humayoon fell down from a terrace." *

After him, the throne was taken possession of by Jelal Khan Mohammed Akbarat Kulanoor. But we must resume the history of Adeli, and some other occurrences.

One day, a distribution of estates was made in a common council, which was attended by all the Omras; when Adeli dispossessed Shah Mohammed Fermulli of his estates in Kanoj, and transferred them upon Sermust Khan Serbunni. This induced Sekunder Khan Fermulli's son, a young and bold man, to exclaim: "To what degree have things come, that the estates are taken from us, and settled on a seller of stones?" A wild debate ensuing from both sides, Shah Mohammed, who was then sick, endeavoured to persuade his son not to use such abusive language. But to this he replied, "When Sheer Shah had one day cast thee into an iron cage, with the intention to put thee to death, I came and

* The Persian words express the number 962.

induced the Shah, by my intercession, to grant thy life: and now dost thou not perceive the design of all these to ruin thee? Why should one brook such insult?" At this moment, Sermust Khan, who was a tall and robust man, seized Sekunder's garment, as though to pacify him; but, in fact, with the intention to secure him in this way; and said: "My dear, what is the reason of such anger and exasperation?" However, Sekunder, perceiving his intention, drew his dagger, and despatched him on the spot. A general uproar and tumult pervaded the council, and all rushed upon Secunder to apprehend him; but he, with the sword in his hand, cut down or wounded all towards whom he turned. Adeli, on witnessing this dreadful scene, ran off to his private apartment, pursued by Sekunder; whom he, however, succeeded in excluding, by bolting his door. The greater part of the Omras had previously fled away. At this moment, Ibrahim Khan Soor, brother-in-law to Adeli, drew his sword and attacked Sekunder; who, being surrounded on all sides, was killed; and Doulet Khan Lohani despatched Mohammed Fermulli with one blow. The result of these transactions was a general dispersion of the Omras: Adeli's authority rapidly declined: power, and a numerous attendance, that are the requisites of royalty, had totally disappeared; and the grand officers of the army all fled, from mutual distrust. Before this scene happened, Taj Kerrani, a brother of Suleiman, who having, from the different expressions of the council, foreseen what would happen, had left the council-room, and proceeded as far as the gate of the citadel of Gualyar, where he met Shah Mohammed Fermulli. He explained to him the precarious state of the council; and told him, that affairs had taken such a turn, that no one further respected or dreaded Adeli, all present having spoken unheard-of things in the very council, and behaved in a manner without precedent: it was therefore the safest and securest way not to frequent the council any more, but to retire to private life: he himself would not appear there any more; and invited him (Fermulli) to join him, and repair to a place affording security against misery, there to spend the rest of their life in mutual friendship; for, from the untoward transactions of those present in the council, whom he had himself seen and heard, no good could he expected to result. But Fermulli, since his fate was already fixed, rejected this offer; in consequence of which he was killed in that riotous council. Taj Kerrani went to his house, and made all preparations for flight; and when he had received intelligence of what had passed, set out in the afternoon for Bengal.

When Adeli received information of this, he immediately detached a body in pursuit of him, and made preparations to pursue him in person. But Heemoon, promising the Shah, that, if a small force and some elephants should be placed under his command, he would do away with the Kerranians, Adeli charged him with the pursuit. Heemoon soon encountered the fugitives; and an action took place, in which the Kerranians were discomfited, and Heemoon carried the day. But more on this subject will be related in the history of the Kerranians.

Ibrahim Khan Soor, a brother-in-law to Adeli, being one day informed by his wife, that the Shah planned his destruction, and would, that or the following day, either kill or imprison him, left the army, and took the route of Biana, where his father was governor. Adeli sent Isa Khan Lohani in pursuit of him; and, in the vicinity of Kalpi, an engagement took place, in which Ibrahim defeated his pursuer, and acquired much strength in consequence. He then, with precipitation, advanced upon Dehli; where he had the Khotba read in his name; and, levying an army, proceeded to the capital, Agra, subjugated on the march the greater part of the country, and raised himself to absolute power. This turn of affairs fully apprised Adeli of their importance; and he, with a view to suppress the rebel in person, proceeded to the Jumna; where Ibrahim declared himself ready to restore peace, and return to his duty, if the Shah would send Rai Hossain Jelvani, and Par Khan Servani, who had been distinguished by the title Aazem Humayoon under Islam Shah, to treat about an amicable arrangement of the existing differences. Adeli, accordingly, sent the Omras named; whom Ibrahim soon drew to his own interests, and displayed the standard of open rebellion. Adeli being in no state to withstand him, retreated to Chunar; and Ibrahim styled himself Sultan Mohammed, and openly aspired to the throne. But another Soorian, Ahmed Khan Soor, a relative of Sheer Shah, and a brother-in-law to Adeli, who was one of the Punjab Omras, aided and supported by Tatar Kasi, Habeeb Kaker, and Naseeb Khan, who all were grand Omras, declared himself Sultan, under the title Seeunder; and, raising the banner of rebellion, marched against Ibrahim Khan. In the vicinity of the place called Ferrah, situated ten miles from Agra, they fell in with each other, and gave battle. The whole force of Sekunder hardly amounted to ten thousand horse; whilst Ibrahim Khan commanded an army of seventy thousand horse, and had two hundred Omras with velvet tents and kettle-drums: he, in diffidence of his small body, preferred peace to war, and sent a message to Ibrahim to the

effect, that he would content himself with the Punjab: but Ibrahim, puffed up with pride upon his strength, disdained to enter into pacific negotiations. On the next day, both parties formed in order of battle, and engaged; and, in accordance with the sentiment, "The little number shall defeat the great one," Sekunder gained the victory, and Ibrahim fled towards Sumbul. The victor having accomplished his designs, returned from Agra to Dehli, and subdued the circumjacent provinces, whilst Ibrahim Soor proceeded from Sumbul to Kalpi.

At this juncture, Adeli detached Heemoon, whom he had named his Vizier, with a numerous army, mountain-like elephants, and well-furnished artillery, to Dehli. On his arrival at Kalpi, Heemoon determined first to propel Ibrahim, and force him to battle: the latter was defeated, after a desperate affray, and fled to his father, then governor of Kalpi, where they both fortified themselves. Heemoon hastened in pursuit of him; and for three months held the fort of Kalpi in close investment.

About this time, Mohammed Khan Soor, who is also called Mohammed Khan Gooria, and who held the government of Bengal, raised the colours of rebellion, and marched upon Joonpoor. Adeli, upon receiving the news of this fresh disturbance, recalled Heemoon from the siege of Biana, and ordered him to his presence. When Heemon, in consequence, had retreated as far as Mundagur, Ibrahim came out of the citadel, and pursued him; but being repulsed, and ashamed to appear before his father, he directed his route towards Patna. But being unsuccessful in drawing the Raja of the place, Raja Ramchund, to his part, he was forced to give battle, in which he was vanquished and taken prisoner. The Raja, both from generosity and policy, always assigned him the highest seat, whilst he himself sat a degree lower; but after having passed some time there, he was called off by the Afghans of Miana, and departed accordingly for Malwa. However, not being well received there, he proceeded towards Bengal, where, at that time (in the year 975), Suleiman Kerrani had established an absolute power over the districts of Orissa; and entered into his service, after previous stipulations and assurances, but was perfidiously assassinated by him.

After Ibrahim Soor's defeat, Heemoon, on his return to Adeli, engaged Mohammed Khan Gooria in the vicinity of Chuperg'hutta, killed him, and took much booty. He, with redoubled zeal, now marched towards Behar, to destroy Taj Kerrani. At this time Humayoon had joined the clemency of the All Just; and Jelal Uddeen Mohammed Akbar declared himself his successor at Kulanoor, as above mentioned, and led on his army against Dehli. When Adeli received

intelligence of his proceedings, he sent Heemoon to suppress the Emperor Akbar. A force of Moguls, who, under Sekunder Khan Uzbeek, and Kobad Khan Gunk, had occupied Agra, being unable to maintain it against Heemoon, returned to Dehli, where they effected a conjunction with Terdi Mohammed Khan, and marched with him against Heemoon; but were beaten by him, whose army was far superior to theirs in number; and retreated to the Emperor Akbar. Heemoon, on his part, came to Dehli; from whence he, after a stay of some days, and the regulation of many affairs, marched out to fight the Emperor Babur. He had vowed, in case he should reduce Dehli, to embrace Islamism; but this bliss not being destined to him by fate, he violated his vow, and remained in eternal misery. He moreover assumed a very insolent behaviour towards the Afghans, inviting the greater part of the army to dinner, and sitting himself upon a raised seat, to which no hand could reach; in which posture he jested with the Afghans, and bade them eat, and salute him Heemoon Shah. At this the Afghan Chiefs were so highly offended, that they agreed to desert him in the next battle, at the decisive moment, that he irrevocably might travel to the regions of hell. They anxiously waited an opportunity; when, at length, in a battle near Sonepetta against the victorious army of Babur, they, agreeably to their purpose, drew their hands back, and dispersed themselves. At this moment an arrow sunk into Heemoon's side, who rode upon an elephant called Hevai: he instantly swooned in his seat, and ordered the driver, if possible, to drive him, without delay, out of the contest. The keeper obeying, led the elephant from the field, and attempted to escape; when, unexpectedly, through the direction of fortune, Shah Kuli Khan, who had just arrived to join and succour Babur, asked the driver whether the general report of Heemoon's being mounted upon that elephant was true. The driver, being frightened, signified by a wink that it was so; whereupon Shah Kuli Khan led the elephant to Babur; and, dismounting Heemoon, presented him before the monarch. Kuli Khan, in remuneration for his services, was promoted to the highest honours, and, on the spot, presented with colours and a kettle-drum. Heemoon, when carried before Akbar, breathed his last; but the Emperor, with his own hand, severed the head of that infidel from the body, and assumed, from that moment, the title Akbar Padishah Ghazi. The dead body he ordered to be cast on a dunghill. Adeli was thrown in utter consternation by the news of that accident; and, at the same time, Khyzer Khan, the son of Mohammed Khan Gooria, when hearing of his father's death, assumed the Khotba in Gour, and raised a large army, which

he led on against Adeli, to take revenge upon him for his father. Fate suffered Adeli to be routed; and he himself fell, after the most strenuous efforts: his body, which was not yet quite dead, at Khyzer Khan's command, was fastened to the foot of an elephant, and dragged about.

> Even this world is the place of retribution; sometimes favourable, and sometimes unfavourable.

Adeli, during his short government, which he passed in enjoyment, bound the chain of eternal curse to his neck, and departed to the lowest hell. In consequence of his iniquitous behaviour, the throne was taken from the Soor race, and, indeed, from the Afghans. The duration of his reign was three years, mostly spent in uproar. His death happened in the year 964.

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## HISTORY OF BAZ BEHADER,

### AND OF SOME OTHER EVENTS.

After these events, the banner of the Sultanat was raised in Malwa by Baz Behader; of whom a short account is to be given, his appearance coinciding with Adeli's period. He was a son of Shujaet Khan; and his original name was Ismail Khan, which was changed by Sheer Shah into Shujaet Khan, on account of Ibrahim Shah Bengali's having been killed by him by an arrow; besides that, he was remunerated with the government of Malwa. After Sheer Shah's demise, the throne devolved on Islam Shah, who was not at all well affected towards him, but still confirmed him in his government, at the advice of Doulet Khan Oujala. However, he dreaded this monarch so much, that he fled, and repaired to Gujerat: but after Islam Shah's death, he returned to Malwa; where, having reached the usual age of man, he died. His son, Baz Behader, during the disturbances under Adeli, had acquired sovereign power, and read the Khotba in his name. When, about this time, Doulet Khan Oujala from Oujein, and Mustafa Khan from the pergunna Nowlahi, in conjunction with three other brothers, undertook a campaign to suppress Behader, he accepted the challenge; in consequence of which a fierce battle was fought, in which Doulet Khan and Mustafa Khan were defeated, took to flight, and placed themselves under the protection of the Zemindars about Malwa. Baz Behader being close at their heels, the Zemindars, unable to shelter them, cast them in chains, and sent them to their pursuer: but, upon the road, Mustafa Khan found means to effect his escape, fled to the country of Gondwana, and implored the mercy of Rani (Queen)

Dergawutti. However, Behader, after having put Doulet Khan to death, and pursuing him thither also, the Rani shut up a narrow passage in a mountain with soldiers, and strenuously opposed Behader. On an action ensuing, Behader's best troops were slain, and he himself betook to flight; but it was only after a thousand calamities, that he, ruined and helpless, with an army covered all over with wounds, escaped from those mountains. He halted some days in Sarengpoor; and having within a short time arranged his concerns, again acquired sovereign power, and spent his life in amusement, pleasure, luxury, dancing, and playing; for there was no other governor in all Malwa. He is said to have assembled around him nine hundred players and songstresses; amongst whom, one Rupmati had so captivated him, that every moment not spent with her was painful to him: he composed Indian love-songs, and assumed to himself a poetical name. In short, he so entirely neglected the affairs of his army and state, that all clever military persons left him, and the subjects began to make seditious movements.

The Emperor Akbar, on receiving intelligence of this posture of things, sent, in the year 968, Adhem Khan Gooka, to reduce Malwa. The Moguls had approached Sarengpoor within three miles, whilst Behader was immersed in his debauchees; and it was only then, that he, yielding to urgency, left the room of his beauties, and took the field: but his army, being quite unhabituated to war, was defeated after a short opposition, and he fled to Bengal. His treasures, harem, and elephants fell into the hands of the victors. Part of his attendants, who, at the time he rode out to meet Adhem Khan, had been directed, in case they should be the losers, to put his wives to death—or, at least, if they could not effect this on all, to make away with Rupmati, and seven others that were relations of his, together with the people belonging to the harem—executed the command, on the Moguls pressing hard, upon part of the wives, and inflicted wounds on others; but finally ran away, through the utter consternation of their superiors. Rupmati, being brought before Adhem Khan, covered with wounds, he took all possible care to have her cured, as well as the other wounded. But when Rupmati's wound had closed up, she swallowed camphor, and thus put an end to her existence.

> A heroic woman has finished her life. What man can that be who is surpassed by a woman?

Behader stayed a short while in Bengal, and came then to Gujerat, where he remained for some time in the service of a Gujeratian prince, called Chunker Khan. But his presence not being much liked there, he engaged himself, in

Gujerat, in Sheer Khan Foladi's services. From thence he went further on, to the Deccan; where he, in the service of the King of his country, Burhan Ulmulk, passed one year; and repaired then to the Rana, at Gogunda. From thence he solicited security for his life, and went over into the service of the Emperor Akbar, where he continued, amongst the attendants of court, till his death. He was interred at Agra, near the Alem Gunj. His government, during the disturbances under Adeli and others, embraces a period of six years. He is related to have possessed such a dexterity in military exercises and archery, that before a ball of the Chowkan reached the ground, he shot seven arrows; and whilst the horse ran at full gallop, he loosened the string of the bow, used it as a horsewhip, put it right again, and discharged an arrow. He moreover excelled in music and composition.

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## HISTORY OF TAJ AND EMAD KERRANI.

We shall now proceed to write the history of Taj and Emad Kerrani.

When Taj, after his flight from the council at Gualyar, had arrived in the countries of Behar and Bengal, Adeli sent a large force to pursue him, and marched himself out for that purpose. In the vicinity of the village Chapper Mow, a bloody battle took place; when Taj, in consequence of the superiority of the royal army, was forced to retreat, and move off with precipitation towards Behar, seizing all the elephants of Adeli that they met with in those parts, and everywhere extorting money from the royal governors. From thence he proceeded to Khawazpoor-Tanda, which his brothers, Emad, Suleiman, and Ilias, held in fee; and aspired, with their consent, to the throne; a vast number of bold adventurers joining his colours. Adeli, on receiving the news of it, left Gualyar, again to fight the Kerranians. A desperate engagement took place on the Ganges; in which the Kerranians were again discomfited, and retreated to Gour and Bengal. The governor of the former place, Selim Khan Kaker, a grandfather of Ram, and Fut'h Khan Batni, upon the account of their arrival, came out with a small retinue to welcome them; but Taj, considering this as an excellent opportunity, assassinated both chiefs. A dreadful uproar in Gour was the consequence; and the Kakers and Batnians assembling their forces, went out to fight the Kerranians. However, Taj forged a firman in Adeli's name; and gave out, he had only acted in conformity with it. By this

stratagem the uproar subsided, and the greater number of the Omras took part with the Kerranians. Taj, who, by Selim's death, had gained a large number of elephants and servants, wrought himself up to sovereign power. After that, he left his brother Suleiman in Gour, and set himself out for Hajipoor. A number of Kakers, consisting of three thousand horse, had, about that time, separated from Adeli and Heemoon, and, seeking a secure place, with their domestics and families, fixed their mansion in the vicinity of Hajipoor, on the Ganges, and took possession of the circumjacent districts. Taj and Emad, however, would not allow them to dwell there any longer, from dread of an irruption into their lands: but the Kakers represented, that the Mogul forces were at their back; and if they should be abandoned by their brethren, the Kerranians, they were utterly at a loss where to find shelter. After a long negotiation, Taj and Emad declared to them, they would, if agreeable, allow them to remain there some time longer, provided their chiefs would come to a meeting. But the Kakers, in fresh recollection of Taj's and his brother's perfidy and artifice against Selim Khan and Fut'h Khan, could not prevail upon themselves to comply with that request; and Taj, on his part also, was apprehensive the Kakers might thus find, and embrace the opportunity to revenge their chiefs. At last, it occurred to Taj, that it would be a matter of facility to cut a force of two or three thousand Kakers to pieces; and he accordingly attacked them with a thousand cavalry and three hundred fierce elephants. They, divided in two detachments, came out and engaged; but the Kerranians, owing to their numerous fire-weapons, put the greater part of their opponents to death: the rest fled back to their entrenchments, covered with wounds, destroyed all their property, and devoted themselves to death. One thousand cavalry, of the Ishturani tribe, who had emigrated from their seats in the Punjab, and settled themselves two or three miles from the settlement of the Kakers, on the banks of the Ganges, joined themselves with them after their repulse, and charged the army of Taj and Emad from the entrenchments of the Kakers, at a distance of about three miles from which they had taken post. A fierce struggle and dreadful slaughter ensued; but ruin was the portion of the Kerranians; and each of the heroes of the Kakers and Ishturanians cut down three hundred of their enemies. They captured three hundred elephants; which they sent to Adeli, who, at that time, stood at Chunar, in opposition to Mohammed Khan Gooria. The districts possessed by the Kerranians came under the power of the Kakers; and the fortune of the Afghans was on a rapid decline, and grew worse day after day;

they slaughtered each other. Kerrani, on the contrary, established a sovereign power in Gour and Bengal, and raised the banner of dominion in those parts: he assumed the title Sublime Highness, and lived in a princely style. He concerted a scheme to subdue the fort of Orissa, which they call Juggernauth, and its troops; it being the strongest fortress of the infidels, into which the Mohammedans had not yet set a foot. The town was surrounded on four sides with temples and a deep water; to cross which, Sulciman mounted the Afghans upon three hundred elephants, and by that means demolished the temples. In one of them there stood an idol, weighing thirty mauns of gold; its two eyes were rubies; and it was surrounded by seven hundred other idols, all of a different make, and made of gold; they all fell into the hands of the holy warriors. The female part of the inhabitants of the town, ornamenting themselves in a pompous way, concealed themselves behind the different temples of Jagnat, without thinking of flight; "For," said they, "is there any one so mighty and powerful, to do any harm to the worshippers of our God?" When a body of Mohammedans rushed into that temple, and took the women prisoners, they were struck with the greatest surprise: which was excited by this fact also, that the religious men who had accompanied Sulciman in that expedition had asserted, that no single soldier would come off without at least securing one idol of gold; the weight of no one of them being under a maun of gold. But the most surprising of all, is the fact, that all those who had co-operated in sacking those idols, died within the space of a year, reduced to misery and distress.

After this conquest of the pagan country, Suleiman returned to Gour, where he resided for a long time, spending it mostly in piety, and strict observation of the night and morning prayers, without allowing himself to deviate in the least degree from the ordinances of the law. Under his reign, a dragon used to come out of the sea, desolating all the country around, and dragging down whatever came in sight of it. Suleiman, hearing of this bloodthirsty monster, was much surprised, and went in person to destroy it. For this purpose, he directed one thousand mauns of gunpowder to be put together in the spot where it used to come out; and when it made its appearance, he set fire to the powder, by which the part of the snake that had appeared was burned; but how much remained of it in the sea, is utterly unknown. The skin was then prepared, and sufficed to cover seven hundred shields. But it is not certain whether these two occurrences—first, that of the destruction of Jagnat; and, secondly, that just

related—happened in Suleiman's time. He held the government of Gour and Bengal sixteen years; and at length, the contract of his life running out, he travelled to his permanent habitation, in the year 976.

After him, his son Baizeed assumed the Khotba, and took possession of the government; but was assassinated, eighteen days after, by Kutloo and other Lohanians, at the instigation of Hinsoo, Emad's son, his own cousin: and upon this, Davud, a younger son of Suleiman, collected a force, and marched against Hinsoo, who threw himself upon the protection of the Lohanians: but Davud directing his operations against them, they delivered up Hinsoo in chains; and Davud executed him, mounted the throne, and, maintaining a numerous army, acquired sovereign power, and assumed all the ensigns of royalty.

One Lodi Khan, a grand Omra of Suleiman, revolted against Davud: he cut him off; and entering upon Behar, which pleased him exceedingly, subjugated it to its whole extent, and took up his residence at Patna. The intelligence of the transaction reaching the Emperor, Jelal Uddeen Mohammed Akbar, he sent Raja Todermull, Monim Khan, and Khan Khanan, against him: but the imperial troops, on their arrival at Paṭna, perceiving themselves incapable to contend with him, word was sent to Akbar, that the expedition, without the co-operation of the sublime standard, would prove unsuccessful: in compliance with which request, Akbar turned his operations towards that part. Davud, who from youthful pride and want of experience fortified himself in Patna, being on all sides invested by the Mogul troops, some Afghans of experience and address represented to him, by the way of advice, that to struggle against crocodiles, and fight against dragons, being, in fact, nothing but suicide, it was much safer either to enter upon pacific negotiations, and declare themselves dependents of Akbar, or to cross the Ganges, near Patua, with the troops, and move off, as the world of God was extensive: after which he might, at some time, measure strength with the Moguls; victory and defeat being sent from God. But Davud rejecting these advices, and the Omras and Grandees being convinced, that, to fall into the hands of the besiegers, death would be the irremediable result, they, in the night, gave Davud a narcotic draught; and carried him, senseless, from the gate of the deer-park, situated on the banks of the Ganges, in a ship; and sent him off for Bengal, whilst they dispersed themselves in such directions as they conceived in accordance with their interest. Patna surrendered to the Moguls; and Akbar sent a detachment in pursuit of Davud; but the troops returned without having met the object of their pursuit. When Davud awoke from his lethargy, and his

senses returned, he viewed circumstances in a different light, and gave himself up to useless repentance.

Davud proceeded to Khoraghat, where he stayed for some time with three or four horsemen; and Akbar, soon after, detached Hassan Kilij Khan, whom he previously dignified with the title Khanjehan, towards Gurhee, where an engagement took place: but Kutloo Lohani, Davud's commander-in-chief, forming a treasonable connection with Khanjehan, promised to take such a posture in the day of battle as to render Davud's defeat unavoidable, on condition that some pergunnas should be settled on him. With this overture Khanjehan complied; and the ungrateful Kutloo, in the ardour of the conflict, accordingly turned his face to flight, with all his troops. The legions of Davud witnessing Kutloo's perfidy, and perceiving the state of things to be quite changed, were instantly excited to flight; a great number of them were slain; and Davud himself, who was wounded by an arrow, retreated; but his horse becoming entangled in a canal filled with mud and mire, he was slain.

His integrity and propriety of behaviour, according to the uniform testimony of old men of experience, was unequalled throughout the whole of Hindustan. Thus was the power and sovereign kingdom wrested from the race of the Kerranians through Kutloo's baseness; and Khanjehan, in fulfilment of his promise, and in remuneration for the victory, settled some pergunnas of Orissa, Bengal, and others, on the traitor, and left them to be governed by him. During ten years, he evinced a wolf's friendship towards the Moguls, and resided about Khoraghat and other districts; but when he had firmly established his power, he, in pernicious presumption, raised the banner of selfishness and self-conceit. He in this manner exercised his power four years more, strenuously opposed the Moguls, and even killed Kobad Khan Gunk. With not less vigour he fought Mansingh, the sovereign governor of Bengal, and achieved many such exploits, until he, at length, was obliged to travel that way which cannot be avoided. After him, Isa Khan Lohani Miankhail, his prime-minister, seized the reins of the state, and held up the banner of sovereignty for the space of five years; during which he gallantly fought Akbar's legions, until he also took leave of life. He was succeeded in his power by his son, Khuaja Suleiman, who soon after died. After him the sovereign power devolved on Khuaja Othman, a younger brother of Davud, who, after a struggle of twenty years against the Moguls, concluded peace, until, at length, he swallowed the draught of martyrdom, in the first time of Noor Uddeen Mohammed Jehangheer's reign. From the year 1021, the sove-

reign power was taken from the family of the Afghans; and Noor Uddeen Ghazi, pardoning them their former trespasses, attached them to himself by the bonds of bounty; and paid so much attention to them, that they abolished all further treasonable designs from their mind, and thought themselves bound to continue subservient and attached to him, even to the sacrifice of life: so that by their praiseworthy exertions, they raised themselves to the rank of grand Omras, and were deemed worthy to be admitted to the imperial company; and they, in their turn, aspiring after the imperial favour, and after exalted ranks, were dignified with illustrious titles.

But only God is eternal, and all other things are vain.

The original of this History is the Tareekh Sheer Shahi of Abbas Servani. But as, from the want of some particulars, the History of Baz Behader, of the Kerranians and the Lohanians, besides of some other notices, the present work was deficient, the most humble servant, Ibrahim Bathni, made extracts from the Tareekh Nizami, in which there is also narrated the History of Sheer Shah and Islam Shah; and inserted, moreover, some matters from the Makhzen Afghani of Neamet Ullah, to render the book complete; which he hopes will be kindly received both by Reader and Writer.

END OF PART I.

# HISTORY

OF THE

# AFGHANS.

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## PART II.

most prosperous state. He was possessed of such a number of excellent horses, mountain-like and frightful elephants, magnificent furniture and gorgeous apparel, that the pen is inadequate to describe it, and the tongue unable to express it by words. To him God granted one happy son, who was called *Malik Bustan;* and his father had his education so much at heart, that, on his reaching years of discretion, he entered the service of Sultan Secander, and waited frequently on him with his father: he was, during the life-time of the latter, promoted to the rank of an Omra, and the Sultan paid every attention to them both. When, by the Divine decree, Malik Locman entered upon his journey to the future world, the Emperor evinced exuberant kindness towards, and bestowed numerous favours upon, Malik Bustan, who was ordered to take up his residence at Samana, in which quarter a landed property was settled on him. Through the Almighty's assistance, the wealth of Malik Bustan increased to such a degree, that, besides his magnificent furniture and moveables, three hundred horses stood continually in his stable for sale: so, in pursuance of the imperial command, owing to his relations and kindred living in the pergunnas of Samana, as in Kumpul, Sinour, Sonam, and others, Malik Locman took up his residence at Samana, where he settled, and constructed water-ponds, pits, palaces, and tombs.

"At this time, the sovereignty of the Lodian family terminated, Sultan Ibrahim attaining martyrdom: and complete confusion befel the Afghans. Upon which, Malik Bustan, resigning his principality and authority, retired into seclusion, and passed his time in adoration, abstinence, devotion, and fasting, which he practised to a superior degree; and many people, through him, obtained various advantages. Every Friday, two mauns of Sabuni (a mixture of almonds, honey, and sesame-oil), and two mauns of oil, were destined for the poor and the stranger; so that each of them received one quarter of Sabuni, and as much of oil. Every needy, indigent, and broken-down soldier that came, was relieved, in proportion to his wants. The great quantity of gold which his ancestors had amassed, he spent in pious purposes. Every Friday night, three hundred women received a pension and allowance. Maulana Ahmed Muderris, the standard of the learned—who, in order to gain his livelihood, and to instruct those seeking knowledge, received daily fees from the students to whom he gave lessons—enjoyed a daily allowance out of Malik Bustan's purse. Every Friday night, too, was fixed upon for visiting the Dervishes and Saints; when he carried with him purses replenished with gold and silver, which he distributed to them in such a manner, that it remained unknown from whence it came. He had a son and a daughter born to him; the former, called *Malik Shadi*

*Khan;* the latter, *Bibi Suret;* who both were adorned with bodily and intellectual accomplishments. When Malik Bustan retired to Paradise, Malik Shadi Khan, choosing an avocation consistent with the holy law, employed his time in the lawful business of merchandize. The eminent qualities of Bibi Suret exceed all description. She was a Rabia of her time, and Maryam of her age. A fuller account of her being given in the conclusion of this work, in the history of intelligent and pious women, this brief mention may suffice here. Shadi Khan, in the sequel, consecrated his time to godly employments, and a great many people were benefitted by him. He had one son, whom he called *Salim Khan,* who had arrived at the years of discretion when his father departed to the eternal world. He expended the great quantity of gold which remained out of the inheritance of his ancestors, almost entirely on holy purposes; and, imitating the example of his predecessors, occupied himself in a retired place with trading and devotion, and passed his time in lawful eating and drinking, and in prayer. By Mian Salim Khan was begot the most humble of his friends, and the cherisher of Dervishes, Hybet Khan, who has employed and still employs his time in the military profession and the acquisition of glory. He, by Divine favour, has four sons; and hopes that God Almighty will assist them, and their descendants, to the remotest generations; that they, in imitation of their ancestors, recognising eternal bliss as the chief object of their desires, will occupy themselves with adoration, obedience, the Islam, and the holy law, never allowing themselves the slightest deviation from them; in order that, on the Day of Resurrection, they may be exempt from punishment, and partake of everlasting happiness; and, remembering the souls of their all-meritorious cherishers and benefactors in their prayers, render those souls cheerful and glad; and that they, by the Divine favour, may obtain their desires and wishes, through the assistance of the Prophet and his Followers.

"The lineage of this humble individual, traced to Abd Ulrasheed, who is known by the name of Pathan, runs thus:—Hybet Khan ben Salim Khan ben Malik Shadi Khan ben Malik Bustan ben Malik Locman ben Malik Firoz ben Malik Nisu ben Malik Tatya ben Malik Hossain ben Malik Elias ben Malik Abubecr ben Jadram ben Kaker ben Dani ben Ghurghushti ben Malik Pathan. Malik Firoz had two sons, Malik Locman and Mian Mulhi: from Malik Locman descend the ancestors of this humble individual. *Mian Mulhi* had one son, whom he called *Abdal:* by Abdal was begot *Mian Salim Khan,* who obtained the dignity of Chiefship, and ruled several years in Bengal. He perished by the treachery of Taj Kerrani. Salim Khan's son was *Derya Khan.* Derya Khan had one son, *Behader Khan,* whose decendants are in a prosperous

state. The humble *Hybet Khan* had four sons: *Hossain Khan, Seid Khan, Haji Khan, Ghazi Khan.* May God, the Holy and Almighty, render them stedfast in the way of their forefathers, and grant them the accomplishment of their desires in both worlds! May He, too, bring the prayer of this supplicating individual to a happy accomplishment, by His clemency and consummate benignity! Amen, O Lord of both worlds!—The Afghan Book is finished, by the assistance of God Almighty."

The 2d cause to which I allude is, that, during a stay of about three months at St. Petersburgh, when I had access to the different Oriental libraries of that capital, I perceived it to be impossible to insert all that Oriental authors furnish on the Afghans, in the compass of the Annotations to these Two Parts of our History. I therefore determined to publish, as soon as time and circumstances would allow, such extracts and translations as are not found here. This will, perhaps, be the more useful, as the History of the Afghans given in the present work is rather the History of the Afghan dominions in India: but they acted, at different periods, conspicuous parts in other regions of Asia; the accounts of which, translated from Oriental authors, may furnish much additional information on the history of the nation in question.

I cannot conclude this Preface without gratefully acknowledging the kind offices of Messieurs *Fraehn* and *Charmoy*, of St. Petersburgh; who were ever ready to obviate, by all the means in their power, the want of literary aids, under which I laboured.

# HISTORY

OF

# THE AFGHANS:

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

OF

## NEAMET ULLAH,

BY

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# PREFACE TO THE SECOND PART.

Nearly five years have elapsed since the publication of the First Part of this Work, during my residence in England;—a length of time which I never intended to allow myself in the translation of the Second, had I not been called to a distant part of the world, where new duties and other circumstances prevented a speedier accomplishment of my task. The delay has caused me much regret, which I cannot but publicly avow: and I hope that the Oriental Translation Committee, to whom it particularly becomes me to offer my apologies, will admit them, and kindly attribute any seeming deficiency on my part to those causes which were beyond my control.

When translating that part of the present History which relates to the Afghan Saints, I was, at first, at a loss how to proceed. The inflated titles and epithets bestowed upon the Sheikhs; such as, "The sun of the sphere of guidance"; "The magazine of knowledge"; "The extract of the herbage of religion"; "Crocodile in the ocean of unity"; sound strangely in European ears: but, as they are not easily rendered by equivalent expressions more familiar to us, I have thought proper to retain them. The stories recounted of the Saints are even more strange: but they will contribute to illustrate the religious belief of the Afghans, who, no doubt, take this History as an authentication of the miracles in question; although its compiler, among other wonderful relations, gravely assures us, that in the year 1002 (A.D. 1592-3), he, with other persons, saw the lips of Sheikh Bustan Baraich, after his death, in motion, reciting the Koran!

Of the accuracy of the present account of the Afghan tribes we have no greater reason to doubt, than we have to question that of other historical narratives transmitted to us by Oriental authors; who, generally speaking, deserve credit only when recording events of comparatively modern times, or when copying the narratives of writers who lived near, or cotemporary with, the events

related. We know, that even the best historians of our times have not been able to remove all the fables and traditions which are found mixed up with the primitive histories of almost every nation. The tribes enumerated in this work exist at the present day; and are nearly all to be found mentioned in Mr. Elphinstone's Account of Kabul, and in other works. The Khulassat Ulansab, from which I have made ample extracts in the account of the different tribes of the Afghans, is a valuable work in this respect, and the truth of its statements is liable to little doubt; though the early history of the Afghans, related in it, has no better claim on our belief than the early history of that nation here given.

As to the Annotations which I have added, I am doubtful how far they will answer the expectations of the reader: they do not, in fact, fully accomplish my original design; which was, to comprise in them all I was able to find in Oriental authors on the subject of the Afghans. This is owing to two causes: 1st. When I wrote the Preface to the First Part, I knew not, that, a few days after, and the very day before my departure from England, I should have the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Dr. Lee, of Doctors' Commons, London. This gentleman obligingly allowed me the liberty of consulting his Oriental Library; which, I was agreeably surprised to find, contained a copy of Neamet Ullah's "Makhzen Afghani." Dr. Lee, perceiving my ardent wish to peruse this manuscript, with uncommon kindness granted me the further indulgence of carrying it with me to Russia; where I retained it a full year, diligently comparing it with the copy I had translated, and extracting those passages in which it is at variance with Neamet Ullah's History arranged by Ibrahim Batni. These passages I have embodied among the Annotations to this Part, and have thus anticipated the space that might have been occupied by other remarks. I thought it unnecessary to insert also the History of Jehangheer, which is meagre, and furnishes nothing new, at least no additional information concerning the Afghans.

Dr. Lee's copy is written in folio, and begins, at page 8, with the History of Adam: the seven preceding sheets are to be placed between pp. 100—102. Two or three sheets of the beginning are altogether wanting. Notwithstanding its completeness, it is sometimes less circumstantial than the present work, especially with regard to the speeches. It mostly corresponds, word for word, with *Ferishta*. Though very carelessly written, it served to elucidate almost all the passages that had previously been obscure: and, moreover, it furnishes us with additional information respecting Neamet Ullah, and Hybet Khan, his companion in the execution of his History; by which it appears that both were in-

a condition to collect authentic materials for their work, being cotemporary with some events related by them.

In the beginning of Jehangheer's History, we are informed by Neamet Ullah, that his father had passed thirty-five years in the service of Akbar; and that he himself was employed in the office of Vakianuwis, under Jehangheer, at whose coronation he was present. Neamet Ullah's name is mentioned again at the conclusion, in the account of Hybet Khan, which runs as follows:—

"Praise be to God, the Exalted and Almighty, that, by the Divine favour and assistance, and by the grace of the Lord, and the help of persevering application, the Tarekh Khanjehani and Makhzen Afghani is finished and completed! It is hoped, that God, the Most Holy and Omnipotent, the best rewarder of works, will inscribe in the Book of Deeds the actions of the humble compiler of this work, *Neamet Ullah ben Habib Ullah;* and of the patron of this work, *Hybet Khan Kaker.* May He grant a good and happy end to these supplicating individuals, *through his clemency, which he exercises upon whom he pleases!* May He, on the day of retribution, not apply to them the sentence, "*And hell is prepared for the impious*"; but allow them, at the Resurrection, a place under the banner of intercession of the Intercessor—upon whom be peace! May He assign them a place among *the true believers* (who) *are saved,* and let them partake of the bliss (of those to whom is said), "*Enter ye into the gardens, in safety secure*"! May He, according to the sentence, "*And the Lord gives them to drink from the purifying water,*" pour, from the cup of salubrity, a draught into the mouth of the souls of these longing, thirsty individuals! May He ennoble them with the world-adorning beauty of the God of Heaven and Earth, and admit them to the abode (to which applies the verse), "*Thou beholdest delight and great joy*", among the true believers, by his grace and consummate bounty, and the truth of the Prophet and his Followers! By the grace of the Prophet and his Followers, a few verses on the completion of this History of Khanjehan, known by the title of Makhzen Afghani, have been made and composed:

"A thousand thanks be to God, that his History,
"Through His blissful grace and favour, has been brought to a conclusion,
"On Friday, the tenth of Zulhija,
"In the year 1021* of the Hejra of the Legate of Mankind,
"In the time of the reign of the monarch powerful as Jam,
"The Lord of all the quarters, and noble Emperor,
"The Refuge of the world, Jehangeer Khosrow Adil,
"In whose reign mankind is secure from the vicissitudes of fortune!

* A.D. 1612.

"And praise be to God, first and last, and openly and secretly; and benedictions and peace be upon His chosen Prophet and select Legate, upon whom be the most excellent peace, and prayer and salutations, eternally and abundantly! By thy mercy, O All-merciful! the writing down of this composition, and the penning of the conclusion, and the final arrangement of this History, has been finished by the broken and silent pen of the most humble servant of God, *Neamet Ullah ben Khuaja Habib Ullah* (may God pardon him!), in the excellent and populous city of Burhanpoor, the refuge from calamity and accidents. May the Omnipotent preserve and protect from the assaults of accident this young sprout of fortune, and tender plant of hope, that has come forth from the orchard of knowledge and rose-garden of learning, and has become fruitful and expanded over the world! May he render acceptable and respected, in the eyes of the Afghans, this rose-garden of rhetoric and orchard of learning, in honour of the Prophet and his Followers! By the assistance of God Almighty, the Makhzen Afghani was finished, on Sunday, the 22d of Zulhija, in the year 78 of the Hejra *.

"There remain some words to be added on the genealogy of the most humble and most abject of slaves, Hybet Khan, who is occupied in writing and verifying this work;—that, after the course of times and days, and the lapse of months and years, his fortunate sons and prosperous tribes, and happy descendants, may be aware of the state of their fathers and grandfathers, and of the nobility of their great ancestors, learning and exhibiting their eminent deeds and excellent faith; and may, in conformity to them, display praiseworthy exertions, in adoration, obedience, knowledge of the Almighty, the practice of the holy law, and a laudable course of conduct; in order that all men and brethren of the Islam faith, contemplating their praiseworthy conduct and glorious deportment, may attain the right path in both worlds.

"Let it be known, then, to the mind of the prudent children, and happy descendants, and ingenious brethren, that when Sultan Behlol became involved in war with Sultan Mahmood of the East, the ruler of the Joonpoor districts, the latter, with pomp and power, came with a large army, and laid siege to the fort of Delhi †. Sultan Behlol was at that time at Debalpoor: perceiving from his lurking-place the superiority of the hostile army, he, according to his consummate prudence and penetration, wrote friendly letters, and solicited the assistance of the Afghans of the Roh districts; when people of every tribe, in proportion to its number, flocked to India. *Malik Firoz*, the fifth grandfather

* This is, the year 1078. A.D. 1667.

† This happened in the year 856. A.D. 1452. See Part I. p. 47. *Ferishta*, I. p. 552.

of this humble individual, came also with his brethren, and entered the service of Sultan Behlol; who, duly appreciating their support, loaded them with all sorts of favours. During Sultan Behlol's struggle with Fath Khan Harovi, the Emir Ulomra and Commander-in-chief of Sultan Mahmood, great and astonishing exploits and wonderful achievements were performed by Malik Firoz; when, by Divine aid, Sultan Behlol proved victorious. Fath Khan was slain; and the kingdom of Dehli fell, without difficulty, into his hands. He paid the highest attention to those who had arrived from Roh to his assistance. Those of them who remained in Hindustan were rewarded with dignities and lands; and those who returned to Roh were loaded with gratuities and favours. The Sultan, by urgent solicitations and indescribable endeavours, retained Malik Firoz in India, and settled on him fifty places in the pergunna Bail, in the sircar of Serhind. He was received among the Omras, and passed his time in enjoyment and pleasure. God Almighty granted him two prosperous sons; of whom, he called the one, *Locman;* the other, *Mulhi.* Locman is the fourth grandfather of this humble individual; and Mulhi is the third grandfather of Salim Khan, who, in the reign of the Sur Sultans, obtained the dignity of a commander of 50,000, and was governor of the province of Gour. He lost his life by the treachery and knavery of Taj Kerrani, as is recorded in the account of the Kerranians. A detailed account of his pedigree will be found at the conclusion. When the sons grew up, Malik Firoz Khan conferred the title of Malik upon his elder son Locman, and took all possible care of his education. After that, towards the end of Sultan Behlol's reign, Malik Firoz died; and after his death, Malik Locman was signalized with the honour of attending on Sultan Behlol. The marks of integrity and grandeur being engrossed on Malik Locman's forehead, the Sultan duly appreciated him, and confirmed him in the enjoyment of the fiefs held by his father.

"When Sultan Behlol resigned the deposit of life to the Receiver of Souls, and Sultan Secander mounted the throne of India, Malik Locman was received into the service of this Emperor; who, perceiving the marks of grandeur manifested by Malik Locman, treated him with distinction, and honoured him with many princely bounties and favours. He allowed him a *chowri* *, a standard, and a kettle-drum; raised him to exalted dignities and important offices; and settled the pergunna Etaweh, in Jaghir, upon him. Thus, through the favour of a just monarch, he acquired worldly power, and entered the number of the grand Omras and distinguished Khans. His worldly affairs were in a

* The hair of the tail of the *Bos grunniens*, formed into an instrument for whisking off flies, and allowed to persons of very high rank only.

# HISTORY

OF THE

# AFGHANS.

## BOOK THE THIRD

*Memoirs of the Afghan Saints.*

In the name of the All-merciful God!

The Third Book will furnish an account of such inspired, illuminated, and accomplished individuals as, among this nation, have raised the banner of direction and guidance, and pointed out to the devoted the path of truth. Although the humble author of this work is not able to enumerate them all, yet he has attempted to give an account of the miraculous works of some of them, in Three Chapters: the first of which will comprise those descended from Sarbanni; the second, those from Batni; and the third, those from Ghurghusht;—upon all of whom may the mercy of God rest!

The names of the Afghan Sheikhs of the Sarbanni family, whose miracles are recorded in this History, are the following: Khuaja Kotb Uddeen Bakhtiar Ouschi Kaki; Sheikh Ismail Sarbanni; Khuaja Yahya Bakhtiar; Sheikh Paï Seidani; Sheikh Meer Sheerani; Sheikh Vatto Shuryani; Sheikh Bustan Baraich; Sheikh Mahti Kasi; Sheikh Abu Saïd Shuryani; Shah Mahmood Jalvani Majzub; Shah Abd Ulrahman Bakhtiar; Shah Ababeer Bakhtiar; Shah Guda, son of Shah Ababeer; Sheikh Hamed, son of Shah Guda Bakhtiar; Shah Shahbaz Bakhtiar; Sheikh Thabet Baraich; Sheikh Elias Baraich; Sheikh Manki Shahbaz Baraich; Sheikh Mati Khalil; Sheikh Aref Tareen Avdal *; Sheikh Hassan Kasi; Sheikh

* In the copy, it stands: شیخ عارف سه تن اودل; but I have no doubt that سه تن is a slip of the copyist for تربن; such-like slips being not unfrequent in the MS.

Gura Chowban Sarbanni; Sheikh Pahdeen Bakhtiar; Shah Bakhtiar; Sheikh Malik Barparan Gharsheen; Mian Kasem Khalil; Sheikh Hossain Bakhtiar.

## CHAPTER I.

### § 1.

That principal pole of the globe of sanctity, and sun of the sphere of guidance; that exhibiter of divine illumination, and fountain of illustrious miracles, Khuaja Kotb Uddeen Bakhtiar Ousehi Kaki (may God sanctify his tomb!) was the son of one Ahmed ben Musa, a most religious and pious man, a strict observer of the fasts and vigils, and residing at Ouseh, in the district of Bagdad, where that eminent person was born, in 585. When he was one year and a half old, his father died: his mother, therefore, on his reaching his fifth year, applied to a neighbour, who had always evinced sincere friendship towards her husband, to put her boy to school. This neighbour, from a sense of the obligations he owed the deceased, took the boy with him; but being met on the road by an old man, who inquired of him whither he was conducting the child, he replied, that he intended to put him under the care of some master, for his education: upon which, the old Nurani requested him not to trouble himself any further on that point; but to deliver the boy to him; and he would put him to school, to be instructed in human and divine wisdom. The man, accordingly, taking the boy by the hand, delivered him to the old man; who committed him to the care of the first saint of that time, Abul Hafiz, with a request to instruct him, who, he said, was a favourite of God, in the proper wisdom. The saint, complying with the request, occupied him in reading the Koran. Some time after, he asked the boy whether he knew the man that had taken him by the hand, and brought him thither; and, on the former replying in the negative, the saint told him that it was Khuaja Khyzer. Within a short time, owing to the arrangement of Khuaja Khyzer, and the successful attention of his master, he acquired both external and internal accomplishments; and the study of divinity taking root in him, he became a strict observer of divine worship and abstinence, and reached, notwithstanding his youth, an eminent station in knowledge. When he had arrived at the twenty-fifth year of his age, Khuaja Mueen Uddeen Sanjari passing that place, Khuaja Kotb Uddeen Bakhtiar committed himself to his guidance, and became his pupil. Khuaja Mueen Uddeen, in his turn, perceiving him to be adorned with all virtues, appointed him his successor. Notwithstanding his continual occupation with theology, the perusal of the Koran, and meditation, he daily performed two hundred prostrations in prayer, and three thousand benedictions. His desire after truth increasing, he determined on a

journey to Bagdad; when his mother, being informed of his intention, retained him by the strong terrestrial bonds of lawful marriage: on which occasion, he was so absorbed in conjugal attentions, as, for three days, to neglect his customary devotions.

It is related, that the Chief of the village Ousch had a vision, in which he beheld a large palace, surrounded, on every side, by a crowd of people. Observing a man of low stature constantly going in and out, he inquired of some one, who was in the palace, and what that man was called who carried in and reported the orders. He received for answer, that the Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!) was within; and that that man was Abd Ullah Masood, one of the Companions. The Chief of the village then stepped forward, and expressed a desire to see the Chief of the Pious: upon which, Masood entered, and brought back for answer, that he was not yet worthy of beholding that sacred countenance; but that he should go and present the Prophet's respects to Kotb Uddeen Bakhtiar, and remind him, that he had not offered his salutations for three days. In the morning, the Chief of the village waited on the Khuaja, and communicated to him the message from the Prophet. The Khuaja, perceiving that his marriage was the only reason of his negligence in[1] performing his religious duties, forthwith paid the gift settled on his wife, and separated himself from her. He then, with the permission of his mother, departed for Bagdad, and visited most of the sheikhs of that time. He derived the greatest advantage from the blissful company of Sheikh Shahab Uddeen Oman Sahrwardi, Sheikh Ouhad Uddeen Karmani, and Sheikh Jalal Uddeen Tabrizi. After that, in company with Sheikh Jalal Uddeen, he set out for Hindustan; and, in the city of Mooltan, waited on that eminent saint, Baha Uddeen Zakharya. The then governor of Mooltan was one Kobachah Tureman[2]. Sheikh Fareed, who was at that time devoted to the acquirement of sciences, presented himself to him, and became his pupil. Sheikh Jalal Uddeen set out for Ghaznin, whilst he proceeded to India. The Emperor of Dehli was then Sultan Shams Uddeen[3]; and his arrival being known, a deputy came out to meet him, and conducted him, with great honour, into the town. On account, however, of the scarcity of water, he took up his residence in a place called Kelukery *.[4] Sheikh Jalal Uddeen Bostami[5], the Sheikh Ulislam, dying, Sultan Shams Uddeen appointed Sheikh Hamid Uddeen Nagori, whilst Sheikh Badr Uddeen was employed at Ghaznin. At that time he learned the Korân by heart, the perusal of which he made his daily

[1, 2, &c.] These small figures refer to the Translator's Annotations. See Preface, p. ii

* كلوكهري, better كيلوكهري.

task. In conformity with the law of the Prophet, he married a second time; and had twins born to him, whom he called Sheikh Ahmed, and Sheikh Mahmood.

We are told, that one of these boys dying, the mother, after his interment, gave herself up to weeping and lamentation. The sheikh hearing her cries, and inquiring the reason of them, his friends informed him: upon which, he, who had been absorbed in meditation, started up like one waking from sleep, and began to rub his hands together. His friends asking him the cause of this mournful attitude, he replied, that he had only now been informed of the death of his child; else he would have supplicated for his life to God, who would have granted his prayer. At this, their astonishment was increased: he had been so much immersed in abstraction, that he had even forgotten the illness of his own child.

The following is another tradition:—Passing, after a festival-day, in the company of several Sufis, by the place where his tomb now is, he continued for some time in meditation. His companions reminded him, that his meditation was ill-timed, the people being desirous to pay him their humble respects. To this he replied, that he felt himself particularly affected by that spot. He then inquired after the proprietor of it; called upon him; and, purchasing the ground at its full price, destined it for his final resting-place.

They further relate, that his family, including his wife, children and servants, consisted of nine persons. His wife had several times been compelled to borrow victuals from the wife of one Sharf Uddeen; who, however, one day foolishly using abusive language towards her, she discontinued to borrow any more. The intelligence of this reaching the ears of the saint, he pointed out a corner in his house, from which, after previous prayers, they might every day fetch warm bread, sufficient for their subsistence. His consort, accordingly, in his name, was supplied with such bread as they bake in almshouses, called kak (biscuit), and which, at present, religious people bake and carry from town to town, as sacred food. From that day he received the surname of Kaki.

One day, at a religious and highly-edifying conversation in the Monastery of Sheikh Ali Sanjari, a nephew of Mueen Uddeen Hassan, where the Dervishes, penetrated with devotion and enthusiasm, chanted the following verse:—

> Such as are killed by the sword of devotion,
> Always receive, after their entrancement, another soul.

The Khuaja fell into a trance; and in this state of exaltation they carried him home[6], where he continued entranced for four days and nights. At the time of prayer, he renewed the ablutions, performed the namaz, and then relapsed into

his former ecstacy, until he eventually repaired to God, on the fourteenth night of the month Rabea Ulawwal, in the year 603; and was interred, according to his will, in the spot above mentioned; which, to the Day of Resurrection, will be the resort of pilgrims and devout persons. This is a concise account of his wonderful actions, the number of which exceeds all description.

§ II.

That pole of the pious, and pattern of the devoted, that Simoorgh on the Kaf of reclusion, and crocodile in the sea of unity; that diver in the eternal ocean, Sheikh Ismail Sarbanni (may God sanctify his tomb!) was an inspired saint, and an observer of rigid abstinence; the pattern of his time in eternal wisdom, and revealer of the mysteries of religion and truth. He dwelt in the district of Roh. Upon returning from his travels and pilgrimages, he repaired to his usual residence, and took up his abode in the place where Khuaja [Khyzer[7]] resided. People from distant countries came to pay him their respects, and to put up prayers for the relief of their necessities; and their prayers always succeeded. When Sheikh Ahmed, a son of Sheikh Moosa, who at that time was highly distinguished in Roh as a religious instructor and guide, received information of Sheikh Ismael's arrival, he eagerly hastened to wait on him: and the consequence was, that the warmest and sincerest friendship imaginable arose between them, so that they never after separated from each other. The illustrious Sheikh Baha Uddeen sent them two garments, and two carpets; and caused the people of that time to resort to them for instruction.

In their kitchen, four hundred sheep were killed daily for the benefit of travellers, and consumed. The heads, limbs and skins of these animals were gathered up and preserved; and every morning, when the shepherd arrived, he found all the sheep again alive, and drove them off to pasture. This practice was continued during the life-time of these holy men.

They relate, according to Sheikh Ahmed Moosa, that Khuaja Khyzer used to say, that all the saints of that time were desirous of enjoying his company, whilst he himself wished to be always with Sheikh Ismail Sarbanni; which, however, was extremely difficult, this sheikh never leaving the presence of the Almighty. The tomb of these two saints is upon Koh Suleiman, and is surrounded by a high cupola. This spot is called Mookam Vazi Khuah*. In spring-time, numerous crowds of the different Afghan tribes, and other people inhabiting those regions, endeavoured to erect round that cupola another cupola like it, but they could never succeed in accomplishing their design.

* مقام وازي خواه

§ III.

That lustre of the saints, and guide of the devoted, decorated with the glory of the Divine Being, and the ornament of illustrious qualities; that mine of inspiration, and fountain of divine illumination; that diver in the ocean of unity, and swimmer in the sea of knowledge; that preserver of divine truth, and guardian of the eternal magazine; that flower of the pious, Yahya Bakhtiar (whose tomb may God bless!) kept the fast of the month Ramazan even in his infancy, and never shewed an inclination to play with other boys. On reaching the years of discretion and discernment, he set out in search of a master, and attached himself to Seid Jalal Bokhari, with whom he underwent several forty days' castigations *; and attained, under his guidance, such an exalted degree, that he was signalized by the surname of Khuaja Yahya Kabeer (the Great). Thence he proceeded on a visit to Peer Kano, and to most of the other sheikhs. A circumstantial account of him is to be found in the annals of Sheikh Chust and Sahrwardi.

When he had made up his mind to seek a preceptor, the world-adorning asylum of prophecy (on whom be the blessing of God!) appeared to him in a nocturnal vision, and informed him that his master was to be Makhdoom Jehanian. On his awaking from sleep, he set out in the morning for the village of Ousch. When he arrived there, Makhdoom Jehanian was thus apprised, by inspiration, that an Afghan, descended from Sheikh Ishak, was coming, whom he ought to close into his arms, if he could grasp his grandeur; if not, to assign him the grandeur of the four families, which he possessed. When the sheikh recovered from meditation, and perceived that Khuaja Yahya Kabeer had arrived to become his pupil, he rose, to fold him in his arms; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, he was not able to grasp his grandeur †. Upon which, he produced the instruction of the Prophet, allowed to him the grandeur of the four families, and received him as his disciple.

During the rainy season, the water of the Sinde river broke over its banks, and demolished some houses of Ousch: upon which, the inhabitants assembled, and repaired to the sheikh, to apprise him of the inundation. The sheikh then pointed out to them a baked tile, lying on a certain spot on the banks of a brook; which tile Yahya Kabeer, when performing his ablutions and washing his feet, was wont to put under his foot, on account of the mud and dirt. This tile he advised them to fetch, and lay down on the banks of the river; and the water would not run past it. The people acted according to

* اربعين forty days' retirement, for the purpose of praying and fasting.

† These expressions are evidently connected with the mystical notions of these religious visionaries.

this advice: the water subsided, and remained confined within its boundaries; and will, if God the Almighty please, never cause mischief again.

Makhdoom Jehanian being once prevented by a wound from performing the namaz standing, charged Khuaja Yahya to officiate as Imam. The latter commenced the prayer, and recited the salaam, which he repeated four times, proceeding to the namaz only after the fifth commencement. After the performance of the namaz, the disciples of Makhdoom Jehanian whispered to each other, that the office of Imam had been confided to a distracted Afghan. The saint however, who, by internal light, had understood all their remarks, told them, that their opinion of the Afghan's distraction had not remained unknown to him; and added, that they were wrong; as all the saints, unless they distinctly perceived the Kaaba, considered the performance of the namaz to be illicit. Thus Khuaja Yahya had, the first time, not found the Kaaba; which, on the second recital, had been more in his way: thus trying four times until he found it; upon which he performed the namaz. He further added, that to Khuaja Kabeer allowances could be made, which were not admissible in others; that he had performed his task perfectly well, and was greater than all the other disciples. From that day dates his surname Kabeer (the Great).

The Khuaja [Khyzer] (upon whom be peace!) and Peer Kano being one day together with Khuaja Yahya, said to him, "Khuaja! the Almighty has conferred upon thee, grandeur and dignity: occupy thyself with the instruction of pious people." To this Khuaja Yahya replied, that it was impossible for him to do so. Khuaja Khyzer (upon whom be peace!) and Sultan Kano, hearing him thus express himself, embraced him, and assured him that he would yet alter this resolution. Some time after, in the night of a Friday, all the Companions and saints being assembled in the presence of the Prophet (whom may God bless!) Khuaja Khyzer and Peer Kano represented to the Prophet, that Khuaja Yahya Kabeer had declined their advice to instruct mankind. Upon which, the Prophet (upon whom be the blessing of God!) said to him: "Betake thyself to the instruction of pious people; for whoever will touch thy hand, will be considered as having touched mine." After which, he put his blessed hand upon the Khuaja's beard. From that day, Khuaja Yahya Kabeer received pupils, who acquired the knowledge of truth.

Hassan, a disciple of the Khuaja's, one day said to him: "I never see the master on Friday, and am deprived of the felicity of his company: where do you go on that day? pray, take me one day with you." To this the Khuaja replied: "Very well! I will take you with me (for I perform on that day the prayer at Mecca), on condition that you will not open your eyes until I bid

you." Next Friday, at the time of the namaz, Hassan repaired to the Khuaja; who said to him, "Shut your eyes; for we are going to Meeca, there to perform the namaz in full assembly." Hassan accordingly closing his eyes, they both flew off; but upon his involuntarily re-opening them on their arrival at a sandy plain, he was set down there; whilst the Khuajae ontinued his flight, and performed the namaz in the company of forty saints. Upon their inquiring of him the reason of his late arrival, he gave them an account of what had passed; when they requested him to hasten his departure, in order to get information about his pupil. He consequently took leave of them; and in a short time reached the spot, where he saw Hassan wandering about in all directions. The latter beholding him, was overjoyed; and at the same time was ordered to shut his eyes again: on doing which, he perceived himself to be on the window of his master's cell. He then observed to the Khuaja, that, in spite of his pains, he had not seen Meeca. The Khuaja asking him whether he was still desirous of seeing it, and being answered in the affirmative, requested him to come with him to the top of the mosque. When they arrived here, the Khuaja put his hand upon Hassan's arm, and lifted it up; at the same time bidding him look at the Kaaba. Upon which Hassan beheld the Kaaba from Koh Suleiman, and immediately threw himself at the feet of the sage.

When, upon another occasion, the Khuaja happened to be on a journey with his disciples, they were overtaken by night, where there was no human dwelling near. It being winter, his disciples gathered fuel, and kindled a fire; whilst the Khuaja, occupied with adoration, sat down in a corner. The fire burning bright, the disciples remarked to each other, that if meat were to be had, good roast meat could be prepared, to appease their excessive hunger. No sooner had the Khuaja heard these remarks, than he applied to the Almighty, beseeching him to gratify the desire of these servants. An antelope immediately stepping forth, and approaching the fire, the Khuaja observed to his followers, that, to gratify their appetite after roast meat, the Almighty had sent them that antelope, which they then gratefully slaughtered.

The Khuaja was just performing the namaz; and when he recited the salaam, he beheld a lion standing at his left side, wagging his tail, and flattering him in various ways. Upon which, he requested his disciples not to help themselves alone, a new guest having arrived, to whom they ought to allow his portion. They, begging him to send the guest to them, the meat being ready; the Khuaja accordingly made the lion a sign. Upon this, the animal stepped near, to the great consternation of the disciples who beheld him; when the Khuaja told them to dismiss their fears, and to let the beast have its portion, it being also a

of Sheikh Mohammed Ghouth Gualyari. He had numerous revelations, and worked many miracles. His noble descendants in the village of Tahara are the asylum of mankind. He was a brother of Shah Abd Ulrahman Bakhtiar, and master of the most excellent Sheikh Shahab Bakhtiar. He revealed the secrets of every person who came to him; and his greatness appears from the fact, that men like Meer Sheikh Shahab Bakhtiar owed their education to him. The noble posterity of Shahab Bakhtiar, in the village of Kithel *, are still the refuge of high and low.

§ XIV.

That polar star of man, and ornament of the Islam, Shah Guda Bakhtiar, a son of Shah Guda Ababecr, succeeded his father at his death, and occupied his carpet. He was famous for his austerities, theological knowledge, and contemplative life.

§ XV.

That master of guidance, and wanderer on the field of generosity, Sheikh Hamed Bakhtiar, inherited the dignity of his father and grandfather by the right of succession, and worked a great number of miracles. He was a son of Shah Bakhtiar.

§ XVI.

That source of divine illumination, and mine of celestial inspiration; that swimmer in the ocean of unity, and repository of divine truth; that flower of the saints, Sheikh Shahab Bakhtiar, lived in the village of Kithel [12], and was incessantly inflamed with a longing anxiety after the Deity. He used frequently to stretch out his hand, and exclaim: "By God! by God!" In his presence, never was a syllable uttered, except the mention of the Supreme Being. He performed the ablutions thrice a day; the first, before morning-prayers; the second, at the time of noon-prayers; the third, before evening-prayers; from which practice he never departed. He used to carry continually with him two purses; the one filled with betel-nuts and cardamoms, and the other with Behlolis; and whoever came to see him, was, without exception, served with betel-nuts and cardamoms; from which custom, also, he never deviated, through life.

The governor of a certain place having imprisoned some Afghan, his relations applied to Sheikh Shahab Uddeen to effect, through his intercession, the release of the prisoner. The sheikh then rose, and went to the governor; whom he met going on horseback, surrounded by a large number of people. The

* كيتهل

want of water, a small brook in the neighbourhood being dried up. The Khuaja, at the time of the namaz, took a tooth-brush, and, repairing to that rivulet, struck the brush against a stone; upon which, a well of fresh water immediately issued forth, which, they say, runs on that mountain, up to the present day. This place they call Kusha.*

When the Khuaja was one day reciting the praises of the Almighty, his heart fell out of his mouth. Upon this, he ordered his servants to wrap it up, broken and burnt as it was, in white linen, and preserve it till his death, to put it with him into his grave; which request his attendants faithfully executed.

Meer Timur Sahib Keran, on his expedition in that quarter, pillaged, and took prisoners, in every place which he understood to belong to the Afghans. On this account, most of the Afghan tribes sought refuge on the mountains. When the hostile army approached Koh Soleiman, the Khuaja, with his adherents, remained at the foot of the mountain, without going higher up to the summit. Upon the representation of his disciples, that, Timur being near, they exposed themselves to the risk of being taken prisoners, the Khuaja gathered up a handful of dust from the ground, and, reciting the Soora Ikhlas three successive times, threw it against the enemy. By divine command, not only a veil was drawn between the army and that crowd, but all the Moguls grew blind, hearing at the same time the voice of human beings, without seeing them; a circumstance that filled the whole army with consternation. The report of this occurrence being made to Timur, he remarked, that there must be, on that mountain, some saints, and that they themselves must retreat immediately. No sooner had they moved backward but a short distance, than all the Moguls recovered their sight; and Timur gave orders to ascertain what great man lived there. His attendants accordingly apprehended an Afghan, and conducted him to Timur, to whom he gave a circumstantial account of the Khuaja. Timur, upon that, sent the sheikh a horse and a robe; which presents, however, he did not accept. He commissioned the bearer to return his felicitations to the Khalif of India; and to request him, not to annoy the Mussulmans; but to fear the Almighty, who was extremely severe, in both worlds, against tyrants.

Sheikh Sharf Yahya directed from Hindustan a letter to Khuaja Yahya Kabeer, as follows:—" It has been understood here, that in your assemblies, when Dervishes chant hymns, numbers of women are also present. Although there exists some difference of opinion as to their listening to the recital of hymns, yet a nearer intercourse with them, though lawful, is generally pro-

* كوشه

hibited. For this is like cotton and fire; and though a strong fire may not produce any impression upon you, yet it may operate otherwise on your companions. Khuaja Kabeer, who used to be present at the recital of hymns, but had never frequented the dances, and even prohibited the presence of women at them, returned the following answer:—"The remarks of my reverend brother, Sheikh Sharf Uddeen Yahya Muniri, are well founded, but the Supreme Being is omnipotent." He then affixed his seal to the letter, and handed it over to the messenger, to deliver it to the sheikh. When the latter unloosed the seal, he found cotton and fire joined together, without the least injury to the cotton: by which, he declared, he learned that the degree of Khuaja Yahya's sanctity was greater than he had imagined.

The same Khuaja journeying one day with his disciples, put up at an Afghan's, called Toor. This man, notwithstanding his large property (having more than a thousand sheep, and numerous herds of mares and cows), was so avaricious, that no person had ever been benefitted by him. When he came to pay his respects to the Khuaja, he asked his name; and being answered that it was Toor, he, actuated by internal emotion, said, "O God! do not render me black!"—*toor*, in the Afghan language, signifying 'black.' When recovered from his trance, he intimated to Toor that he would give him another name; with which Toor being vexed, replied: "O Dervish! how should I, merely upon your remark, change the name which my parents have given me?" After this, the Khuaja said: "O Afghan! my disciples are hungry; give them something to eat." To which Toor replied: "O sheikh! I have not reared my sheep for thee:" and withdrew into his house. Some time after, Toor's brother, a poor man who tended his brother's herds, came in from pasturage. Perceiving that the saints had stopped in the village of his brother, who was so covetous and sordid that he would not furnish the least refreshment to Dervishes, he went to pay his humble respects to the Khuaja. The latter inquiring his name, and learning that it was Doulet, felicitated him upon such an excellent name. Doulet then said: "O Khuaja! I have seven sheep, which I shall offer in gratitude for thy arrival;" and drove them near. Upon which, the Khuaja requested his followers to slaughter them, and regale themselves, in order to procure for Doulet a new blessing from the Almighty. This the disciples executed.—A week after that, when the Khuaja happened to pass the village again, Doulet stepped forth with pomp and importance, and offered his homage to the saint; to whose inquiries after his affairs he replied: "Since your last visit, Toor is dead; and not only have his four wives consented to marry me, but his children also have become mine, and his whole fortune has devolved to

me." The Khuaja then exclaimed: "Thus do the words of the saints always take effect."

When Khuaja Kabeer had reached his hundred and twenty-seventh year, he, in 834,[9] on the second of the month Safar, called his attendants and disciples to him, and told them, that the preceding night he had, in a vision, seen the Chief of created beings; who had informed him, that the next day was to be his last, and that he must instal his youngest son, Sadr Uddeen, in his stead. His disciples asking him where they were to deposit him, he directed them, that wherever his shoe should fly to and fall, that place they should dig up, and, on a stone coming forth, bury him there: which stone they must preserve on the door of the cupola: as every person visiting his tomb, and reciting the Fateha, would, by divine pleasure, obtain both his spiritual and worldly desires. Upon this, he recited the Takbeer, and resigned his soul to God. On the day of his death, the wild beasts were observed to abstain from food, and to howl. His tomb is in Shehr Ali; and the spot where it stands, is called Jai Selamet * (place of salvation). When dying, he is said to have recited the following verses:—

> I have handed over my funds to Thee:
> Thou knowest the reckoning, deficient or full.[10]

§ IV.

That pole of the sphere of religion, and guide to sanctity; that abstracted saint, accomplished devotee, and leading pilgrim, Sheikh Ali Dunkar, a strict observer of continence and austerity, grew, from excessive abstinence, so emaciated, that his ribs projected like a staircase; on which account they called him Sheikh Bakhtiar Dunkar. He frequently fell into trances. With his brother, Khuaja Yahya Kabeer, he lived in intimate friendship. Whoever mentions his name at dinner-time, is secure from the effects of the evil eye and the attacks of flies.

§ V.

That treasury of knowledge, and depositary of truth; that magazine of divine mysteries, and source of divine actions, Sheikh Bai Seidani, was a saint, abstinent, devout, strictly observing the fasts and vigils. During his travels over the greater portion of the globe, he had frequented the company of the sheikhs of the time, and acquired a consummate elegance of expression. He had five accomplished sons; from each of whom issued an amazing posterity, and miracles were worked by them. Great numbers of the inhabitants of that quarter,

* جاي سلامت

attaching themselves to him for religious guidance, obtained their desire. His various miracles and virtues are particularly known amongst the Sheerani tribes.

§ VI.

That gain of the religious, and gospel of the devout; that extract of the herbage of seclusion, and wing on the area of solitude; that abstracted saint, Sheikh Meer Sheerani, lived in Kashghar; and was an accomplished divine, and a worker of miracles. People flocked to him from distant parts, and obtained their desires through the medium of his prayers. His posterity still retain the dignity of sheikhs.

§ VII.

That diver in the ocean of abstract knowledge, and traveller in the desert of truth; that favourite of heaven, Sheikh Vatto Shuryani Khuishki, was from his infancy actuated by a longing after the Deity. He left his native place; and set out in search of a master and guide, whom he found in the person of Khuaja Moudud Chushti (whose tomb may God bless!). In his service, he performed the duties of a wood-cutter, and fetched fuel for the kitchen, for thirty years; during which time he never enjoyed the company of the Khuaja, being sincerely and sedulously devoted to the execution of his task. The lifetime of the Khuaja drawing to a close, and his sons and disciples inquiring to whom his ascetic garment should be delivered, he replied, "To him, whom it will fit." They, accordingly, all tried the vest; which, although too full for the Khuaja, proved to be too straight for the others. Upon this, he ordered them to call the Afghan Vatto; and when they were embarrassed at this, there being none of that name among them, he told them that Vatto was the name of the Afghan who had served in his kitchen for thirty years. On Vatto's coming in, the Khuaja, with his own hands, invested him with the garment; which fitted him so well, that it appeared to have been made expressly for him. Being thus graciously distinguished, he was dismissed to his country, where he arrived, after an absence of thirty years.

One day, Sheikh Vatto was present at a meeting of inspired Dervishes; when the Afghans said, that he had made himself a Dervish on his own assumption; and that his pretensions to being one could only be verified if a bird should come on that day and perch upon his shoulder. A little while after, a wild pigeon appeared, and alighted on his shoulder; which greatly increased their confidence in him. He had one son, whom he called Sheikh Choon, whose descendants excel on the cushion of guidance, and are known by the name of Choonzye. May the mercy of God rest upon them!

§ VIII.

That chief of the true believers, scorched in the flames of divine love, and diving in the ocean of unity, Sheikh Bustan Baraich, came first from Roh to Hindustan, and settled in Samana; where he gave himself out for a merchant, carrying on a small trade, by the lawful profits of which he supplied his wants. He was exceedingly austere; his noble eyes never remained void of tears; and incessantly did he utter mournful sighs. Notwithstanding his mortification, he every day got over fifteen sections of the Koran, and very frequently recited Pushtoo's elegies, that would have drawn tears from a stone. Towards the end of the night he performed the ablutions, and occupied himself with the Deity, repeating the ablutions at the five prayers successively. The humble writer of this history, who, on his voyages, had arrived at Gooda, was his constant companion, and an eye-witness of most of his miracles.

One night, so violent a storm came on, that the people in the vessel, despairing of their lives, uttered supplications and prayers to heaven. The author being on intimate terms with the sheikh, upon that occasion observed to him, that now was high time to succour. At this the saint smiled, and said: "Let your mind be easy; there is no occasion for alarm." By this single speech, the storm was allayed, a fair wind began to blow, and the ship escaped from its perilous situation.

On his return, he went to Ahmedabad in Gujerat. One day, he said to me: "My time is run out; for a dysentery has seized me: take charge of my funeral;" —a request with which I readily complied. After that, on Friday, the eleventh of the month Rabea ul Shani, in the year 1002, after the noon namaz, he repaired to the great object of his love, and removed from this terrestrial stage to the celestial regions; and I then strictly executed his orders about his interment. On his corpse being deposited in the grave, I heard the voice of some one reading the Koran, and saw the lips of the dead body in motion:— a circumstance that was witnessed by a great many of his friends.

§ IX.

That scene of mysterious revelations, and source of unquestionable discoveries; that leader of the devout, and lustre of the saints, Mian Sheik Muthi Kasi, was one of the most distinguished sheikhs of his time, and endowed with consummate eloquence in the interpretation of truth. He was a pupil of Shah Abd Ulrahman Bakhtiar. He was possessed of amazing wealth, and every day spent large sums of money. In his kitchen they were continually cooking; so that his table was always well furnished for Omras, Khans, and other travellers,

from one, to one thousand persons; nor was any meat or drink ever asked for in vain, by Joghies, Sanyasies[11], and other Hindoos. The house for the reception of strangers was fitted up in such a manner, that it would hardly be possible for others to imitate it; the pillars being bedecked with brocade and velvet; the tapestry consisting of costly carpets; and the bedsteads being of silver: in short, it was furnished in a princely style. His own nourishment consisted of the fourth part of a barley loaf, and wild pot-herbs boiled. His couch was a deer-skin, in a cell, where he had put a brick; so that when he felt a desire for repose, he reclined on that skin, the brick serving for his pillow. There would not be room enough in this work for an account of the miracles performed by him. He died in 1010, and his descendants are well established on the carpet of guidance.

§ x.

That devotee of the Lord, and displayer of divine light, Abu Saïd Shuryani Khuishki, was an austere saint, and performed many miracles.

It is told, that a relation of his, newly married, had departed in quest of employment, and requested all his family to join him. When they, in consequence, came to the sheikh, to take leave, he refused his consent: upon which they departed without it. On the road, however, hearing that the man had died, they returned.

§ xi.

That object of divine distinction, and that godly interpreter, Shah Mohammed Majzoob Jalvani, lived in Etaweh, and was an inspired saint. Great numbers of people flocked to him from far and near, and obtained their wishes; for whatever they demanded of him, was granted.

§ xii.

That trustee of divine mysteries, distinguished in the court of the Lord, and favourite of the Omnipotent, Sheikh Ulislam Shah Abd Ulrahman Bakhtiar, resided in the village of Tahara *. He was one of the most distinguished men of his time, and reared excellent pupils; as is proved by the fact, that men like Mian Sheikh Muthi Kasi, through his instructions, attained every accomplishment.

§ xiii.

That sheikh of the Islam, and paragon of men, Shah Ababeer Bakhtiar, was extremely strict in keeping the vigils and fasts. He had enjoyed the instruction

* تهاره

of Sheikh Mohammed Ghouth Gualyari. He had numerous revelations, and worked many miracles. His noble descendants in the village of Tahara are the asylum of mankind. He was a brother of Shah Abd Ulrahman Bakhtiar, and master of the most excellent Sheikh Shahab Bakhtiar. He revealed the secrets of every person who came to him; and his greatness appears from the fact, that men like Meer Sheikh Shahab Bakhtiar owed their education to him. The noble posterity of Shahab Bakhtiar, in the village of Kithel*, are still the refuge of high and low.

§ XIV.

That polar star of man, and ornament of the Islam, Shah Guda Bakhtiar, a son of Shah Guda Ababeer, succeeded his father at his death, and occupied his carpet. He was famous for his austerities, theological knowledge, and contemplative life.

§ XV.

That master of guidance, and wanderer on the field of generosity, Sheikh Hamed Bakhtiar, inherited the dignity of his father and grandfather by the right of succession, and worked a great number of miracles. He was a son of Shah Bakhtiar.

§ XVI.

That source of divine illumination, and mine of celestial inspiration; that swimmer in the ocean of unity, and repository of divine truth; that flower of the saints, Sheikh Shahab Bakhtiar, lived in the village of Kithel[12], and was incessantly inflamed with a longing anxiety after the Deity. He used frequently to stretch out his hand, and exclaim: "By God! by God!" In his presence, never was a syllable uttered, except the mention of the Supreme Being. He performed the ablutions thrice a day; the first, before morning-prayers; the second, at the time of noon-prayers; the third, before evening-prayers; from which practice he never departed. He used to carry continually with him two purses; the one filled with betel-nuts and cardamoms, and the other with Behlolis; and whoever came to see him, was, without exception, served with betel-nuts and cardamoms; from which custom, also, he never deviated, through life.

The governor of a certain place having imprisoned some Afghan, his relations applied to Sheikh Shahab Uddeen to effect, through his intercession, the release of the prisoner. The sheikh then rose, and went to the governor; whom he met going on horseback, surrounded by a large number of people. The

* كيتهل

sheikh falling into a trance, exclaimed, like a fierce lion, "God! God!" at the same time extending his hands; but the proud and haughty governor, being extremely displeased with such behaviour, ordered him also to be incarcerated. Immediately after that, however, there fell such a quantity of dust and rain, that it afforded a resemblance of the Day of Resurrection. This weather continuing, some intelligent persons informed the governor, that the imprisoned Dervish was no less a personage than Sheikh Shahab Uddeen Bakhtiar. On this, the governor went directly to pay him his respects; releasing him as well as the Afghan, and apologizing for his conduct.

Upon another occasion, some person riding a horse, gave it two dreadful lashes. The animal's cries reaching the ears of the sheikh, he sighed, and lamented; and on those present asking the reason of it, he stripped off his clothes, when on his own body appeared the two lashes which the horse had received.

§ XVII.

That paragon of devotees, and flower of the saints; that confidant of the divine mysteries, and wayfarer on the path of the Almighty; that sage acquainted with the truth, sheikh of the sheikhs, Thabet Baraich, lived first in the village of Belot; but afterwards, considering that the Baraich nation was very small, he resolved on choosing another abode, in order to evade the vexations of the other Afghans. On this account, he commissioned two Afghans of the Baraich tribe to look out for another place, to settle there. After some search, they thought a place, called Shoravak * (where the Baraich resides at present), would answer their purpose, and made their report to the sheikh accordingly: adding, however, at the same time, that that place had three inconveniences: first, a scarcity of water; secondly, a multitude of snakes; and, thirdly, the vicinity of the Balochies, who, proud of their number, had regard to nobody. To this the sheikh replied, that he had already prayed to God for the removal of these three inconveniences. "For," continued he, "the poison of the snakes will have no mischievous effect upon us; water will be plentiful; and the Balochies will be restrained from doing mischief." They accordingly relinquished their former seat in Belot, and settled at that place.

Sheikh Moudud Chusti happening one day to pass by that place, told Sheikh Thabet that a great calamity had come upon his present abode of Shoravak. Sheikh Thabet replied: "God Almighty is himself the protector of both the place and its inhabitants." At the same moment, a detach-

* شراوك or شورارك

ment, sent against them by the Governor of Kandahar, made its appearance, having already approached Shoravak at the distance of two or three miles. Of which circumstance, some Afghan, coming in the utmost consternation, gave notice to the sheikh, and all the inhabitants of the village were seized with a panic. The sheikh however declared, that there was no reason for fear. At this very moment, a messenger, galloping up to the commander of the hostile troops, handed over to him a firman of the governor, forbidding him to trouble the Baraich. At the sight of the firman, the Mogul troops forthwith retreated; and, on their return, informed the governor of what had passed, at the same time producing the firman. The governor, upon that, declared that the firman had not been issued by him, but by a miracle of Sheikh Thabet[13].

Sheikh Elias, who, as well as Sheikh Thabet, was a disciple of Khuaja Moudud Chusti, grew envious of Sheikh Thabet's eloquence. This Sheikh Elias, who had been in the habit of carrying water for his master, by which he got a sore shoulder, one day requested the latter, that one wish of his might be granted him. The sheikh inquiring about it, he expressed his desire to obtain a quiver and an arrow of evil. The Khuaja replied: "O Elias! nobody has ever desired an evil." The latter repeated his request; and the Khuaja promised that it should be complied with. Upon this, Sheikh Thabet representing to the Khuaja, that Elias, being a man of a mischievous character, might bring calamity over their tribe; the Khuaja replied: "The evil arrow of Sheikh Elias will never have effect, either upon thee or upon thy tribe." And as, by divine benignity, the words of saints are always effective, the repeated attempts of Elias to hit Sheikh Thabet with the evil arrow always proved impotent.

§ XVIII.

That saint, scorched with the flame of separation, and that arrow of divine love, Sheikh Elias Baraich, was a disciple of Khuaja Moudud Chusti, who presented him with an arrow and a quiver of evil. He then, with the Khuaja's permission, returned home. Perceiving the camels of the Khuaja thronged together, and thus obstructing his passage, he, exclaiming, "In the name of God! God is great!" threw his tooth-brush at them; upon which they all fell down dead on the spot. The Khuaja, learning this accident, only said, "The arrow of Fate is irrevocable."

§ XIX.

That abstracted saint, and inspired and intelligent individual, Sheikh Manki Shahbaz Baraich, was an ardent and extatic devotee. Although people brought victuals to the desert, yet he would never touch them; for when hunger over-

powered him, he drank only the milk of sheep. His prayers were always fulfilled.—God knows best the truth of this.

§ xx.

That investigator of truth, and revealer of mysteries; that flower of the just, and essence of the pious, Sheikh Mati Khalil, was a strict ascetic. They constituted him the head of twelve Sarbanni clans; and the Afghans flocked in numbers to him, to become his pupils. When the rumour of his miracles had spread over the whole world, Sheikh Kutahr Kasi came to try them, and proudly asked him, "Do you style yourself the head of twelve clans?" To which he answered, "Yes." While they were one day seated on the banks of a river, Sheikh Hassan said: "The ocean consists of water; and this river, on the banks of which we sit, consists of water too: dive down, and fetch up pearls." To this, Sheikh Mati replied: "O Hassan! the diver gathers pearls in the ocean; but a saint should dive under ground, and pick up pearls from thence." Sheikh Hassan Kasi saying: "In the name of God!" Sheikh Mati ordered his youngest son, Hassan, to dive under ground, and, filling both his hands with pearls from the Almighty's subterranean treasury, to bring them up. The ground, where he was standing, opened; and young Hassan dived down, and re-appeared with his hands full of pearls, which he laid before Sheikh Hassan Kasi. Upon that, he desired to dive down himself, to procure pearls; but when he got down as far as his knees, Sheikh Mati struck his hand upon the ground, and exclaimed: "Do not allow Hassan Kasi to dive!"—in consequence of which, the latter could only with the greatest difficulty extricate his knee from the ground. He then seized the foot of Sheikh Mati Khalil, and said: "I am now fully convinced of thy greatness."—But God knows best the truth of this.

§ xxi.

That lover of God, and falcon of the religion of the saints, who was intimately acquainted with the eternal mystery, Sheikh Aref Tareen Avdal, lived on the banks of a river called Ghassan[14], running in the district of Kandahar. He was an ecstatic saint, and deeply penetrated with the divine love. One day, meeting in the market with a handsome Nilani[15] woman, he forthwith threw his arms around her. Some police-officers seized them, in consequence; and conducted them before Meerza Hassan[16], governor of Kandahar; who ordered them to be cast into a burning oven, where meat was roasting. This being executed, not a hair of theirs was injured by the heat; and both, sitting in the flames, employed themselves in eating roast meat. On the governor's being informed of this, he came himself, to excuse his fault, and allowed the sheikh to ask a favour of him:

this, however, he declined, alleging, that he stood in want of nothing. Many such miracles were performed by this sheikh; but, for the sake of brevity, only this one has been related.

§ XXII.

That leader to the path of religion, and guide to truth, Sheikh Hassan Kutahr Kasi, was a passionate and haughty man. Being one day vexed with the inhabitants of his village, called Ghiri* in the Afghan language, he uttered a curse upon it; when, on the same day, there occurred forty funerals from that place to Kohistan. Of his numerous miracles, this is but a solitary instance.

§ XXIII.

That essence of the devout, and pillar of the faithful, Sheikh Guru Chowban Sarbanni, led a sober and godly life. When he one day sat in his mosque, some person brought in a mare, and told him that she had never had a foal, but always remained barren. To this the sheikh answered: "Go! for the mare having been looked at by a saint, will grow pregnant without a stallion: within a year's time, a colt will be foaled, which belongs to me: the second time she will bear a foal, which will be thine."—All this actually came to pass. But God knows best the truth of it.

§ XXIV.

That favourite of the Deity, and revealer of abstruse mysteries, Sheikh Pahdeen Bakhtiar, led a godly life, and strictly observed the fasts and vigils. He had a great number of followers. He resided on a mountain near Gualyar, with two thousand Bakhtiar families[17]. In the time of Sultan Islam Shah Sur, a great number of persons were benefitted by his happy influence, and resided on the summit of the mountain†. One day, at the time of the noon prayers, he called for water, to perform his ablutions. Some of his servants replied, there was no water left; but that others had gone down to the foot of the mountain, to fetch some. A knife happening to lie there, the sheikh, exclaiming "In the name of God!" took it up; and digging up the ground twice or thrice, a stone appeared, which he split in two halves. From under this stone, by divine command, sprung up a well of fresh water; which they afterwards held in veneration, and constructed into a pit, from which the inhabitants of that place still fetch their water. His descendants succeeded him in his dignity.

§ XXV.

That chief saint (Ghouth) of his time, Shah Bakhtiar, who resided in the

* گِيرِي  † انعاس

village of Haykhaneh*, was a revealer of mysteries, a distinguished saint, and continually pining for the Deity. When he retired to perform the forty days' fasts, he used to take with him forty cloves. Almost all the Hadjis, that came to pay him their homage, addressed him with the words: "O sheikh! when did you return from holy Mecca? for we have there, also, offered you our respects."

One day, his servants, perceiving his clothes to be wet, inquired the reason of it. He answered: "The ship of one of our friends being wrecked, I went to its assistance." Some time after, that very friend arrived; and related to him, that his ship being sunk at a certain place, he had vowed it to the sheikh; in consequence of which, God Almighty saved it from destruction.

When the fame of the sheikh, and of his high qualities, spread abroad, the sheikhs of that place, out of envy, despatched robbers to assassinate him. The latter, accordingly, entered his bed-room; but beholding all the limbs of the sheikh fallen asunder, and the head separated from the body, they were struck with terror. They then gave information of this to the envious; and from that day, the superior dignity of the saint was acknowledged, and the envious themselves became his pupils.—But God knows best the truth of this.

§ XXVI.

That hero on the field of retirement, and crocodile in the sea of unity; that sincere lover of the true science, and of the real essence, Malik Barparan Kharseen, happened one day to pass over a hill in the environs of Dehli, which pleased him exceedingly. It being the abode of Sheikh Ababecr Tusi, he requested the latter to resign that delightful spot to him. This the sheikh declined; alleging, that the place, as well as the other ground, belonged to the emperor, of whom he himself held it. Sheikh Malik Barparan then asked: "If the emperor will grant it to me, will you then consent"?—which question was answered in the affirmative: "If the emperor grant it, I shall have no further objection." At that time, the emperor of Dehli, Sultan Ghayas Uddeen[18], had marched his army into Mooltan, and was, consequently, absent from Dehli; but Malik Barparan conveyed himself, in the twinkling of an eye, to the sultan's encampment, and descended at the place where the latter was sitting. He first saluted the emperor; and then asked from him the cession of such and such a place, near Dehli. The sultan, without delay, issued a firman, granting that place to the sheikh, with as much land as he should require. Upon this, he again soared into the air; and returned to Sheikh Ababecr, who, on the firman being handed

* حیخانه

over to him, relinquished the place, and settled upon a hill close by; which being occupied by a Joghi, he drove him away, and took possession of it: nor did the Joghi's incantations and magical arts produce any effect upon the saint; so that, at last, tired of his useless efforts, he looked out for another abode. The sacred resting-places of these two saints exist to this day, on the two hills. In the sequel, an intimate friendship was contracted between them; and they made a vow, that whatever should pass between their graves, should never be liable to the effects of infernal fire, nor be consumed by any other flame; so that when a dead infidel was carried between the two hills, the fire should produce no effect upon him; and wood, and dry grass, carried by that road, should remain inviolable by fire.—Such, indeed, proved to be the fact; and numbers of people used to flock there.

One hundred years after the death of these saints, flourished Sheikh Nizam Uddeen Oulia. The fuel for his kitchen having one day been carried by that passage, it defied all endeavours to make it burn; even oil poured upon it was of no avail. This circumstance being reported to the Chief of the Pious, Khuaja Nizam Uddeen Oulia, he immediately averred, that they must have carried the fuel on the road between the graves of Sheikh Malik Barparan and Sheikh Ababecr Tusi. He then, they relate, went to the spot, and, performing a forty days' fast, obtained from the sheikhs the abolition of this practice.

§ XXVII.

That saint, intoxicated with divine love, and that inspired possessor of the divine mysteries, Mian Kasem Khalil, was in a constant state of abstraction. He used to hold meetings with Fakeers, called Lungband[19]; and numbers of Afghans became his followers. Whomsoever he drew with internal attractions towards truth, became penetrated with it, and, abandoning wife and children, put on the religious garment (*lung*), and enrolled themselves among his disciples. No word uttered by him ever failed of its accomplishment. His blessed tomb lies in the citadel of Chunar.

§ XXVIII.

That cheerful element, and precious gem; that intimate of the Almighty's Majesty, and accomplished lover, Sheikh Hossain Bakhtiar, was endowed with the faculty of revelation, of working miracles, and of uttering prayers that were always answered. Afghans, of both sexes, seized with the hand of pupilage the skirt of his guidance, and became his faithful adherents: even the women of all the tribes came, without restraint, to offer him homage. This circumstance,

mischievous persons denounced to the Emperor Islam Shah Sur, and represented it in a most unfavourable light; averring, that the sheikh was in the constant habit of receiving women, and conversing with them. Islam Shah, being a strict observer of the religious canons, ordered the sheikh to be brought before him, as such a person deserved to be burnt alive. When, accordingly, they brought the sheikh into the royal presence on foot, lest it might be considered as an honour shewn to him; Islam Shah, arising abruptly, said: "Sheikh, come forward!" which the sheikh refused to do, replying: "Offence to Fakeers is self-offence; and burning them, is delivering oneself to the flames." After these words, he withdrew in a rage.—Islam Shah did not utter a single word; but, from that very moment, he was afflicted with a fistula, and an inflammation pervaded all his limbs; so that he, three days after, delivered his soul to his Creator[20].

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*Account of the Sheikhs of the Batni Race.*—(May the blessing of God be upon them all!)

They are the following: Sheikh Beit Batni; Mulá Ali Batni; Sheikh Khalil Batni; Sheikh Ali Sarmast Batni; Sheikh Edris Margani; Mula Khyzer Batni; Sheikh Ahmed Lodi; Sheikh Suleiman Dana Sarbanni; Sheikh Mulhi Kattal Sarbanni; Sheikh Ahmed Lohani; Sheikh Batni; Sheikh Baizid Sarbanni; Sheikh Khyzer Sarbanni; Sheikh Ali Sarvar Lodi; Sheikh Ahmed Sarbanni; Sheikh Yahya Shahid Mayhi; Sheikh Jehan Sarbanni Malizye; Sheikh Mijan Niazi; Sheikh Haji Sarvani, Hadji of both places; Haji Abd Ullah Sarbanni.

§ 1.

That cream of religion, and paragon of the true believers; that mine of the divine unity, accomplished saint, and sheikh of the sheikhs, Sheikh Beit, whose descendants are denominated Batnis, was a strict observer of the law, and adorned with external and internal accomplishments. His numerous miracles are universally known.

One day, an excessive frost falling upon the hill where Sheikh Beit used to reside, he, with his whole tribe, family, and herds, took up a temporary abode at a place less exposed to the cold. When, on the approach of spring, snow and rain abated, he returned to his former residence, after an absence of four months. He there requested his consort, the mother of his children, who, he said, had made a long journey, to prepare some warm bread for them. This

excellent woman, however, replying, that they having just returned from the journey, there was no fire in the house; but that as soon as fire should be procured, she would bake bread; the sheikh, exclaiming, "In the name of God!" requested her to repair to their former fire-place, and fetch fire therefrom. To this the lady answered: "Do not jest with me; for, after a four-months' absence, and after such an immense quantity of rain and snow, how should fire have remained?" The sheikh, however, saying, "What business hast thou to scruple?" she, exclaiming "In the name of God!" put her hand into the stove, and, turning up the ashes, live coals came forth, bright and glowing, as though the fire had just been kindled. He then requested her to bring the first loaf baked to him, for his arbitrary distribution. On the loaf being ready, Ibrahim, the son of Bibi Matu, and grandson of the sheikh, carried it to his grandfather, putting it down, and standing modestly; while the other children of the sheikh amused themselves with puerile games. The sheikh gave the bread to Ibrahim, pronouncing the words, *Lodi est*, i. e. "he is the eldest"; *lodi*, in the Afghan language, signifying 'the elder'.[21] From that time, Ibrahim was surnamed Lodi. Some time after, the other boys, being tired of play, came in, complaining of hunger to their father, and entreated him for bread. The sheikh told them, that Ibrahim had received it, and that they must apply to him for it, who would deal it out. They accordingly went to Ibrahim, to ask their portion; and he dealt out the bread conscientiously, eating the rest himself. From that time, the pre-eminence and superiority devolved, according to the sheikh's prayer, on Lodi, for ever.

Sarbanni, the elder brother of Batni, was very poor, and destitute of all comforts, being even deprived of paternal felicity; notwithstanding his most ardent desire after these two things, which are the centre of human affairs. One day he came to the habitation of his brother, Sheikh Batni, and accosted him in the following manner: "Dear brother, thy prayers on behalf of all others prove to be infallible: why dost thou not interest thyself for me, whose warmest desire it is, to have a son, and a competent livelihood?" To this the sheikh replied: "Take and educate one of my own sons; for, on his auspicious arrival, there will at once come forth all the requisites of worldly happiness—children, tribes, riches, power, and cattle, in an abundance exceeding all description." The sheikh then delivered his youngest son, Ismail, to his brother Sarbanni; who conducted his little nephew to his home, and took all possible care of his education; so much so, that, by his happy arrival, wealth and offspring grew so plentiful, that they will not fail to the Day of Resurrection. Ismail, when arrived at years of discretion, by rigorous austerity,

attained the highest degree of sanctity. That Sheikh Ismail, whose grave lies upon Mount Suleiman, near Khuaja Khyzer's resting-place, is this very Sheikh Ismail Sarbanni, son of Sheikh Beit. His miracles are innumerable; but, for brevity's sake, we have recorded only one out of a thousand, and a few out of many.

§ II.

That asylum of knowledge, and treasury of truth; that worker of miracles, and mine of wonders, sheikh of the sheikhs, Mula Batni, watched by night, and fasted in the day. He lived in Sirhind.

Having the intention to erect a mosque in the court-yard of his house, he ordered it to be built exactly after the model of the mosque at Medina. On the architect objecting, that he did not know the structure of that mosque, the sheikh said: "Come along with me, and I will shew it to you." The sheikh then put his blessed hands upon the architect's eyes, and at the same time requested him to view the Prophet's mosque at Medina. He opened his eyes accordingly, and had a full view of that mosque: upon which, that of the sheikh was finished.

§ III.

That treasury of divine mysteries, and diver in the ocean of eternity, Sheikh Khalil Batni, was an austere and ingenious man. When the fame of his miracles got abroad, Jalal Uddeen Mohammed Acbar Padishah invited him to court. On his coming into the presence, and casting no look, either to the right or left, or up or down, his sight sternly fixed upon the instep of his foot, the Emperor asked him why he never looked at him. The sheikh replied: "Because the Emperor does not observe the ordinances of the Prophet, by shaving off his beard and mustaches." The Emperor then said: "Dismiss him: why do you bring such evil to our presence?"—But God knows best the truth of this.

§ IV.

That paragon of recluses, and guide of the pious; that leader of the Sufies, Sheikh Ali Sarmast Batni, was the guide of the world, in the time of Sultan Islam Shah Soor. By his continued ascetic exercises, he had become quite weak and emaciated: every word, good or bad, that passed his lips, took effect.

He erected a public edifice for the benefit of the Mussulmans. The beam of the building being too short by three yards, notice was given him, that this very beam, which had been procured after a thousand difficulties, now proved too short by three yards. The sheikh, exclaiming "In the name of God!" arose, and, putting his foot upon the wood, said: "Thou hast grown up in the forest

for my sake, and now wilt not yield the just measure for an edifice destined for Fakeers!" Upon which, the beam lengthened by three yards, and became admirably fitted for the building.

§ v.

That favourite of the Lord, and searcher of the Deity, Sheikh Edris Maryani, a descendant of Sheikh Beit, was an austere ascetic, and made the perusal of the Koran his daily occupation. At the time of the morning prayers, he used to be invisible in his house, as well as in the mosque; which gave rise to the report, that he performed his morning prayers in Mecca. He was a pupil of Sahrwardi, and performed miracles in great numbers.

§ vi.

That falcon of knowledge, and eagle of truth; that lover of devotion, and stage of excellence, Mula Khyzer Batni, descended from Abdool Batni Dervish, was a great ascetic.

One day, a number of his neighbours came to complain of the oppressive vexations of the Afghans driving the horses and cattle into their sown fields, and thus depasturing and ruining them entirely. To this, the sheikh replied: "Whenever cattle come to the fields to pasture, and their owner be with them, they must be fastened[22]; if not, let them be slain." This ordinance was observed throughout his life-time[23].

§ vii.

That pilgrim in the path of truth, and swimmer in the stream of knowledge, Sheikh Ahmed Lodi, was thoroughly versed in the law of the Prophet, and adorned with bodily and intellectual graces, as well as external and internal accomplishments. He lived in the village of Zamanya *.

One day, he said to his disciples: "Dear friends! let each of you consult his own safety; for the period of the Moguls is arrived, and the sovereignty of the Afghans is terminated. I was, last night, present at an assembly of the Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!); when the conversation fell upon the sovereignty of the Moguls; which the whole assembly approved of, except myself, and the sheikh of the time, Sheikh Ahmed Lohani, who did not give our assent to that decision. At length, when the dispute grew violent, the whole assembly approached us; and declared, that no decision once uttered by that Chief admitted of discussion; and that such was the will of God. Upon that, we also assented. In the same year, Islam Shah died, and the Moguls made their entrance into India[24].

* زمانیه

§ VIII.

That mountain of dignity and authority, and pearl in the ocean of truth and certainty; that simurgh on the seat of knowledge, and lion in the forest of unity; that cream of those admitted to truth, and that desire of accomplished saints; sheikh of the sheikhs, Sheikh (Suleiman) Dana, had, under the guidance of Sheikh Sadr Uddeen Aref, attained the degree of sanctity. Vast numbers of people placed themselves under his pupilage. He was endowed with the power of working wonders and miracles[25].

§ IX.

That asylum of mankind, and magazine of wisdom; that stage of beatific visions, full of beauty and majesty, Sheikh Mulhi Kattal, made superhuman exertions in devotion, austerity, and ascetic exercises. The gates of vision and revelation stood open to him, and the people of the time paid him full homage. He brought the wants of people to a happy termination: he worked miracles; and was celebrated for rendering the deficient accomplished, and rearing disciples. Presents and donations came in, in immense numbers; which were as freely dispensed to others.

One day, he went out on horseback; and happening to ride past the royal chowgan place, expressed a wish to join in the game, if sticks were at hand. At this very moment, two chowgans coming down from heaven, in the presence of his attendants, he snatched this present of the Lord in the air, and engaged in the sport. These chowgans are still preserved by his son and successor: for Sultan Noor Uddeen Mahommed Padishah Jehangheer, hearing of the wonderful occurrence, was struck with astonishment; and coming to see these chowgans, entrusted them to the sheikh's descendants. This happened in the year 1019.

One day, a company of fifty Dervishes came to him, and begged for food. As there was, at that time, nothing in his house, he, exclaiming "In the name of God!" filled a pot with water, and placed it upon the trivet; sending, at the same time, to the potter for an earthen plate: upon this, he took meat out of the pot, and, putting it with his own blessed hands upon the plate, served it up to his guests, all of whom satisfied their appetite from the meat, the dish still remaining full. This very plate is, to this day, in the possession of his successor.

§ X.

That lover of truth and candour, and accomplished divine; that unique inquirer, and sheikh of sheikhs of his time; that saint cherished by the All-merciful,

and beloved in both worlds, sheikh of sheikhs, Sheikh Ahmed Lohani, was distinguished for his liberality and learning.

* [In his youth, he tended his father's flocks; which task he executed with some of his young relations. His father was extremely poor, his property chiefly consisting in forty sheep, to the pasturing of which he daily paid great attention, and in which he was assisted by his son, whom, by way of remuneration, he presented with a little lamb. One day, Ahmed was busied in feeding his flock, at the foot of a hill, when forty grand Fakeers made their appearance. Little Ahmed ran up to them, and, perceiving them, from their conduct and manners, to be religious persons, saluted them. After they had returned his salutation, they asked him whether he had any sheep to spare, for the refreshment of Fakeers. Poor Ahmed presented his own lamb to them; while the other boys, struck with amazement, hid themselves in a corner. The Fakeers, without delay, slaughtered the animal, kindled a fire, roasted it, and made a hearty and agreeable repast. The lamb being eaten up, they demanded another from Ahmed; who, perceiving that excuses and refusal would be of no avail, fetched another, which they likewise ate up with good appetite. In this way they continued, and, within a few hours, consumed thirty-nine sheep. When they came to the fortieth, the other boys ran home in utter consternation; and gave notice of what had passed, to Ahmed's father. Musa, inflamed with rage, seized a heavy stick, and hastened to the spot, to inflict punishment upon the boy as well as the Fakeers. On his approach, Ahmed, perceiving him violently agitated, turned pale, and was frightened in the extreme; and when the saints inquired the cause of his emotion, he told them that it was occasioned by the arrival of his father, who would, perhaps, treat them in an improper manner. Before this, one of them gave him his shirt; and directed him to go and beat, with a rod which he handed to him, the skins, heads, feet, and bones of the sheep, that were lying in a heap; and to exclaim "In the name of God!" on which they would come to life again. Ahmed, accordingly, took the stick, and ran away to do as he had been instructed. And, in fact, the sheep, as though they had been only lying down, got immediately upon their legs, and ran away. At this moment, Ahmed's father arrived; but perceiving the animals safe, and Ahmed with the stick in his hand and a robe on, he went himself to pay homage to the Fakeers; who then broke up, and proceeded on their journey. Ahmed, however, went now and then to wait on them, and was assured by them that he was not born for his present employment.] With this, Sheikh Ahmed complied, and, gathering the skins and heads

* The passage placed between brackets is taken from *L*

of the sheep, performed a prayer, supplicating the Creator to give to the owner of the sheep at the rate of ten to one. The latter had not yet approached Ahmed, when four hundred sheep started up, as though they had only been couching together. The Dervishes then went off: and on Ahmed's running after them, they said to him: "Ahmed! God Almighty has not created thee for such an employment; for a vast number of men will be guided by thee to the right way, and from thy offspring will issue an innumerable race of saints. Thou must, therefore, place thyself under the pupilage of Sheikh Baha Uddeen Zakharya." This declaration they accompanied with felicitations on behalf of Ahmed, and disappeared. Sheikh Ahmed was seized with a strange emotion, and consented to this proposal: receiving permission from his father, he repaired to the sheikh, where he attained the degree of perfection.

§ XI.

That pole-star of the saints, and leader of the devotees; that exemplar of mankind, and chief of the true believers, Sheikh Khyzer Sarvani, was the pattern of his age, and what he spoke infallibly came to pass. His tomb lies on the river Derabhun*, which springs from Mount Suleiman. There is there a jug continually filled with water. When a quarrel arises between two persons, which is to be decided by an oath, each of them sips a draught of water from it. He that is in the right, remains unhurt; but the liar gets his belly swollen up like a water-bag, from which state nothing can relieve him but confessing the truth. This practice continues at that place up to the present day.

§ XII.

That pole-star of the saints, and evidence of the devotees; that chosen of the Deity, and wave in the ocean of eternity, Sheikh Ali Sarvar Lodi Shahu Khail, was one of the distinguished individuals amongst this tribe. He lived in the village called Gahrur, belonging to Mooltan. He was very devout; his prayers were always fulfilled, and his sight was blissful. The people of the contiguous districts ranged themselves in the series of his disciples. During thirty years, he never lay down, nor indulged in sleep.

One day, while sitting in the mosque, a barber came in to shave him, but immediately lost the use of his eyes. Now every person that Sheikh Najm Uddeen cast his sight upon obtained the gift of revelation. He therefore smiled, and said that this was very easy. When the barber finished his work,

* درابين

he felt himself in a wonderful state, and discoursed on the revelation of mysteries. He laid down his avocation, and devoted himself to an ascetic life, and people used to have recourse to him for the relief of their wants.

Several pieces of timber having been carried to the sheikh, to repair his house, ten thieves, during the night, stole some of the pieces, put them upon their heads, and went away. On their arrival at home, they attempted to take their burdens off their heads, which, however, in spite of all their efforts, they could not effect. Being frightened in the extreme, they carried the timber back to the place where they had stolen it. In the morning they came to the sheikh, and confessed their guilt.—His noble descendants at present are the resource of high and low, and his progeny and tribes are well settled.

§ XIII.

That leader of the saints, and flower of devotees; that (individual) immersed in the ocean of annihilation, Sheikh Bazid Sarvani, was a rigorous ascetic, endowed with the gift of revelation, and possessed of the degree of Ghouth.

At an assembly of Sheer Khan Foladi, in Gujerat, on occasion of the festival of the birth of the Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!) a great number of Sufies, Parsees, and Dervishes had assembled, and the sheikh also was present. It then so happened, that Sheikh Mahommed Ghouth Gualyari, who had fled to Gujerat before the Emperor Sheer Shah, also made his appearance. He offered to shake hands with Sheikh Bazid, who, however, refused his hand. This Khan Foladi, the landlord of the festival, asking the sheikh the reason of his refusal, he replied, that his Master had appeared to him, and kept back his hand from shaking.—But God knows best!

§ XIV.

That asylum of the Sheikhs, and seat of learning; that repository of knowledge, and interpreter of truth; that knower of the right path, and object of divine grace, Sheikh Yahya Shahid Bahi, was an inspired and austere saint. His disciples, through his excellent guidance, attained high degrees (of sanctity). His tomb lies on Mount Danvar.

§ XV.

That stage of mystic vision, and fountain of undoubted grace, Sheikh Sadr Jehan Malizye, had, by his irreproachable submission and austerity, obtained the dignity of a Kutb (Pole). He was possessed of the power of working wonders, and numerous miracles were performed by him.

Sultan Sekander Lodi is related to have sent, one day, a horse, and a consi-

derable sum of money, to the sheikh; who distributed the gold among the Fakeers, slew the horse, and gave it to the indigent for food. Intelligence of this reaching the sultan, he was offended, and despatched one of his attendants to demand the restitution of the horse. To this the sheikh replied, that he was no horse-dealer, to keep the horse; but the sultan did not desist from demanding back the horse, and made repeated applications. The sheikh, happening to sit on a pond, said to the sultan's messenger, that the horse in question was at the bottom of the pond, whither he might descend and fetch it up. The man, unable to decline the order, went down into the pond; where he saw forty horses of the same colour, ranged in the stalls of a lofty stable. Immediately re-ascending, he represented to the sheikh, that he could not distinguish the royal horse; upon which, the sheikh called to the horse to come up, and stand before them. This command the animal instantly obeyed; and the sheikh delivered it to the messenger, and said to him: "Tell the sultan, that he ought not to require miracles of Dervishes, this being very improper." This pond still exists in the village of Maliz*, within the possession of the sheikh; and the stable also has been repaired, and is known by the name of Chulhurah †. Great numbers of the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts come to visit it. His descendants are well established on the carpet of guidance and direction.

§ XIII.

That Ghouth of his age, and unique favourite; that praiser of the Lord, and independent of the world, Sheikh Mijan Khail, is related, in the prime of youth, to have been addicted to hunting and sporting. One day, while hunting, the divine attraction entered him, and the breeze of the Almighty's grace breathed into him, so that he became affected with ecstacy and contrition, and, by excessive love, was subjected to periodical rotation. In consequence of which, they called him *Mijan*, which, in the Afghan language, signifies 'a mill;' that is to say, he turned round like a mill. His descendants, among the Muti tribe, enjoy great authority; and his threshold is a place of pilgrimage to high and low.

§ XIV.

That asylum of science, and seat of truth and divine visions; that knower of abstruse mysteries, Sheikh Mahmood Haji, an elder brother of Sheikh Mulhi Kattal, succeeded his father on the religious cushion. The people of the time obtained, by his guidance, their essential desires. His miracles, and wonderful deeds, are clearer than the sun.

* مالیز † چلهوره

§ xv.

That pilgrim of the eternal world, and swimmer in the ocean of the All-merciful, Hadji of both sanctuaries, Abd Ullah Sarvani, lived in the village of Nadarabari *, and spent his whole life in performing pilgrimages.

He always sat on a pit; into which he threw all food, money, and other offerings brought to him; which mysterious habit filled the people with amazement.—But God knows best the truth of this!

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## III.

### *Memoirs of the Sheikhs of the Ghurghushti Family.*

Khuaja Khyzer Kaker; Sheikh Khadu Nagher; Sheikh Hassan Davi; Sheikh Jemal Kaker; Haji Abu Ishak Davi; Khuaja Keri Taren; Sheikh Ermia Taren; Sheikh Badak Taren; Shahali Taren; Sheikh Ahmed Pani; Malik Adem Kaker; Sheikh Mohammed Shon Pani; Sheikh Hamza Kaker; Sheikh Niknam Davi; Three Kaker Zanghuzyes; Sheikh Jemal Kaker; Sheikh Mona Nagher; Sheikh Isa Misvani.

§ I.

That chief of the devotees, and exemplary of the pious; that guide to the right path, and leader to truth; that stage of divine mysteries, and seat of undoubted illumination, Khuaja Khyzer Kaker, was a Ghouth, and strict observer of fasting and vigils. When his frame overpowered him, he, in the middle or at the close of night, used to exclaim, "O Lord, O Lord!" and all that were present heard a voice, answering, "Here I am, my servant!" nor was it known whence that answer came.

§ II.

That sun of the sphere of sanctity, and profit of guidance; that elect of the All-merciful, and favourite of the Lord, Sheikh Khadu, son of Yunes Nagher, was a highly-distinguished person, and, in his time, pointed out as the resort of high and low. He was gifted with miraculous powers.

Doom, the son of Chara ebn Shirani, had four sons, the eldest of whom was called Seidani. This Seidani having one day gone hunting, beheld a dervish in the desert, who had on his head a cap hung with a shell. Seidani, from juvenile insolence, and confidence in his skill in archery, shot this shell off the dervish's cap. The dervish, shrinking with dread, exclaimed, "There shall never be more than one male in thy family!" and, as well as

* ندارابارى

Seidani's arrow had hit the cap, so the arrow of the dervish reached the mark: for whenever, in the sequel, a boy was born in Seidani's family, the father died; so that never more than one male remained in the house, according to the dervish's imprecation. Some time after, a boy being born in the family of Yusuf, a nephew of Seidani, the mother burst into tears, and gave herself up to bewailings and heart-rending lamentations. Mian Khadu happening to pass by, and the affliction of the mother touching his heart, he inquired the cause of her grief. When she told him the real state of things, Sheikh Khadu requested her to bring the new-born child to him, which she immediately did. The sheikh, then exclaiming "In the name of the Lord!" applied his blessed mouth to the boy's navel, drew with his teeth the venomous arrow out of the infant's navel, and said: "This is the infallible arrow of the dervishes; but, henceforward, happiness will again be the portion of your descendants."

§ III.

That Kaaba of the needy, and Kibla of wishes, and favourite of the Lord, Sheikh Hassan Afghan, continued for many years, with distinction, in the service of Sheikh Baha Uddeen Zakarya, and, by his service, attained the degree of perfection.

One night, the sheikh entered a mosque, where the lamp had gone out. Sheikh Hassan making a sign [to relight it]; the sheikh, observing this, did not approve of it, and remarked, that such ostentation was not good.

One day, in the spring, Sheikh Baha Uddeen gave the fan he held in his hand to Hassan Afghan, to fan with. Hassan took it from the hand of the sheikh, and engaged himself in the performance of the namaz. At the time of the evening prayer, when he had become tired, the fan, of its own accord, fanned, without the least motion of his hand.

Another day, Hassan Afghan entered a mosque to perform the namaz. The muezzin was reciting the Takbir; and the imam, stepping forth, put on the garb, in which Hassan imitated him. The namaz being over, and the assembly gone, Khuaja Hassan approached the imam, and said, in a low voice: "Imam, when thou didst engage in the namaz, I did so too; thou wentest hence to Dehli, to buy girls, whom thou didst transport to Iran, and sell there; after which, thou returnedst to Mooltan; in all which travels I have followed thee. Tell me, now, what namaz is this?" On this, the imam threw himself at his feet, recognising him to be Sheikh Davi.

§ IV.

That epitome of holy accomplishments, and possessor of all illustrious

manners, Sheikh Jemal Kaker, was subject to ecstasies and transports. He never wore any other garment but the langot. He had always food ready; and every traveller and mendicant applying to him, he ordered his shopkeeper to furnish with one sere of wheat flour, three bchlolis, and one pound of butter; nor did any one, whoever he might be, ever meet with a refusal. When the expenses amounted to four or five thousand taukas, the shopkeeper came to him, saluted him at a distance, and stood still. The sheikh then called him near; and said to him, "Take the payment, for what thou hast furnished, from under the ashes of the fire-place." This custom was continued during the whole life-time of the sheikh; and whoever confessed his want or indigence to him, he, verifying it by his mental light, gave him in proportion to his wants.

One day, Sheikh Jemal Kaker had sat down in the mosque of the village Badowli, where he resided; when suddenly some men on foot struck the prior a blow, and demanded of him a considerable sum of money. The prior, with humility and supplication, complained to the sheikh, beseeching him to relieve him from his perilous position. The sheikh accordingly conducted the prior, with the men, to his cell, and said, "Take as much gold as will be necessary for ransoming thee, out of the fire-place." The prior, raising his hand, new-coined silver pieces came forth, of which he took the sum wanted. During the night, the prior, with two or three others, stole to the fire-place, with a view to carry off the treasure deposited there. They rummaged the ashes carefully; but not finding so much as a piece of copper, they took up the whole ashes, and walked off with them: they had proceeded, however, only a few paces, when they were struck blind.

When the above-mentioned shopkeeper died, they carried him out, to burn him, past the sheikh's cell. The sheikh said, "Whither are you carrying this shopkeeper, who has not yet presented the accounts?" They accordingly carried the bier before the sheikh; and the dead man, in his shroud as he was, arose, and threw himself at the sheikh's feet, and, according to tradition, lived twelve years longer. Such miracles were worked by him: but God knows best!

§ v.

That pilgrim to both sanctuaries, and favourite of both worlds, Sheikh Abu Ishak Davi Taren, was originally a Seid; but, on account of his actions, he is called an Afghan. His exclusive occupation consisted in abstinence and adoration; and the people of his age flocked to him for guidance, and, in a short time, by his direction, obtained the accomplishment of their internal and external desires. His posterity, up to this day, occupy the carpet of guidance and direction in the village of Kithal.

One day, being immersed in the oecan of reflection and revelation, hc lifted up his head, and exelaimed: "Say, Verily we belong to God; and to him shall we return!" Those present answering, "O sheikh! may all be well!" he went on to say, that Islam Shah Soor had just expired[25], and that the fortune of the Afghans would be interrupted. This had really happened, at the very hour and on the same day that the sheikh had pronounced it. Verily, the mind of the saints is a world-refleeting mirror!

§ VI.

That praiser of the Deity, and ornament of Islam, Khuaja Keri Taren, was a saint most rigorous in fasting and keeping vigils. He was possessed of the power of working miraeles.

§ VII.

That wayfarer on the path of heaven, and guide in the way of God, Sheikh Ermia Taren, was eminently gifted with sanctity; and his disciples were numerous.

§ VIII.

That ehief of the investigators of truth, Sheikh Badak Taren, had attained the dignity of a Ghouth. He had conversed with many sheikhs, from whom he aequired his attainments. His prayers were infallible, and his travels extended over the whole inhabited globe.

§ IX.

That consummate lover, and abundance of universal truth, Sheikh Ali Taren, was one of the first saints of the time, one of the most eonseientious servants (of God), and a highly-distinguished individual. He enjoyed great authority at Hajipoor, whcre his remains are deposited.

§ X.

That personage, entrusted with the secret of the times of glory, and who had attained the degree of perfection, Sheikh Ahmed Shon Sufi, was an enlightened saint, and full of religious affeetion and zeal. He resided in the village of Bejwara.* His words never failed to produee their intended effect. His external accomplishments were numerous, and in liberality and fortitude he was the first of his time: he was also unrivalled in enigmatieal eomposition. Thus, he onee carefully eollected the striking passages or subtilties from a book, and sent them, in a letter, to that eream of the saints, Mian Sheikh Ali Sindhi in Burhanpoor,

* بجوارہ

for explanation. Sheikh Ali succeeded in solving all the difficulties, and returned the answer demanded. His miracles are too many to be enumerated.

§ XI.

That diver in the ocean of solitude, and pilgrim in the desert of unity, that chosen of the Lord, Malik Adam Kaker, was the head of all the Omras of Sultan Behlol and Sekander Lodi; but he kept himself disguised, under the garb of a worldly person. Whenever he came to wait on Sultan Sekander, the emperor, out of respect, advanced to the edge of the carpet, and allowed him a seat on his throne. His penetration and sagacity in diving into the most hidden things, as well as his wonderful actions, praiseworthy qualities, and amiable sincerity, exceed all description; but we shall confine ourselves to a single example. It is stated by religious men, that Sultan Sekander, as well as Malik Adam Kaker, had attained the dignity of Ghouths; and they relate the following history of them.

A certain washerman at Biana, who had a beautiful wife, had some business to settle in the royal residence, Agra. He took his wife, richly dressed with him, and departed. On the road, they fell in with four vagabonds: the washerman and his wife, being frightened at these fellows, he, at the next village they came to, put down his burden, and stopped there. The four men, however, said: "The road is very unsafe: it would be advisable that we should travel in company." To this the woman replied: "It is only you that we are afraid of, lest you should commit some knavery." Upon this, the robbers swore a solemn oath, and said: "If we should do you any injury, God Almighty is between us and you." The washerman, hearing the oath, continued the journey with his wife, the four men accompanying them. They had proceeded a small distance, when the robbers, drawing their swords, struck off the washerman's head, and carried his wife and goods along with them. The woman, whose release from the hands of these villains was become impossible, frequently turned back, and looked about in every direction; which induced the robbers to say, "You have been an eye-witness of your husband's fate; what do you every moment look at?" To this the woman replied: "I am looking for the person whom you have chosen to be betwixt us; for I have understood him to be stronger than all: what is the reason of his tardiness?" At the same moment, two blue horsemen made their appearance, and despatched the four highwaymen to hell. One of the horsemen then alighted; and putting the washerman's head upon the neck, and reciting the first Sura, the latter was recalled to life. He and his wife threw themselves at their feet: upon which they only said, "Betake you

now to your business;" and disappeared. On their arrival in town, the superintendant and chief officer of the police, being informed of this event, which made much noise, apprehended and conducted them to Sultan Sekander. The sultan had them both examined in open court, and, having learned the details, asked them if they could recognise those two horsemen who had come to their deliverance. To this they replied, that they certainly recognised them, but that fear prevented them from pointing them out. The emperor pressing them to speak without fear, they said: "Thou thyself killedst the four robbers; and this person (viz. Malik Adam Kaker, who sat at his side) restored my husband to life. Malik Adam Kaker, however, assured them they were mistaken; for, said he, those were undoubtedly angels in our shape, or spirits assuming our likeness, that appeared to you. Malik Adam had indeed, notwithstanding his high rank and influence, acquired consummate sanctity.

§ XII.

That wanderer on the path of the Lord, and favourite of the All-merciful, Sheikh Mohammed Shon, a distinguished individual, was the chief of the saints of his age. He passed most of his time in the company of Khuaja Khyzer (upon whom may the mercy of God rest!) as he has recorded, in his own hand-writing, with red ink, in the Koran; which, with that remark, is still to be found in the possession of his successor.

§ XIII.

That abstracted sage, and consummate enthusiast among the intoxicated of the world, Sheikh Hamza ben Malik Adam Kaker, was subject to ecstasy, rapture, and phrensy. He was generally in a state of nudity. In his father's garden there was a pit, that furnished but little water: no other pit being at that place, the inhabitants suffered from want of water, and requested the sheikh to offer up prayers for a more abundant supply of it in the pit. The sheikh immediately arose, repaired to the pit, took up a brick, and, casting it with great vehemence into it, exclaimed: "O pit! Sheikh Adam Kaker dug thee to supply water: why dost thou not furnish it?" From that very moment the water never proved deficient. His tomb lies in the township of Lucnow, near that of Malik Adam Kaker.

§ XIV.

That object of divine light, source of unbounded grace, and eminent alchemist, Sheikh Niknam Davi, was exceedingly religious and abstinent. His son taking it into his head to learn alchemy, and the sheikh being apprised of his desire, said: "My son! thou wishest to know alchemy: come along; I will

teach it thee: go, and bring a bushel of fresh grass." The youth fetching it, he rubbed it in his hands, and then struck it against a piece of iron, when it was immediately transmuted into pure gold. He then said: "Dear son! alchemy is a privilege of godly men."

§ XV.

There were nine pious Kakers, of the Zakozye tribe, favourites in the (heavenly) court, and chosen in the (celestial) palace, who had given themselves up to an austere and godly life. One day, the inhabitants of the Kaker village came in a great body to them, and said: "O saints! you have long resided here; but the villagers have not witnessed any great performance or miracle worked by you." To this the nine saints replied: "If you wish for a display of our miraculous powers, fetch nine sheep and nine caldrons; into each of the caldrons throw the flesh of a sheep and one of us, and keep the fire alive through the whole night, in order that our quality may come to light." The villagers acted accordingly, and kept up the fire all night. In the morning, when they took off the covers of the caldrons, they beheld the nine saints coming forth unhurt, whilst the flesh was thoroughly boiled. Upon this, all the inhabitants of those districts threw themselves at their feet, proffering excuses for their incredulity. After that, the nine Zakozyes entered into a cell, shut up the entrance, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Brethren! it is not good that we should live any longer, the mystery being profaned. But whoever will moisten nine loaves with sugar and oil, and read the Fatiha in the name of the nine Zakozyes, will be relieved by us, in any emergency that may occur to him."

§ XVI.

That enlightened doctor, and individual burnt in the fire of the All-merciful, that favourite in the court of the Lord, Sheikh Jemal Kaker, had his cell in a forest, in the vicinity of the sheikh of sheikhs, Sheikh Bahdin Bakhtiar, in the districts of the fort of Gualyar. He put on a langot, and continually wore a burning stick under his thigh; and when asked what this custom meant, he answered, "I have a pain." And, in fact, he had all his limbs burned.

One day, a certain Afghan, actuated by a perverse desire after a crown, came to him in expectation of a good omen; which the sheikh perceiving by his internal light, said: "O foolish Afghan! imperial dignity is an important matter; nor is it fit for every person." So saying, he flung some tiles at him, and drove him away.

§ XVII.

That lion in the field of unity, and crocodile in the ocean of eternity, the

sheikh of his age, Mian Lana Nagher, was a recluse and an ascetic. He never passed a moment that was not devoted to reflection, or the recitation of the Koran.

A person that had lost a deer, and was unable to find it again, notwithstanding all his search, resorted to Sheikh Nagher, expecting to recover the strayed animal through him. The sheikh lifted his head from reflection, and pointed out the animal that had been lost; but at the same declared, that it was highly improper to disturb fakeers on account of such trifling affairs.

§ XVIII.

That favourite in the court of the Divine Majesty, and possessor of the knowledge of abstruse mysteries, and sheikh of the time, Isa Misvani, resided generally in the pergunna of Dachana*: the income of his two zemindaries was spent in the way of God.

They once gave information against him to Sheer Shah Padishah, that this sheikh was addicted to excess in wine. The monarch, himself a strict observer of the holy law, was shocked with such intelligence, and despatched one of his attendants to the sheikh, to ascertain the truth of this accusation. When the person, according to order, came to the sheikh, he beheld a goblet and a cup before him: the sheikh filling the cup from the goblet, drank it out; and the envoy asking him about the contents of it, he invited him to taste of it. The envoy then took the goblet, poured it out, and saw white and pure milk running out, which he reported to the emperor.

Mian Sheikh Isa composed panegyrical poems on the unity of God, in Pushtoo, Parsi, and Hindi, of which, by way of a memorial, the following verses may here find a place†.

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*A concise Account of Enlightened and Accomplished Women, among this Nation, who enjoyed sanctity, revelation, and the gift of miraculous powers, surpassing even men in eloquence and celebrity.*

As a full account of them would prove too long, we shall mention only a few of them.

Bibi Duya, the asylum of chastity and virtue, a daughter of Sheikh Suleiman Dana, and a sister of Sheikh Mulhi Kattal.

* دچهنه

† I do not presume to give a translation of these verses, which are apparently incorrectly written.

Another was, Bibi Sheikhzadi, descended from Khuaja Yahya Kabir.
Another was, Bibi Sureh. They all were Rabias[26] of their age.

It being impossible to give a full and comprehensive account of the pious sheikhs and illustrious and accomplished saints of the Afghan nation, owing to the multitude and numerousness of their tribes both in Roh and Hindoostan, the author has, of what he had ascertained, and as much as it lay in his power, here recorded only one out of a hundred, and a little out of much. May God Almighty be pleased to grant, that this may meet with approval, and a favourable reception in the sight of the eloquent, and of those occupying themselves with this branch of literature, in honour of the Prophet and his glorious followers!

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*Conclusion of the Afghan History, furnishing an Account and Enumeration of the Afghan Genealogies.*

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In the name of God the All-merciful!

The Almighty, of His universal benignity, presented Abd Ulrashid, surnamed Pathan, (who ascends by thirty-four degrees to Afghani Ben Ermia, in thirty-seven to Malik Taloot, in forty-two to Yakoob Israel, in forty-five to Ibrahim the beloved of God, and in sixty-three to Adam the sincere friend of God, as their genealogies have been traced in the Third Chapter,) with three sons, Sarbanni, Batni[27], and Ghurghust; from each of whom issued descendants and tribes, comprising, according to Historians, three hundred and ninety-five tribes[28]. The Sarbanni comprise one hundred and five tribes; the Batni, with the Mati, seventy-seven, of which twenty-five are genuine Batnis, and fifty-two Matis; and the Ghurghusti, ninety-five Matis. The Kerranians form one hundred and five tribes: and thus all that are reckoned Pathans will be treated of in Three Sections; the first, furnishing an account of the Sarbannis; the second, of the Batnis; and the third, of the Ghurghustis, and Kerranians.

§ 1.

*Account of the Sarbannis.*

The Almighty presented Sarbanni, the son of Pathan, with two sons, Sharkhbun and Kharshbun[29].

Descendants of Sharkhbun.—Sharkhbun had five sons, Sheerani, Taren, Miana, Baraich, Ormar. Ormar was a son of Amerdeen; but Amerdeen being little known, and the other a man of wealth, his name prevailed[30].

Descendants of Sheerani.—Sheerani was a daughter's son of Kaker. When he had reached the years of discretion and discernment, his mother resigned her life; and his father married another woman, who bore him several sons. When, therefore, Sharkhbun intended to bestow the title of Malik upon Taren, the eldest son of his second consort, Sheerani became exceedingly displeased with his father and brothers; and sent a request to Kaker, his maternal grandfather, to come and fetch him. Kaker, immediately upon the receipt of the message, repaired, with several of his sons and relations, to Sharkhbun, and said to him: "Give Sheerani to us, to be brought up along with our sons." With this, however, Sharkhbun refused to comply; until at length, when the demand was persisted in, and they remarked Sheerani himself to be desirous of going with his grandfather, Sharkhbun and his sons said: "Let them take Sheerani with them; for of what importance can it be, if only Sheerani is absent?" Kaker accordingly conducted him to his house, and bestowed a most careful education on him. On the other hand, the family and relations of Kaker said to him: "All the pains you are taking in behalf of Sheerani will be lost; for, when grown up, he will rejoin his paternal tribe, and call himself a Sarbanni." To which Sheerani replied: "I have sworn by God, to call myself a Ghurghusti, as long as I live; and every descendant of mine, calling himself a Sarbanni, shall be liable to the divine wrath and the curse of the Prophet." By these solemn assurances he pacified them, and ranked himself with the Ghurghustians[31].

The Almighty gave Sheerani one son, whom he called Char;—who again had three sons[32].

Descendants of Char, Sheerani's son: Dum; Jalvani; and Haripal, who had four sons, Omar, Seidani, Baber, and Miani. Jalvani had seven sons, Salarkhail, Marwatkhail, Aspadzye, Mahar, Konkar, and Nikikhail. Omar had seven sons, who are called Ashtaranies, Kip an adopted son, Yakoob, Jaheen, Matkhará, Abulfard, Maheen, and Hameem. Hameem had seven sons, Shahmeer, Doulatkhail, Sonkhail, Buyakhail, Landomar, Musakhail, and Panbazun: these seven sons of Hameem were addicted to idolatry.

Descendants of Baber.—Baber had two sons, Anjar and Sanjar. Sanjar had five sons, Masudkhail, Ghuyakhail, Ibrahimkhail, Ismailkhail, and Yakoobkhail.

Descendants of Taren, Sharkhbun's son.—Taren had three sons, Toor[33], Aspin[34], and Avdal[35].

Descendants of Toor.—Toor had four sons, Malmuni[36], Gondari, Siki, and Babu.

Malmuni, Toor's son, had two sons, Haroon and Ali.

Gondari had five sons, Mandozye, Manghalzye, Nabakjazye, Manazye, and Toralzye.

Haroon, Malmuni's son, was presented by God with nine sons, Toorzye, Malkiar, Ismailzye, Baduzye, Haidarzye, Yakoobzye, Ababecrzye, Kerbala, and Seidzye.

Haroon is related to have been extremely poor and indigent, having only one daughter, one horse, and one goat. He used to go out a hunting, and bring home game. One day, when he had gone abroad to pursue his usual business, four saints called at his house, conducting with them a boy, on whose forehead the marks of grandeur were engrossed. The wife of Haroon, a woman of much penetration, treated them with due deference, and even offered them the goat—at the same time excusing her poverty, the goat being their only riches. The dervishes, exceeding pleased by the kind reception of this pious woman, had the goat killed, and regaled themselves upon it. At that moment Haroon returned from hunting, and even surpassed his wife in deference and attention to the dervishes. On their departure, he offered and begged them to accept of his daughter and horse; which, he said, were all he possessed. The saints, charmed with Haroon's liberality, pronounced their benediction upon him; and said to him, "God will grant thee seven sons by thy wife; and let this boy, who is with us, and is called Seid Jamal, being the noble son of a Seid, be blessed by thy adoption: besides him, there is another boy lying under such a tree: receive him into thy family; and, by the blessing of God, thou wilt get descendants and riches in abundance. He will, in the Toor-Taren tribe, become the head of a numerous race." This said, the dervishes withdrew, and Haroon went to take up little Karbala. From that day, two assistants rose to Haroon, and his wife bore him seven sons;—so sure are the words of the saints! Their names are mentioned above.

Descendants of Ababecr, Haroon's son.—He had four sons, Ahmed, Haikal, Khan, and Hadya. The male descendants of Seid Jamal are denominated Seidzyes.

Siki, Toor's son, had two sons, Gogh and Badhi.

Aspin, Taren's son, had four sons, Duvair, Suleiman, Jam, and Adhami[37].

Avdal[38], Taren's son, had three sons, Barik, Popal, and Ali.

*Account of the Descendants of Miana, Sharkhbun's Son.*

Miana[39] was blessed with thirteen sons; twelve of whom were his own sons; the thirteenth, called Gharsheen, an adopted one:—Ghorni, Lorni, Mukha, Lat, Salaj, Chot, Ashkun, Lawani, Rahwani, Tugh, Jafar, Somat, and Gharsheen.

Ashkun had two sons, Ziri and Kahtran.

Tugh had six sons, Sur, Samar, Gighi, Amarghi, Zuwar, and Hais.

*Account of the Descendants of Baraich, Sharkhbun's Son*[40].

Baraieh had two sons, Davudnagh and Hossain. Davudnagh had six sons, Sheikh Thabet, Mahlizye, Badalzye, Chowpanzye, Shakarzye, and Basukzye.

Hossain, the son of Sheikh Baraieh, had five sons, Barikzye, Basazye, Zakozye, Mandozye, and Davudzye.

*Account of the Descendants of Kharshbun, Sarbanni's Son.*

God blessed him with three sons, Gond, Jamand, and Kasi[41].

Gond had two sons, Ghura and Sheikha[42].

Ghura had five sons[43], Doulatyar, Khalil, Matuzye, Ziranah, and Choghan.

Doulatyar had two sons, Mahmand and Davudzye.

Mahmand[44] had eleven sons: Yakoob, Kala, Hassan, Muhli, Omar, Mando: three were born of Bibi Duya, sister of Sheikh Mulhi Kattal, whose names are Miar, Kuki, and Musa: two of the sons remained without children.—Miar had four sons, Abiozye, Rajhar, Douletshah, and Yusuf.

Davudzye[45] had three sons, Mamur, Yusuf, and Mandaki.

Mamur had eight sons, Alizye, Pabizye, Bakulzye, Seidzye, Bazidkhail, Yuneskhail, Mohammedkhail, and Tajukhail.

Yusuf, Davudzye's son, had two sons, Vafa and Safa.

Mandaki had three sons, Hossain, Niko, and Babu. Mandaki is said to have had two wives, of one of whom Hossain was born; of the other, Nika and Babu. On Mandaki's death, Hossain became his heir. On this account, an animosity arose between him and his brothers, who even concerted his ruin; of which, however, he got information. Niko and Babu, for the execution of their design, conveyed themselves, with their swords, at midnight, into Hossain's bed-chamber, and struck several blows at his couch. Hossain, being aware of their

villainy, had lain down in another room. In the morning, when they perceived him to be alive, Niko departed for Hindoostan, and Babu for another country; and Hossain remained undisturbed in his possessions.

Khalil, Ghura's son, had eight sons, Sagh, Baru, Taral, Mutizye, Nurzye, Afuzye, Akazye, and Salarzye.

Sheikha[47], Gond's son, had four sons, Tarkalani[48], Geghiani, Omar, and Yusufzye.

Gheghiani[49] had two sons, Hunak and Someida.

Omar had one son, Mandar by name. He demanded the daughter of his uncle Yusufzye in marriage; in consequence of which, they call him also Yusufzye.

Yusufzye had two sons, Yusufzye and Mandar.

Yusufzye, the son of Yusufzye, had four sons, Elias, Akko, Muhli, and Isa[50].

Mandar[51], Omar's son, had four sons, (of whom Khidar attained the dignity of a Pole (Kotb), and the degree of saintship;) Manur[52], Khidar, Rajar, and Mamu.

Manur had three sons, Kemal, Aba, and Otman.

Otman[53] had four sons, Saddo, Aka, Kana, and Ali.

Saddo had five sons, Bahzad, Khyzar, Aba, Mohammed, and Mir Ahmed.

Bahzad had two sons, Ali and Kara.

Kara had one son, called Khan Kaju. The nation of the Yusufzyes, which is said to comprise nine hundred thousand spears[55], is entirely subject to his authority. He is said to have met Khuaja Khyzer; and to have joined in the rebellion of the Emperor Sheer Shah, in Hindoostan.

*Account of Jamand, Karshbun's Son.*

Jamand had five sons, Khuishki, Nakizye[56], Katani, Nukhi, and Mohammedzye[57].

Khuishki[58] had six sons, Shuryani, Salmahak, Kazlani, Azizzye, Battakzye, and Omarzye.

Shuryani[59] had six sons, Vattozye, Hossain, Otchu, Aref, Shahbadeen, and Ibrahim.

Vattozye had one son, whose descendants are called Chunzye. They are at present well established on the chair of guidance.

Katani[60], Jamand's son, had two sons, Isa and Omar. Isa[61] had three sons, Lallazye, Mullazye, and . . . .

Nukhi[62], Jamand's son, had five sons, Banizye, Amhizye, Bachuzye, Mansurzye, and Jamalzye.

*Account of Kasi.*

Kasi[63], Kharshbun's son, had twelve sons, Mohammedzye, Alozye, Zamrani, Shinwari, Kithur, Salba, Kubhar, Samzye, Musalagh, Salat, Hasmar, and Sabarval.

§ II.

*Descendants of Batni.*

Batni, the son of Pathan, had by his devotion and austerity attained the degree of saintship, and was on this account called Sheikh Beit.

God Almighty presented him with a daughter, and three sons, Ismail, Ishbun, and Kajin[64]. His eldest son, Ismail, he ceded to his brother Sarbanni; whom the Almighty, in consequence of this boy's felicitous adoption, relieved from his poverty, and granted descendants and tribes, as has been mentioned above. For Sarbanni, Batni's elder brother, was extremely poor, and entirely destitute of wealth, and even denied the blessing of a son; two objects, after which he felt a most ardent desire, they constituting the centre to which all worldly affairs converge. Accordingly, he one day came to Batni, and said: "Dear brother, please to perform prayers on my behalf, that I may be relieved from my indigence, and that, through thy mediation, the Almighty may grant me a son." To this Sheikh Beit replied: "Take one of my sons with thee, and bring him up; for by his blissful adoption, descendants, tribes, wealth, and herds, objects which constitute worldly happiness, will become so plentiful, as to exceed all calculation." Upon which he delivered his youngest son, Kajin, to Sarbanni; who departed with the boy. But young Kajin, watching an opportunity on the road, ran away, and returned home again. Sarbanni, in pursuit of the fugitive, returned to his brother's, and apprised him of the whole occurrence. Kajin, who meanwhile had retired to the inner apartments, clung to his mother, crying and supplicating, and decidedly refused to go with his uncle. Sarbanni then took Ismail with him, and conducted him to his house. By the blissful arrival of this youth, his descendants and wealth grew so plentiful, that they will not fail till the Day of Resurrection.

Ismail, by his ascetic life, obtained the degree of a saint: his tomb lies on Koh Suleiman, near Khuaja Khyzer's place. Sheikh Ismail Sarbanni is, therefore, a son of Sheikh Beit. The children of his daughter, called Bibi Matu, are called Mati. We shall now enumerate the descendants of his sons[65]:—

Ishbun and Kajin.

God Almighty granted to Ishbun six sons, Ibrahim, Maryani, Varghari, Gharon, Sheikhi, and Kazbun.

Ibrahim had two sons; the genuine one being called Rotani: the second, Seidzadeh, whom he had adopted in primogeniture, he called Koti.

Rotani had two sons, Oukari and Bahman.

Oukari had three sons, Balmir, Sohair, and Banhad.

Bahman, Rotani's son, had five sons, Yusuf, Lashkari, Abulfarh, Nangazlani, and Baghi.

Maryani had two sons, Chaki and Damar.

Chaki had six sons, Niazi, Harpun, Pashwar, Khaki, Shivani, and Hamdani.

Damar had seven sons, Shah Malik, Taju, Chani, Mulakhail, Baikhail, Sabkari, and Ramdeo.

Gharon, Ishbun's son, had six sons, Siti, Warki, Zarkani, Naïbkhail, Ghorizye, and Ourakzye.

Kajin, Batni's son, had three sons, Kais, Bashakkani, and Dodari. Besides them, he had adopted three home-born slaves; Tana, whom Gisu received into his family; Badar, whom Dodari numbered among his; and Kana, who is numbered among the Bashakkanians.

### *Account of the Lineage of Bibi Matu, the Daughter of Sheikh Beit.*

It must be known, that there exists much difference with regard to the offspring of the Matis; but, by the perusal of standard works, and by careful researches, the lineage of this lady has been found to run thus; as is also confirmed by the author of the Majmalansab.—In the Khalifat of Abd Ulmalik ben Mervan [ben][66] Hejaj, Ben Yusuf Thakafi, who was his commander-in-chief, had been sent with an army to subdue Ghoristan. When the troops of Hejaj entered on these territories, general consternation pervaded that quarter. Shah Hossain, in consequence of the existing disturbances and passing occurrences, and being vexed with his relations, chose to leave the country, and happened to come to the tribe of Sheikh Batni. His pedigree runs thus: Shah Hossain, son of Shah Ali Moëzz Uddeen, son of Sultan Bahram, king of Ghor, which country he held in virtue of an instrument dated in the time of the Khalifat of Ali (may God sanctify his face!), to whom he had personally done homage.—Malik Sultan Bahram had two sons; the elder called Shah Jalal Uddeen.

### *Genealogy of Mohammed Suri.*

Mohammed Suri was great-great-grandfather of Sultan Moëzz Uddeen Mohammed ben Sam Ghori, to whom the introduction of Islam in Hindoostan is

owing; and who erected the Fort of Salikot*, and killed Raja Pathora. This son, named Sultan Bahram, is called also Jemal Hassan, and is the grandfather of Shah Hossain. Sovereignty was attached to the lineage of the elder son.

The pedigree of the Sultans of Ghor ascends to Zohak, the nephew of Ad ben Aram ben Sam ben Nuh (upon whom be peace!), who, after Jamshid, held the throne of Persia.

*Genealogy of the Sultans of Ghor.*

In historical records, it is traced to Zohak, in the following manner:—Sultan Bahram ben Bahram ben Sultan Jalal Uddeen ben Shah Moëzz Uddeen ben Sultan Bahram ben Faridun ben Bahman ben Sultan Ekbal ben Togrul Buzurk ben Jamshid ben Bahman ben Afrasiab ben Tahmasb ben Faridun Rashid ben Isfandiar ben Togrul Baskan ben Darab ben Minhal ben Toor ben Sekander ben Tanasb ben Khosrow ben Manzar ben Antam ben Kawus ben Zohrab ben Kudar ben Feraman ben Selaman ben Jamshid ben Hormuz ben Kobad ben Bahram ben Tanasb ben Turakh ben Fariburz ben Azerdasht ben Aslaman ben Zohak ben Maran ben As ben Arem ben Sam ben Nuh (upon whom be peace!). The result of which account is, that Sultan Bahram, the grandfather of Sultan Hossain, reached Tazi (Zohak), in forty-nine links. When Faridun, after his victory over Zohak, suspended him by the feet in a pit on Mount Demavand, and ordered his children to be exterminated, they, seeing no means of escaping Faridun's tyranny, fled from Istakhr, in Persia, the seat of the Persian empire, to seek refuge in the Kohistan [of Ghor], and settled there. These quarters had never been inhabited, except that some scattered tribes of the Israelites, Afghans, and others, lived there. Faridun despatched against them, at the head of a large force, his sons, Salim and Toor; who, however, did not succeed in the enterprise. When, in the time of Hejaj, this army entered Ghor, the expedition, after an obstinate struggle, ended in a peaceable accommodation; and Kemal Uddeen Mohammed sent his son, Jalal Uddeen Hossain, to the residence of Valid, and the greater part of the inhabitants of Ghoristan were dispersed. Shah Moëzz Uddeen, the father of Shah Hossain, overwhelmed with grief, departed for Mecca; whilst Shah Hossain, leaving his father, came alone, and in a miserable condition, to the village of Sheikh Batni, and presented himself to him. The marks of felicity being engrossed on Hossain's forehead, Sheikh Batni allowed him to reside among his tribes, made him his friend, and evinced paternal affection towards him. He would not occupy

* سلیکوت, better سیالکوت

himself with worldly affairs, but gave himself up entirely to devotion, austerity, reading the Koran, and devout meditation; and by his integrity and prudence every thing was well administered. Destiny bringing on an eventual display of affairs, Shah Hossain, conformably to human nature and youth, paid his addresses to the daughter of Sheikh Batni, Matu by name; and matters gradually went so far, that they, by mutual consent, but without the sanction of either father or mother, proceeded to such intimacy, that, a short time after, the symptoms of pregnancy appeared, and the case no longer admitted of concealment. The damsel's mother becoming aware of it, assailed her daughter with reproaches: she, perceiving that there was no remedy, but by the adoption of a speedy resolution, informed Sheikh Beit of it, and said to him: "Before the secret come to light, and reach the ears of our relations, we must give our daughter in marriage to that young man." The sheikh, however, objected: "That youth is no match for us, as I am entirely unacquainted with his former condition and origin: how could I then consent to it?" To this the mother replied, "Truly, his dignified appearance bears sufficient evidence of his nobility." The sheikh still refusing his consent, his consort closely examined Shah Hossain about his origin and family: in reply to which, he declared: "My ancestors were princes and rulers in the province of Ghor: if you do not believe it, despatch a confidential person to ascertain the truth of this statement." The lady, overjoyed at this declaration, reported it to the sheikh, who despatched one Kaghdoor, with a letter of Shah Hossain, to Ghor, in order to obtain a faithful account of his origin. The messenger, on his arrival, duly ascertained the truth of his statement, as to his noble descent, and returned with written documents. He first waited on Shah Hossain, and said to him: "I have found thy noble and princely descent to be clearer than the sun; but I shall make it known only on condition that thou consent to my demand." Shah Hossain giving him the most solemn assurance on that head, Kaghdoor continued: "My desire is, that thou shouldst marry also my daughter, Muhi by name." Thus another rose expanded itself for Shah Hossain: he was charmed with such an auspicious proposal, and consented to it. After that, the messenger made his report of Hossain's noble origin to the sheikh, whose mind, previously clouded with distress, brightened up. In a propitious hour, they married Bibi Matu to Shah Hossain; who soon after married also Kaghdoor's daughter. After a certain time, Matu was delivered of a charming and auspicious boy, who, being the fruit of a clandestine amour, was called Ghilzye:—*Ghil*, in the Afghan language, signifying a "thief"; and *zye*, "born, a son."

A few days after, Muhi also was delivered of a son, Sarbanni[67]. Bibi Matu

next had another son, whom they named Ibrahim Lodi. The origin of the appellation Lodi has been circumstantially related in the history of Sheikh Batni, but we shall briefly recapitulate it here.

One year, as they relate, snow and rain fell so abundantly on the hill where Sheikh Batni resided, that he abandoned the place, and, with his family, took up his residence at its base. When the rain and snow season was over, he returned to his former abode, and said to his wife Matu: "Pronounce the Bismillah, and fetch fire from the hearth!" (which had been four months without fire.) The lady exclaiming "In the name of God!" stretched forth her hand to the fire-place, and found live coals. Sheikh Batni, upon that, said to her: "The children, after such a journey, are hungry: bring me baked bread, for to-day I want to distribute it myself, in order to ascertain which of them is the most favoured by fortune." When the first loaf was baked, Ibrahim, the son of Bibi Matu, a clever and active youth, brought it to the sheikh; who then exclaimed, "Ibrahim Lodi," which signifies "Ibrahim is the elder"; *Lodi*, in the Afghan language, signifying "the elder."

A little while after, the other boys also came in to the sheikh, and asked for bread, to appease their hunger. The sheikh said to them: "Ibrahim has taken the loaf; and you must go to him, that he may give you your portion." He performed prayer in behalf of Lodi: and from that day the ascendancy of the latter became established; for God Almighty raised sovereigns from this tribe, and invested them with a lustre above all the Afghan tribes. Shah Hossain not being of Afghan extraction, they called his descendants after the maternal name, Mati; by which name Sarbanni also is known, since he had been brought up and educated in the family of Bibi Matu.

Descendants of Mati:—To Ghilzye[68], who belongs to the Matis, God Almighty granted three sons, Ibrahim, Toor, and Poor.

Ibrahim[69] had two sons, Haijub and Sahbak.

Haijub had thirteen sons, Suleimankhail, Alikhail, Omarkhail, Karikhail, Hameerkhail, Paroki, Varaki, Chani, Donyar, Tanokhail, and Niazikhail.

Sahbak had two sons, Bujikhail and Ismailkhail.

Toor, Ghilzye's son, had three[70] sons, Taraki, Bakhtu, and Andar.

*Account of Lodi.*

To Lodi, God Almighty gave three sons, Niazi[71], Siani, and Dotani[72].

Niazi had three sons, Bahi, Jam, Khaku.

Jam had seven sons, Bandar, Sambal, Khankhail, Doulatkhail, Isakhail, Marhil, and Haiki.

Marhil had two sons, Hamim and Naili.

Khaku had five sons, Isa, Musa, Mahyar, Asad, and Khidar.

Isa had two sons, Ala and Gondi.

Ala had two sons, Sud and Saharangh.

Sud had two sons, Jam and Suri.

Jam had two sons, Naiku and Michan.

*Account of the Descendants of Siani, Lodi's Son.*

To Siani, God Almighty gave two sons, Ismail and Pranki.

Ismail had three sons, Soor, Lohani, and Mahpal.

Soor had four sons, Yunes, Bahki, Saddo, and Lalla.

Yunes had one daughter, and two sons, Mahmudzye and Pasin.

Mahmudzye had four sons, Davudkhail, Doulatkhail, Shadikhail, and Shirakhail.

Davudkhail had one son, whom he called Othman.

Othman had two wives: to the son born of his principal consort he gave the name of Mohammed.

Mahommed had three sons, Baha Uddeen, Sadr Uddeen, Rokn Uddeen.

Baha Uddeen[73] had one son, whom they called Hassan.

Hassan[74] had eight sons; the eldest of whom was called Fareed, surnamed Sheer Shah, who, in 946, mounted the throne of India.

Sheer Shah had ten sons[75]: the second, of Meia, called Jalal Uddeen, was signalized by the name of Islam Shah, and reigned in Hindoostan after Sheer Shah's death, in the year 952.

Nizam, the son of Hassan, and brother of Sheer Shah, had one son, Mamriz[76] Khan. After Islam Shah's decease, he put Firoz Khan, Islam Shah's son, to death; and set up for emperor, assuming the title of Mohammed Shah Adil; but he was more known by the name of Adeli, in the same way as they call Taraki Pasin's daughter, Turki.

*Descendants of Lohani.*

Lohani's original name was Nuh. He had two wives; the one, Toori; the second, Shiri. From the first wife he had five sons, Mamya, Mia, Tatur, Patakh, Hud.

Hud had three sons, Yasinkhail, Hodarkhail, Yakoobkhail.

Yasin had two sons, Doulatkhail, Hassankhail.

Hodar had four sons, Zakokhail, Burakhail, Ibrahimkhail, Gadozye.

Mia Ben Toori they call Miakhail. Khuaja Othman, who ruled some time over Bengal, was of this race.

Toori had two sons, Asubkhail, Musakhail, one of the grand Omras under Sultan Sekander, in Behar. His son assumed in his kingdom the right of coinage and the khotba. Sheeri, the second wife of Lohani, had one son, whom she called Marwat: his descendants are denominated Marwatkhail.

*Account of Mahpal, Son of Ismail Ben Siani.*

The wife of Mahpal was called Bani; and her descendants were, after her, denominated Bani.

Descendants of Pranghi, Siani's son.—Pranghi had seven sons, Omar, Didi, Arand, Zandi, Zeitun, Andar, and Targhandi.

Omar had two sons, Ishak and Surk.

Ishak had two sons, Malik Shahu and Malik Yusuf.

Malik Shahu had two sons, Baseen and Ahmed.

[Baseen] had three sons, Malik Bahram, Malik Mahmood, and Malik Muji.

Malik Bahram had two sons, Alla and Kala.

Kala, the chosen of God, had two sons, Mohammed and Behlol. This Behlol held the throne of India during seventy-seven years.

Yusuf, son of Omar ben Ishak ben Pranghi, had two wives; the one a daughter of Kaker, Asu by name; the other a daughter of Iam Niazi. Yusuf had three sons from Asu; Churu, Anji, and Mani.

From Churu, Malik Ahmed, called Nuwab Khanjehan, is descended. The descendants of Anji and Mani are settled in the village of Rupar. From Iam Niazi's daughter two sons were born, Tasu Taj Uddeen, and Malik Bio.

Malik Bio had four sons, Bahdeen, Ala Uddeen, Samu, and Ghori.

Malik Samu had four sons:—Mir Ali Nagharvin, from a Mogul mother: from Doulatkhail's daughter, Kani by name, three sons were born, Firoz Shah, Rustam, and Doulatkhail.

Firoz Shah had two sons, Mohammed Khan, and Tatar Khan. The race of the former they call Mohammedkhanies; that of the latter, Tatarkhanies. The descendants of Malik Bio are termed Baïkhail[77].

*Descendants of Surk Omar ben Siani's Son.*

Surk had two sons, Toor and Soor.

Toor had two sons, Tuji, and Mahmoodzye.

Tuji had three sons, Ahmedkhail, Gudaikhail, and Sondikhail.

Soor had four sons, Hassanzye, Ishakzye, Doulatkhail, and Seidozye.

Hassanzye had three sons, Yusufkhail, Biokhail, and Omarzye.

Ishak, Soor's son, had one son, called Sheikhzye.

Abu Saïd, Soor's son, had one son, called Musazye.

Mahmoodzye, Toor's son, had two sons, Zakaryakhail and Ayaf (Alef[78]).

*Genealogy of the Sarvanians*[79].

Sarvani had three sons, Sani, Sarpal, and Bali.

Sani had five sons, Abulfarh, Ibak, Bobak, Hassan, and Hudya[80].

Ibak and Bobak have very few descendants.

The descendants of Hudya go by the name of Hudyakhail: those of Hassan are called Hassankhail. According to others, they are both comprised under the name of Hudyakail.

Abulfarh had three sons, Yunes, Shahbaz, and Sarmir.

Yunes had two sons, Yusuf and Muta.

Yusuf had two sons, Ismail and Acha.

Ismail had five sons, Lozi, Majazye, Hadu, Astuzye, and Sam.

Sam had three sons, Mama, Bahdin, and Hoti.

Bahdeen had four sons, Aisak, Ahmadak, Alek, and Guda.

Shahbaz, Abulfarh's son, had one son, Khyzer.

Khyzer had six sons; four genuine, and two adopted: Asot, Sanjar, Khapazye, Zaccozye, Rustam, and Naherzye.

*Account of the Descendants of Sarpal, Sarbanni's Son.*

Sarpal had three sons, Chagri, Ahmed, and Suri.

Suri had three sons, Gukbur, Shahbaz, and Hast.

Gukbur had six [five] sons, Seid, Popi, Ibrahim, Alot, and Sankot.

Moulana Gukbur had three sons, Mahmood, Harun, and Kazui.

Mahmood had one son, called Musa.

Musa had three sons, Aju, Accou, and Ahmed Juvanmard.

Ahmed Juvanmard had three sons, Hadu, Mamu, and Sheik Suleiman Dana.

Sheikh Suleiman Dana had three sons and one daughter, Sheikh Mahmood, Hajeb, Sheikh Mulhi Kattal, Sheikh Hassan Sarmat. His daughter was Bibi Duya.

Sheikh Mulhi Kattal had two sons, Sheikh Ali Shahbaz, Sheikh Baizid Darya.

Sheikh Ali Shahbaz had one son, whom they call Ahmed Zandapur.

Sheikh Ahmed Zandapur had four sons, Sadr Jehan, Malpuri, Shah Sekander, Sheikh Khuaja Alisheer.

§ II.

*Descendants of Ghurghusht, the Son of Kais Abd Ulrashid Pathan.*

God Almighty gave Ghurghusht three sons, Dani, Babi[82], and Mandu[83].

Dani had four sons, Kaker[84], Nagher, Davi, and Pani.

To Kaker, God presented four-and-twenty sons, Togruk, Jadram, Sabrad, Zanghori, Charmi, Bidar, Karkaranu, Fermulli, Khasani, Dammarsin, Sehkari, Lanbar, Taren, Isa, Targbari, Musazye, Mati, Yuneskail, Sam, Arpikhail, Jalajal, Makrani, and Anaeh.

Toghruk had four sons, Saran, Yuneskhail, Salarkhail, and Sondan, surnamed Sanjar.

Sanjar had twelve sons, Alikhail, Arpikhail, Barat, Kiwi, Haramzye, Otmankhail, and Avdal.

Alikhail had four [five] sons, Sadozye, Marzi, Ghorizye, Hadarzye, and Rajarzye.

Arpikhail, Saran's son, had four sons, Atozye, Mohammedzye, and Rajarzye.

Jadram, Kaker's son, had two sons, Ababecr and Hossaini.

Ababeer had two sons, Elias and Sanhbanah.

Hossaini, Jadram's son, had four sons, Adam, Sanam, Omar, and Hasbi.

Sinbhanah, Ababeer's son, had three sons, Yusuf, Pani, and Isa.

Kiwi, Saron's son, had four sons, Hassan, Yasin, Shams Uddeen, and Shimeon.

Sabrad, Kaker's son, had four sons, Shadizye, Ankozye, Fatimahzye, and Atozye.

Zanghozye, Kaker's son, had eight sons, Shadikhail, Bajukhail, Eyoobkhail, Tajukhail, Mandizye, Mamakhail, and Sank.

*Account of Taren.*

Taren, Kaker's son, was a Seidzadeh: he had one son, ealled Anjar.

Anjar had one son, ealled Khuaja Kari.

Khuaja Kari had five sons, Hekaloon, Adeen, Ismail, Toor, and Ibrahim.

*Genealogical Account of Seid Tahir, surnamed Taren.*

Taren ben Seid Nazer ben Ala Uddeen ben Seid Kotb Uddeen ben Seid Davud ben Seid Kabir ben Seid Shams Uddeen ben Seid Ahmed ben Seid Ali Refaï ben Seid Hassan ben Seid Jarad ben Seid Ali Riza ben Imam Musa Kasem ben Imam Jafar Zadik ben Imam Mohammed Baker ben Imam Zein Ulabedeen ben Imam Hossain ben Ali, whose faee may God sanctify!

*Descendants of Nagher.*

Nagher[85], the son of Dani, son of Ghurghusht, had six sons, Palkath, Maru, Chand, Salani, Randak, and Damas.

Damas had six sons, Pahrand, Tarak, Salaïch, and Abd Ulrahman.

Descendants of Davi, the son of Dani, son of Ghurghusht :—Davi had three sons, Damar, Hamar, and Khovandi.

Khovandi, surnamed Khojandi, a Sheikzadeh, had four sons, Musa, Ali, Sekander, and Balbil.

Davi, they relate, in the lifetime of his father, had gone out for the purpose of buying horses. Having passed some days at the place, a handsome and virtuous woman, with her son, Seid Hassan, arrived from Khojand. Davi asked her about her arrival : " Whence dost thou come ? and whither art thou going ? " To which the lady replied : " I come from Khojand : this boy is a Seidzadeh : but a dearth reigning in those parts, I want to repair to my elder sister, who lives in the city of Mooltan." Upon which, Davi said : " Make yourself easy on this head : I shall, God willing, convey you to your sister ?" And accordingly, when he returned, he brought her to her sister, at Mooltan ; where she, with her consent, entered into a conjugal union with Davi ; who took his new wife with him, and arrived at home. Young Seid Hossain, who was with the woman, addicting himself to a vicious habit, and thieving, was among the Ghurghushties named Hamchu, which, in the Afghan language, signifies " a thief." However, a short time after, he became penitent, and placed himself under the pupilage of Sheikh Baha Uddeen Zakharya—may God sanctify his tomb ! He continued a long while in this master's service; and pushed ascetic life so far, that he, Hossain Afghan, became an interpreting saint and worker of miracles. He then, with the approbation of his master, returned to the Ghurghushti people, and instructed mankind. Hassan being a native of Khojand, they called him Khovandi, because in the vulgar tongue they do not say Khojandi ; and so he is known by the name of Khovandi[86].

Descendants of Pani[87], Dani's son :—To him God Almighty gave eighteen sons, Musa, Sanka, Asot, Murghzani, Omarzye, Zadun, Sabi[88], Shon, Alikhail, Mandokhail, Murghastan, Dahpal, Busi, Kasem, Katrak, Lon, Khatani, and Khabati.

Shon, Pani's son, had two sons, Otmankhail and Saddabkhail.

Dahpal had five sons, Mumizye, Mardukhail, Omarzye, Mulhizye, and Ababeerzye.

Pani had four sons, Gabriel, Mikaïl, Israfil, and Azrael.

*Account of the Kerranians.*

To Kerrani[89], God Almighty presented two sons, Kodi and Gughi.

Kodi[90] was blessed with seven sons, Musazye, Hani, Manghali, Dilazak, Vattozye, Vardak, and Ourakzye. Hani and Vardak belong to the family of Seid Mohammed Kisudiraz. Dilazak and Ourak were born of one mother.

Descendants of Dilazak:—Dilazak, the son of Kodi ben Kerrani, had two sons, Lori and Yacoob.

Lori had four sons, Amandkhail, Bachizye, Vattakzye, and Omarkhail.

Yacoob had seven sons, Mandarzye, Amizye, Sanizye, Matizye, Khidarzye, Yasinkhail, and Manizye.

Descendants of Ourakzye.—Respecting the descent of Bakhtiar, Ishturani, Honi, and Wardak, from Sheerani, they relate as follows. A young Seidzadeh, Ishak by name, leaving the village of Oush, belonging to Bagdad, on account of unfavourable circumstances, came to Mount Ashnagar[91], the abode of the Sheeranis, and staid there some time. His whole carriage furnishing evidence of his illustrious character and nobility, an Afghan of the Sheerani tribe gave him his daughter, called Sanjati, in marriage. By her he had a son, whom he called Abi Saïd[92]. Abi Seid ebn Seid Ishak ben Jafar ben Seid Nizam ben Seid Isa ben Muhi Uddeen ben Seid Mohammed ben Seid Hafiz ben Seid Noor ben Seid Jamal ben Seid Abu Ali ben Yadkar Ali ben Nishan ben Zein Ulabedeen ebn Emir Ulmumeneen Hossain ben Ali ebn Abi Taleb. Seid Ishak, in the sequel, left that tribe again, to return to his former home at Oush. On the road, however, in the territory of the Miswanis, he was taken ill, and emigrated to the eternal world.

The mother of Abu Saïd then repaired again, with her son, to the Sheeranis. The boy, being an infant, and his education attended with insurmountable difficulties arising from indigence, she passed her time in great hardship, until a certain Sheerani, called Miani, married her. He was a poor man himself; but the Almighty, through the Seid's auspicious presence, rendered him in a short time possessed of much wealth. On this account, Miani gave Seid Abu Saïd the surname of Bakhtawer, and thus, in the course of time, he became known by the name of Bakhtiar. Some time after, Miani had a son born to him by Sanjati. When both boys were grown up, Miani intended to make his own son master of the family; to which his wife objected.—"Thy wealth and children have been got by Bakhtiar's blessed presence: settle him first, and after that thy own son; inasmuch as the latter is yet an infant, and Bakhtiar grown up; lest people should regard him with contempt." To this request, however, her husband paid no attention; and Sanjati, hurt at his conduct, repaired to Hamim Sheerani, the chief of that nation, and laid before him a detailed account of the whole matter as it was. Hamim summoned the man, explained to him the dignity and privileges of Seids, and the reverence due to them; and arranged a conscientious partition between both youths, but chiefly favouring Bakhtiar.

Bakhtiar had five sons, Ato, Ako, Korni, Biri, and Toori. Ato was originally

called Ata Ullah, but in the Sheerani tribe he became known by the name of Ato. From Ato descended Seid Mohammed; from Seid Mohammed, Khuaja Elias; from Khuaja Elias, Khuaja Yahya Kabeer, whose race they call Sheikhzye. They were originally Seids; but being brought up in the tribe of their mother, they were called Afghans. There lived in the time of Sheerani, another Seid Mohammed, a Dervish of the first order, whose genealogy runs thus: Seid Mohammed ben Seid Ghor ben Seid Omar ben Seid Kab ben Seid Kaïn ben Seid Rijal ben Seid Ismail ben Seid Mohammed Baker ben Imam Mohammed Jafar Zadik ben Imam Zein Ulabedeen ben Imam Hossain ben Emir Ulmumeneen Ali—may God sanctify his face!

But to return to our history. Seid Mohammed Gisudiraz settled among the Afghans: and fixed his residence between the Kerranians, Kakers, and Sheeranies. So these three tribes enjoyed his blessed presence, and, learning from him the fundamental truths, directed their steps to the only true object.

A sudden fright and dread falling upon these three tribes, they had recourse to Meer Seid Mohammed, soliciting his aid, that their calamitous condition might be removed. The Seid performed prayers on their behalf; by which interference of a saint they were released from their perilous situation. Thus the confidence of these tribes in him increased, but Meer Seid Mohammed paid not the least regard to any offer or remuneration. The heads of the three tribes, making an agreement, the chiefs of this people offered him three young girls; the one from the Kerranians, the second from the Kakers, and the third from the Sheeranies. This offer Meer Seid Mohammed accepted, and made them all three his lawful consorts. Some time after, these three ladies were delivered of four sons; the Kaker lady, of Masvani; the Sheerani lady, of Ishturani; and the Kerranian lady of twins, Honi and Vardak. These four clans are consequently Seidzadehs, but they are considered as Afghans.

Descendants of Ishturani[93], son of Seid Mohammed Gisudiraz:—Ishturani had five sons, Sanji, Tari, Muridi, Omarkhail, and Homar.

Descendants of Masvani[94], son of Seid Mohammed Gisudiraz:—Masvani had nine sons, Tukuz, Lodin, Matakati, Suleiman, Roghani, Kazbuli, Ghareb, Kharbari, and Diaz.

Tukuz had four sons, Yusuf, Adam, Musa, and Sanjar.

Descendants of Vardak[95]:—Vardak had seven sons, Mamak, Toor, Uti, Meer Guda, Turak, and Mahyar. Turak was an adopted son.

Descendants of Hani:—Hani had five sons, Doulat, Boghari, Rodan, Machaki, and Doumat.

It must be therefore recollected, that these several clans among the Afghan

nations are Seids; viz. the Ishturanies, among the Sheeranies; the Misvanies, among the Kakers; Hani and Vardak, among the Kerranians; the Khovandies, among the Davies; the Seidzyes, among the Tarens; the Gharsheens, among the Mianehs; and the Koties, among the Batnies, as has been recorded above: but they are numbered among the Pathans, and never style themselves Seids. With regard to this, they unanimously declare, "It would be highly improper and unreasonable, if we should style ourselves Seids, after having left their order, and joined the nation of the Afghans; so that among them are our affinity and relations, as well as our commerce. Our ancestors also have declared, whoever of our descendants shall assume the title of Seid, is not descended from us." This point has already been discussed, in the reigns of Sekander and Sheer Shah; and their great personages did not deny the truth of this statement. It has also been discussed, and established, in the meetings of these monarchs, that the Fermullies and Khatanies do not belong to the Afghan race; which declaration is true: they are the inhabitants of a place called Fermul, which is originally the name of a river running between the confines of Kabul and Ghazneen; and whoever lives on its banks is called Fermulli. The ancestors of the Fermullies were guided to Islamism by Sheikh Mohammed Mussulman, a great saint among the Afghans; and having passed some time in the service of this saint, they style themselves Afghans. They however confess, that their forefathers came from the quarter of Khata and Khotan, and that the inhabitants of those regions acknowledged them to be Afghans: this declaration is also true. Now the Khatanies*, descended from the family of Pani, call themselves Ghurghusties—an appellation to which they are entitled. But that others should give themselves out for Pathans[96], is unheard of; there being not the slightest trace to be found in the genealogy of the Afghans, from Khaled and Kais Abd Ulrasheed Pathan, of either Fermulli or Khatani; from which their pretensions appear to be inadmissible: for the Afghan race strictly keep to their single links, nor can strangers intrude themselves on them. Whoever pretends to belong to the Afghans, must produce authentic evidence of what tribe he is descended. But God knows best!

* The Khatanies are spelled here خطاني, but I suppose erroneously for ختاني, who were descended from Pani. The other Khatanies, who came from Khata, will, of course, be written خطائي, and these are not Afghans. Fareed Uddeen Ahmed writes them خطائي, which is the usual form of spelling.

# ANNOTATIONS

ON

## PART THE FIRST.

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Page 3. line 26. *Nuwab Khanjehan Lodi.*] Khanjehan Lodi, a dependant of Sultan Behlol Lodi, was one of the most illustrious generals of the Emperor Jehangeer. In the reign of the Emperor Shahjehan, he rebelled, and was slain by the imperial troops A. D. 1631.

P. 4. l. 1. *Ahmedian Records.*] In Dr. Lee's copy, mention is also made of the Akhbarnameh of Abul Fazl, and the Tareekh Sheer Shah.

P. 5. l. 8. *The father of mankind.* The *Rouzat Ulahbab* gives a curious account of the derivation of the name of Adam:—" Ebn Abbas (on whom be the blessing of God !) says, he was called Adam from his having been created from the *adim*, i. e. 'surface,' of the earth: others assert his name to be derived from the circumstance of his being of a brown colour (گندم رنگ, wheat colour): according to the first opinion, therefore, Adam is derived from ادیم; according to the latter, from أُدْمَة. Others affirm that he was called Adam in consequence of the clay, of which he was formed, being mixed up with water and earth; from the verb أَدَمْتُ بين الشيين 'I mix up two things together.' "

P. 5. l. 32. *Prophetical light.*] This light, in the *Rouzat Ulahbab*, is called the Mohammedan light (نور محمدي), and was, according to the same work, created two thousand years before the creation of other things.

P. 6. l. 7. *Shesh.*] In the *Rouzat Ulahbab*, it is mentioned, that Shesh was born alone; although other traditions assert that he also was a twin.

P. 7. l. 9. *The beloved of God.*] *Rouzat Ulahbab:* " The beloved of God, son of Azer ben Nahur ben Sharukh ben Raghu ben Falekh ben Sam ben Nuh. They say, that the name of his father was Tarukh, and Azer only a surname: others have asserted the reverse."

P. 7. l. 22. *In a rose-garden.*] See *Description des Monuments Musulmans du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas, par Reinaud; à Paris*, 1828. II. pp. 41 & 42; where the following inscriptions on engraved stones are produced:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قلنا يا نار كوني بردا وسلاما علي ابراهيم وارادوا به كيدا فجعلناهم الاخسرين

"In the name of the All-merciful God, we have said: O fire! be thou cold, and a preservation unto Ibrahim! And they wanted to entrap him, but we have rendered them the sufferers."

نارين كلزار ايدن خداي كريم
ايلمش اسم رسم ابراهيم

"The bountiful God, who turned the fire into a rose-garden, has made the name with which I seal, Ibrahim."

P. 7. l. 35. *Married her.*] In the *Firdous Uttawarikh* we read as follows: "They say, that Sarah was a daughter of Nimrod's Vizier, and that, on the day of that miracle, she embraced Islamism, with some others. She eventually became Ibrahim's wife." In the *Rouzat Ulalbab*, she is called a daughter of Haran (بنت هاران).

P. 8. l. 28. *Night-runner.*] The author of the *Khulassat Ulansab* gives another derivation of this name: "They called Yakoob, Ishak's son, Israel; *Isr* (اسر) in the Hebrew language denoting the Chosen of God, or, according to others, the Servant of God; and *Il* (ايل) signifying God; so that both words, compounded, denote, The Servant of God."

P. 11. l. 2. *King Talut.*] L. adds: "Who at that time was the Kibla of the world."

P. 11. l. 26. *Belsa.*] Tabari, who relates the history of King Talut nearly in the same manner as our work, calls this town Balka (بَلْقا); and adds, that it was a large town with a castle, and the seat of a king, who commanded a strong force.

P. 12. l. 26. *Some, however.*] L.: "Ten, in disregard of the convention, told all about it: whilst only two kept the secret."

P. 12. l. 37. *To the guardians of hell.*] The copy, from which I have translated, furnishes بمالكان جهنم: that of Dr. Lee, بمالك دوزخ.

P. 13. l. 5. *Beor.*] Tabari: *Bileam Baor* (بلعام باعور).

P. 13. l. 29. *Harkeel.*] The *Mirat Ulalem* distinguishes Harkeel from Du'l-Kafl; but remarks, that some consider them to be one person. According to it, Harkeel was called Ebn Alajooz (ابن العجوز) in consequence of his mother having borne him when advanced in years. Concerning the plague, it says: "When he had obtained the prophetical dignity, he excited the Israelites to make war upon the infidels. When they, however, refused to obey him, they were visited by a pestilence: some of them fled from this plague, and, after proceeding two or three furlongs, heard a formidable voice, and fell down dead. Some days after their bodies had been interred, they were revived, through the prayers of this prophet; but a bad smell attended them, a malady that was inherited by their posterity also. Towards the close of his life, he retired to Babylonia, where he died. His tomb, according to some, lies between Kufa and Mecca."

*Du'l-Kafl.*—According to some, Du'l-Kafl is a surname of Elisa Arem; others identify him with Harkeel: but the truth is, that Du'l-Kafl was the surname of Elisa Arem, after whose

death he was sent to guide a monarch called Kanaan, who belonged to the Amalekite Princes, and to teach the religion of the one God. Concerning his name, there is much difference among historians: some derive it from his having pledged himself to teach the Tawrit (the Books of Moses), and to guide the Jews: another opinion pretends, that he was so called after he had vouched for those who had embraced the religion of Moses, in Paradise. He lived seventy-five years.

Tabari tells the story of the plague in the following way: "He summoned the Israelites to make war upon the infidels. The Israelites however refused, from dread of death: on which a plague came upon them, of which numbers died every day. Part of them left the city, and fled; but when they got outside the town, God made them die also. After which, those who were in the town came out, and beheld them dead. Being prevented by their excessive number from interring them, they erected a wall around them, that the wild beasts might not devour them. Many years had elapsed, and the sun of the summer and the frost of the winter had passed over them, by which their bodies fell asunder, and their skins withered away; when Harkeel one day went out of the city, and, seeing them, felt compassion for them, and addressed his prayers to God, who resuscitated them, and they re-entered the town. But their whole posterity, ever after, had a smell of death about them."

I have inserted these details, not because I think them of much value, but to give an example how Oriental authors relate Scriptural histories. For more particulars, see D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. *Khazkil.*

The village, which in our work is called *Averd*, D'Herbelot, according to other authorities, relates to have been the little town of Davardan, a dependency of Waset. In L.'s copy, also, we are told, that Averd was a dependency of Waset (از اعمال واسط), and consequently entirely distinct from the Averd mentioned in the *Memoirs of Baber**, p. 406.

P. 15. l. 2. *Vahab ben Monabba.*] See D'Herbelot, s. v. *Vaheb ben Monbah, ou Monabbeh,* and s. v. *Ketab al-Esrailiat.*

P. 15. l. 4. *According to the same.*] L.: according to Ebn Ata (ابن عطا).

P. 16. l. 35. *And Ismuel.*] L. adds: "Elias, Elia (الياس واليع), and all the other Prophets, are of that race."

P. 18. l. 30. *Of twelve sons.*] In L., a story is added of David having killed one of two lions attacking him, and having ridden upon the other to Talut's army. I think it unnecessary to insert this wild story here.

P. 23. l. 27. *Afghana.*] If the truth of this relation were supported by authentic facts or records, we should at once know the origin of the name "Afghan" (افغان); for so is this pretended son of Ermia spelled in several works (even in our copy, we find Afghan, as well as Afghana), as in the *Khulassat Ulansab*, &c. In Clairaut's *History of Persia*†, he is said to

* Memoirs of Zehir-ed-deen Mohammed Baber, Emperor of Hindoostan, by *Leyden. London*, 1826.

† I do not possess Clairaut's *Histoire de Perse*, and therefore make this citation from Tychsen's treatise *De Afganorum Origine et Historia Commentatio*, in the *Commentationes Societatis Regiæ Scientiarum Gottingensis*, Vol. XVI. p. 43. 1808.

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be considered by the Afghans as a son of Japhet; while Khair Uddeen* calls him the son of Berkhia. But no trustworthy records authorise us to attach credit to either of these relations. It has been thought here a proper place to add a few remarks on the different denominations under which the Afghans occur, or are said to occur. They are the following:

(1) افغان (2) الأفغَانِيَّةُ (3) اوغان (4) اغوان اغبان ;
(5) سليماني (6) بني اصف (7) بني اسرايل ; (8) بني افغنه
(9) پتهان (10) پښتون (11) رُوهيله

1. The first form, افغان (*Afghan*), with the plural افغانان (*Afghanan*), and sometimes افغانيان (*Afghanian*); for instance, in the *Jami Ullawarikh*†, جامع التواريخ is most frequently found, and exclusively employed, in the *Makhzen Afghani* (for *Afghani* افغاني is the adjective). Besides the plurals mentioned, others occur; namely, افاغنه (*Afaghinah*), which is met with in the *Khulassat Ulasdab*; where also افغانان is found, in the *Risalah Ansab Afaghinah*, and other works. In the King of Oude's Dictionary it is said that افغان forms its plural after the Arabic manner, افاغنه, as from هيتال is formed هياتله. It must not however be forgotten, that the singular افغان is frequently found employed collectively, denoting the Afghans at large. There are several passages in the *Jami Ullawarikh* where افغان and افغانيان are employed promiscuously. The country of the Afghans, in one of these passages, is spelled افغان استان, which is more commonly written افغانستان.

2. الأفغَانِيَّةُ, *Al-Afghanialu.* This is found in Otbi's *Tareekh Yamini*, where there is a whole chapter on the Afghans (ذكر الافغانيّة), furnishing an account of Sultan Mahmood's expedition against them, when, presuming upon the security afforded by their inaccessible mountains, they attacked the rear of his army, on its return from the invasion of Kanoj.

3. اوغان, *Avgan*, with the plural اوغانيان, is found in the *Riaz Ulmuhabbat* of Muhabbat Khan, who says, at the conclusion of the article, اوغان : اصل اين لفظ افغان است وچون فا منقوطه در زبان افغاني مستعمل نيست بنابر آن در فصل الف مع الواو آوردم. "The original spelling of this word is *Afghan*; but *fa* not being used in the Afghan language, I have placed it under the head of Alif and Vau." Haji Khalfa, and the author of the *Matlaa Saadein*‡, constantly use the form *Avghan*; but in the *Jami Ullawarikh* we find promiscuously *Afghan* and *Avghan*; in proof of which I shall produce only a few passages:

* See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 70. Khair Uddeen, Mr. Vansittart informs us, is the author of a Persian abridgment of the *Asrar ul Afaghinah*, or the Secrets of the Afghans, a book written in the Pushtoo language, by Hussain, the son of Sabir, the son of Khizr, the disciple of Hazrat Shah Kasim Suleimani, whose tomb is in Chunargur.

† This work is preserved at St. Petersburgh, in the Oriental library captured at Ardebil, where I had an opportunity of perusing it. It is not the *Jami Ullawarikh* of Rasheed Uddeen, but of some other author. It is dedicated to Sultan Ghazan, in 705; and copied in 971.

‡ The *Matlaa Saadein*, or, as its full title is, كتاب مطلع سعيدين ومجمع بحرين, was composed by Abd Ulrazzak hen Ishak Samarkandi; who finished his work in the beginning of the year 875, A.D. 1470. He died in 887. See *Notices et Extraits*, &c. V. p. 583. Several copies are preserved in the different libraries of St. Petersburgh.

وهزاره واوغاني وجرماني را بجود كشيد—"And he (Moulana Shams Uddeen) drew the Hezarahs, the Afghans, and Jermans, to him."

ذكر احوال هزاره وافغان وجرمان—"Account of the Hezarahs, Afghans, and Jermans."

ذكر شكسته شدن لشكر امير مبارز الدين از اوغانيان وجرمانيان—"Account of the defeat of Emir Mubarez Uddeen's army, by the Avghanians and Jermanians."

ذكر كيفيت احوال اوغانيان وجرمانيان—"Account of the affairs of the Avghanians and Jermanians." In the same chapter we find سيورغتمش افغاني Suyurgutmish Afghani, and امير باكو كه امير پانصد افغان بود Emir Baku, who was an Emir over five hundred Afghans.

In the Emperor Baber's Memoirs, p. 148 and p. 165, the forms *Avghan, Avghans,* occur; although in the other passages, where the Afghans are spoken of, they are spelled Afghans. Timur also calls them *Avghans*, Instit. p. 134.

4. اغبان and اغوان, which Mr. Klaproth* asserts are found, I do not recollect reading in any Oriental author; but Krusinsky continually writes *Aghvani;* misled, I suppose, by the erroneous opinion, that the Afghans descend from the Aghovans, or the ancient Albanians.

5. سليماني, *Suleimani.*—Muhabbat Khan tells us, that they are called so by the Arabs in consequence of their belonging to the adherents and followers of King Solomon: چون ايشان از توابع ولواحق سليمان عليه السلام اند بنابران ايشانرا مردم عرب سليماني ميگويند

The same is related in the *Khulassat Ulansab:* "After that, the descendants of Afghan resided on Mount Suleiman, and were steady adherents to the faith of the Islam; and up to the time when the Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!) appeared, they lived there; on which account they call the Afghans in Arabia, *Suleimani.*" Fareed Uddeen Ahmed informs us, that the Arabs called them 'Bani Israel,' and 'Bani Afghan;' and then continues: "Among them, a person, Makbzoom by name, a descendant of Yahuda ben Yakoob, being in high reputation, they called his descendants 'Bani Makhzum': when, afterwards, the Bani Makhzoom contracted affinity with the Koraishites, they called their men 'Koraishites' also. Walid, Khaled's father belongs to the Bani Makhzoom, who, in fact, are Israelites of the family of Yahuda." We find in this author, and in others, the Bani Afghan and Bani Israel mentioned together, as collateral tribes. See also Mr. Elphinstone's *Account of Caubul*, Vol. I. p. 242.

6. بني اصف *Bani Asif.*

7. بني اسرايل *Bani Israel.*

8. بني افغنه, or بني افغان *Bani Afghanah, Bani Afghan;* that is, Children of Asif, Israel, Afghanah, or Afghan. These names are mentioned by Fareed Uddeen Ahmad, in his *Risalah Ansab Afaghinah,* where we find the following passage:—"When, in the course of time, Bokhtnassr the magician, who subdued the Bani Israel and the territories of Syria, and sacked Jerusalem, led the Children of Israel into captivity and slavery, and carried off with him several tribes of this people who were attached to the Law of Moses, and ordered them to adore him for God, and to abandon the creed of their fathers, they did not consent to this: upon which, he put two thousand of the wisest and most skilful of them to death, and ordered the rest to quit Syria and his dominions. Part of them, who had a chief, were led

* See *Archiv für Asiatische Litteratur, Geschichte und Sprachkunde.* St. Petersb. 1810. p. 76.

by him out of Bokhtnassr's dominions, and conducted to the Kohistan of Ghor, where their descendants settled. Their number increased daily; and people called them Bani Israel, Bani Asif, and Bani Afghanah."

9. پتهان *Pathan.* They are known by this name in India: on this word, see the annotation to p. 38. l. 22.

10. پښتون *Pukh'tun.* This denomination is thus explained in the *Riaz Ulmuhabbat:* شخص که پښتو داند یعني زبان افغانان "a person who understands *Pukh'tu*, that is, the language of the Afghans." The plural is پښتانه *Pukh'tanah:* the singular feminine پښتنه, plural پښتني *Pukh'tanah, Pukh'tani.* See Mr. Elphinstone's *Account of Caubul*, Vol. II. p. 242. "Their own name for their nation is *Pooshtoon;* in the plural, *Pooshtauneh.* The Berdoorannees pronounce this word, *Pookhtauneh;* whence the name of *Pitan*, by which the Afghauns are known in India, may probably be derived."

11. *Rohillas.* The *Riaz Ulmuhabbat* informs us, that the Rohillahs are the inhabitants of Roh, which is the name of the country of the Afghans, extending on the west as far as the Ilmen (ایلمن) river, contiguous to Herat; in the north, as far as Kashkar (قاشقار); on the south, to the Barohi Balochistan; on the east, to Cashmir. The *Khulassat Ulansab* remarks, that the term "Rohilla" is in use in Hindoostan.

*Krusinsky.*—Prodromus, p. 51, has the following remark: "Rebellium genuinum nomen est Aghvan, quod tamen per contemptum Bolucz, quasi vagabundos Persiani vocant." These Bolucz, without doubt, are the Balochies (بلوچ).

Notwithstanding the positive assertion of several Oriental authors, that it was Afghan, or Afghanah, from whom the Afghans are descended; yet, instead of deriving this denomination from him, as they ought consistently to do, they in part attribute it to an event that happened after the pretended Afghan's time. Fareed Uddeen Ahmed, in the beginning of his discourse, says on this point: "Concerning the denomination, 'Afghan,' some have written, that they, after their expulsion, ever bearing in mind their wonted abode, uttered bewailings and lamentations (افغان *Afghan*), and were on that account called 'Afghan.'" See Sir J. Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 101, where the same derivation of this word is mentioned.

With the question on the derivation of the name of the Afghans, another respecting their descent is closely connected. The difficulty of this point has been felt by all historians who have touched on it; and the author of the *Risalah Ansab Afaghinah* expressly says: در نسب ایشان اختلاف بسیار است "Concerning their genealogy there exists much difference of opinion": and indeed we find the origin of the Afghan nation traced to the Copts, Jews, Georgians, Armenians, and Abkhans or Aghorans, Persians, Turks or Tartars, and Moguls.

1. Ferishta*, P. i. p. 6, relates having read, in the *Matlaa Ulanwar*, that the Afghans are (قبط) of the race of the Pharaohs; whilst Farid Uddeen Ahmed mentions, that in standard works, as in the *Tareekh Afghani, Tareekh Ghori*, and others, it is asserted that the Afghans were, for the greater part, Israelites, and some Copts. See also *Abul Fazl*, P. ii. p. 178: "Some Afghans consider themselves to be of Egyptian extraction; asserting, that when the Children of Israel returned from Jerusalem to Egypt, this tribe emigrated to Hindoostan." The history of this event is of too great length for insertion here.

* History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, translated from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta. By John Briggs. *Lond.* 1829.

11. The Afghans, according to almost all the Oriental historians, believe themselves to be descended from the Jews; an opinion that was even adopted, or considered probable, by some modern writers. What gave rise to this belief in a Jewish origin is unknown: perhaps it was the accidental circumstance of their inhabiting the Suleiman mountains, where they seem to have resided from time immemorial. Why this range of mountains is called the Suleiman mountains, is equally uncertain; but the identity of this denomination with the name of King Solomon may have given rise to their claim. That the best Persian historians derive them from the Jews, proves nothing, but that these writers, according to a custom very usual among them, put down as a real fact, without any further argument but tradition, what ought to have been previously examined by sound critics; but the traditions of the Afghans, resting on wild genealogies, serve rather to prejudice the reader against them. The use of Jewish names, which the Afghans employ, is undoubtedly attributable to their being Mussulmans. The Pushtu language bears not the slightest resemblance to the Hebrew or Chaldaic, either in its grammar or vocabulary. The only proof that might be adduced in favour of their pretended Jewish extraction, is the striking likeness of the Afghan features to the Jewish; which has been admitted, even by such as do not pay the least attention to their claim to a Jewish origin. Sir John Malcolm's words on this subject are: "Although their right to this proud descent (from the Jews) is very doubtful, it is evident, from their personal appearance, and many of their usages, that they are a distinct race from the Persians, Tartars, and Indians; and this alone seems to give some credibility to a statement which is contradicted by many strong facts, and of which no direct proof has been produced. If an inference could be drawn from the features of a nation resembling those of another, the Cashmirians would certainly, by their Jewish features, prove a Jewish origin, which not only Bernier, but Forster, and perhaps others, have remarked." See *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Tom. X. p. 117, where we find the following passage: "Bernier fit de grandes recherches, à la prière du célèbre Thevenot, pour découvrir s'il ne se trouvait pas des Juifs dans le fond de ces montagnes, comme les Missionnaires nous ont appris qu'il s'en trouve à la Chine. Quoiqu'il assure que tous les habitans de Kachemire sont Gentils ou Mahometans, il ne laissa point d'y remarquer plusieurs traces de Judaïsme. On peut supposer, dit-il, que dans le cours des siècles, les Juifs de ce pays sont devenus idolâtres, et qu'ensuite ils ont embrassé le Mahométisme; sans compter qu'il en est passé un grand nombre en Perse, et dans l'Indoustan." In the Annotation to this passage, it is remarked, that Bernier, on entering Kashmire, found its inhabitants bearing a striking likeness to the Jews: "Elles (les traces de Judaïsme) sont curieuses, sur le témoignage d'un voyageur tel que Bernier. La première, c'est qu'en entrant dans ce royaume, après avoir passé la montagne de Pire-Penjab, tous les habitants qu'il vit dans les premiers villages lui semblèrent Juifs à leur port, à leur air; enfin, dit-il, à ce je ne sais quoi de particulier qui nous fait souvent distinguer les nations. Il ne fut pas le seul qui en prit cette idée. Un Jésuite, qu'il ne nomme point, et plusieurs Européens l'avoient eue avant lui. 2. Il remarque que parmi le peuple de Kachemire, quoique Mahométan, le nom de Musa, qui signifie Moïse, est fort en usage. 3. Les Kachemiriens prétendent que Salomon est venu dans leur pays, et que c'est lui qui a coupé la montagne de Baramoulay, pour faire écouler les eaux. 4. Ils veulent que Moïse soit mort à Kachemire. Ils montrent son tombeau à une lieue de cette ville. 5. Ils soutiennent que le très ancien édifice, qu'on voit de la ville, sur une haute montagne, a été bâti par le roi Salomon, dont il est vrai qu'il porte le nom." Now, although Forster does not approve of the opinion of Bernier, tracing the descent of the Cashmirians to the exiled Jewish tribes,

yet he confesses, that, when among the Cashmirians, he thought himself to be amongst a nation of Jews*. *Appendix.*

III. *Gatterer*, according to Mr. Klaproth, pretends that the Afghans are Georgians, and that they speak the Georgian language; but the history of the former not being accessible to me, I cannot say on what grounds he founds his opinion; which probably deserves as little notice as *Clairaut's* statement, which he heard of some Georgian, of the name of Joseph, that, according to the belief of the Afghans, Japhet had three sons, Armen, Aghwan, and Carduel, who gave rise to the three respective nations of the Armenians, Afghans, and Georgians.

IV. Others consider the Afghans to be a Turkish or Mogul race; which may be only partially true. They are frequently coupled with Turkish nations; for instance, in the *Tareekh Yamini* of *Otbi*, where it is related that Sultan Mahmood set a strong army on foot, consisting of Turks, Hindoos, Khiljies, Afghans, and Ghozyes. *Ferishta*, I. p. 562, informs us, that Behlol Lodi placed great reliance on the courage of his Mogul troops; on which account they met with such encouragement among his relations and courtiers, that it is estimated there were nearly 20,000 Moguls in the service of the government during his reign." In the *Matlaa Saadein* there are some remarkable passages, where the Afghans are declared to be Turks or Moguls. These passages are the following:

1. "Transactions of the year 747. A.D. 1346-7. The Avghan and Jermai Hezarahs† came in the time of Sultan Argun Khan, at the request of Sultan Jalal Uddeen Suyurgutmish, the maternal grandfather of Shah Shuja, for the protection of the provinces of Kerman; of which an account is to be found in the history of Argun Khan. In the course of time, the wealth and offspring of that people gradually increased in those parts; and when the lustre of the Mobarezian sword shed its glance over that quarter, he attached them to him. But they incessantly mutinied, as is related in the history of the Mozafferides. They being Moguls, and having a high-priest‡ who is worshipped like an idol, the Mohammedan Ulemas issued a Fetva to pronounce them infidels, and declare their lives and goods outlawed."

2. "Year 754, A.D. 1353. Emir Mobarez Uddeen Mozaffer having put to flight the army of Shiraz, prepared to subdue the royal seat of Solomon, upon whom be peace! namely, Persia; and determined to exterminate Abu Ishak. In order, therefore, that the Avghan and Jermaï Turks (اتراك اوغاني وجرمائي) might assemble under the shadow of his victorious banners, he took the route of Bamm§, and encamped in the plains of Jiraft‖."

3. "A.H. 755. A.D. 1354. Khuaja Emad Uddeen Mahmood, with the assistance of Salgar

* P. II. p. 21. "Da ich die Kaschemirier zuerst in ihrem Lande sah, so glaubte ich nach ihrer Tracht, ihren langen und ernsthaften Gesichtern, und dem Schnitt ihrer Bärte, dass ich unter eine Nation von Juden versetzt sey."

† هزارهٔ اوغاني وجرمائي. جرمائي is frequently written جرماني; and in one of the copies of the *Matlaa Saadein*, always so. The word هزاره will be spoken of afterwards.

‡ The copies which I had an opportunity of inspecting, furnish جالق, a word which, in this shape, seems to have no convenient meaning. I have therefore adopted the conjecture of Mr. Charmoy, of St. Petersburgh, that جالق might be miswritten for جسالق; which would be a corrupted form of جثاليق *Catholicos, Patriarch;* allusion being made to the Dalaï-Lama of the Moguls.

§ بم ‖ جيرفت

Shah Turemani, who was a sister's son of Emir Sheikh, assembled an army in the environs of Darabjard, and implored the aid of the Afghan and Jermaï Moguls."

4. "A. H. 757. A. D. 1356. When the sun entered the point of real transition, Shah Shuja turned the reins of his lofty designs to an expedition against the Afghan and Jermaï army, with a view to route them. In the month of Rabea ul Avval he moved towards the Sardsir (region of cold temperature) of Kerman. They are a race of Turks, who, at the request of Jalal Uddeen Sultan Suyurgutmish, the maternal grandfather of Shah Shuja, in the time of Argun Khan or Abaka Khan (which point is left doubtful in the original copy), had been charged with the protection of the provinces of Kerman, as has been mentioned in the year 747."

5. "A. H. 787. A. D. 1385-6. Emir Suyurgutmish, from excessive presumption, was sure that the wandering tribes and Avghan Turks would join him."

The *Jami Ultawarikh*, which is ever in perfect accordance with the *Matlaa Saadein*, also considers the Afghans as descended from the Moguls; and confirms the account of their having been sent to Kerman by Abaka Khan. The passages referring to this point are the following:

1. "While the Afghanians and Jermanians made such movements, the Nowruzians, who are likewise a Mogul nation, and are their neighbours in the Garmsir and Sardsir, never deviated from the path of loyalty, and consequently reposed in perfect security."

2. "When Shah Shuja had eased his mind with regard to the Hezarahs, he turned his attention to the extirpation of the Afghan and Jerman army. These Afghans and Jermans are the people which, in the time of the father of Sultan Jalal Uddeen Suyurgutmish, the maternal grandfather of Shah Shuja, had been demanded from Abaka Khan, to be placed in the provinces of Kerman; in order that this quarter, which is distant from the royal seat, might be protected by them. For this purpose, a number of Afghans and Jermans had been set apart, as has been mentioned before."

To these extracts must be subjoined a passage from the *Ayeen Akbari*, II. p. 177; where Abul Fazl, speaking of the Sircar of Kabul, adds the following remarks: "The natives are chiefly of the tribes of Hezarah and Afghan, and they possess all the pasturage. The tribe of Hezarah are the remains of the Chaghtai army, which Mangu Khan sent into these parts, to the assistance of Holaku Khan, under the command of his son Nicodar Oghlan; and they inhabit the country from Ghuzneen to Kandahar and Mydan, to the borders of Balkh."

The *Ansabnameh Afaghinah* informs us, that the Hezarahs resemble the Kalmucks (قلماق *Kallimak*) in their features, having narrow eyes and projecting faces.

The Emperor Baber affirms, that "among the Hezarah and Nukderi tribes there are some who speak the *Mogul* language."

Mr. Elphinstone, in his *Account of Caubul*, II. p. 242, treating of the Eimaks and Hezarahs, furnishes the following remark: "Their features, however, refer them at once to the Tartar stock, and a tradition declares them to be the offspring of the Moguls. They are, indeed, frequently called by the name of Moguls to this day; and they are often confounded with the Moguls and Chagatyes, who still reside in the neighbourhood of Heraut. They themselves acknowledge their affinity to those tribes, as well as to the Kalmucks, now settled in Kabul; and they intermarry with both of those nations. They do not, however, understand the language of the Moguls of Heraut."

*Fareed Uddeen Ahmed* says: "The Hezarah (هزاره) came, in the time of Hulagu, to these parts, and are settled from Ghazneen to Kandahar and the borders of Balkh. Their tents comprise

more than one hundred thousand families. Their wealth consists in camels, horses, sheep, and goats."

An exact consideration of all the passages quoted, appears to me to entitle us to draw the following conclusions:

1. Abd Ulrazzak calls the Afghans, Moguls and Turks; which shews that he either held them to be the offspring of both these nations, or, what is more probable, that he confounded both nations, and used their names promiscuously; which may be frequently observed in Mohammedan authors, who even occasionally call the Mogul language Turki*.

2. The Afghans, related by Abd Ulrazzak to have been sent to Kerman in the time of Abaka Khan or Argun Khan, seem to be the same with the Hezarahs who, according to Abul Fazl, were sent to Kabul by Mangu Khan, under the command of Nicodar Oglan, much about the same time when the Afghans of Abd Ulrazzak came to Kerman. For

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mangu Khan reigned from | 644 to 657. | A.D. | 1246—1258. |
| 2. Hulaga Khan . . . . | 657—663. | A.D. | 1258—1264. |
| 3. Abaka Khan . . . . | 663—680. | A.D. | 1264—1281. |
| 4. Nicodar Oglan . . . . | 680—683. | A.D. | 1281—1284. |
| 5. Argun Khan . . . . | 683—690. | A.D. | 1284—1291. |

The event related by Abul Fazl must have taken place between 644—647; that mentioned by Abd Ulrazzak, between 663—680; so that almost no doubt can be entertained but that both authors relate one and the same occurrence, declaring the tribes in question to be Turks, or Jagataians, or Moguls. Or, if it be not the same occurrence, we are at least led to the belief, that the first transplantation of Turkish and Mogul regiments under Mangu Khan was followed by another under Mangu Khan; and perhaps by a third, under Argun Khan. At that time, these nations were not yet converted to the Mohammedan faith, as we are expressly told by Abd Ulrazzak; and history informs us, that both Mangu Khan and Abaka Khan still adhered to the creed of the Moguls; which Nicodar Oglan, since that called Ahmed Khan, abandoned, to embrace Islamism. But the real Afghans, agreeably to the unanimous reports of Oriental authors, were already Mohammedans, and cannot therefore be identified with the Afghans mentioned in the *Matlaa Saadein* and the *Jami Ultawarikh*. I once conjectured that the real Afghans were called افغان, the Turkish Afghans اوغان; but both forms are used indiscriminately, as we have seen above.

3. The Afghans mentioned in the *Matlaa Saadein* and the *Jami Ultawarikh* were the tribe subsequently known by the name of Hezarahs (هزاره); but, on account of their residing in districts contiguous to the Afghans, and perhaps being joined by Afghans, they were called Afghans, or Avghans; in the same way as the Fermullies, Khatanies or Khataïes, Sewaties, and others, are styled, and occasionally style themselves, Afghans; without being able to produce any proof of their claim, but their residing near to and among the Afghans.

This point, however, wants some more elucidation, and is not quite exempt from difficulty, arising from the use of the word Hezarah (هزاره). This noun is very unsatisfactorily explained in our dictionaries: Meninski omits it altogether; and in Richardson's Dictionary, last edition, it is said to mean "a tribe of Afghans; a double flower; a divided stream or *jet d'eau* (like that of a watering-pan). Sir William Jones renders it *un millier de chevaux*.†" But it signifies

* See Forschungen im Gebiete der älteren religiösen, politischen, und literärischen Bildungsgeschichte der Völker Mittel-Asiens, vorzüglich der Mongolen und Tibeter; von Is. Jac. Schmidt. *St. Petersburg*, 1824. p. 41.

† See *Histoire de Nader Chah*, in Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. V. p. 426. *Lond.* 1799.

also a district able to furnish a thousand men, as Tuman (تومان), a district furnishing ten thousand, and صده a district or commonwealth furnishing a hundred men; whence the name of an Afghan nation called *Sih Saddah* (سه صده), consisting of three *khails* or tribes. A passage from the *Matlaa Saadein*, met with in the narrative of the events of the year 800, A.D. 1397, will sufficiently illustrate the use of this word, in the acceptation last mentioned: ورعایاء آنجا بتخصیص ملك محمد برادر لشکر شاه اوغاني از موسي اوغاني که پیشواء قبیله کرکس است داد خواستند که هزارهٔ مارا غارتیده واسباب واملاك مارا کرفته وبرادر ملك محمد مذکور را که کماشتهٔ حضرت بوده کشته وقلعه ایرباب را خراب ساخته وراه کاروان بند کرده قطاع الطریق است آنحضرت موسي مذکور را بحسن تدبیر با حشم او ایمن ساخته با جمعي از سپاه منصور فرمود که قلعه را معمور سازند "The inhabitants of that quarter, and especially Malik Mohammed, a brother of Lashkar Shah Avghani, demanded justice against Musa Avghani, the chief of the Garkas tribe; representing, that he had ravaged their districts (هزاره), seized their effects and possessions, and slain the brother of Malik Mohammed, an agent of his Majesty (Timur), demolished the fort of Airbab, and infested the road of the caravans, still exercising his highway robbery. His Majesty, most prudently, lulled Musa, with his retainers, into security; and ordered them, with a detachment of the victorious army, to repair the castle.*" For a further elucidation of this passage, see the *Institutes of Timur*, p. 135—137.

Another signification of the word هزاره is, 'that of a regiment'; and in this sense it was employed in the Tartar armies.

Now we know that general names have often become proper names; of which we have an instance in the name of a nation that is of the same origin with the Hezarahs; viz. the Eimaks. The author of the *Ansabnamah Afaghinah* employs the term اویماقات, which is the plural of اویماق, in the meaning of tribes: but three pages after, he says: وطایفهٔ در کوهها وصحراهاي آنجا سکونت دارند که آنهارا چار اویماق کویند وشصت هزار خانوار مي شوند "In the mountains and plains of that quarter (Herat) inhabits a nation which they call *Char Œimak*, consisting of sixty thousand families."

Char Œimak signifies, literally, four tribes; and is the name of a nation, described by Mr. Elphinstone, II. p. 245; where they are called Chahaur Oeemak (چهار اویماق) on account of their comprising the four tribes of Teimunees, Hazaurahs, Teimoorees, and Zoorees.

In the same manner as the word اویماق, the word هزاره also became the proper name of the nation so called, and of their country, as we are informed in the *Ansabnamah Afaghinah*: ودر آن کوه جماعتي ساکن اند که آنها را هزاره وانواع طوایف آنهارا † هزاره‌جات وآن ملك نیز بنام همان طایفه مشهور است ویکصد هزار خانوار هستند: "On this mountain (of Kabul) resides a nation, whom they call Hezarah; and their various tribes Hezarahjat: that country is known by the name of the nation, which consists of one hundred thousand families."

The use of the plural هزاره‌جات, signifying the Hezarah nation, with regard to its various tribes or divisions, is corroborated by another passage of the same work, which runs as follows: واز هرات الي قندهار پانزده منزل است ودرعرض راه همه جا آبادي ورودخانه‌ها وزراعت است وچهار رودخانه از انها عظیم ومشهور ومعروف است یکي فراه رود کویند که قلعه فراه در کنارهٔ آن

* The word خانوار I do not find in any Dictionary, but it is of frequent occurrence in Oriental authors.

† After هزاره‌جات I suppose the verb کویند has been omitted by the copyist.

واقع است ویکي را خاش رود ویکي‌را رودخانه کرشك ویکي را رودخانه هیرمند نامند ومنبع وسرچشمهاء اینها همکي از جبال شمالي هرات است که نشیمن طایفهء هزارهجات است "From Herat to Kandahar are fifteen stages: the tracts along the road are well cultivated: there are rivers and fields for tillage. Of the rivers, four are large, and well known: the one they call Farrahrud, on the banks of which lies the castle of Farrah; the second, Khashrud; the third, Girishk; the fourth, Hirmand. The issue and the sources of these rivers are all in the northern mountains of Herat, which are the abode of the nation of the Hezarahs."

In order, however, to bring the question to a conclusive point, not only what serves to corroborate my opinion ought to be produced, but also the objections that might be made against it must be mentioned: for there occur some passages in the *Matlaa Saadein* and *Jami Ultawarikh*, in which it seems that the word هزاره is employed in a general sense of troops or districts; so that هزارهء اوغاني would express the same with لشکر اوغاني and حشم اوغاني, and that the Hezarahs are considered as a nation distinct from the Afghans and Jermanians.

In the *Matlaa Saadein*, in the transactions of the year 746, A. D. 1345, we read:

1. هزارهء اوغاني وجرماني در زمان سلطنت ارغون خان بالتماس سلطان جلال الدین سیورغتمش که جد مادري شاه شجاع بود بمحافظت نواحي کرمان آمدند

2. "Year 768, A. H. 1366: چهار هزار سوار از متجندهء فارس کردان نامدار ودلاوران روزکار ملازم رکاب نصرت شعار مقرر شد که بعزم ضبط هزارهء افغان واستخلاص اموال جرون نهضت نمایند "Four thousand horse, of the Persian troops, famous warriors and distinguished heroes, were placed under the command of his victorious Highness, to march out for the reduction of the Hezarahs, of the Afghans, and the realization of the revenues of Jarun."

The *Jami Ultawarikh* has the following passages:

I. وهزاره واوغاني وجرماني را بخود کشید

II. ولایت کرمسیر کرمان وجیرفت وهزاره واوغان

III. ذکر احوال هزاره وافغان وجرمان

IV. شاه شجاع مراجعة خاطر از هزاره فارغ شد همت بصوب لشکر اوغان وجرما معطوف فرمود

Now, if اتراك اوغاني and مغولان اوغاني he rendered Avghan Turcs and Avghan Moguls, it seems strange not to translate also هزاره اوغاني Avghan Hezarahs; it being evident, from the above statements, that the Avghan Turcs and Moguls are the Hezarahs; and the هزاره اوغاني the nation composed of Turcs and Moguls. In the first passage from the *Jami Ultawarikh*, there is, I apprehend, a slip of the copyist; who, instead of هزاره اوغاني, wrote هزاره و اوغاني. In the second and third passages, the word هزاره is, perhaps, used to designate some tribe of the Afghans, called so in preference; as among the Eimaks. There is also a tribe called Hezarah distinct from the nation of the Hezarahs. See *Elphinstone*, II. p. 245.

I am sorry that no copy of the *Matlaa Saadein* is accessible to me; where I would probably find the chapter where a fuller account of the Hezarahs is given, with regard to whom Shah Shuja is said to have set his mind at ease.

4. The Hezarah nation is the offspring of Turcs and Moguls; which circumstance accounts for the number of Turkish words met with in their language; and for their manners, which are partly Turkish, partly Mogul. Part of them, living in the mountains, have retained, or had retained, in Baber's time, their original tongue, the Mogul language; but why they at present speak Persian, cannot be discovered. It further accounts for the term of Turcman Hezarahs, employed by Baber: and these Turcman Hezarahs are, no doubt, the Afghan Turks mentioned in the *Matlaa Saadein*. Mr. Elphinstone's conjecture, that the nation of the

Hezarahs may have sprung from Tartar regiments left in the conquered countries, is thus even supported by history: the more so, as Abd Ulrazzak, living not very long after the time when the Hezarah nation formed itself, had, no doubt, means to ascertain their descent.

5. The Armenians held the Afghans to be descended from them; and some European historians have adopted this opinion. They allege, that the Albanians were called Aghwans, in consequence of the Armenian language changing the *l* of foreign words into *gh;* and that these Aghwans emigrated from Armenia to India, and, abandoning the Christian Religion, embraced Islamism in its stead. But the story related by *Clairaut*, that the Afghans believe Japhet had three sons (Armen, Carduel, and Aghwan), whose descendants left Armenia, and emigrated to the Suleiman mountains, deserves not the smallest notice, nor have I read of such a belief of the Afghans in any Oriental author. Notwithstanding, however, the entire defect of proofs to support the Armenian descent of the Afghans, *Krusinsky*, *Jacober*, and *Reineggs* appear to have been convinced of it.

*Krusinsky* *, who was present during the invasion of the Afghans in Persia, and gives the history of this revolution as an eye-witness, firmly believes in the descent of the Afghans from the Albanians. His own words will shew the erroneousness of his belief.

"Aghvani rebelles qui domo? unde nati?

"248. Aghvanorum natio olim à Tamerlane bello victa, ex provincia Szyrvan, quæ Magna Albania antiquis apud Ptolomæum inter mare Caspium et Caucasi montes, ac Colchidem situata, post repetitas rebelliones, in extremam Persiæ partem versùs Indias translata fuit: ut, amisso et desperato patrio solo, avitæ libertatis desiderium pariter deponeret. Dicuntur olim, Christianam fidem secundùm Armenorum ritum professi, ad Musulmanismum, sublatis duntaxat à Tamerlane Christianæ Legis Doctoribus, sensim descivisse.—Et de Aghvanis quidem hæc communis Orientalium à majoribus hausta traditio, ut et dictionarium Latino-Armenum perhibet. Et sane Armenicæ linguæ etymologia Latinorum literam *l* in *gh*, et *b* in *u*, mutans, id abundè confirmat: unde Albani Orientalibus dicti Aghvani. Nomenclatura hæc satis superque vel ex eo firmatur, quod particularis Armenæ gentis Patriarcha, qui successionem suam à S. Thadæo deducit, et sub cujus spirituali jurisdictione hactenus Szyrvani, id est antiquæ Albaniæ provincia existit, titulum istum retineat. *Aghvanic Hokievor-Der*, seu *Cathaghycos*, id est, Aghvanorum Patriarcha. Ejus residentia hactenus in provincia Karabach, *Kandzahar* dicitur, unde colonia *Kandahari* suam nomenclaturam desumpsisse censenda.

"Nec illud omittendum, quod hactenus Aghvanorum mulieres dum panem pingunt, avito more signum crucis illi imprimant, cum ista persuasione, quod absque hoc signo non bene succedat, et facti rationem non aliam reddunt, quàm in signum et memoriam, quòd à Christianis descendant. Hoc pariter titulo, ut superiùs vidimus, secundus post Aghvanos etiam ante Musulmanos Dergesinos locus Armenæ nationi à Myrr Maghmudo assertus. Ipse Myrr Maghmud quòd precationem Dominicam, inter alias suas preces, quotidie in lingua Armenica recitaverit, passim asseritur."

From Major Keppel's *Personal Narrative*†, it appears that the natives of Shirvan, and the adjoining countries, believe, up to this day, in the descent of the Afghans from them. I shall

* See, Prodromus ad tragicam vertentis belli Persici historiam, seu relatio Turcico-Persicæ legationis quam ad Persarum regem Szah Sultan Husseiu Durri Effendi solemniter administravit; et redux è Perside Turcarum Imperatori Achmet III. in scripto consignavit; ex Turcico Latine facta, opera Patris Judæ Thadæi Krusinski, Societatis Jesu Missionarii Persici. Secunda Impressio correctior. Leopoli, typis Coll. Societatis Jesu, 1740. p. 232.

† Personal Narrative of Travels in Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Scythia, in the Year 1824, by Major the Hon. George Keppel, F.S.A. Vol. II. p. 194. *London*, 1827.

not take upon myself to refute this belief: I only beg leave to refer my readers to the history of the Armenian Aghovans, as given by St. Martin, in his *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, Tom. I. p. 213—226; the perusal of which history will at once convince them, that these Aghovans cannot be identified with the Afghans. In order to furnish a complete list of all the nations, from whom, besides those already mentioned, the Afghans have been supposed to descend, I ought to add the Indoscythians, Medians, Sogdians, and perhaps others; but my present situation, with no great literary resources within my reach, prevents me from entering on a question, for a tolerable solution of which other materials are wanted than those to which I have at present access. I, for my part, am inclined to consider the Afghans as aborigines in their country, and identify them, as Sir William Jones* has done, with the *Paropamisadæ* of the Ancients.

It is proved by history, that under Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi (about 1000 A. D.), and much earlier, they already inhabited the forts which they at present occupy: and except the story of the Jews coming to Afghanistan, we read of no other general emigration; which appears to shew that they kept their present country from time immemorial. This country, however, is not exclusively inhabited by them, and various other nations have a share in it; which circumstance accounts for their language (the stock of which seems to be original) having admitted a great many foreign terms and forms, but more especially Persian ones. In order not to incur unmerited censure, I have to add, that I do not deny that the Afghans may belong to the great family of nations, to which the Germans, Indians, Slavonians, and Greeks are supposed to belong; but, in the same manner as we have no historical proofs to shew that the Greeks or Germans are lineally descended from the Indians, so we cannot with success maintain that the Afghans are descended either from the old Persians or Indians.

P. 25. l. 14. *over the world.*] L. adds: "Upon which, the demons fled away, and retired to the mountains, deserts, and islands."

P. 25. l. 34. *and sixth climates.*] L.: "in the districts of Khorassan and Kohistan."

P. 25. l. 38. *Mahmood Ghazi.*] L., instead of Ghazi, has Ghaznavi.

P. 26. l. 2. *into Egypt.*] L.: "against Bosra." The same copy has, instead of "the Arabian Irak," "Irak and Arabia."

P. 26. l. 21. *Afghans.*] L. "Israelites."

P. 27. l. 1. *commanding officer.*] *Tabari* says: "Abu Sofyan ordered Khaled ben Valid, with five hundred men, to the right wing; and Acrama ben Abu Jahl, with an equal number, to the left."

* Sir William Jones's Works, Vol. V. p. 610. *Lond.* 1799.—"These *Afghans* were, probably, the *Paropamisadæ* of the Ancients, whom Quintus Curtius describes in the Seventh Book of his *Life of Alexander*. 'Ipse rex nationem ne finitimis quidem suis satis notam, quippe nullo commercio colentem mutuos usus, cum exercitu intravit. Paropamisadæ appellantur, agreste hominum genus, et inter barbaros maxime inconditum.'"—See also Description Historique et Géographique de l'Indostan, par Rennell. Tom. I. p. 53. *Leipz.* 1800; where Major Rennell says: "Les Afghans habitaient, dans l'origine, les montagnes situées entre l'Inde et la Perse, ou l'ancien *Paropamisus.*"

P. 27. l. 4. *of its leader.*] Mohammed had been induced, by the representations of Othman ben Affan and others, to march out: "for," says *Tabari*, "the Prophet performed the namaz, put on his armour, and went out reluctantly" (بكراهيت).

P. 27. l. 4. *Hamzah.*] See *Tabari*, who relates his death by Vahashi, who had been hired by the promises of Moavia's mother, Hind by name, to assassinate Hamzah.

P. 27. l. 11. *Ghassan.*] In the East-India House copy of the *Rouzat Ulahbab*, this place is called Askán; in the copy at St. Petersburgh, Ghasfán; in L.'s copy, Ashák.—The account of this affair is literally taken from the *Rouzat Ulahbab*.

P. 28. l. 18. *is kohol for all sins.*] L., and the *Rouzat Ulahbab* furnish: "does away with the sins;" which reading is the true one.

P. 29. l. 3. *Talha.*] *Tabari* calls him *Toleiha*. See *Kosegarten's Tabari**, p. 81, 99 seq.

P. 29. l. 17. *lost his life.*] See *Kosegarten's Tabari*, p. 141 seq.

P. 30. l. 3. *called Vahashi.*] L.: Mosaillemo was assassinated by the hand of a slave of Abu Sofyan, who had killed the Emir Ulmumenin Hamzah, and had been named Hassan.

P. 32. l. 2. *according to equity.*] L. adds: "To every one's share fell thirteen quadrupeds, horses and camels; and besides that, there were captured twenty-three thousand denars, which make sixty-nine thousand rupees; and other effects. Amongst them was also Nushirwan's carpet, which was a hundred yards long, and sixty wide: eighteen yards were wrought of costly gems; ten yards of brilliants, ten of rubies, ten of red rubies, ten of emeralds, thirteen of pearls, and ten of chrysolites; and there was interwoven a variety of pictures and streams: the Persians called it *Beharistan*, 'garden of Spring,' and the Arabs *Itf*. Four yards of this carpet came to the Emir Ulmumenin Ali: and when they offered them for sale, they received seventy thousand golden denars, which money they brought to him; but he distributed the whole of it to the poor, strangers, and travellers."

P. 32. l. 28. *Surah Anfal.*] This is the eighth Surah.

P. 34. l. 7. *cannot be suffered any longer*, &c.] The dismission of Khaled experienced opposition on the side of the Musulmans: for *Vakedi* tells us, that when Omar made it publicly known to his people, a man of the Makhzumites rose, and said: "Wilt thou depose a man, by whose hand God has drawn a cutting sword, and rendered it destructive to the infidels?" When they said to Abubecr, "Depose him;" he replied: "I cannot remove the sword God has himself drawn, and with which he has upheld his religion. Nor would God or the Musulmans ever forgive thee, if thou shouldst sheathe the sword which God has drawn, and remove the Chief whom the friend of the Prophet (Abubecr) has appointed: thou hast violated the obligations of consanguinity."

P. 35. l. 1. *one night.*] L.: One night, when the inhabitants of the city were given up to gaiety, in consequence of a son being born to one of them, he embraced the opportunity; and placing ladders against the fort, they scaled it on four sides.

* See, "Taberistanensis, id est, Abu Dschaferi Mohammed Ben Dscherir Ettaberi Annales Regum atque Legatorum Dei:" ed. *Kosegarten. Gryphisvaldiæ*, 1831.

P. 35. l. 13. *towards Kahel.*] See the chapter in *Tabari*, treating of this expedition.

P. 35. l. 15. *the fort Mahdh.*] In L.: This happened briefly as follows: When Abu Obaida and Khaled had accomplished the conquest of Fahl, and marched against a strong fort, Heraclius, &c.

P. 35. l. 20. *to check Abu Obaida.*] L.: To check Khaled; and ordered Shesh, a relation of his, with one hundred and eighty thousand men, to march against Abu Obaida. When Khaled and Abu Obaida received intelligence of the approach of Nuder and Shesh, they marched against these two faithless infidels, with forty thousand horse.

P. 35. l. 37. *by a particular name.*] These three days are called: 1st, روزارمات; 2d, روز اغوات; 3d, روزاغماس: and a circumstantial account of the engagements, which took place on them, is given by *Tabari.*

P. 36. l. 13. *to the ground.*] There were, according to L.'s copy, especially two elephants against which the attack of the Arabs was directed, a black and a white one: the black was felled to the ground by the cuts of swords and spears; and the white, by the stroke of a javelin.

P. 37. l. 5. *public money.*] *Tabari* relates, that Omar, upon receiving intelligence of Khaled's having given a present of ten thousand dirhems to the poet, sent a letter to Abu Obaida, then at Emessa, to summon Khaled before him from Kaiserin, and inquire of him, in the presence of the whole army, how he had come by the money; and in case he should not confess it readily, to use violence, as he was determined to punish him for his extravaganee in spending money, in conformity with the sentiment of the Koran—*God does not love the prodigal.* After being subjected to degrading treatment, Khaled, confessing he had given the money out of his own purse, was sent to Medina. Being questioned there, by Omar, on the same subject, he repeated the above statement; adding, that he had acquired his wealth just as the rest had done, by his own hands, his sword, and lawful spoils: upon which the Khalif fined him twenty thousand dirhems. He remained at Medina; his detention not failing to draw down upon the Khalif much censure from the inhabitants of Medina, Syria, and Irak; a circumstance that even obliged Omar to issue a declaration, of vague excuses, that he had not deposed Khaled out of passion or partiality, but because all the world had attributed to him the victories which they ought to have attributed to God.

P. 37. l. 12. *The greater part of Irak.*] L.: The greater part of the provinces of Irak, Persia, Syria, Irak, Gilan, Mazenderan, Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Tabaristan, Khorassan, Mavarannahr, and Sistan, and even several districts of Hindustan, were subdued.

P. 37. l. 15. *Khaled joined* &c.] See *Farid Uddin Ahmed.* Khaled died in the twenty-first year of the Hejra, in the Khelafat of Othman.

P. 37. l. 24. *Khaled sent a letter* &c.] The story related here is not, to my knowledge, found in any Oriental author, who lived near the time when these transactions must have taken place, or who could know it by authentic traditions or records. I suppose that some other tradition, similar to this related by our author, (and, perhaps, coupled with a third or fourth one; for there is no certainty in the early traditions of the Afghans, either with regard to time or locality,) has given rise to the belief of the Afghans; and think it,

therefore, proper to place it here. It is taken from the *Rouzat Ulahbab*, and runs as follows:

*Transactions of the Sixth Year of the Hejra.*

"In this year, he (the Prophet) sent Khaled ben Alwalid, with some others, to the Bani Ulhareth ben Kaab; and said to him: 'First admonish them, thrice, to embrace Islamism: if they accept it, remain among them, and instruct them in the Koran and the Sunna; but if they refuse, make war upon them.' Khaled, therefore, went to them; and acted in conformity to the orders received. They becoming converts to the Mohammedan faith, he remained with them, and taught them the Koran and the ordinances of the law. He then addressed a letter to the Prophet, and gave him notice of his success. To this, that Chief sent answer: 'Announce to them glad tidings: be fearful, and take a number of them with thee.' When this letter reached Khaled, he took a number of them with him, and departed for Medina; where they came to the abode of the Legate of God, (may God bless him!) saluted him, and said: 'I testify that there is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God.' The Prophet replied: 'I, too, testify the unity of God and my own mission.' He appointed one of them, Kais ben Hozain by name, their Chief; and dismissed them to their homes. Afterwards he sent Amru ben Hazam to that quarter, to rule over them, and collect alms from them. Amru lived there, and resided among them till the Prophet quitted this world."

In order to render my conjecture more probable, I beg to insert here an extract from the *Khulassat Ulansab*: "After that, the descendants of Afghan settled on Mount Suleiman (in Syria), firmly adhering to the truth of the Islam; and they resided there up to the time when the Legate (may the blessing of God rest upon him!) was sent: on this account they call them in Arabia, (در عربستان) *Suleimani.*" It is further recorded, that when the lustre of the Mohammedan light spread over the world, some chief, *Kais* by name, who was of the descendants of Afghan, came, with seventy other individuals, to pay homage to that gracious and best of men, with the intention, if he should in reality be the last of Prophets, whose qualities are laid down in the Mosaic Law and the Gospel, to believe in him. When, therefore, Kais, with his companions, was admitted to the presence of the Prophet, they all felt convinced of the truth of his mission, embraced Islamism, and believed in him. When they afterwards were dismissed, they returned to their homes, and informed their nation of the appearance of the Mohammedan light, and their belief in him;—so that they were all at once converted to his faith, and ennobled with the Islam. Originally, they were all Mussulmans. So Kais and his companions believed in the Prophet, and received the surname of Abd Ulrashid. They were incessantly in the Prophet's company, and fought for his religion. So they are said to have assisted at the capture of Mecca; as that pattern of the wise, and pillar of the intelligent, and leader of the pious, *Akhund Dervizeh*, relates in his work, *Tazkarat Ulabrar Valashrar*—that even the women of the Afghans co-operated in the holy war, furnishing water and arrows to the combatants; and though it became them to remain at home, yet the Prophet did not prevent their aiding the holy warriors.

P. 38. l. 34. *three sons.*] Mr. Elphinstone mentions, that Kais had four sons: Serrabur, Ghoorghoort, Betnee, Kurleh. The latter I find mentioned no where else. On the meaning of the names of the three former sons, I insert here an extract from the *Khalassat Ulansab*:—"Kais had three sons, *Sarahban, Bithan, Ghurghusht.* Sarahban's name, they

say, was originally Ibrahim; but from his excessive mildness and indolence, owing to which he never took offence at any body that addressed abusive language to him, his parents used to say to him: 'How art thou, *Sarahban*, that thou never growest hot; that is, How art thou of so cold a temperament, that thou never art subject to indignation and anger?' " The original name of Bithan, they further say, was *Sheikh Beit;* but he became known by the name of Bithan, and his dependants are called also *Bithani.*

P. 38. l. 26. *adjacent Kohistan.*] According to L., the Prophet gave to Abd Ulrashid, one of his Ansars as companion, to propagate the new faith in Ghor and the adjacent Kohistan, which was the abode of the Children of Israel, of the tribe of the children or dependants of Afghan, and of Abd Ulrashid's crew.

P. 39. l. 10. *Mahmood Ghazi.*] Naser Uddin Sabuktaghin, Mahmud's father, is entirely passed over in silence here, although the Afghans are mentioned in his history. *Ferishta** tells us, that the Afghan chief, Sheikh Hamid, the governor of Multan and Lamghan, united with that prince; and further, that the Afghans and Khiljies submitted to Sabuktaghin, and entered his army; which account is confirmed by *Otbi*†; according to whom, the same nations, on his return from the war against the Indian Jypat, came to pay him allegiance; when he left them in the possession of their lands, on condition that they should furnish him, on his demand, with a hundred thousand horse. So also *Mirkhond:* " A number of Afghans and Khiljies, who inhabited those parts, came to enter the service of Emir Nasir Uddin." Now this prince began to act independently about the year 351, A.D. 962‡: and, as we have no reason to doubt of what history recounts of him, we have a strong proof, if necessary, of the above statement, that the Afghans resided in their country in earlier times than could be admitted, if we would derive them from the Armenian Aghovans.

But the part which the Afghans then began to act in history became more conspicuous in Sultan Mahmud's time. Notwithstanding the destructive wars this sovereign carried on against them, he, as Oriental authors inform us, was very glad of their services; and to their bravery and gallantry the conquest of India was, in a great measure, owing. On his return from Canoj, the mountainous Afghans, confiding in their inaccessible mountains, attacked the rear of his army; but suffered severe chastisement for it. The *Khulassat Ulansab* furnishes the following remarks, of the justness of which we have no reason to doubt:—"They (the Afghans) resided there (in the districts of Ghaznin and Kandahar) unto the time when Sultan Mahmud, having several times invaded Hindustan with a desire to reduce India, and having been obliged to return without executing his design and gaining victory, had recourse to the Afghans residing in Ghaznin and Kandehar, and repaired to their abode to implore their assistance and aid. Upon which, they say, twelve thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, of these Afghans, joined him; and, abandoning their home, marched with him to Hindustan, constituting the van.—It is related, that Mahmud (on returning after the destruction of Sumenat§) left the Afghans behind, at some places, especially about Lahore, for the establishment of the Islam."

* See Part I. p. 9, 19.

† See "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale," tom. IV. p. 335.

‡ *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 12.

§ *Fanabi*, whose History I had an opportunity of perusing at St. Petersburgh, says, about this expedition against Sumenat: "His expeditions to India exceed the number of ten. Among them is the expedition

Concerning the latter point, the *Khulassat Ulansab* is in perfect accordance with *Otbi*, who was contemporary with Mahmud *; and who affirms, that at the time of Mahmud's expedition, the Ghorians were still heathens; which statement, however, is expressly contradicted by others, as both *Ferishta* † and *Mirkhond* mention. We shall now subjoin the account of Mahmud's expedition against the Ghorians, as given by *Mirkhond*.

*Account of the Conquest of Ghor.*

"In the year four hundred and one, the Sultan led his army against Ghor; where he was opposed by Mohammed ben Suri, the governor of those parts; who, at the head of ten thousand men, drew up in order of battle. The struggle was well contested, till noon; when the sun of the fortune of the rebels declining, the Sultan ordered his troops to execute a feigned flight; which the Ghorians considering as a real defeat, rushed out of the circumvallation they had drawn around them. But no sooner had they reached the open field, than the royal troops wheeled round, and rendered them, on the plain, a prey to dogs and flies. They took Mohammed ben Suri prisoner, and conducted him to Mahmud; but, from excessive grief, he licked his poisoned seal-ring, and rendered his soul to the Creator ‡."

*Otbi*, in the *Farikh Yamini*, relates, that the rulers and inhabitants of Ghor had till then not embraced Islam; but (Mudai §) the author of the *Tabakat Naseri*, and Fakhr Uddin Mobareik Shah Merv Ulrudi, who has composed a history of the Ghorian Kings in verse, assert that the inhabitants of Ghor were converted to Islamism in the Khalifat of the Prince of the Faithful, Ali, upon whom be peace! At that time the ruler of Ghor was a person descended from Zohak, who had received a diploma from the Victorious Lion of God ‖, assigning him the government of Ghor; upon which his descendants used to value themselves, and which was preserved by them to the time of Bahram Shah Ghaznevi. Other historians relate, that when the wicked Ommayades ¶ ordered the Khotba to

expedition against Sumenat, in 416; from whence he took some idol with him to Ghazni, and placed it at the entrance of the cathedral." The excellent and deeply-learned Ahmed ben Kamal relates something similar, in the History of Mohammed ben Malik Shah Alsejuki, saying: "Sultan Mohammed Seljuki carried on war in India; and proving victorious, collected booty, and slew a great many Indians: he also took with him an idol, weighing two hundred mauns, and placed it at the entrance of the college he built in Ispahan."

* See *Mirkhond*, in the History of the Shars of Gurjestan: "On the dynasty of the Samanides becoming extinct, and the star of Yamin Uddoulat Mahmud's luck culminating, he sent *Otbi*, the author of the *Tarikh Yamini*, to him (the Shar), in the capacity of an envoy, to request the Shars to acknowledge the authority of the Sultan. Both Shars received *Otbi* with all respect possible; and assumed the Khotba, in Sultan Mahmud's name, in their dominions. So, through *Otbi's* dexterous management, the foundation of friendship between the Sultan and the Shars was laid." See also *Notices et Extraits* &c. p. 395.

† Part I. p. 50.

‡ See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 50.

§ Mudai must be a mistake of the copyist; the author of the *Tabakat Naseri* being Abu Omar Menhāj al Giorjāny. See *Stewart's Catalogue*, p. 7. No. XI.

‖ A surname of Ali.

¶ The custom of cursing the Alides publicly was introduced by Moawia, the first of the Ommayades; and abolished by Omar ben Abd Ulaziz. See *D'Herbelot*, under Ali, Moaviah, and Omar ben Abdalaziz.

be recited, to curse the Imam of the Faithful (upon whom be peace!) and his posterity, this command was executed all over Syria, but not in Ghor *. Fakhr Uddin Mobarek Shah says, on this subject:—

> "There remained in the Islam no pulpit
> Upon which the preacher, reciting the prayers,
> Should not have openly cursed the family of the Prophet with mean words.
> But the high country (of Ghour) was exempt from that,
> Because it was out of the reach of these wretches.
> In that country, nobody ever uttered a word of that kind,
> Neither openly nor secretly.
> The curse of the (Prophet's) family did not penetrate into it
> For this. Know it, then, to be the pride of the world—
> And its faithful and just sovereigns are superior to all generations."

Other historians narrate the history of Mohammed ben Suri in a different way, as follows:—"Sultan Mahmud, who had besieged Mohammed ben Suri; but being unable to reduce him, brought him eventually into his hands by stipulation. He cast him into chains, and carried him with him to Ghaznin. When he had been there some time in prison, the Sultan said to him: 'Call your son Hassan from his provinces, to appear at court; upon whose arrival, I bind myself to set you at liberty, to repair to your dominions.' Mohammed called his son accordingly; but when he arrived from Ghor in Ghaznin, the Sultan put him also into confinement. He, however, effected his escape, some time after, and returned to Ghor: and thus an animosity arose between the Surians and the descendants of Sultan Mahmud; as will, God willing, be recorded in its proper place."

It now remains to add an extract from Mr. *Vansittart's* Treatise on the Afghans, as given in the *Asiatic Researches* †:—"In the reign of Sultan *Mahmud* of *Ghaznah*, eight men arrived, of the posterity of *Khalid* the son of *Walid*, whose names were *Kalun*, *Alun*, *Daud*, *Yalua*, *Ahmed*, *Awin*, and *Ghazi*. The Sultan was much pleased with them, and appointed each a commander in his army. He also conferred on them the offices of *Vazir*, and *Vakili Mutlak*, or Regent of the Empire. Wherever they were stationed, they obtained possession of the country, built mosques, and overthrew the temples of idols. They increased so much, that the army of *Mahmud* was chiefly composed of *Afghans*. When *Herhind*, a powerful prince of Hindustan, meditated an invasion of *Ghaznah*, Sultan *Mahmud* dispatched against him the descendants of Khalid, with twenty thousand horse: a battle ensued; the *Afghans* made the attack; and, after a severe engagement, which lasted from day-break till noon, defeated *Herhind*, killed many of the infidels, and converted some to the Mohammedan faith.

"The *Afghans* now began to establish themselves in the mountains; and some settled in cities, with the permission of Sultan *Mahmud*. They formed regulations, dividing themselves into four classes, agreeably to the following descriptions:—The first is the pure class, consisting of those whose fathers and mothers were *Afghans*. The second class

* See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 162:—"During the power of the Caliphs of Oomya, it was usual, among the people, to ascend the pulpits, and to calumniate the family of Ali. The Ghoories, however, never lent themselves to this practice; but in the time of Ahoo Moorlim, Folad Shisty assisted in putting down the enemies of the descendants of the Prophet."

† See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 167.

consists of those whose fathers were *Afghans*, and mothers of another nation. The third class contains those whose mothers were *Afghans*, and fathers of another nation. The fourth class is composed of the children of women whose mothers were *Afghans*, and fathers and husbands of a different nation. Persons who do not belong to one of these classes are not called *Afghans*."

From all these accounts of different authors, we must conclude that Sultan Mahmud attacked and subdued to him part of the Afghans; but those residing in the mountains (resembling, in this respect, the Circassians and other petty nations of the Caucasus) maintained their independence, and ever after harassed those passing their country; of which we read frequent instances in the history of Jenghiz Khan, Timur, Baber, and others. Even history tells us, that the successors of Sultan Mahmud had to struggle against the ever-rebellious Afghans residing in the mountains.

P. 39. l. 28. *during thirty-nine years*: and p. 39. l. 31. *four hundred and forty-one.*] Sultan Mahmud died in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of thirty-four years. The thirty-nine years of our work, therefore, must be probably understood of Mahmud's warlike career. The day of his death was the twenty-third of the Rabea Ulakher of the year 421: the year 441 must be an error of the author or copyist.

P. 39. l. 32. *Sultan Mahmood and Sultan Masood—had become extinct.*] *Janabi* gives the following list of the Ghaznevides:—

i. Alptaghin, who assumed independent power in Ghaznin, in the year 366 *.
ii. Sabuktaghin, died 386: according to *Ferishta*, 387.
iii. Ismail ben Sabuktaghin †.
iv. Sultan Mahmud, died 421.
v. Mohammed ben Mahmud, who was soon compelled to cede the throne to his brother.
vi. Masud, who was assassinated in 432; according to *Ferishta*, in 433.
vii. Moudud: he entered Ghaznin in 432, and died in 441, after a reign of 9 years and 10 months.
viii. Masud ben Moudud.

* The dynasty of the Ghaznevides is generally considered to commence in Sabuktagbin; but *Janabi*, under the head, "The reign of the Ghaznevides in Korassan, Irak, and India, who are called the family of Sabuktaghin," expressly says, the first of them is Emir Albtaghin. *Cazvini*, in his history called *Lubb Ultawarich*, (see D'Herbelot, s. v. *Gaznaviah*,) dates their reign from 384 or 385, and extends it to 539 or 542. *Ibn Shonah* asserts, that it terminated in 547, after a duration of 213 years; in which he is in accordance with *Janabi*.

† This Ismail was dethroned by Sultan Mahmud, chiefly through the efforts of the Afghans, as we are told in the *Riaz Ulmuhabbat*:—"When Sabuktaghin emigrated from the perishable abode to the eternal, he was, agreeably to his last will, succeeded by his son Ismail, who was born of a daughter of Albtaghin, Sabuktaghin's protector: the mother of Sultan Mahmud, his second son, was a daughter of a Chief of Zabul. A quarrel arose between the two brothers, and they prepared for war; when the Afghans, who were attached to the Chief of Zabul, espoused the cause of Sultan Mahmud; who constituting them the van of his army, they executed a charge upon Ismail's troops. Ismail was discomfited by their gallantry, and himself taken prisoner, and shut up in some fortress. Mahmud was so pleased with them, that he married his sister to Malik Shahū, at that time the Chief of the Afghans, of whom Salar Masud Ghazi was born." See also *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 27.

IX. Baha Uddoula Ali ben Masud ben Mahmud.

X. Shams Uddin Allah Seif Uddoula Abd Ulrashid ben Mahmud ben Sabuktaghin. The usurper Toghrul was, soon after assuming the reins of government, put to death by the grandees, and succeeded by

XI. Farukhzad, who died in 451; according to *Ferishta*, in 450.

XII. Zahir Uddoulat Abul Musaffer *Ibrahim* ben Masud ben Mahmud; died 481.

XIII. Ala Uddoula ben Ibrahim; died 508.

XIV. Shirzad, murdered by his brother.

XV. Arslan Shah, who was strangled in 512 *.

XVI. Bahram Shah, who died in 548, after a reign of about 36 years. According to *Ferishta*, he died in 547, after a reign of 35 years.

XVII. Khosrou Shah died in 555. In him ends the dynasty of the Ghaznevides; for his son,

XVIII. Malik Shah, who set up for King in India, was overthrown by Shahab Uddin Ghori.

The last two princes being particularly remarkable for their struggle with the Ghorides, I shall give a few extracts about them from *Janabi* and *Mirkhond*. The words of Janabi are: "After him (Bahram Shah) reigned in Ghaznah his son Nizam Uddin Khosrou Shah ben Bahram Shah ben Masud ben Ibrahim ben Masud ben Mahmud ben Sabuktaghin. When, in the year 550, the king of Ghor, Ala Uddin Alhossain, advanced upon Ghaznah, its master, Khosrou Shah, left it, and retreated to Lahore in India; and thus Malik Ala Uddin Alhossain took possession of Ghaznah, whilst Khosrou Shah retained Lahore, until Shahab Uddin Mohammed ben Sam arrived before Lahore, and took it from its possessor, Khosrou Shah; whom he vanquished, and sent him to his brother Ghayas Uddin, who confined him in a fortress till his death, which happened in the month of Rajeb, in the year 555. He is the last who is mentioned of his dynasty. After him, his son, Malik Shah ben Khosrou, set up for king in a part of India: but his affairs did not prosper, until Shahab Uddin Ghori vanquished him also, and took possession of India, Khorassan, Ghor, and other countries; so that his kingdom was large, and his power great. Khosrou Shah was one of the most excellent kings, and a protector of science and the learned. He belonged to a family enjoying a superiority that was handed down by one illustrious sovereign to another. The duration of the Sabuktaghin dynasty was about two hundred and thirteen years; it having commenced in the year 366, and terminated in the year 555. This dynasty, in morals and justice, was one of the most distinguished. Praise be to the Ever-living and Immortal Being!

* Of this sovereign the following information is given in the *Jami Ultawarikh*:—"When Sultan Sanjar entered Khorassan, Arslan Shah was in Hindustan; where a great number assembling around him, he again set an army on foot. Bahram Shah abandoned Ghaznin a second time, and entered Bamian; from whence he sent an envoy to Sanjar, who detached an army to his assistance. Bahram Shah, being thus re-inforced by Sanjar's army, marched towards Ghaznin; when Arslan Shah, receiving intelligence of this, took to flight, without battle; his people being, beyond measure, afraid of Sanjar's troops. He retreated among the *Afghans*: but a month after he had left Ghaznin, Bahram Shah set out to pursue him, and brought a frightful desolation over Afghanistan. They seized a number of Afghans, and demanded of them to deliver up Arslan: on doing which, they would be released: if not, be put to death altogether. The Afghans, therefore, delivered up Arslan: and the Emir of Sanjar's army, receiving him, wanted to send him to Sanjar; but his brother, Bahram Shah, offered the Emir a large sum of money, for which the latter delivered him to Bahram Shah, who had him executed. This event took place in the year 512." See also *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 147.

*Mirkhond's* account of these two princes runs thus:—

*History of Sultan Khosrou Shah ben Bahram Shah ben Masud*.*

"He became king after his father's death; but fled from Ghaznin on the approach of Ala Uddin Hossain Jehansoz; and retreated to Hindustan, where he seized the government of Lahore."

*History of Khosrou Malik ben Khosrou Shah, the last of the Ghaznevide Kings†.*

"He occupied the throne after his father's decease at Lahore. He was a monarch distinguished by justice and benevolence; but indulged too much in good cheer and amusements, by which the affairs of state fell into a thorough disorder. The Omras and grandees took offence at him; and his wives and servants, during his time, usurped a sovereign sway. At this time, Sultan Ghayas Uddin Mohammed Sam Ghori fixed upon Ghaznin for his royal seat, and undertook, every year, an expedition to Hindustan; in one of which, in the year 533, he advanced as far as Lahore. Having occupied those countries, Khosrou Malik came out to him upon stipulations, and was sent by him to Ghaznin. All the Ghaznevides who fell into the power of the Ghorides were portioned with the draught of death, and the family of Sabuktaghin became extinct, so that of these powerful monarchs nothing remains but their history."

P. 39. l. 35. *on the Sultans of Ghor.*] The history of the Afghan dynasty of the Ghorides cannot be passed over so slightly as that of the Ghaznevides; these latter belonging to the Turkish race. I shall, therefore, insert here a translation from *Mirkhond*, of the history of the Ghorides, and supply it from other Oriental authors.

*Account of the Origin of the Kings of Ghor, and Relation of some of their Achievements.*

"The historians relate, that at the time when Feridun vanquished Zohak Tazi, a number of the latter's descendants saved themselves by flight, and sought for a refuge where they either should not be discovered at all, or, if so, be secured from any injury. After much search, they eventually entered the Kohistan of Bamian, situated between Balkh and Kabul; from whence they proceeded to the mountains of Ghor, where they erected strongholds. Feridun, being informed of their settlement, detached a strong army to exterminate them. The forces of Feridun, in obedience to the command, marched upon Ghor, and a protracted struggle commenced between them. The Zohakians, however, were so well secured in their strong places, that the troops of Feridun consented to an amicable arrangement; and the Ghorians, too, wearied out with the hardships of war, agreed on paying tribute, on condition, that they should content themselves with Ghor, nor infest other countries. In this manner the government of Ghor was invested in the descendants of Zohak, who retained it during many successive generations.

"When the government of Khorassan and Ghaznin was held by Mahmud ben Sabuktaghin, he seized Mohammed Suri, the ruler of Ghor, as well as his son. Mohammed Suri then said to his son Hassan: 'My life is near its close, and I wish you to return to Ghor, lest our family become extinct.' The apartment, wherein they were both confined, had a window looking into the desert, which window was thirty yards from the ground. Mohammed ben Suri, by various contrivances, breaking his son's chains, they cut the

* See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 155. † Ibid. p. 157.

cloths, which they used to put under them, to pieces, and twisted them into a rope; by which Mohammed let down his son through the window. Hassan succeeded in escaping to Ghor, and assumed the government a second time. But the Sultan, being informed of his flight, put Mohammed Suri to death.

"Hassan ben Mohammed ben Suri established his authority in Ghor; and had a son born to him, whom he called Hossain; who again had seven sons *. When the throne of Ghaznin was occupied by Bahram Shah, a descendant of Mahmud Sabuktagliu, and distinguished by a great many excellent qualities, who was at enmity with Sultan Sanjar, he entered into a friendly connexion with Hossain's sons; the eldest of whom he invited to him, pretending that he desired him to be his companion, in order to consolidate their friendship. Malik Kotb Uddin Mohammed, the eldest of Hossain's sons, came to Ghaznin in consequence; where Bahram Shah for some time paid him all respect and attention, but eventually gave orders to kill him. Thus the enmity of the sovereign of Ghor and Bahram Shah of Ghaznin terminated in enmity: they mutually infested their respective countries, and several wars were carried on between them."

The author remarks, that every one, knowing that from the commencement of Sultan Mahmud's reign, to the time of Bahram Shah, many years elapsed, will perceive that this account, given and rendered plausible (adopted) by some historians, in their histories, admits too large a distance of time.

Another account is the following †:—"When Sultan Mahmud Sabuktaglin had cut off Suri, the ruler of Ghor, the grandson of the latter fled to Hindustan from apprehension of the Sultan, and lived in an idol temple. But he eventually became a Mussulman, by the name of Sam ‡; and came to Dehli, where he followed the business of a merchant. From thence he carried Hindustani goods to Ghor, where he sold them to advantage, and then returned. This Sam had a son, by name Hossain. Towards the close of his life, Sam, with his wealth and family, departed by water for Ghor; but a storm coming on, the vessel was wrecked. Hossain ben Sam seized a plank, whilst the others were drowned in the waves. A tiger, being on board the same ship, clung to the same beam, and with this companion Hossain held out three days. The wind driving the plank ashore, the beast went off into the desert; and Hossain arrived at a city, where he during the night slept at the door of a certain shop. A watchman happening to pass by his resting-place, apprehended him, and gave him into custody, where he passed seven years.

"The governor of the city being taken ill, they set the prisoner at liberty; and Hossain, being released, repaired to Ghaznin. When he came to these parts, a gang of highway-robbers falling in with him, and perceiving him to be a fine, strong youth,

* *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 167, informs us, that these seven sons, entitled the Seven Stars, separated into two divisions: the one gave origin to the dynasty of kings at Bamian, called also Tokharistan and Mohatila; and the other, to the Ghori dynasty at Ghizny. The names of the seven brothers were: 1. Fakhr Uddin Masud; 2. Kotb Uddin Mohammed; 3. Shujaa Uddin Ali; 4. Nasir Uddin Mohammed; 5. Seif Uddin Suri; 6. Baha Uddin Sam; 7. Alla Uddin Hossain.

† Related also in *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 164.

‡ All the other authors, whom I had an opportunity of inspecting, relate, that this grandson of Suri, who lived in an idol temple, had a son, called Sam, who embraced Islamism, and was drowned on his return to Ghor. Hossain was a son of this Sam. But in another copy of the *Rouzat Ulsafa* I find the addition: "Suri had a son, Sam by name, &c." I have no doubt that these words, in the copy from which I translated, have been omitted by inadvertency of the copyist.

furnished him with a horse, arms, and clothes, and desired him to join their party. It so happened, that, that very night, a detachment of Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznevi's troops, who had for some time been in search of that band, overpowered them, and conducted them all prisoners to the Sultan, who gave orders for their execution. When the executioners bound up Hossain's eyes, the latter exclaimed: 'O God, I know that Thou canst not err! Why, then, do they kill me, who am innocent?' The executioner inquiring into his affairs, Hossain gave him some account of his adventures. Which account reaching the ears of the Sultan, he inquired further about his descent. Hossain giving a full account of his ancestors, Ibrahim felt compassion for him, and treated him with princely kindness. He appointed him one of his chamberlains, and gave him a daughter of his in marriage.

"When the throne passed over to Masud ben Ibrahim, he distinguished him highly, by bestowing the government of Ghor upon him. After Hossain's death, peace and war between Bahram Shah Ghaznevi and Hossain's descendants succeeded each other; till, at length, Bahram Shah violated the treaty subsisting, and the descendants of Hossain raised a strong army and advanced upon Ghaznin. Bahram Shah, with an army not less formidable, marched out against them; but after a dreadful carnage on both sides, he was obliged to fly. Alla Uddin Jehansoz, the eldest son of Hossain, installed his brother Suri into the government of Ghaznin, and himself returned to Firozkoh. On the road, Lacu, another brother of his, died of an inflation of the brain*.

"In the winter-time, when the Ghorians could not leave their abodes in consequence of excessive snow, Bahram Shah directed his operations from Hindustan against Ghaznin, with a strong force and countless elephants: on which, Malik Suri quitted the city with three hundred Ghorians, a thousand Ghozzi horse, and the Ghaznevide army. On the day of battle, the Ghaznevides joined Bahram Shah; who addressed a message to the Ghozzes, that he had no hostile intentions towards them, and that they should consequently abandon his enemies. The Ghozzes, in effect, refused to fight; and Bahram Shah's troops surrounding Suri, the latter, after a manly struggle, in which he was covered with wounds, was taken prisoner. Bahram Shah, a second time master of Ghaznin, treated Malik Suri, who was brave and liberal, a man endowed with many virtues, with the utmost contempt; ordering him to be seated upon a bullock, and conducted round the town; and, after numberless insults, had him put to death†."

*History of Sultan Ala Uddin Jehansoz.*

Some relate, that his name was Hassan, as also that of his grandfather, and not Sam. Others, who call him Hossain, produce in support of it the following verse of his:

> "If I do not extirpate Ghaznin, root and foundation,
> I am not Hossain ben Hossain Hassan."

Others relate, concerning his descent, that he is Hassan the son of Hossain ben Sam ben Hassan ben Suri, and read the last line of the verses in the following manner:

> "I am not Hassan ben Hossain Hassan."

Moreover, in support of their opinion, they assert, that Sultan Ala Uddin omitted the word Sam only from metrical necessity.

* The name of the malady given in the original, signifies delirium, phrensy, a tumor or inflation of the brain. In *Ferishta*, he is said to have died of the small-pox. Sam was Baha Uddin Sam.

† See *Ferishta*, Part I. pp. 153, 167. Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, I. p. 200.

Some historians believe that Ala Uddin succeeded his brother Suri. Be this as it may; when Ala Uddin had received intelligence of Suri's misfortune, he raised a strong army, and marched upon Ghaznin, with a view to revenge his brother. Some historians say, before his arrival Bahram Shah had died, and had been succeeded by his son. Other more recent historians, who treat of this nation, state, that "When the news of Ala Uddin's approach reached Bahram Shah, he issued orders to complete his army from all parts of his dominions. He quitted Ghaznin; and detached an envoy to Ala Uddin Jehansoz, to advise him that he had better retreat, since he was going to meet him with so many thousand men, and such a number of elephants. To this Ala Uddin replied: 'If thou comest with elephants (*sar fil*), I come with *Kharfil;*' in his army being two champions, called *Kharfil*, who were unequalled in fortitude. To them Ala Uddin communicated the answer sent to Bahram Shah; adding, at the same time, that they must endeavour, in the battle, to destroy the elephants: to which they, kissing the ground of obedience, replied, 'that as long as their lives should remain in their body, they would not shew themselves guilty of the least deficiency.' When both parties came in sight of each other, these two heroes alighted from their horses, drew their daggers, conveyed themselves under the trappings of the elephants, and cut open their bellies. One of them, however, lost his life in this enterprise; the other escaping unhurt. On this day, they say, the Sultan had put a satin garment over his coat of mail: and one of his attendants asking what he intended by this, he said, If an arrow should hit him, and blood flow, the soldiers would not remark it; for if they should know it, they would be discouraged. In this conflict, Doulet Shah, a son of Bahram Shah, a distinguished warrior, charged Ala Uddin's centre with a detachment of chosen soldiers and one elephant. Ala Uddin commanded the soldiers standing in front of the line of battle to open a passage to him. Doulet Shah approaching the centre, and seeing a passage open to him, pushed boldly forward; when the soldiers blocked up the retreat, surrounded the Ghaznevides, cut down Doulet Khan with his detachment, and knocked down the elephant. Bahram Shah, in consequence of these afflicting circumstances, let the reins of fortitude drop from his hands, and turned his face to flight; the Ghorians vigorously pursuing the Ghaznevides. Bahram Shah halted in the vicinity of Tanknabad, and prepared for battle with those left to him. Sultan Ala Uddin did the same, and an engagement ensued; wherein Bahram Shah was routed, and closely pursued by Ala Uddin as far as Ghaznin. A number of the villagers and the inhabitants of the city assembling under his banners, he renewed the conflict a third time, but sustained a new defeat. Sultan Ala Uddin then took the city by assault; and caused a general massacre, plundering, ransacking, and burning. He personally entered the royal palace, where he indulged in drinking wine. During seven * days of the massacre and conflagration, the atmosphere was darkened, by smoke, like night; and seven nights were light as day, from the flames. The greater part of the male inhabitants were slain; and their families taken prisoners. The tombs of the family of Sabuktaghin, with only the exception of Yemin Uddoula Mahmud's, were, in pursuance of an order, dug up, and the bones found in them burned †."

* *Janabi* says, that he gave up Ghazna to plunder during three days.

† See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 167:—" He carried his animosity so far, as to destroy every monument of the Ghizny Emperors, with the exception of those of Mahmood, Musaood, and Ibraheem; but he defaced all the inscriptions, even of their times, from every public edifice." The tomb of Mahmud is, up to this day, remaining at Ghazni. See *Elphinstone*, II. p. 170.

"Seven days after, Ala Uddin Jehansoz rose from his retirement, and ordered the grave of his brothers, of the Malik Uljebal, Kotb Uddin Mohammed, and Malik Suri, to be opened, coffins made, and their bones carried to Ghor; and he himself returned to his country, demolishing, and burning down on the road, all buildings referred to Sabuktaghin's descendants. From this time he was surnamed Ala Uddin Jehansoz (the burner or incendiary of the world). In revenge of Seid Majd Uddin, the Viceroy of Suri, who had been hanged at the same time when Suri was executed, he ordered the Seids of Ghaznin, with wallets of mud fastened to their necks, to be carried away to Firozkoh in Ghor, where he had them put to death, and this mud moistened with the blood of these saints, and employed in the bastions of the castle of Firozkoh*. Having thus fully wreaked his revenge, he gave himself up to a gay life, and assembled about him musicians and merry companions, to enliven his festivities.

"When he had established his authority, he seized upon his nephews, Ghayas Uddin Mohammed Sam, and Moëzz Uddin Mohammed Sam, who afterwards became known by the name of Sultan Shahab Uddin, and confined them in some castle†. He broke off his amicable connexion with Sultan Sanjar, and refused to give the stipulated presents; by which, things proceeded so far, that Sanjar marched an army upon Ghor. Ala Uddin Jehansoz, at the head of a chosen army, quitted Ghor, and put himself in march to oppose the aggressor. In the plains of Herasrud, both armies encountered, and gave battle. Sultan Sanjar prevailed, and Ala Uddin Ghori fell into captivity. The Sultan ordered him to be put in heavy chains; but he presented a demand, that the Sultan should treat him in that manner in which it had been his design to treat the Sultan. Sultan Sanjar inquiring about it, Ala Uddin confessed that he had, in convenience to the dignity of a sovereign, got a chain made of silver, which it had been his intention to put to the feet of the Sultan, in case he should fall into his hands. Sultan Sanjar ordering the chain to be brought forth, thus fettered his ancles. Ala Uddin being famous for social qualities and merry poems, Sultan Sanjar gave him his liberty some days after, and made him his companion in his debaucheries. One day they placed a plate with pearls before the Sultan, who presented it to Ala Uddin. Ala Uddin, upon the spot, recited the following quatrain:

'The Shah has taken, but not killed me, in the hostile action,
Although I am bad, and certainly deserving of death;
And having presented me with a plate with precious pearls,
He has thus granted me forgiveness and a gift‡.'

One day, they relate, Sultan Sanjar put off his boots, and stretched out his feet to clean them. A mole being on the sole of his foot, which met the eye of Ala Uddin, he, with permission, kissed that very foot, and exclaimed:

'Aye! the dust of thy horse's hoof is my crown—
Aye! the ring of thy servitude is my ornament:
Having kissed the dust of thy foot,
Good fortune now kisses my head!'

* Malcolm's *History of Persia*, I. pp. 201, 224. *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 155.

† In the castle of Jurjistan, as the *Jami Ullawarikh* and *Ferishta* tell us.

‡ I have tried to express the Persian words by employing *forgiveness* and *gift*, which descend from the same root. If translated into Latin, this verse would read thus:—"*Condonationem* et *donationem* mihi et illo et hoc modo fecit."

Sultan Sanjar, ever after, shewed to Ala Uddin Jehansoz much regard, and re-instated him in Ghor. He departed for it accordingly, and resumed the government of it; but a short while after, the dun of death arriving, the frame of his body was deprived of the spirit *."

*History of Malik Seif Uddin Mohammed.*

"When Ala Uddin Jehansoz became unfortunate and unhappy, the grandees and first noblemen of the empire proclaimed his son, Seif Uddin Mohammed, sovereign. He was a youth handsome, generous, attentive to the good of his subjects, liberal, bountiful, affable, pious, and religious. A proof of his righteous disposition is the circumstance, that he released his two cousins, Sultan Ghayas Uddin, and Moëzz Uddin †, from their confinement ‡; and endeavoured to redress the unjust and iniquitous treatment they had suffered from his father. But his reign had not the duration of the season of roses; for his life was shortened, because he had put to death some grand officer, called Varmais, bearing a golden bracelet of his wife, which one of the Ghoride kings had taken by force and presented to this general. This animosity, occasioned by Malik Seif Uddin's wife, had begun at the time when Ala Uddin Jehansoz had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Sultan Sanjar, and Malik Naser Uddin Mohammed Ghor occupied his place §.

"When Varmais was put to death, his brother the general, Abul Abbas, harboured rancour in his heart; and when Malik Seif Uddin had marched against the Ghozzes, he, watching an opportunity during the conflict, struck a spear into Seif Uddin's side, and threw him from the horse to the ground. Upon this, the soldiers abandoned him on the spot, and ran away. One Ghozz coming up to Seif Uddin, and seeing the royal robe and belt, tried to take it off; which, however, being impracticable, he attempted to cut the girdle-band, and struck it so forcibly with a knife, that it sank into Seif Uddin's belly, by which he became a martyr. The duration of his reign was one year and some months."

*History of Sultan Ghayas Uddin Abul Fath ben Sam.*

"When Sultan Ghayas Uddin and Sultan Moëzz Uddin had been released from confinement, by the order of Malik Seif Uddin, the former of them entered Seif Uddin's service, whilst the latter repaired to his uncle, Fakhr Uddin Masud, in Bamian. Abul Abbas, in the battle with the Ghozzes, having thrown Seif Uddin to the ground, as has been just related, went to Ghor, and, with the consent of the noblemen and grandees of

* He died in 551, A.D. 1156, according to *Ferishta;* but in 556 according to *Janabi.*

† Moëzz Uddin, or Shabah Uddin, in the *Jami Ultawarikh*, is named شقال *Shakal*, as Ala Uddin is *Alakal.*

‡ See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 168.

§ The *Jami Ultawarikh* furnishes a more distinct account of this affair; as will appear from the following:—"The king of the mountains, when bestowing an honorary vest, used to give also with it a bracelet of pure gold set with jewels; which custom was subsequently abolished. Now, some general, Varmaish, had on his hands two bracelets, which Malik Naser Uddin Hossain had given him, and which came from Sultan Shakal's wife, from whom Malik Naser Uddin had taken them. The Sultan recognising them, the ardour of manhood, and the violated honour of royalty, excited such impetuous feelings in him, that he said to Varmaish, 'Go, and bring me my arrow from the butt.' Varmaish, in obedience to the order, turned his face towards the butt, and his back to the Sultan; who discharged an arrow, and so violently lodged it from behind, through his shoulder-blades, that it pierced his chest, and caused instantaneous death."

that quarter, placed Sultan Ghayas Uddin upon the throne. Before his accession, Mohammed ben Sam had borne the name of Shams Uddin: his brother they called Shahab Uddin. But when he had mounted the throne, he was surnamed Sultan Ghayas Uddin: and his brother, Moëzz Uddin, generally passing in history by the name of Shahab Uddin, will be spoken of under the same name in this composition.

"When Shahab Uddin received intelligence of his brother, Ghayas Uddin, having obtained the royal dignity, he left Bamiau for Firozkoh. The general, Abul Abbas, who had raised Ghayas Uddin to the throne, lived with excessive pomp and magnificence, and allowed the Sultan no share in the administration of affairs. His power and predominance had more effect upon the mind of the Ghorians than the fear of the Sultan himself. But whenever he mentioned the assassination of Malik Seif Uddin, the flame of vengeance glowed up in the breast of the two brothers, and they planned some scheme to cut off Abul Abbas. For this purpose they instructed one of their Turks, when Abul Abbas should appear at court, and occupy his place, to strike off his head at a signal given by Shahab Uddin, by putting the hand to his cap. When his Excellency, therefore, came to wait on his sovereign, and was conversing with Ghayas Uddin, Shahab Uddin gave the signal, and the Turk, by one stroke, flung Abul Abbas's head to the ground. They say, that when Abul Abbas felt the touch of the sword, he applied his hand to his dagger; and had drawn it half-way out, when the vital power failed him.

"On the death of Abul Abbas, Malik Fakhr Uddin Masud aspired to the dominions of his nephews, Ghayas Uddin and Shahab Uddin; and called on the governor of Herat, and the prefect of Balkh, to assist him*. They both put themselves in motion for this purpose; but before they had effected a conjunction, Sultan Ghayas Uddin opposed an army to these rebels who had arrived from Herat and Balkh: the Ghorian army cut them both off, and returned home victorious. Sultan Ghayas Uddin transmitted the head of the son of Kamaj, the governor of Balkh, to Malik Fakhr Uddin; who, repenting of his enterprise, resolved on retreating. At this juncture, however, the Ghorian troops overtook and surrounded him. Both Sultan Ghayas Uddin and Sultan Shahab Uddin had followed their troops; and when they learned that their uncle, Fakhr Uddin, was among them, they alighted from their horses, and waited on him. They accosted him with the words: 'My lord, you must return;' and conducted him to their camp, where they seated him upon a throne, folded up their hands in their girdle, and stood before him. Malik Fakhr Uddin, overwhelmed with shame and embarrassment, addressed harsh language to them, quitted the throne, and declared to them that they only mocked and ridiculed him. The two

* See the *Jami Ultawarikh*:—"Emir Fakhr Uddin, coveting the kingdom of Ghor and Firozkoh, prepared an expedition, demanding the assistance of the ruler of Balkh, Abubecr Kamaj, and Taj Uddin Ilduz of Herat, who joined him too, and took the route of Firozkoh. Herat and Firozkoh lying near each other, Taj Uddin wished to anticipate the conquest of the latter place: but the two brothers, Ghayas Uddin and Moëzz Uddin, having well equipped their army, marched out of Firozkoh. When both parties had approached each other, at a distance of less than a farsang, two Ghorian heroes made a mutual vow; and coming to the Sultan, alighted from their horses, and most humbly represented: 'We two alone are a match for the Herat army:' upon which they were ordered to mount again. They spurred on their horses, and flew fleetly and swiftly up to the lines of the Herat army, and cried out: 'Where is Malik Ilduz? him we seek.' Ilduz at that time stood under an umbrella: which being pointed out by the soldiers, so that the Ghorians knew where he was, both, like hungry lions and mad elephants, drew their swords, fell upon Ilduz, and slew him: when his army, seeing this act of prowess and valour, took to flight."

good-hearted princes, however, proffered all excuses, and he departed for Bamian. They accompanied him one stage, upon which they returned.

"Ghayas Uddin, whose power over Ghor was now firmly established, undertook a campaign against Zamiudawer and the Garmsir; after the reduction of which countries he proceeded to Badghais."

*History of Sultan Shahab Uddin; and an Account of his State before and after the Death of Sultan Ghayas Uddin.*

"Sultan Shahab Uddin*, who by his brother's will had assumed sovereignty in Ghaznin in the year 570, put himself in motion against Hindustan in the year subsequent, and conquered the Multan. He then advanced his troops step by step, and made war upon India. On the conquest of Dehli, he invested one of his slaves, Kotb Uddin Eibak, with the government of those parts. Kotb Uddin conquered many provinces of Hindustan, as is circumstantially related in the *Taj Ulmaasir* †. Sultan Shahab Uddin derived immense means from India. He is said to have gained in one of his expeditions not less than three hundred elephants and upwards. Shahab Uddin then marched victorious, and with pomp, to Khorassan; and was between Tuse and Sarakhs, when Sultan Ghayas Uddin died in Herat ‡. The news of which accident reaching him, he repaired to Badghais; where he performed the duties of mourning, and distributed the dominion of his late brother to the descendants of Sam; assigning the throne of Firozkoh and Ghor to his cousin, Malik Zia Uddin §, a son-in-law to Sultan Ghayas Uddin: the reins of the government of Bost, Farrah, and Isferar, he confided to the able hands of Mohammed, a son of Sultan Ghayas Uddin; and the government of Herat to his nephew, Naser Uddin Ghazi. He himself returned to Ghaznin, where he prepared an expedition against Khuarezm. When he had given up the struggle with Sultan Mohammed Khuarezm Shah, and returned to his royal seat, he ordered the remainder of his army to get themselves ready for a triennial expedition to Turkistan. At this time, messengers brought him the news of an insurrection raised by the inhabitants of Kohjud; which induced the Sultan to postpone the expedition against the Turks, and to march against the insurgents. He slew and seized a great number of them, upon which he subdued them. He also established his authority over the countries of Gurjestan, by entering into connexion with its governors. In the year 569, when he had scoured Ghaznin of all mutineers, he invested his brother, Shahab Uddin, with the government of these dominions, and himself returned to Firozkoh.

"Two years after, he assembled the troops of Ghor and Ghaznin; and led them against the royal seat of Herat, where Baha Uddin Toghrul, a slave of Sanjar's, was governor. He left the city, and repaired to Khuarezm Shah. The Sultan having occupied Herat, subdued Fowsanj ‖ two years after. The princes of Sistan, seeing the Sultan in the

* See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 161, and following, where a circumstantial history of this monarch is given.

† This historical work, the full title of which is, "The Crown of Exploits like Pearls and Jewels," was compiled by Hassan Nizami, who lived in the reign of Shams Uddin Flatmish. It recounts the history of Koth Uddin Ibak and Shams Uddin, till the year 614, A.D. 1217-18. A copy of it I had an opportunity of inspecting at St. Petersburgh; but want of time prevented my making extracts.

‡ *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 180. Ghayas Uddin died in 599, according to *Janabi*.

§ In the *Jami Uttawarikh*, "*Ziakal*."

‖ "*Fowsanj* is an ancient city, which some believe to have been built even anterior to Herat, from which it lies at a distance of six farsangs. It receives its water from the river of Herat, and is situated west of it."—*Jami Uttawarikh*.

possession of the greater part of Khorassan, detached some envoys to him, to sue for his protection, by professions of submission: so his affairs were daily on the increase. In 597, he made a diversion upon Shadbakh; the gates of which were shut up by Ali Shah ben Tugush, who, with some Khuarezmian princes, retired into a tower. Sultan Ghayas Uddin, who happened to come opposite to this tower, told his attendants, that, from between this and another tower, a breach could be easily made with the stones of the engines; and, in fact, owing to his fortune, that part of the wall which he had pointed out crushed down immediately: a wide breach was opened, by which the city was taken*. The Sultan then returned from that quarter, and captured Merv the subsequent year. The whole of Khorassan obeying his sway, he, in 599, emigrated to the kingdom of the future world, in obedience to the order of the Immortal King. His tomb is surmounted by a cupola, which he had ordered to be built for that purpose, in the cathedral of Herat. The duration of his life was sixty-three years; and that of his reign, forty-three years. Prior to his time, the Gh...ans were attached to the sect of the Keramians†; but he followed the doctrines of the Shafeïtes, since he found in them more abstinence and attachment to the traditions of the blessed Prophet; on which account, he, in preference, appointed Shafeïte doctors to the Imâmat of the cathedral of Herat, which he had founded and built‡. Some say that he returned to Ghaznin; but on the road, at the stage of Damyak, some desperate fellows § rendered him a martyr.

VERSE.

"The martyrdom of the king of the ocean and the continent, Moëzz Uddin,
Like whom nobody has started since the creation of the world,
Happened on the third of Shahan, in the year 602,
On his road to Ghaznin, at the mansion of Damyak."

*History of Mohammed ben Ghayas Uddin Mohammed ben Sam.*

"After the death of his uncle, Sultan Shahab Uddin, Sultan Mohammed repaired to Firozkoh; and not only the grandees of this quarter, but the whole of Korassan, submitted to his authority. The Omras of the different provinces, as Taj Uddin Ildaz, governor of Ghaznin, and Kotb Uddin, viceroy of Dehli, sent envoys to testify their submission: and all over Ghor, Ghaznin, and Hindustan, the khotba was recited and coinage engraved with his name and titles. He completed the mosque of Herat, which had not been finished. In his reign, Ali Shah ben Tagash took some offence with his brother, Sultan Mohammed Khuarezm Shah, quitted him, and came to Firozkoh. Khuarezm Shah, on this, transmitted to him the letter of peace, which Sultan Shahab Uddin had sent him; and in which he had declared, that he should consider Khuarezm Shah's friends and enemies as his own friends and enemies: he, moreover, added the message, that Ali Shah, notwithstanding the bonds of brotherhood, being his enemy, ought to be seized and

* This happened in 594.

† See *D'Herbelot*, s. v. *Keramioun*, and *Schafeï*.

‡ "The building of this mosque was commenced in the year 546; but three years after, when it was only partially finished, Sultan Ghayas Uddin died. His tomb lies at the north side of the mosque, which was completed by Sultan Shahab Uddin."—*Jami Ultawarikh.*

§ These fellows were, as both *Janabi* and *Ferishta* relate, a set of Gukkers, who pierced him with twenty-two wounds. In the *Jami Ultawarikh* it is mentioned, that the Sultan's tent had been pitched in such a manner, that one half of it reached into the River Indus, and was therefore deemed secure enough without guards; when, in the middle of the day, at the time the Sultan used to repose, two or three desperate Indians [popped] out of the water; and having assassinated the Sultan, plunged again into it, and thus escaped.

secured. Ghayas Uddin Mohammed, accordingly, apprehended Taj Uddin Ali Shah, and detained him in the palace. Now Ali Shah had brought with him a number of Khorassanians, Irakians, and others attached to him: his people several times made a great noise in Ali Shah's apartment; and his followers addressed a representation to the Sultan, that Ali Shah, and they his adherents, having sought protection at his court, it was any thing but praiseworthy to seize and confine those who had been received into his protection—that if the Sultan should harbour any villany in his mind, they would certainly enterprise something hurtful to him. The Eternal Will, however, having predestined the martyrdom of the Sultan, he was too haughty to be warned by these speeches; owing to which, some of that number one night climbed up the screens which were on a level with the Sultan's sleeping apartments, and espied the locality of the place. On a Tuesday night, on the third of Safar, in the year 607, they stole into the palace, made Shahab Uddin Mohammed swallow the draught of martyrdom, and withdrew by the way they had come in. At day-break, they buried him in the same palace. In the sequel, his body was transported to Herat, and deposited in the bleaching-ground."

*History of Sam ben Ghayas Uddin Mahmud ben Ghayas Uddin Mohammed ben Sam.*

"On Mahmud's death, the Ghorian Omras and the Turks agreed in raising his eldest son, Sam, then fourteen years of age, to the throne. The great of the empire cut off some of the princes who they conceived might give rise to seditions, and imprisoned others. When the followers of Ali Shah saw him walking out of his confinement, they renewed their seditious designs; and introduced a number of themselves into boxes, designing to smuggle them into the city, and carry their plans into execution. But one of the accomplices denounced the whole plot to the Omras, who, detaching a troop, stopped the boxes at the gates of the city: thus forty-five of the conspirators were apprehended, and partly crushed under the feet of elephants, partly precipitated from a cliff. Three of them, the assassinators of Sultan Mohammed, were cut to pieces. When three months of Baha Uddin's reign had passed, Ala Uddin Atsiz ben Ala Uddin Jehansoz, taking it into his head to conquer Ghor, applied to Khuarezm Shah, with whom he at that time resided, for troops to execute his plans. Khuarezm Shah, in consequence, detached him with an army to Firozkoh.

"When the Ghorians were informed of Atsiz's enterprise, they released Ali Shah ben Tagash from confinement, imagining that, perhaps, some Khuarezmians might declare for him; and he also, in requital for his brother's hostile designs, made all exertions possible. Two or three days after, the respective armies commenced the conflict, about the mountains and the city. On a Friday, in the middle of the month Jomadi Ulawal, in the year 607, the Khuarezmians conquered Firozkoh, and Ali Shah proceeded to Ghaznin; whilst Baha Uddin Sam, with his brother and mother, and the coffin of Ghayas Uddin Mahmud, retreated to Khorassan. On their arrival at Herat, Sultan Mohammed sent them towards Khuarezm. They relate, that, in the commencement of the disturbances raised by Jenghiz Khan, Baha Uddin Sam, with his brother Shams Uddin Mohammed, was drowned at the command of Sultan Mohammed Khuarezm Shah."

*History of Atsiz ben Ala Uddin Jehansoz.*

"When Atsiz extended his sway over Firozkoh, the noblemen of Ghor submitted to him. But between him and the governor of Ghaznin, Taj Uddin Ilduz, arose a quarrel, in consequence of which they made war upon each other. In one of the actions, Ilduz was put to flight; and Atsiz held the government of Ghor, in the name of Khuarezm

Shah, for four years. In a second conflict between him and the army of Ghaznin, Atsiz became a martyr, and his children were either killed or dispersed. After Ala Uddin Atsiz, Ala Uddin Mohammed Abu Ali, of the family of Suri, aspired to the crown of Ghor, but without success: he was, in 611, called off to Khuarezm by Sultan Mohammed. He departed for his country in consequence; and one of the Khuarezmian Omras was appointed governor of Ghor."

*History of the Kings of Bamian, of the Family of the Ghorides.*

"The first of them was Fakhr Uddin Masud. Malik Masud was an uncle of Sultan Ghayas Uddin, Mohammed ben Sam. He held the government of Bamian and the provinces of Tokharestan a long time, and was highly respected by the sovereigns of Ghor. He had very clever sons, Shams Uddin Mohammed, Taj Uddin Zanki, and Hissan Uddin Ali; altogether brave and gallant youths. On Malik Fakhr Uddin's death, his eldest son succeeded him."

*History of Malik Shams Uddin Mohammed Masud.*

"He became governor of Bamian after his father's death: Sultan Ghayas Uddin transmitted an honorary vest and a splendid robe to him. He ruled over Tokharestan, Balkh, Boclan, Jaghanian, and some districts of Badakhshan. When the princes of Ghor advanced upon Mervlelrud, with a view to expel Sultan Shah ben Arslan ben Atsiz, a battle ensued, wherein Malik Shams Uddin displayed much gallantry; and when he seized and killed Malik Baha Uddin Toghrul, an upstart of Sanjar's, Sultan Ghayas Uddin bestowed upon him the title of Sultan."

*History of Malik Baha Uddin Sam ben Shams Uddin Mohammed.*

"After Malik Shams Uddin's death, Baha Uddin Sam became ruler. He was a wise, just, benevolent, and righteous prince, and continually lived in the company of learned men; and the most distinguished Imam, Fakhr Uddin Razi * (may the clemency of God be upon him!) dedicated the Risalah Bahayiah to him. His dominions became extensive. Kazi Taj Uddin Zuzeni pronounced his praises from the pulpit, and extolled the flourishing state of his kingdom; in the course of which declaration he said: 'In what manner shall I compliment the Malikian bride, upon the face of whose kingdom two moles are engrafted; the one, Sultan Ghayas Uddin Mohammed ben Sam; the other, Sultan Moëzz Uddin ben Sam; who were the moles of Malik Baha Uddin's kingdom.' Nineteen days after the demise of Sultan Moëzz Uddin, or Sultan Shahab Uddin, Malik Sam died: the duration of his reign was fourteen years."

*History of Malik Jalal Uddin Ali.*

"After Sam's death, his subjects broke into two factions; the one espousing the cause of Ghayas Uddin Mahmud ben Mohammed ben Sam; the other standing firm for Jalal Uddin Ali and his brother. They therefore were called from Ghaznin, and arrived in that quarter. From the treasure of Ghaznin, they relate, two hundred and fifty camel-loads of effects, set with jewels, and covered with gold and silver, fell to the share of Jalal Uddin Ali; which riches he conveyed to Bamian. When he a second time marched his army to Ghaznin, he was taken prisoner, but soon effected his escape. During his absence, his uncle Masud had watched the opportunity, and possessed himself of Bamian; but Jalal Uddin, with a few men, surprised him at the break of day, apprehended and

* See *D'Herbelot*, s.v. *Razi*.

slew him; flaying his father's Vazir, Zahib. In the seventh year of his reign, Sultan Mohammed Khuarezm Shah invaded Mavarannahr; and undertook an expedition into Bamian, where he apprehended Jalal Uddin, put him to death, and, seizing all his treasures, retreated *."

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After the account of the Ghorides, *Jenabi* adds a brief history of the *Kurts;* because, he says, they are asserted to be of the race of *Suri Alghori.* Of these there were nine reigning princes, who possessed Kazvin, Ghor, Kohistan, Sarakhsh, Herat (their royal seat), Nishapur, Tus, Jam. There being nothing of consequence found in their history, I shall content myself with giving a list of the reigning heads from the author mentioned.

I. Malik Shams Uddin Mohammed, reigned 33 years, died 712.
II. Malik Roon Uddin ben Shams Uddin, reigned 18 years.
III. Malik Roon Uddin ben Shams Uddin, reigned 2 years.
IV. Malik Fakhr Uddin ben Shams Uddin, reigned 23 years.
V. Malik Ghayath Uddin, reigned about 10 months,
VI. Malik Hafiz Uddin, reigned 2 years.
VII. Malik Hossain Moëzz Uddin, 10 months, died 771.
VIII. Malik Ghayath Uddin, who was obliged to submit to Timurlang in the year 783: but on Timurlang's retreat, he again attempted to shake off his yoke; in consequence of which, that conqueror came a second time, in 784, and, taking him prisoner, sent him to Samarkand, where he ordered him to be executed, in the year 784.
IX. Malik Mohammed ben Malik Fakhr Uddin, who attempted, in 785, to wrest Herat from the hands of Miran Shah ben Timurlang: but Miran Shah came with a large army, took Herat, put a great number of Ghorians to death, and sent Malik Mohammed to his father, who ordered his death, in the same year.

At the end of the account of the Kurts, Janabi adds the remark, that he has compiled it from the *History* of *Doulat Shah*, the *History* of *Sharf Uddin Alyazdi*, and the *Tarikh* (or *Tawarikh*) *Ulnawader* of Ahmed ben Mohammed Alajami.

I cannot conclude this head on the Ghorians without mentioning a remarkable passage found in *Janabi*, who calls the Ghorides *Turks*, whilst they are generally reckoned to belong to the Afghans; if it is not, perhaps, to be understood, that only the reigning family was of a Turkish origin. This passage runs thus:—"The first who became known of the Ghorian kings, are the descendants of Hossain; who are a race of *Turks*, that came from Khata to the mountains of Ghor. In the sequel, their affairs prospered; and they possessed themselves of countries, as it is mentioned in the History of *Asof Shah*, and in the *Tarikh Ulnawader* of Ahmed ben Mohammed Altabrizi."

The author of the *Khulassat Ulansab*, who is very careful in distinguishing the real Afghans from those that are either supposed or erroneously pretend to be Afghans, seems, too, to consider the Ghorian dynasty as a Turkish race: in support of which assertion, I shall insert here a passage relative to this subject:—"When the dynasty of Sultan Mahmud and his descendants became extinct, Sultan Moëzz Uddin ben Sam, who is known in Hindustan by the name of Shahab Uddin Ghori, set up for absolute monarch in Ghor, Ghaznin, and Kabul; and undertook several expeditions, with a view to reduce Hindustan,

* Several slaves of the *Ghor* Sultans also assumed that title. Notices respecting the major part of them may be found in *Ferishta*.

where he gave many battles; till he, at last, in the year 588 of the Hejira, attacked Rai Pithowra, the ruler of the kingdom of Dehli and Ajmir, at Paniput, and despatched him to hell; after which, he, in person, took possession of the throne of Dehli. From that time to the present day, Dehli was the royal residence of the Sultans of Hindustan, and became the seat of the Khalifat. After Sultan Shahab Uddin Ghori's time, Sultan Kotb Uddin Ibek, Sultan Shams Uddin Iltatmish, Sultan Ala Uddin Ghori, Emir Timar, and others beside them, who all were *Turkish* Sultans, to the time of Sultan Behlol Afghan, filled, in turns, the throne of Dehli, and were absolute monarchs of the time. Now, as the invasions and reduction of Hindustan were executed by them, who were Sultans of Turks, the infidels of India, on this very account, call the Mussulmans Turks, which is well known to the intelligent. At every time and period of the reign of the said monarchs, and after them, up to the present day, different people of various tribes of Mohammedans, as Seids, Moghuls, Afghans, Sheikhs, and others, came in succession to Hindustan, and come still, and settle there, propagating the true faith, and disseminating the religion of the Islam."

P. 40. l. 22. *paganism.*] We are told by the author of the *Khulassat Ulansab*, that the Afghans, up to his time, undertook such-like expeditions, killing the infidels, and taking their wives and children prisoners; adding, at the same time, that by their efforts the infidels of several districts of Afghanistan, as of Dera Loghman, Dera Pich, Dera Cuhndar, belonging to Kabul and Jalalabad, Talash, Panjoora, Jumla, Bunir, Dramtur, Pakhlaï, and other dependencies of Peshawer and Langhercot, had been converted to the Mohammedan faith.

P. 41. l. 24. *Khyzer Khan.*] Khyzer Khan was the founder of the fourth dynasty of the kings of Dehli; called, by Haji Khalfa, in his Jehannuma (دولت خضر خانیه), the Khyzer-khanian dynasty *. It comprises four reigning heads; namely,

i. Khyzer Khan, reigns from 817—824.
ii. Mobarek Shah, from 824—839.
iii. Mohamuied, from 839—849.
iv. Ala Uddin, from 849—854. He was obliged to cede his crown to Behlol Lodi Afghan.

P. 41. l. 31. *Sultan Shah Lodi.*] In L. he is called, "a Grand Omra of Khyzer Khan and Sultan Mobarek Shah;" and he was, in fact, already governor of Sirhind, under Khyzer Khan, who detached him, in 822, against Sareng Khan, whom he defeated: see *Ferishta*, p. 511. Shah Lodi bore the title of Islam Khan; and was employed by Mobarek Shah, in the year 833, to conduct the siege of Sirhind, then occupied by Folad (*Ferishta*, p. 523, 524, &c.) In this period, the Lodies appear to be distinguished characters; and so we find mentioned the names of Sultan Shah Lodi, Doulat Khan Lodi, Asad Khan Lodi, Allahdad Lodi, &c.

P. 43. l. 2. *History of the reign of the Lodi Family.*] I beg the readers to compare with this history the account of the Lodi family given by *Ferishta*, Part I., from p. 544—599. Both accounts may, in turns, be supplied from each other.

P. 43. l. 18. *Khyzerabad.*] In L., at a place called Gurra, a dependency of Khyzerabad.

P. 43. l. 32. *are wrong—done so.*] In L., his ancestors have certainly done so, and were, therefore, on frequent travels. The same circumstance is mentioned in the *Ayin Akbari*,

* A detailed history of this dynasty is furnished by *Ferishta*, from p. 506—543. See also the *Jehannuma* of *Haji Khalfa*, and the *Jewahir Ulakbar* of *Budak Kazvini*.

Part II. p. 115: "In the reign of Sultan Mahmood, Bahram, the father of Behlole, came with his other sons to Dehli, and here carried on an inconsiderable merchandize. Behlol was born in Multan; and the following circumstance attended his birth. When his mother had nearly gone her full time with him, unfortunately a beam of the house fell upon her and killed her; when Beblol was cut out of her womb."

In contradiction to the above statement, that Behlol never was a merchant, Janabi reports from the history of Sheikh *Kambaïti*, that Behlol dealt in horses, which partially contributed to his seizing absolute power at Dehli. His words are: "In the history of Sheikh Alkambaiti it is written, that when Sultan Hossain Sarakhshi had taken possession of Dehli, a complete anarchy ensued. There was an Afghan merchant, *Behlol* by name, who was in the habit of transporting horses to Dehli; and when he beheld there this anarchy, he, with a small number, mounted the horses he bad brought in, and, after some massacre, rendered himself master of Dehli. After which, the son of Sultan Alsarakhshi, the ruler of Janepur, Jalal Uddin Ibrahim, arrived, and wrested Dehli from the hands of Behlol Shah; but the son of the latter, Sultan Iskander, soon after arrived, and retook Dehli."

P. 44. l. 1. *When Behlol* &c.] In L., Malik Behlol, after Islam Khan's death, with the assistance of Malik Firozi Shah, who was a brother of Islam Khan, and Behlol's second uncle, subjected the rest of Sirhind to his sway, and acquired a strong power.

P. 44. l. 13. *He soon* &c.] L., after "he soon," adds, "in Sultan Mohammed's name."

P. 44. l. 17. *But he* &c.] L., instead of "he," says, "the Lodians."

P. 44. l. 25. *Sultan Mohammed died.*] His death happened in the year 849, A.D. 1445.

P. 44. l. 26. *The whole of Hindustan* &c.] In L. are some trifling differences: "The whole of India was at this time in the possession of separate sovereigns; but the Lodians enjoyed predominance. Ahmed Khan Meiwati ruled from Mehrowli to Lado Serai, which is near the city of Dehli: the Lodians kept the regency of Sumbul, as far as the ford of Khuaja Khyzer (which is also near Dehli); Isa Khan Gujerat Turk held Jalaysur Kote; Kotb Khan, son of Hassan Khan Afghan, was governor of Raberi; Rai Partab possessed the villages of Bhokong, Pattiala, Kumpela; and Biana was in the hands of Davud Khan Ouhadi; whilst Sultan Ala Uddin mastered the city of Dehli, with some other places."

P. 46. l. 13. *to die.*] L. "to sleep." This description of the rude manners of the Afghans is in full accordance with the accounts given, by other authors, of the character and the manners of this nation. See the *Memoirs* of *Baber*, p. 257, where we find the following passage: "The people of Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection, and less foresight." See also the descriptions of the Afghans given by *Elphinstone*, *Eversmann*, and others.

P. 46. l. 24. *seating themselves.*] L.: "The Afghans rushing in, two of them posted themselves at the side of Hamid Khan's officer in attendance."

P. 50. l. 22. *a small number.*] L.: "one hundred horse."

P. 51. l. 7. *Rai Partab, Hossain Khan.*] L.: "Kotb Khan, a son of Hossain Khan."

P. 51. l. 11. *Jehan Khan.*] L.: "Khan Jehan."

P. 51. l. 22. *Khan Khanan.*] L. "Khan Jehan."

P. 54. l. 25. *Jelvani.*] L. "Meiwati." The whole passage in L. runs thus: "At that time, the governor of Biana, the grandson of Yusaf Meiwati, had the khotba read in the name of Sultan Hossain, whom he informed of this circumstance."

P. 52. l. 16. *Dehli.*] L. adds: "with a large army, and a thousand elephants."

P. 52. l. 20. *prevailed.*] L. adds: "At last, Kotb Khan sent some person to Sultan Hossain, with the message: 'I am ever bound to Bibi Raji's benevolence, which, during my captivity at Joonpoor, I experienced in full measure. I now consider it to be the safest way, that you should make an agreement with Sultan Behlol, and return. The countries on the other side of the Ganges will be settled on you; and those on this side of the river will be ordered to Sultan Behlol.' So Kotb Khan intervened," &c.

P. 52. l. 33. *several pergunnas.*] L.: "as Kumpela, Pattiale, Siokit, Kol Jelali."

P. 53. l. 3. *Lubhar.*] L. "Sonhanah."

P. 53. l. 4. *Rebari.*] L. (Rebari): "Sultan Behlol halted near a place called Dhobamu: immense booty fell into the hands of the Lodians, which was the cause of the increase of Sultan Behlol's power and strength."

P. 53. l. 20. *Lohani.*] L. "Nohani." Lohani seems to have been employed in preference, and to have been used indiscriminately. In our copy "Lohani."

P. 54. l. 24. *Jelali.*] L.: "in the vicinity of a place called Mulawali, belonging to the district of Siokit." I suppose that Mulawali is a blunder of the copyist; and that we must read either Jelali or Badowly, where *Ferishta* reports him to have died.

P. 55. l. 14. *seventh.*] L. "seventeenth."

P. 55. l. 16. *Sultan Sekunder.*] L. adds: "He had, then, six sons: 1. Ibrahim Khan; 2. Jalal Khan; 3. Ismail Khan; 4. Hassan Khan; 5. Mahmud Khan; 6. Sheikh Aazem Humayun."

P. 55. l. 26. *the rainy season.*] L. "seven months."

P. 55. l. 29. *Barbek Shah.*] L. adds: "in Joonpoor."

P. 56. l. 17. *whose governor.*] L. adds: "Tatar Khan." So also the *Tabakat Akbari.*

P. 56. l. 25.] Besides Chundwara and Surkit, L. mentions "Jelaysur and Marhara."

P. 57. l. 2. *all their forces.*] L.: "assembled a force of almost 100,000 foot and horse."

P. 57. l. 5. *Patna.*] L. "Bhattia;" so also line 28.

P. 57. l. 21. *Agra.*] L. "Kurra;" so also line 34.

P. 58. l. 6. *Patna.*] L.: "fled towards Bhattia, whither the Sultan came in pursuit of him. Raja Behid directed his flight to Sirgujah, but died on the road. The Sultan then advanced to Bahavund, a dependency of Bhattia," &c.

P. 58. l. 12. *died.*] L.: "so that, out of a hundred horses which we possessed, ninety perished, ten only remaining."

P. 58. l. 15. *out of Behrar.*] L. adds: "with one hundred elephants."

P. 58. l. 23. *pursued.*] In L., it is said, that the Sultan pursued him with 100,000 horse.

P. 58. l. 34. *in* 901.] L. adds: "on the 16th of Shuvval."

P. 58. l. 37. *Paupers.*] L. continues thus: "He then returned to Dervishpoor, and thence marched against Sultan Ala Uddin to Bengal. On his arrival at Tuglickpoor, a dependency of Behar, Sultan Ala Uddin detached," &c.

P. 59. l. 8. *Derveeshpoor.*] L. adds: "where he staid some months, and bestowed these districts on Aazem Humayun."

P. 59. l. 27. *Chowgan.*] L. gives this passage as follows:—"The ball of Suleiman, a son of Deria Khan Sarvani, struck upon Hybet Khan's stick, and rebounded upon Suleiman's head, which was fractured. A severe altercation and animosity ensued among them; and Khyzer Khan, a brother of Suleiman, with a view to avenge his brother, threw his ball at Hybet Khan's head; upon which a vehement nproar arose. Mahmud Khan and Khan Khanan pacified Hybet Khan, and they carried him to his home. Four days after, they again rode out to play at chowgan; when, on the road, Shams Khan, a relation of Hybet Khan, lying in ambush, struck his chowgan at the head of Khyzer Khan, Suleiman's brother, when he passed the spot. The Sultan gave orders to bastinado Shams Khan severely himself, returned angry to his palace, and ever after was distrustful of the Omras."

P. 60. l. 1. *attendants.*] L. adds: "and they remained all the night in arms, and kept watch."

P. 60. l. 7. *Zaher.*] L. "Zahed."

P. 60. l. 32. *from his empire.*] L. adds: "they, by the way of Gualgar, retired to Malwa and Gujerat."

P. 60. l. 37. *and prepared himself* &c.] read: "threatened, that he would himself come and destroy his citadel." In our copy is تهد, which I took for the name of a place; but I now conceive that it must be miswritten for تهديد, which is found in L.

P. 60. l. 18. *Mohammedan army.*] L. adds: "The Sultan entered the fort, and offered thanksgivings for the victory, whilst the troops betook themselves to pillage and desolation; so that the gardens in the environs of Dholpoor, which overshaded a plain of seven miles, were torn up by the roots."

P. 61. l. 24. *to him.*] L. adds: "After the conclusion of peace, the Sultan returned towards Agra. On his arrival at Dholpoor, he presented this place to Raja Benakdes."

P. 61. l. 26. *year* 901.] L.: "900, in the month of Ramazan."

P. 61. l. 29. *destroyed.*] L. adds: "and a mosque to be erected." He left Mian Makan and Majahed Khan to watch the fort, and himself marched to spread desolation over the adjacent districts. He put great numbers to death, and took many prisoners, and laid waste the gardens and edifices; after which, he returned victorious to Biana.

P. 61. l. 34. *refractory.*] L.: "The jaghirdars, under-tenants, and officers, being frequently embarrassed with the levy of the duties from the refractory and mutinous inhabitants on the banks of the Jumna, in the sircar of Biana, and making repeated

representations of it, the Sultan conceived the plan of seeking a proper place, on the banks of that river, to found a city."

P. 62. l. 1. *Agra.*] In L. we find the following account of the name of Agra: "The Sultan himself left Dehli, and went to the village of Muhtra; where he embarked on board a ship, and, passing the voyage in amusements and hunting parties, arrived at this place, which he perceived to be well fitted for the purposes of building. He asked his shipman, whose name was Nayak, and who steered the ship, which of the two heights was the fittest: to which Nayak replied: 'The height which is *Agra* (i.e. *before* us) is the best.' At this the Sultan smiled, and said: 'The name of this town shall be *Agra*.'" *Agra*, in Sanscrit, really signifies *before*. *Nayak* is a Sanscrit word, signifying a *leader*, a *chief*.

P. 62. l. 9. *to the unerring sword.*] This expedition, according to L., took place towards the close of the year 911; when the Sultan marched towards Gualyar; halting one month and a half at Dholpoor; and then crossing the Chumbul, at the ford of Kurgali, where he again encamped some months. He left here prince Jalal Khan, with other Khans; and went on an expedition against the infidels, who had retreated to the mountains and forests; the greater part of whom he put to the sword, taking the rest prisoners. When arriving at Chiuur, belonging to Gualyar, at a distance of ten miles from it, the Raja of the place attacked him from an ambush, but was routed. Daund Khan, a son of Khanjehan, who, with his brother Ahmed Khan, had displayed uncommon gallantry, was invested with the title of Malik Daud. He then went to Agra, in consequence of the rainy season approaching; and from thence to Biana. See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 579—580.

P. 62. l. 24. *into the fort.*] L. adds: "It was on Ala Uddin's side, that a breach was effected in the wall."

P. 62. l. 27. *and children.*] L. adds: "At this moment an arrow pierced Malik Ala Uddin's eyes, and rendered him blind."

P. 62. l. 31. *to Dholpoor.*] L. adds: "As they insinuated to the Sultan, that Mojahed Khan had, in consequence of a bribe received from the Raja of Gualyar, advised the Sultan to retreat from that quarter, the latter, on the 16th of the month*, in the year 913, cast Moulana Jaman Khaz Sahib, an intimate of Mojahed Khan, into chains, and delivered the fortress to Malik Taj Uddin. The Khans, assembled at Dholpoor, received an order to seize upon Mojahed Khan. The Sultan then, in the beginning of Moharrem, in the same year, proceeded towards Agra. Owing to the narrowness and difficulty of the road, he halted one day, in order to allow his troops to pass without injury, and to carry on the baggage; when a great many perished from want of water, and the attacks of wild beasts. The price of one goblet of water amounted to fifteen Iskander tankas; and besides those who died for want of water, others perished from being immoderate in drinking when they found water. A calculation being made, the number of those that had perished amounted to eight hundred. On the twenty-seventh of the month mentioned, the Sultan came to Dholpoor, and after some days repaired to Agra."

P. 62. l. 36. *Jalal Khan.*] L.: "Jalal Khan had been appointed governor of Kalpi, after the death of his father, Mohammed Khan Lodi. He had some differences with his brothers, Bhikun Khan and Ahmed Khan: of which a representation being made to the Sultan, he

* The name of the month is omitted.

summoned the latter two to him, to the banks of the Chumbul, where they were most graciously received."

P. 63. l. 4. *for the inspection of the Sultan.*] L. adds: "forming them into three divisions; the first consisting of the cavalry; the second, composed of the elephants; and the third, containing the infantry; which altogether he posted along the road."

P. 63. l. 19. *He soon after caused* &c.] L.: "He attempted to subvert his brother, prince Jalal Khan; gained over his best adherents to himself; and embroiled the others, who were partisans of his power: at the same time issuing two firmans; the one to Ibrahim Khan Nohani, Suleiman Fermulli, and Malik Ala Uddin Jalvani, advising the seizure of Jalal Khan; the second, to Mian Bhodah, Saïd Khan ben Zakko, and Malik Adem Kaker, (on behalf of Shir Khan,) to the effect, that they should apprehend Jalal Khan and Shir Khan, and watch them with a sharp eye in the fort of Awintgur."

P. 63. l. 24. *scientific men.*] L.: "and staid six months at the foot of the castle."

P. 63. l. 32. *near this fort.*] L.: "On the 28th of Shaban, in the year 914, the Sultan moved from Narvar, and encamped, in the month of Zilkida, on the banks of the Siperi *: where it occurring to him, that the fortress of Narvor being so strong, if it should ever fall into the hands of the infidels, it would be impossible to retake it; he erected another fort around it, to keep off the enemies. Having thus allayed his apprehension, he repaired to the town of Behair, where he staid one month. At this time Neamet Khatun," &c.

P. 67. l. 4. *it came—manner.*] Read: "through this auspicious prayer, he reached the degree which he in reality obtained."

P. 68. l. 11. *wish for.*] In L. we are further told, that, "whenever he sent off an army, the general daily received orders; one in the morning, to march and halt at a designed place; and one in the evening, to make such or such arrangements: which custom was never deviated from. On every road, courier-horses were posted. When an order was issued to an Omra, he went two or three miles to meet it: the messenger then handed it over to him; who, touching it at its end, respectfully took the firman with both hands, and put it upon his head; and, according to order, either read it upon the spot, or recited it publicly in the pulpit of the mosque, or read it at home: in short, he acted in obedience to prescription. Every day, reports and accounts were received from the provinces; and if the slightest inconvenience or illegality was discovered, the Sultan immediately remedied the matter. He was ever taken up with visiting his dominions, adjusting the affairs of state, and consulting the welfare of his subjects. He decided most of the law-suits through his consummate sagacity and judgment. So they relate, that two brothers," &c.

P. 68. l. 28. *the truth.*] L.: "Mian Boa said, 'Hast thou witnesses?' to which he replied, 'Yes.' He further inquired, 'What witnesses?' and was answered, 'Two Brahmins.' On which he said, 'Bring them hither.' The man, accordingly, went to a gambling-house, and bribed two gamblers to bear witness. He dressed them in white gowns, and conducted them to the council. On their both giving evidence, Mian Boa told the husband of the wife, to go home, and exact, by any severity, the ruby from his wife. The latter, however, went straight forward to the Sultan's divan, to demand justice. The Sultan called her before him; and having ascertained the nature of her complaint, asked her

* In *Ferishta*, p. 582, the Sind river is mentioned; and instead of Behair, Yehar.

why she had not addressed herself to Mian Boa. She replying, that she had done so, but that he had not administered proper justice, the Sultan had them all summoned before him; and, separatiug them, tried them singly, and gave each of them a piece of wax, to form a likeness of the gem. Both brothers moulded it alike, but the witnesses in quite different shapes; and to all their importunate applications, the woman constantly replied, that she could not make the form of a thing which she had never beheld; in which she peremptorily persisted. The Sultan then sent for Mian Boa; and the witnesses were cast into prison, in order to extort the truth from them; which, they were told, was the only means of escaping certain death. On this, they discovered the whole affair as it was."

P. 69. l. 10. *Gulrukhi.*] Others say his poetical name was Karkair. The *Mirat Ulatem* informs us, too, that the Sultan composed Persian poems, and assumed the poetical name of Gulrukhi: it gives the followiug specimen of his poetry:

مرا از تیرهاي او زبس پرکشت هرپهلو
کنون پرواز خواهم کرد سوي آن کمان ابرو

"On every side I am filled with arrows from her:
Now I will fly towards the bow of her eye-brow."

P. 69. l. 12. *Mavarannahr.*] L. "Korassan, Azerbaijan, and Arabia."

P. 69. l. 15. *my eyes.*] L.: "This composition is still in the possessiou of the sheikh's descendants. The sheikh, after the perusal of the letter, said: 'Why do the paupers want to be iu company with the rich?' And his exalted mind being occupied with higher meditations, he paid no attention to the vanity of this lower world; and composed, in reply, a poetical letter, which, together with the book Mehr-u-Mah, he transmitted to the Sultan. The monarch, perusing the letter, was actuated by a still stronger desire to meet him personally; and addressed another letter to the Pole of the Kingdom of Guidance, Sheikh Sama Uddin Kumbooh, the father-in-law to Sheikh Jemali, to induce him by any means to present himself at court. The sheikh, therefore, employing all his power, obliged Sheikh Jemail, willing or unwilling, to repair to the Sultan."

P. 69. l. 35. *Islam Shah.*] L.: "When, after the downfal of the Lodian family, who had filled the throne of Dehli during seventy-seven years, in 946, the sovereign authority passed into the hands of the Sur family, Islam Shah, a son of Shir Shah, erected to these two august sovereigns a mausoleum in his garden, which, up to this time, is the resort of joyful and learned people. It is mentioned, that, one day, the Pole of the Faith, Sheikh Sama Uddin Kumbooh, went on a visit to the Pole of the World, Khuaja Kotb Uddin Bakhtiar*; when returning, he happened to pass by the tomb of that just Sultan, and entered it. Having recited his prayers, he sunk into reflection; but a little while after, raised his head joyful and exulting, and said: 'Praise and thanks be to God! for as this intrepid hero has been happy and prosperous in this world, so he is, in his present abode also, enjoyiug satisfaction, delight, joy, and exultation.' After Sultan Iskander's death, a complete anarchy ensued, and his regulations fell into disorder. Low and vile people wrought themselves up to power, and their unrighteous characters gave rise to seditions and disturbances. The affairs of state, and the finances, fell into a complete disorganization; and though Sultan Ibrahim contrived all means to recal the former state, yet all turned out contrary to his wishes, and he was the downfal of the empire. Every one,

* An account of this sheikh is found in the Third Book of this work, in the beginning.

wherever he happened to be, raised the standard of independence, and all the efforts of Sultan Ibrahim remained unsuccessful; till, at length, Fate took its course, as will be related presently. God is the guider and assistant; and God knows the truth best."

P. 70. l. 4. *homage.*] L.'s copy, which is better written in this passage than ours, continues as follows:—" But since the powerful, and more especially the rebellious, for the good of their own interests and concerns, never hold it convenient that the affairs of state should be managed by one absolute monarch; nor wish the reins of the government to rest in the able and fit hands of one individual, in order that, from such a state of things, various advantages might result to them; it was agreed, by a number of Omras, that Sultan Ibrahim should ascend the throne of Dehli, and be reigning sovereign as far as the frontier of the Joonpoor district; but that another ruler should be constituted for the eastern dominions."

P. 70. l. 23. *Gurg-andaz.*] L. adds: " who, in deceiving, and duping, had no second."

P. 70. l. 25. *the prince.*] L. inserts, " who previously had been informed of the whole."

P. 70. l. 34. *of that quarter.*] L.: " of the districts of Joonpoor."

P. 72. l. 16. *25th.*] Read, " 24th."

P. 72. l. 22. *At the same time, Omar Khaneti.*] L.: " At the same time, a troop of the Zemindars of Jag Tole, a place dependent on Kole, who were notorious rebels, gave Omar Khan ben Sekander Sur battle, and rendered him a martyr: upon which, Malik Kasem, governor of Sumbul, marched against them; and inflicting," &c.

P. 73. l. 14. *to the Sultan.*] L. adds: " who had left Kanoj, and arrived at Etaweh."

P. 74. l. 16. *at the Bagdad gate.*] Neamet Ullah, in Lee's copy, tells us, that this bull stood there till the time of Akbar, by whose orders it was melted down, in 999, A.D. 1590: and that the mass was still preserved in the royal treasury, and seen by Neamet Ullah himself.—See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 594.

P. 74. l. 20. *of the garrison.*] L. adds here: " About this time, Raja Man, the Raja of Gualyar, who, in liberality and bravery, eclipsed all the Rajas of India, died. They relate, that although this Raja, externally, bore the appearance of a Hindu, yet, internally, he was ennobled with the blessing of the Islam; owing to which righteous sentiments, no sovereign ever succeeded in overwhelming him, and he stood his ground against every body. During his lifetime, no monarch attempted the reduction of Gualyar." (This passage is found in our copy, p. 74. l. 8.)

P. 78. l. 10. *Dilover Khan.*] L. " Babur:" l. 11. instead of " Berdi Beg Khan," L. gives, " Terdi Beg Khan."

P. 79. l. 4. *martyrdom.*] We are told in L., that with Ibrahim, Shadi Khan Kaker, one of his grand Omras, with five hundred of his relations and kinsmen, suffered martyrdom. It will be useful to compare with the account of the battle at Paniput, given in our copy, the account of Baber, in his *Memoirs*, p. 305—307.

The *Mirat Ulalem* furnishes us with the following notice on Shir Khan:—" It is well known, that Shir Khan's name was originally Farid: his father, Hassan ben Ibrahim, was

of the Sur Afghans. Ibrahim carried on the business of a horse-dealer, and resided in Simla, in the province of Narnole; but his son, Hassan, displaying a valiant disposition, left the mercantile avocation for the military one; and was for some time in the service of Raymul, the grandfather of Raysal, who, under the Emperor Akbar, had obtained exalted dignities. From thence he went to Sahsaram, to Nazir Khan Nohani, one of Sultan Sekander's Omras, and outvied his cotemporaries and equals by his righteousness and activity. After that, he entered the service of Babban, an Omra of Sekander."

P. 81. l. 28. *Fareed.*] *Marsden*, Numismata Orientalia, calls him "Farid Uddin;" which I no where else have met with.

P. 81. l. 28. *Mudaher.*] The Maaden Akhbar Ahmedi calls him "Khorm."

P. 91. l. 15. *Berlas.*] L. "who, in the name of Baber Padishah, held the government of Manekpur and Kurra."

P. 92. l. 3. *from Hindustan.*] L. adds: "Upon this, they asked him, on what grounds he had ventured to say so; and he replied, that their sovereign was too fond of a jolly life, to give much attention to his affairs; while his ministers, accessible to bribes, did not keep in view the interests of the empire. The only fault of the Afghans, he continued, was, that they were not united among themselves, but actuated by mutual enmity; but that he would endeavour to unite them, and to remove their discord. From these remarks his friends took occasion to rail and laugh at him."

P. 92. l. 5. *some solid dish.*] In the *Tarikh Feizbakhsh**, this occurrence is related as follows: "One day, Mohammed Farid was at an imperial entertainment, and, being treated with the others, ate without ceremony; and, drawing his dagger out of the scabbard, cut the Usbekiah, which is a kind of a Mogul dish, to pieces, and ate it. The Emperor's eye happening to fall upon Farid, how he had a drawn dagger in his hand, and how little anxious he was about the observation of etiquette and regard to good-breeding, the sublime humour got out of itself at such a behaviour, and said, with a truth-speaking tongue, 'The eyes of this Afghan shew a smell of blood and mischief.' Farid, remarking the state of the assembly, and the humour of the Emperor changed, left the room without the least delay, abandoned all his baggage, tents, and other things in the imperial camp, mounted a horse, and took, precipitately, the route of the eastern provinces. He assembled the troops and ulasses of the Afghans, and openly raised an insurrection. He commenced hostilities, with plundering and ravaging the villages and small towns, and the goods and wares of the caravans, merchants, travellers and wanderers."

P. 93. l. 6. *his tutor.*] L. remarks here: "Jalal Khan's mother, Dûd by name, assumed the administration of affairs, and conducted them in co-operation with Shir Khan. Some days after, this lady also dying, the entire management of Behar fell into Shir Khan's hand. The Nohanians were filled with envy, and held a consultation with Jalal Khan, who was himself a Nohani: by his advice, they concerted a scheme to cut off Shir Khan: but a number of Nohani Afghans disclosed the whole plot to Shir Khan; who said to Jalal Khan, 'Your Omras have betrayed much envy, and are jealous of me for your kindness to me: if you will not remedy this affair, I shall be compelled to leave you.' To this Jalal Khan replied: 'I am quite of thy opinion; and I will consent to whatever shall be deemed to be

* A history of the Afghans, written, at the request of Kirkpatrick, by شیر شاہ, and finished in the Moharrem of the year 1290, A.D. 1776. It is preserved in the British Museum.

expedient.' Shir Khan then continued: 'They must be divided into two parties; one of them to be sent to collect the revenues; the other to be detached against your enemy, the ruler of Bengal.' In short, the Nohanians being in no condition to suppress Shir Khan, agreed to deliver the province of Behar to the ruler of Bengal, and to enter his service: besides which, Jalal Khan was to leave a sufficient force behind, and repair himself to Ibrahim Khan, the ruler of Bengal, in order to carry him, with his forces, with him. Jalal Khan, in consequence, departed to Ibrahim Khan, and proffered complaints against Shir Khan: upon which, he sent one of his grand Omras, Kotb Khan, with Jalal Khan, against Shir Khan. The latter was fortified in a mud fort he had drawn around him, and daily sent out a detachment to harass the enemy; but when fresh succours were coming to the latter, he, encouraging his troops, put them in order of battle, and, getting them ready by the morning, marched out of the fort. The army of the Bengalians, too, drawing up the lines of horse and foot, the artillery and the elephants, put themselves in motion against Shir Khan, and stood in array. Shir Khan left a detachment of his troops to engage the enemy; and, taking the rest with him, took post behind a hill; having previously instructed those left, to face the enemy—to turn their backs, and to retreat, as soon as the enemy should begin shooting arrows; in order that their cavalry, in pursuit of the enemy, might pass beyond the line of artillery, and thus cause the ruin of their own comrades. Shir Khan's troops acting accordingly, he, at the proper moment, charged the Bengalians, and routed them. Ibrahim Khan was slain; and Jalal Khan, carried from the field more dead than alive, fled to Bengal."

P. 103. l. 7. *retirement.*] L.: "He died in 944, in Orissa."

P. 104. l. 3. *Kotb Khan.*] In L. it is mentioned, that Kotb Khan was sent to court with Isa Khan Hajab Sarvani. The account of this affair, given in the *Mirat Ulalem*, is somewhat different, and runs thus: "When Shir Khan became aware of his (Humayun's) design, he left his son, Jalal Khan, with some of his most trusty adherents, in the fort, and himself quitted it. He sent clever deputies to the presence, to represent, that if the Emperor should lay aside his designs upon the fort, he would send one of his sons to the imperial service. This the Emperor accepted as a well-timed offer; and Shir Khan sent his son, Abd Ulrashid, to the presence; where he remained ever after."

P. 106. l. 24. *Khuvaz Khan.*] L. adds: "A son of Malik Sukka, who was his commander-in-chief."

P. 110. l. 30. *the matter best.*] It is very curious, that we read in L. the following: "Shir Khan made known, that he would send his family to the fort; and ordered one thousand two hundred sedan-chairs * to be fitted up; in each of which he placed young, brave, experienced, and well-armed Afghans, and sent them off towards the fortress. In the foremost doolies, he had seated old women; and on the door-keeper's searching, and finding women, Shir Khan immediately sent in a remonstrance, that it was shameful, to the extreme, to expose ladies to the sight of men; and that this would inflict the highest indignity upon them. On this, the Raja prohibited his people from visiting the chairs: but when they all had been carried into the fort, the Afghans drew their swords, and attacked the Raja's palace; whilst another body posted themselves at the gate. By such contrivance they possessed themselves of the strongest fortress of Hindustan."

* *Doolies*, or covered litters, to convey women.—*Ferishta*, Part II. p. 115, gives the same account of the capture of Rhotas with that found in Lee's copy.

P. 110. l. 34. *Chunar.*] L.: "Humayun had invested Chunar for six months. Rumi Khan, the master of the imperial ordnance and artillery, applied battering-towers; and reduced the inhabitants of the invested place so much, that they, yielding to necessity, entered upon stipulations, and delivered up the citadel to the imperialists. Humayun, leaving Dugt Beg Khan there, marched in person to check Shir Khan. At the time when the Emperor was employed in the siege of the fortress, Shir Khan had detached his son, Jalal Khan, and Khuvaz Khan, a son of Melik Sukka, his commander-in-chief, with a numerous army, to reduce Bengal; which was really effected."

P. 115. l. 30. *Gour.*] L. adds: "which, in ancient records, is called Lucknowti."

P. 116. l. 5. *but little advanced in rank*] He had, according to L., not yet obtained the dignity of an Omra.

P. 118. l. 34. *Sheikh Khalil.*] L.: "Shir Khan deputed, on his part, Sheikh Khalil, a grandson of Sheikh Farid Shukergunj (to whom Shir Khan was under the obligation of pupillage, and whom he still considered as his tutor), to the Emperor. The negotiations of peace were carried on for some days: when it was at last agreed, and through the sheikh declared, that Shir Khan would cede the territories from Gurhi to Behar to the imperialists; for which they were to assign him Bengal, where he would have the coin struck, and the khotba read, in the Emperor's name*."

P. 122. l. 30. *Mariam Makani.*] L. gives an account of this affair, somewhat different from ours:—"At the time when the Emperor came out of his tent, and hastened towards the bridge, he sent Khuaja Moazam, with another person, to fetch Mariam Makani Beghum. When they arrived at the entrance to the tent, the Afghans had already forced their way thither, killing and pillaging, and cut them both down: thus no one could come out. At this moment, Shir Khan, in person, came to the entrance of the tent, and nominated Khuaja Serayan, a trusty person, with his men equally solid, to watch over the harem; and, at the same time, made it publicly known, that no one should be cast into chains: in consequence of which, the families of the Moguls came all near, and assembled round the imperial tent, without suffering the slightest injury from any person. When Shir Khan had eased his mind, he repaired to the door of the tent, and called out to the ladies of the harem, and said to them: 'Step you in, and assure her majesty the queen of my loyalty: tell her, that such is the common course of deceitful and fickle fortune. I am a servant, brought up, and raised from the dust, at the imperial court: you are my protectors and masters: and so cheer up your mind; for, on the Emperor's arrival at Agra, I shall set you at liberty.' The rest of her people he allowed to go wherever they chose: in consequence of which, the families of the Moguls departed at option, whilst he kept the strongest watch over the imperial household."

P. 123. l. 25. *Afterwards.*] L.: "Three months after the battle at the Jowsa, he sent Mariam Makani, in full honour and respect, to Agra, with Khuvaz Khan."

P. 124. l. 25. *coin in his name.*] See *Marsden*, Numismata Orientalia, where several coins of Shir Shah are described.

* This account entirely corresponds with *Ferishta*'s relation of this occurrence.—See *Ferishta*, Part II. p. 87.

P. 127. l. 10. *fixed upon.*] L.: "Sheikh Abul Fazl, in the Akbarnameh, and the author of the Tarikh Shir Shah, assert, that the day of battle had been fixed."

P. 127. l. 25. *a waterman, from the smell of musk-water.*] Read: "a waterman, perceiving him to be Humayun, drew him out of the water, supported by an inflated water-bag." This manner of crossing rivers has been in use from ancient times to ours. We find it mentioned several times in Xenophon's Anabasis, on occasion of the Persians crossing the Tigris, *ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερῶν*, Anab. II. 4. § 28: of the Greeks passing the Euphrates, Xenoph. I. 5. § 10. In the same way Alexander crossed the Tanaïs (Don), according to Curtius, VII. 9; and the Hydaspis, according to Arrian, V. 12: *Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπληροῦντο τῆς νυκτὸς αἱ διφθέραι τῆς καρφῆς ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη παρενηνεγμέναι, καὶ κατεῤῥάπτοντο ἐς ἀκριβείαν —ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ὅ,τε ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ ὄμβρος κεκοίμητο, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄλλη στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἡ ἱππικὴ τῶν διφθερῶν ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ ὅσους τῶν πεζῶν τὰ πλοῖα ἐδέχετο, ἐπέρα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον.* See *Elphinstone*, I. p. 118: "We also saw many people crossing, or floating down, the river (Indus), on the skins of oxen inflated, on which they rode astride; but with most of their bodies in water. This contrivance is also made use of in the Oxus, and appears to be as ancient as the days of Alexander." See also, 'Histoire de Nader Chah, par *W. Jones*,' in *Sir W. Jones's Works*, London, 1799, vol. V. p. 170.

P. 131. l. 13. *they relate—property.*] L.: "Shir Khan, they relate, when arrived in the Rhotas districts, sent some person to summon the Kaker chiefs, to come to him, and to submit. This faction, however, proud of their numbers, sent him some bundles of arrows, and two young tigers, as presents; meaning thereby to intimate, '*We are tigers and warriors, and arrows and bows are our only property.*' "

P. 133. l. 13. *Sutvass.*—P. 134. l. 23. *Mussulmans.*] This passage, in L., runs thus: "He settled the sircar of Sutvass on Shujaali Khan, and left him with Haji Khan in Malwa; whilst he, in person, advanced to the fortress of Rintimpore. Melloo Khan, who had raised a considerable force, came to Malwa, where a fierce battle ensued. He was unsuccessful, and obliged to fly; of which circumstance Haji Khan and Shujaali Khan sent in a report; which being received, he called Haji Khan to his presence, and entrusted Malwa to Shujaali Khan. When the victorious army arrived in the neighbourhood of Rintimpore, the agents of Sultan Mahmud Khilji, accepting of an agreement and stipulations, came down from the castle, of which he took possession. Having satisfied his mind concerning the settlement and organization of that province, he returned to Agra; where he spent a whole year, regulating the affairs of India. To Hybet Khan, the governor of the Panjab, he sent an order to wrest the Multan from Melloo Khan's hand, and to occupy it. Hybet Khan, in obedience to the command, marched against Fath Khan, and a fierce engagement took place; wherein Fath Khan being defeated, the Multan was occupied by Hybet Khan. When intelligence of this victory reached Shir Shah, he, in due acknowledgment, bestowed the title of Aazam Humayun upon him. In 950, tidings reached him that Puraumull, son of Rai Sikendehi Purbi, of the Rajputs of Kahlot, in the fort of Rasein, had hoisted the banner of rebellion; and had robbed, and placed in his harem, some thousand Mussulman women from the environs of Chunderi and other districts, instructing them in dancing and singing."

P. 141. l. 21. *to his tent.*] *Janabi* gives a report somewhat different of this tragic event. His words are: "In the year 752, he (Shir Shah) laid siege to a strong fortress called Callinger, situated upon a lofty mountain. He vigorously pushed on the siege, and

directed the operations in person. He happened to undermine a certain spot; when the infidels meeting him in the mine, filled it with gunpowder, and set light to it; by which all those within the aperture of the mine were scorched. Shir Khan's face, and the greater part of his body also, was burned. They then carried him to a tent, breathing his last: notwithstanding which, he, by signs, adjudicated the succession to his son, Salim Shah, and charged him with the siege of the fort; whereupon he expired."

P. 141. l. 23. *at the same place.*] L. says: "Shir Shah Sheikh Khalil, Moulana Nizam, Deria [Khan] Sarvani, at once were burned at the same place." In the *Maaden Akhbar Ahmedi*, too, it is said, that "Shir Shah was burned with Sheikh Khalil, Moulana Nizam Danishmend, and Deria Khan Sarvani."

P. 141. l. 33. *of the Almighty.*] Shir Shah was buried at Sasahram: see *Hamilton's* East-India Gazetteer; 2d edit. Vol. II. p. 507: "Shere Shah, the Afghan, who expelled the Emperor Humayoon, the father of Acber, from Hindostan, was buried here, in a magnificent mausoleum, built in the centre of a great reservoir of water. The monument rises from the middle of the tank, which is about a mile in circumference, and bounded on each side by masonry; the descent to the water being by a flight of steps, now in ruins. The dome, and the rest of the building, is of a fine grey stone; at present much discoloured by age and neglect."

P. 142. l. 4. *by fire.*] L. adds the following remarks on Shir Shah:—"He passed fifteen years in India, in the quality of an Omra; and exercised, for five years, absolute power over Hindustan; which important charge was managed so well by him, as was impossible for any other sovereign. His laudable properties, and amiable qualities, are numberless. He was a sovereign distinguished by virtue and prudence; and signalized, above all, by a righteous mind. He left behind, in India, a great many splendid memorials; among which, is, that he rebuilt the city of Dehli (which had been built on a very inconvenient spot, so that the inhabitants suffered much from want of water), near to the fort of Dinpenah, which had been erected by the Emperor Humayun. For although the former sovereigns had several times changed its situation, yet this very place was best adapted for building. When Humayun came to India the second time, he, charmed with the pleasant air of Dehli, confessed, that whenever he visited the sacred sepulchres of Dehli he felt a desire to die; which wish of this angel-like sovereign was complied with. From Bengal and Sunergong, the remotest of the provinces of India, to the river of Sind, known by the name of Nilab—a space of one thousand miles*—he at every mile erected a caravanseray; to which he added a mosque, of brick-stone, and a store-house; appointing also a Koran-reader, an Imam, and a sweeper, with a competent salary. At one door, he caused to be kept ready, at all times, food and drink for the Mussulmans; at the other door, for the Hindus. Once, he drew grievous sighs, and sobbed repeatedly, when Ghazi Muhalli, and some others of his courtiers, remarked: 'The affairs of state, the organization of the finances of the kingdom, the army, and the subjects, and a number of useful regulations, having, in such a short period, been reduced to such order by you as had not been done by any other sovereign, what can be the reason of your grief?' To which he gave no answer: but when they pressed him the more, he said: 'You are right; but three or four wishes rest in my heart, which I could not accomplish, and which I shall take with me to the grave.' On their inquiring what they were, he continued: 'One of them is, that

* It may be mentioned here, that the word کوس, throughout the work, has been rendered "a mile."



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I wished to lay waste the province of Roh, and settle its inhabitants in the territory extending from the Nilab to Lahore and Koh Damen Nadinah, as far as Servalik; that they might observe any attempt at invasion by the Moguls; nor allow any one to come from Kabul to India, by which the Zemindars of the mountainous districts would have been restrained and checked. Secondly, I desired to desolate Lahore; lest such an extensive city might furnish means to any one, entering it, to equip himself. Besides that, I have harboured a wish to establish, on the road to Mecca, from fifty to fifty-four solid edifices, which were not liable to the effects of hurricanes; so that people, at full ease, might pass and repass the road to the holy temple. Moreover, I long designed to raise a tomb to Sultan Ibrahim, at Paniput; on condition, that opposite to it should be erected another tomb to the Jagataian Sultan, who has rendered him a martyr; which would have so well served my purpose, that friends and enemies would have praised me for it, and that my name would have remained to the day of Resurrection. These wishes, than which nothing was more at my heart, I must take with me to the grave.'—He had stationed at every stage two post-horses *, which they call Dakchuki; so that every day intelligence was expedited from the Nilab and Agra, to the remotest provinces of Bengal. On this road he had planted, on both sides, rows of fruit-trees, as olives, kernies †, and others, that people might travel comfortably under their shadow.

"On the same road from Agra to Hind, he built an inn and mosque at every stage. Public security was so great, that if any one, having much gold about him, was obliged to rest all night in the open field, he had no need of a watchman; all thieving and highway-robbery being entirely suppressed in his time. Every one carrying a sword or dagger was found guilty, and the hand of oppressors was curtailed." [Here is again mentioned his design to establish fifty-four inns on the road to Mecca.] "Wonderful and admirable actions were incessantly performed by him. The soldiers, year after year, received their pay in his presence; and none of the grand Omras was permitted to dispose of the rights of the soldiers arbitrarily. To every one who arrived from the provinces of Afghanistan was reserved, as annual allowance, the gratification which had been bestowed on him on the first day ‡. Latterly, he would frequently complain that he had indeed obtained sovereignty but *in the evening*. He always regulated his actions by those of the holy men. In rearing his servants, he was unique; and promoted a number of house-born slaves and retainers to the dignity of Omra, and assigned them principalities. Among them, he raised Khuvaz Khan, a son of Sukkah, to the highest dignity imaginable, and bestowed upon him the title of Masnad Ali. The praiseworthy qualities of this Khuvaz Khan are indeed so numerous, that they cannot be described. With regard to bravery, liberality, morals, obedience, the observation of the holy law, respect towards the Ulemas, deference to the learned, assistance to the necessitous and unfortunate, attention to the poor and strangers, redressing the oppressed, carefulness for the welfare of the soldiers, subjects, and people of all description, he was, in his time, unparalleled. If Hazem Tai had lived in his time, he would have drawn the fringe of reverence to him over his shoulders, and have learned from him beneficence, liberality, and munificence: and if Rustam had

* يام زدو رسب يام or يامه is "a post-horse;" and يامجيك *yamjik*, "a courier who travels with post-horses." Both words are, up to the present day, frequently heard in Russia; where *yam*, and *yamshchik*, mean "a post-stage," and "a postillion." The words, like a great many others of the Russian language, have been borrowed from the Tataric.

† كهرني, Mimusops Kauki. See *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 325, annot. 4.

‡ Probably the first day of his admission into the army.—Ed.

lived to see his time, he would have done him homage. He had made for the poor, screened huts, where about a hundred of them could rest the night. Every Friday night, arrangements were regularly made to cook a hundred mauns of sugar-candy, and a hundred mauns of moist sugar, into a halwa*, and to dress it with other spices, to be distributed to the poor. Sometimes he would take the plate himself; cut the halwa to pieces, and present it to the poor: for, notwithstanding his authority and power, he never became proud, and passed whole nights in attendance upon the poor. There were always assembled about him some thousand poor, as Malanks, Langotbands, Joghis, Sangasis, Munis, and Dighambars, who kindled fire in his camp, and received their daily bread, money, and other gifts, out of his private purse. They relate, that at the time he entered the province of Kashmir, it had, some Friday night, been impossible to collect fuel to cook the usual halwa, in consequence of the snow and rain: the weather was extremely cold, and the Fakirs eagerly longing after the halwa. The affair was represented to Khuvaz Khan. Now, they had, on that very day, brought for him, from Bengal, two hundred loads of muslin, and stored them up before the door of the tent. No sooner had Khuvaz Khan understood that the Fakirs had not been able, from frost, to collect fuel to dress their usual food, and were very hungry, than he was extremely agitated, and involuntarily went out of the tent; and seeing the bundles with wares, ordered to moisten them with oil, and kindle them to dress the halwa. It being impossible to disobey the order, they moistened eighty bundles in fifty mauns of oil, and then prepared the meat. During that whole dark and frosty night, he, in person, served the Fakirs, and distributed halwa to them. He annually distributed several hundred thousands of rupees, in allowances to the meritorious anchorets in his dominions; some thousands of widows and poor receiving daily support. Every year, some thousand yards of ash-coloured stuffs, and some thousand garments made of different skins, were in readiness for the poor and others; and were distributed to them, upon application. During his lifetime, he never deviated from the right path; and ever evinced the strictest exactness in adoration and devotion. They relate, on this point, that at the time when he, conjointly with Adil Khan, marched out to fight and overthrow Islam Shah, an agreement had been made, that they should without delay hasten to Agra, in order to anticipate Islam Shah. On his arrival at Sickri, it being the night Berat, he went to pay a short visit to Sheikh Selim. The sheikh being engaged in the Namaz, Khuvaz Khan passed the whole night in the Namaz; so that morning dawned, and Adil Khan's affairs became embarrassed; whilst Islam Shah, receiving information, put himself in readiness. A proof of his gallantry is the following: When Shir Shah was the second time at war with Humayun, and they both had been encamping a long while near Kanoj, on the banks of the Ganges, whilst Khuvaz Khan was in Bengal, Shir Shah could not move a single step. But on the very day of his arrival, Khuvaz Khan so vigorously threw himself upon the imperial army, that before evening half of it was drowned and slain. He had obtained the highest degree of grandeur and power. Malik Badr Uddin of Samana, who in that reign obtained the dignity of an Omra, relates the following:—Khuvaz Khan one day ordered a sumptuous entertainment to be prepared, where a great many dishes were served up, and to which the Omras and Khans had been invited. At that entertainment he behaved with uncommon cheerfulness and gaiety. As I stood with him in the relation of intimacy, and knew him to be exceedingly kind towards me I said, 'Your Excellency, hail! There is a great number of people in attendance; and you condescend to trouble yourself in person about the entertainment: such a satisfaction

* Halwa (حلوا) is a kind of sweetmeat, made of sugar and flour.—Vid. *Ayeen Acbery*, I. 70.

as is expressed to-day on your Excellency's countenance was never witnessed before; what is the cause of it? May God enhance it yet!' He kindly and cheerfully replied: 'Malik! the monarch has to-day distinguished me by his royal favour and grace; so much so, that all I possess I will gratefully spend for holy purposes; from which expression of my gratitude I will never deviate, as long as life endures.' I said, 'Your Excellency, what favour is it?' To which he replied: 'I and Barmazid were both waiting on the monarch, in his private room; when he said: Barmazid, whenever I shall send a guilty person to thee, however little he may be deserving of death, consider it, without further inquiry, as certain that I send him to be removed from the area of life to the punishment of death; and so put him to death accordingly, at once cutting off the hope of delivery and life, for such is the order addressed to thee. Barmazid proffered the proper terms of obedience, and took this favour upon himself. After that, the monarch turned to me, and said most graciously: Khuvaz Khan; any individual, however guilty and deserving of capital punishment he may be, whom I shall send to thee, know for certain, that he has been pardoned, and presented to thee; it being at thy option to set him at liberty, either that very day or the next, without any further inquiry:—for which I, too, proffered respectful thanks. Now, if that sovereign, who is the shadow of God, had charged me with the office of executioner, what means could I have employed to decline it? I should have been obliged to accept it. But a thousand thanks, that he assigned me the office of saving lives! the best of all favours and graces he ever bestowed upon me. In gratitude for which, I have arranged this festival.'—In short, Khuvaz Khan had obtained such an exalted degree, that he, agreeably to his sincere desire, eventually acquired also the dignity of a martyr. By such royal favours, another one, viz. Haji Khan, acquired equal grandeur and authority with Khuvaz Khan, to whose sister he was married, and on this account numbered among the house-born servants. He was one of Shir Shah's confidants, and distinguished by the rank of a general of fifty-two thousand; which dignity then existed. He had acquired an eminent rank, and for some time held the government of the Punjab. He was unequalled in fortitude; and the illustrious exploits that were achieved by him, in the war against Rana Oudesingh, are clearer than the sun. A short account, therefore, of these things, out of an immense ocean, has been given, for the sake of remembrance, that they may not be forgotten after the lapse of months and years, and may be known to the minds of the intelligent. These wondrous events are the following:—When, after Islam Shah's death, a complete disorder fell upon the Sur dynasty, and the Emperor Humayun, who had entered India a second time, reduced the Punjab to his sway, Haji Khan, seeing no advantage in remaining and waiting on him, and being possessed of much wealth, intended to retreat towards Gujerat, there to spend his time as circumstances would suggest. He accordingly set off in that direction, by the route of Rintimpoor, with a force of ten thousand horse and foot. On his entrance on the territories of Rana Oudesingh, the governor of Chilore, this Rana, from confidence in his troops, and greediness to obtain Haji Khan's baggage and money, intercepted his route near Joudepoor, with ninety thousand horse. Intelligence of which reaching Haji Khan, he sent one of his confidential attendants to the Rana, inquiring, 'What is the meaning of the blockade? We are travellers with our families, exiled, and compelled to emigration: you, therefore, might well give us a guide, and some assistance: what can be the reason of acting quite the reverse?' The deputy came to the Rana, and delivered Haji Khan's message; but the Rana replied: 'I demand that Haji Khan shall deliver up to me his favourite lady, Rai Kalapater, who, besides her unparalleled beauty, excels in dancing and singing, and ten lacs of rupees in specie; and then go wherever he pleases.' The deputy returned,

and made a report of the Rana's demands; by which the flame of resentment glowed up in Haji Khan's breast: he was shocked; and convened to a consultation all the Afghans that were experienced, grave, prudent, and wise men. Some, who preferred life to death, and the world to heaven, gave their opinion, that this affair was of little importance; and that they, having gold enough, should each, in proportion to his wealth, contribute to bring together the demanded sum, and transmit it to him, in order to escape from that perilous situation. Another party, who were unique in resolution and gallantry, considering martyrdom preferable to life, and heaven to the world, gave their counsel quite the contrary; and said: 'The end of every thing being death, and we having our families with us, and being Mussulmans, it is our duty to fight them: if we fall, we shall be martyrs; if we prevail, we shall be holy warriors: what is better, than that we, on the plains of Resurrection, should be resuscitated with the martyrs? This infidel has blocked up our passage, and overwhelms us with injury: we have pronounced what occurred to our mind; but, after all, we shall submit to your opinion, be it whatever it may.' Haji Khan lavished eulogies upon them for their noble resolution, and said: 'If this infidel should have demanded from me gold, elephants, and worldly goods, by God, I would have given them to him! but the demand of my favourite lady is not compatible with my honour—this I cannot bear: it would, to the day of Resurrection, be ever in the mouth of the Afghans, Haji Khan has committed such an act, and stained the reputation of the Afghans, and more particularly of Shir Shah. Such disgrace I cannot suffer to attach to me: I shall fight him, until the event fall out according to destiny.' He then dismissed the deputies of the Rana, and said: 'As the Rana has demanded such things of me, let him now come forward on the field, and give battle; that the Divine will may come to light, and that my name may be immortalized.' After the departure of the Rana's deputies, he assembled all his troops, and said: 'The Rana has addressed to me a shameful demand; and it is incompatible with my reputation to put up with it: I am determined on giving battle. Every one of you may go wherever he pleases: I will die for my family.' Upon this, some low cowards, wishing to save their wealth and lives, fled away; but they could not effect their escape, and were plundered and killed on the road by the Rajputs and Zemindars. The rest, being of one soul and one heart, proceeded to the bloody work. Haji Khan left a detachment of five hundred trustworthy men, with his own family and the families of the Afghans; and enjoined them, in case the affair should turn out unlucky, to put all the women, without exception, to the sword. He then formed the others in four divisions, and hastened on to gain martyrdom and glory. They relate, that a number of Afghans of the Pani tribe, who are settled in Marwar, hearing of Haji Khan's situation and determination to fight, arrived, notwithstanding their residing in the Rana's dominions, for the support of the Islam and the reputation of the Afghans; and thus, for the sake of God, nine hundred, or, according to another relation, five hundred, whose chief was Mian Burhan Pani, whose bravery is clearer than the sun, arrived to succour and assist Haji Khan, and joined him in battle, with a resolution to sacrifice their lives. Rana Oudesingh, confiding in his troops, which were more numerous than locusts and ants, came to meet Haji Khan. Next day, Haji Khan arranged his forces into order of battle, and, imploring the Divine grace, moved to the field of battle. On their encountering, the Mussulmans pronounced the confession of faith, and, exclaiming 'Allah! Allah!' charged the infidels in a combined onset. The fire of the battle glowed up in light flames, and the Mussulmans threw themselves, like flies, into the fire of the swords of the infidels. This flame reached to the sky, and the kingdom of heaven trembled at the sight. On both sides heroic deeds were executed:

VERSES.

"From the right and left sides, troops of warriors drew up,
And the atmosphere no longer remained bright;
The Earth grew perplexed and confounded,
And blood stuck to her like the black stone;
The sky grew red and dark-purple coloured,
And assumed the appearance of all hues;
And many a chief covered the ground;
For whoever put forth his foot, put down his head *.

"The conflict was hot beyond conception; and finally became so embittered, that they, from the conflict with guns, arrows, and spears, resorted to daggers and knives. The combatants seized each other with the hands, to throw themselves upon the ground; and the stronger one cut his adversary down. The ascendancy of the infidels, in numbers, was so great, that each Mussulman was attacked by ten and more. Among the Afghans, there was none but was covered with five or six wounds. On the spot where Haji Khan fought himself, five hundred Afghans acquired martyrdom; of whom three hundred belonged to the Pani nation, who had arrived, for Heaven's sake, to assist Haji Khan, and fell. The Rajputs fastened numbers together, and fought so. Thus, on both sides, the affray was contested; when at once, by Divine pleasure, and according to the sentiment, *Frequently the small army vanquishes the great one*, the breeze of victory and triumph blew at Haji Khan; and Rana Oudesingh turned his face to flight, and the infidel army was routed. A number (nine hundred) of Haji Khan's men, they say, died the death of martyrs; whilst four thousand Rajputs covered the field:—most of the Raja's people were strict and wise men. When the hostile army took to flight, Haji Khan alighted from his horse, and offered prayers of thankgiving. Owing to the wounds received, no one was in a condition to pursue the fugitives. On the day of battle, Haji Khan caused the martyrs to be interred, and medical assistance to be given to the wounded. Two hundred Panis, who had remained alive, were almost all covered with wounds: to whom he testified the utmost regard, and dismissed them to their home. He then marched off the next day, directing his route towards Gujerat; where having spent some time in the service of Shir Khan Foladi, he departed this life. Rana Oudesingh, after his defeat by Haji Khan, ever after prayed for him: and Fath Khan inquiring about the reason, he said: 'Since I, with all my forces, have sustained a defeat by him, the Almighty may let him ever prove victorious, lest men might accuse me of deficiency; but say, Haji Khan is a favourite of Heaven, since he has gained all his battles, and still gains them: for if he once should be put to flight, people will say, Haji Khan, before whom the Rana had been obliged to fly, has sustained a defeat himself; which would be injurious to my reputation: on this account I pray for him.' This exploit of Haji Khan will to the day of Resurrection be spoken of; and the illustrious name of Shir Shah will be mentioned in every company and society, on account of his having reared and cherished such-like servants.

"Shir Shah was unparalleled in solving complicated questions. He directed all his attention to the army. He had also studied the grammar Kamil, and the Commentary on the Kafia †, and was much in company with scientific and learned men. In bravery and

* I have tried, in this manner, to imitate the Persian نهاد سر هرکه پاي مي نهاد: the meaning of which is, "Whoever stood forth to fight, was killed."

† The author of this celebrated grammar is Jemal Uddin Abu Amru ben Alhajeb Altakhtazani, who died in 672.—See *D'Herbelot* s. v. *Cafiah: Schnurrer*, "Bibliotheca Arabica." *Halæ*, 1811, p. 23.

manliness, he was the first of his age; and ever most anxious that the dictates of the law should be observed, himself never deviating from the commands of the Ulemas. He laboured with heart and soul to promote the welfare of his subjects. The duration of his reign, from its commencement, on the eleventh of Moharrem in the year 946, till the seventeenth of Rabea Ulavval in the year 952, was six years, one month, and seven days."

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P. 142. l. 15. *fifty miles.*] According to L., Jelal Khan was at the township of Ariun, belonging to Batta. In the Maaden Akhbar Ahmedi, the place is called Riun.

P. 146. l. 3. *fifteenth.*] L. "nineteenth;" *Ferishta* has, also, "fifteenth."

P. 152. l. 7. *Khuvaz Khan, and Jelal Khan Jaloo.*] According to L., it was Isa Khan who interceded for the dismissal of the prince.

P. 158. l. 11. *the night of Kadr.*] L. "the night of Berat."

P. 159. l. 25. *Firozpoor.*] L.: "On their arrival at Firozpoor in Merivat, a battle ensued, when defeat fell to the lot of Islam Shah's army; which Islam Shah learning, detached another force against them; who (Khuvez Khan and Isa Khan Naïb) unable to face it, retreated to the mountains of Kumaun. Upon this, Islam Shah detached Kotb Khan Naïb, with a sufficient force, against them; himself setting off for the fort of Chunar, where Shir Shah's treasures were stored up." See *Ferishta*, Part II. p. 131—134.

P. 166. l. 37. *Sultan Mahmood.*] L. adds: "Islam Shah left Isa Khan with twenty thousand horse in Oujein, and returned to his capital."

P. 167. l. 3. *Lahore.*] L. "Sirhind."

P. 168. l. 26. *a salubrious house.*] L.: "Here he spent some days; and built the castle of Salimgurra, which lies on the banks of the Jumna, and is at present occupied by Sheikh Farid Bokhari, opposite the castle of Dinpenah, which was erected by Humayun."

P. 169. l. 20. *but he disclosed it to nobody.*] L.: "but imprisoned them all, in the course of time, in Biana."

P. 169. l. 24. *He then betook* &c.] L.: "In the year 955, he marched to the Punjab; where he repaired the castle of Mankot, and was sedulously employed in alleviating the state of his subjects, and the army. He then reviewed Gualyar, which he had made the seat of his empire; and passed his happy time in pleasure and amusement."

P. 170. l. 26.] In Lee's copy, the following remarks on this monarch are added: "The coffin of this justice-loving monarch was carried from Gualyar to Jahraram, and deposited at the side of his father's tomb. The duration of his reign, from the 19th of Rabea Ulawal, 952, to the end, viz. the 26th of Zilhija, 960, was eight years, nine months, and seven days. The praiseworthy qualities and amiable properties of Sam Shah are so numerous, that the quill cannot enumerate them. We shall, therefore, give only an extract from that immense ocean. Be it known, then, to the enlightened mind of the wise, that Islam Shah was a sovereign, wise, accomplished, virtuous, prudent, well-read, ever having the good of his subjects at heart. He incessantly was in company with learned, accomplished, wise, religious, and pious persons; and unparalleled among the Afghans, in extemporizing and elegant speeches, subtlety of mind, [illegible]ce. There was never, in any company,

a subject mentioned, but he recited proper verses on it. He knew the Gulistan and Bustan by heart, and perused the poetry of Khuaja Hafiz: he knew all the Poets. He made noble efforts in establishing eleemosynary foundations and endowments. From the Nilab to Bengal, he ordered, between every inn built by Shir Shah, at the distance of a mile, another inn to be erected; so that the distance was only half a mile, and people sustained not the least incommodity. At every stage, food for the poor, and post-horses, were kept ready; so that travellers and strangers were well accommodated, and the wanderers made their journeys at full ease. Every day, from Bengal to the Nilab, which is a distance of about one thousand miles, one seer of sunargam, and one maun of fresh rice, were sent by the post to the king, wherever he happened to be. During his reign, not a single day was there any deviation from this custom. Amongst his companions was the eminent and holy Sheikh Abd Ulhassan, son of Sheikh Gudai Kumbooh, who most frequently attended him. He had no second in politeness and pleasantry. During dinner, none of his attendants ever beheld his fingers greasy. Sheikh Abd Ullah Sultanpuri, the most learned man of the age, he distinguished by the title of Malik. In the observation of the holy law of the Lord of mankind (upon whom be the most excellent prayers and peace!) he was anxious to the extreme; nor did he, during his reign, allow any innovation to be made. We beg to adduce an instance, with regard to a Fetva of the Ulemas concerning the execution of the law, which was issued in the year 955: One Sheikh Alai Hassan* gave occasion to it; and it is briefly as follows. Sheikh Alai Hassan, of Biana, passed his time on the carpet of a sheikh and the mattress of a dervish, and guided those desirous of truth. On his death, his eldest son, Sheikh Alai, endowed with intellectual and corporeal accomplishments, and possessed of intrinsic and extrinsic perfections, succeeded his father, and was employed in guiding those wandering on the path of religion and travelling on the true way. At that time, Sheikh Abd Ullah Niazi, an intimate pupil of Sheikh Suleiman Chusti, returning from his travels in Hejaz, Syria, the Persian and Arabian [illegible] Khorassan, and Mavarannahr, came to Biana; where he fixed his abode, and professed [illegible] trine of the Mahdians; according to which, Seid Khan, commonly called Mir Seid Mohammed Joonpor, was the promised (Mahdi †). Sheikh Alai was exceedingly pleased with this new doctrine; and, deserting the belief of his ancestors, embraced the new one, and invited others to embrace it. With this new belief he took up his abode, outside of Biana, in the vicinity of Sheikh Abd Ullah Niazi, whither great numbers of people flocked, and passed their time in full confidence. After the morning namaz, and the performance of the evening prayers, he used to comment on the Divine word, in such a manner, that every person present in the congregation, and hearing him, immediately relinquished all his possessions, and laid aside the care for his family, repented of his former life, and, in full confidence and contentment, joined the new converts; offering repentance of his crimes and sins, and entering the number of Mohammed Mahdi's followers; at the same time, declaring that Seid Mohammed was the Mahdi promised. Thus the peasants and merchants spent one-tenth of their possessions for godly purposes; and it frequently happened, that a son abandoned his father and brother, and a wife her husband, to join that sect; making abstinence and contentment their symbol, and considering traffic to be entirely illicit. With the exception of internal adoration, vigils, the

* *Ferishta*, Part II. p. 138.

† It is well known that this Mahdi, or guide, is expected in the person of the twelfth Imam, Mohammed; whom the Persians pretend to be yet alive; and who, according to their belief, will appear, with the Prophet Elias, before the second arrival of Christ.—See *D'Herbelot*, s. v. *Imam*.

five prayers, the perusal of, and obsequiousness to, the Koran, they hel[illegible]l the other ceremonies to be unlawful. The gifts and presents which Mir Seid receiv[illegible]v distributed in the morning amongst themselves; and fasted when nothing came in. [illegible] one was provided with arms. Such was the doctrine which Sheikh Alai adopted. Whenever he beheld any thing unlawful in the city or in the market, he first endeavoured to correct it by the way of benignity and warning; but when his attempts were unsuccessful, they employed force; and even the magistrates of the town assisted him. Sheikh Abd Ullah Niazi, who held the same tenets with him, perceiving how harshly Sheikh Alai treated the people, advised him to undertake a pilgrimage to Hejaj: in consequence of which advice, he immediately departed for that country, with a retinue of nine hundred retainers. On his arrival at Khuvazpoor, in the district of Joudepoor, Khuvaz Khan came out to compliment him, and ranked himself among his followers. But as the people frequently were reduced to distress by the sheikh, Khuvaz Khan dismissed him with disgust.

"When Islam Shah mounted the throne at Agra, Sheikh Alai, yielding to circumstances, returned, and came again to Biana. Islam Shah, agreeably to the advice of his Ulemas and Omras, summoned the sheikh before him: obedience to this summons the latter considered as a matter of necessity; and repaired to the capital, where he was ordered to appear in public council. He, in disregard of the etiquette due to a sovereign, complimented Islam Shah with the usual* salute; to which the monarch returned the same; a circumstance that displeased the courtiers and Ulemas. The dispute with him was opened by Moulana Abd Ullah Sultanpoori; who, after much altercation, drew up a fetva for the sheikh's capital punishment. Upon this, Islam Shah summoned Mir Seid Rafea Uddin, Moulana Jemal Uddin Danishmend, Moulana Abul Fath Thanessiri, and most of the other divines of the time, to subject this affair to a severe examination. In these meetings, Sheikh Alai, by his superior genius, got so much the better of all of them, and evinced such a superiority in the exposition and interpretation of the Koran, that Islam Shah was forcibly struck with it, and said: 'Sheikh Alai! abandon that new doctrine, and I will appoint thee Muhtasib† (censor of morals) all over my dominions: the office, which thou hast hitherto held without appointment, thou shalt henceforward hold by law:'—which, however, the sheikh rejecting, Islam Shah, in conformity with a fetva of the divines, ordered Sheikh Alai to be expelled, and sent him off to the Deccan. When the sheikh arrived at Hindya, belonging to Malwa, its governor, Bahar Khan Servani, joined, with his whole army, the followers of the sheikh: the news of which reaching the Makhdum Ulmulk, he made a most terrific report of it to Islam Shah; whose righteous mind being sedulously zealous in maintaining the holy law, he summoned Sheikh Alai a second time, and convened also the divines for discussion. When all were assembled, he took part personally in settling the affair. The Makhdum Ulmulk declared to Islam Shah, 'This man professes the doctrine of the Mahdi, who is to be the ruler of the whole world: the number of his followers has already increased very much, and a state of complete anarchy is to be expected.' To such insinuations, however, Islam Shah paid no attention; but sent the sheikh to Sheikh Bedeh (who had raised the banner of guidance and direction in Behar, and was a distinguished man), with a request, that he would give his opinion. He himself went to the Punjab, and superintended the erection of the fort of Mankot. On Sheikh Alai's arrival in Behar, the matter for some time was brought to no conclusion; but eventually, Sheikh Bedeh, in conformity with the opinion of divines and the Makhdum

* Probably the common or ordinary salutation.

† 'Muhtasib' is, the censor of morals, or superintendant of the police, who watches over the moral conduct of the people.

Ulmulk, issued a fetva, and transmitted it to Islam Shah. On the road, Sheikh Alai was taken with an epidemical disease then raging, and his throat was affected with a large ulcer: when they brought him before Islam Shah, the power of speech entirely failed him, and Islam Shah whispered into his ears, 'Sheikh! pronounce softly, that the Mahdi is yet to come;' but the sheikh, wholly immersed in his trance, paid not the least attention to Islam Shah's summons: upon which, the latter, in order to gratify the holy law and the fetva, and agreeably to the advice of the Ulemas, ordered some blows to be inflicted on the sheikh; who, breathing his last, left, at the third lash, this perishable world for the better one, and joined the clemency of God.

"Islam Shah was unique in the management of the affairs of state; and in politics he excelled all the other sovereigns of his time. There was everywhere such complete comfort, that the fame of his majesty and dignity will spread all over the world. At the entertainments and assemblies which he held with Shah Mohammed Fermulli and his other attendants, he behaved in a friendly, condescending manner. Whenever he put on the royal robe, and appeared in the privy council, his orders were executed with the greatest severity. In his social assemblies, facetious stories and wonderful narrations were brought forward: he knew a great number of the poetry of former authors by heart, and commented on them. During his whole life-time he had conversation with learned and wise people. The chief of the eloquent, Sheikh Abd Ulhay, son of Sheikh Jemal Kumbooh, composed poems in his praise. He died in the same year with Shah Taher Deccani, when three sovereigns deceased in one and the same year."

P. 171. l. 26. *of both worlds.*] L. adds: "They relate, that Islam Shah, on his death-bed, repeatedly told his favourite lady, Bibi Bai, if she loved her son Firoz Khan, and wished him to become emperor, to allow him to cut off her brother, Mobarez Khan; he being an obstacle in the way of her son: but that if she was fond of her brother, she must risk the safety of her son's life, as well as his succession to the throne. To this, Bibi Bai replied, that her brother, Mobarez Khan, had ever spent his life in pleasure, amusement, and musical entertainments, and did so still, and felt not the least desire after the crown. So the most urgent representations of Islam Khan proved to be useless, until his apprehensions were fulfilled on the third day after his death*."

P. 171. l. 31. *the foolish.*] See *Ferishta*, Part II. p. 144. "And people gave him the nick-name of Andly; which, in the Indian language, signifies, equally, one who is blind, or who, acting as such, convicts himself of folly."

P. 171. l. 32. *Having read* &c.] L.: "Having learned, from historical records, the munificence of Sultan Mohammed Adil Tuglik Shah †, he determined upon imitating him. He therefore opened the door of his treasures, and loaded the people with bounties. He ordered five hundred blunted arrows to be made, which were thrown in every direction; and when they fell down in a house, he would give five hundred tankas to the person that brought them back."

P. 172. l. 32. *seller of stones.*] L. "seller of dogs." *Ferishta* is in accordance with L., furnishing سگ instead of سنگ, which is in our copy.

P. 175. l. 12. 13. *Kalpi.*] Read "Biana."

P. 175. l. 19. *Mundagur.*] L. adds: "six miles from Agra."

* *Ferishta*, Part II. p. 141.

† Mohammed Tuglik Shah reigned from 725 A.D. 1325, to 752, A.D. 1351. See *Ferishta*, Part I. p. 409.

P. 176. l. 30. *with colours.*] L.: "with the command of five thousand, with colours, a cow-tail, and a kettle-drum."

P. 176. l. 36. *in Ghour.*] L. adds: "and styled himself Sultan Behader."

P. 177. l. 17. *Shujaet Khan.*] See *Ferishta*, Part IV. p. 272, &c.

P. 177. l. 25. *Baz Behader.*] See *Ferishta*, Part IV. p. 276.

P. 178. l. 3. *with soldiers.*] L. mentions, "fifty thousand to sixty thousand."

P. 178. l. 31. *camphor.*] L. says: "two tolas of camphor."

P. 179. l. 17. *Chapper Mow.*] L. adds: "which is forty miles from Agra, and thirty from Kanoj."

P. 179. l. 27. *a grandfather of Ram.*] Read "Jadnam," which is a proper name.

P. 180. l. 5. *Kakers.*] L. adds: "inhabiting Kohana (کوهانه)."

P. 180. l. 21. *a thousand cavalry.*] L.: "with five thousand to six thousand."

P. 180. l. 26. *One thousand cavalry* &c.] L. gives this passage thus: "One thousand Ishturanies having united themselves, had unanimously left their home, and made an attack upon Taj and Emad Kerrani, who had posted themselves at a distance of three miles from the Kakers. A fierce battle ensued; wherein the Kakers so tore up the root of Taj and Emad's lives, that it became the story of the time. Taj fled, half dead, to a distance of three miles, and three hundred of his people covered the ground: two hundred wounded, and three hundred elephants, fell into the hands of the Kakers. Such a decisive victory was gained by the Kakers. The wounded of the Kerranians, falliug into their hands, were assisted with medical aid: and when they, some time after, recovered, they gave each of them an honorary gown, a vest, and a horse, and dismissed them. Adeli being at that period hard pressed by the Moguls, they presented the elephants to him; and distributed among themselves the districts about Kahduk, which they had conquered from the Kerranians."

P. 183. l. 6. *Kutloo Lohani.*] L. "Mian Kutloo."

P. 183. l. 28. *avoided.*] L. adds: "He left three sons, Nasib Shah, Lodi Khan, and Jemal Khan."

P. 183. l. 31. *leave of life.*] L. adds: "leaving five sons, Khuaja Othman, Khuaja Vali, Khuaja Mulhi, Khuaja Ibrahim, Khuaja Suleiman."

P. 183. l. 32. *Khuaja Suleiman.*] L. adds the following: "At last, Raja Mansingh marched numerous forces against him, and several battles were fought; in one of which, Himetsingh, a son of the Raja, was killed. In the districts of Barmsir*, he acquired sovereign power, and drew to his interests most of the Rajas and Zemindars. He entered into alliances with them, and sought their daughters in marriage. In bravery, he seized the ball of precedence before all his contemporaries. He eventually died; and was succeeded by his younger brother."

*History of Khuaja Othman Nohani*†.

"Khuaja Othman Nohani succeeded Suleiman. He appropriated to him his wealth and effects, and set a numerous army on foot. The first year, he opened the door of peace and

* This word is doubtful.

† See *Ferishta*, Part IV. p. 358, who wrote his work when the war between the Emperor Jehanghir and Khuaja Osman was carried on.—*Histoire Universelle*, tom. xviii. p. 526; and *Stewart's Descriptive Catalogue*, &c. p. 275. where an account of the same war, extracted from the 'Akhāl Nāmeh Jehāngīry' of Muâtimid Khan, is given.

concord, and concluded treaties with the most illustrious personages. He went to Raja Mansingh, to pay him his respects; and marks of love and friendship were given on both sides. He resided there for some time; and the Raja bestowed upon him those territories, with some other pergunnas of Sutgam and Orissa. But, owing to some suspicion, which, as it happens to be in human nature, entered the mind of Khuaja Othman, he one night left the Raja; and retired to his former residence, where he assumed a rebellious and seditious attitude, and engaged several times in hard battles. In the year 1002, Raja Mansingh quartered at Rajmahal, which he had built; and Khuaja Othman assembled his forces, and attacked the Raja with a numerous army. The Raja shut himself up; but was so closely pressed, that he was hardly able to breathe. They every day approached the fort, and cried: 'It is little consistent with manliness to wander about the house, and shut oneself up in a fort.' The Raja, however, continued watching the fit opportunity. It so happened, that Khuaja Othman, according to custom, drew up a full array; but it becoming very hot, he left one of his Omras, with five hundred horse, for the purpose of reconnoitring, himself returning to his camp. They took the fire-arms from the elephants; and the young fellows put off their arms, and rested quietly and comfortably at home. At this juncture, the sun reached its height, and the atmosphere was exceedingly hot; when the astrologers and hour-knowing Brahmins went to the Raja, and, removing the veil from the face of affairs, declared, that the hour of victory was arrived, and that they, imploring the divine assistance, ought to mount. The Raja, upon the spot, ordered his soldiers to put on their armour, and get themselves ready: so they fastened the gates of the city, and put themselves in array. After these arrangements, he divided his troops into three detachments, resembling a mountain of iron, and marched upon Khuaja Othman's camp;—which the advanced videttes of Othman perceiving, made their report: but he replied: 'This must be a mistake, since it is already four months that I am investing him: he is in no condition to venture out.' When the Raja arrived at the place, he ordered the artillery of five thousand elephants to be discharged at once, so that no single man escaped with life: in the same way, the rest of the troops was destroyed by the fire. When the sound of the guns and kettle-drums reached the ears of Khuaja Othman, he well saw through the affair, but was unable to rally his army; and, following the sentiment, '*Flight before an enemy who is unconquerable, is allowable,*' turned his face to flight. Immense booty fell into the hands of Raja Mansingh; and the enemy running off without sustaining a battle, he gained a complete victory. Khuaja Othman contented himself with a small estate in the territories of Bengal, yielding a yearly income of five or six lacs of rupees: he refrained from warlike enterprises, and declared, that he had employed all means in his power, but that the will of God was so, and admitted no alteration. In the year 1021 he retired to the Kohistan of Dacca; where he took up his residence, and spent his time in amusement and pleasure. He amassed much gold from the Rajas of those parts, and sought their handsome daughters in marriage. He grew so fat, that he was obliged to give over riding on horseback, no animal but an elephant being able to carry him*. He would frequently, in his private assemblies, say to his intimates: '[illegible] hitherto refrained from war; nor shall I, of my own accord, engage in it, sin[illegible] several times observed the concord of the Afghans:' so he was contented with two or three thousand foot, in the province of Dacca. When, in the year 1019†, his sublime majesty, Jehanghir, had

* See also *Stewart*, p. 277.

† The year 1019 of the Hejra answers to the year 1609 A.D. Now Mr. Hamilton, in the East-India Gazetteer, I. p. 477, says, that, in A.D. 1608, the seat of government was removed from Rajmahal to Dacca,

distinguished Sheikh Ala Uddeen, a nephew of Selim Sickeri, with the title of Islam Khan, he sent him off, to take the government of Bengal. The sheikh, on his arrival, desolated most of the finest provinces; and addressed a letter, expressive of promises and threats, and hopes and menaces, to Khuaja Othman, and summoned him to present himself and submit to the Emperor. Khuaja Othman, from confidence in his valour, refused complying with this demand; and, with the answer, transmitted to the sheikh, some cotton, a distaff, a musical instrument, some dormice, and two or three broken-down female elephants, with his message: 'You are a sheikhzadeh, and have the right to be an officiating priest *: war is not at all becoming you: anoint yourself with perfumes; touch the instruments, read prayers, and perform songs and dances.' The sheikh, perusing the letter, understood its meaning, and became extremely confounded. Towards the end of the year 1021 he marched, with a chosen army, to fight and chastise Khuaja Othman.

"Sheikh Kabir, known by the name of Shujaet Khan, one of the Omras, constituted the van; and Mirza Iftikhar Beg †, son of Baizid Sultan, who in gallantry and valour eclipsed all his contemporaries, was appointed to occupy the centre. Khuaja Othman, receiving advice of Islam Shah's approach, entered the field with seven hundred excellent horse, who were related and sincerely attached to him, and two or three thousand infantry, Afghans, and others. On the encounter, a great and severe battle took place. Khuaja Othman himself set an example of bravery; and the flame of these lions raged from morning to evening. Mirza Iftikhar Beg, and Sheikh Ahiah ‡, a nephew of Sheikh Mina, a brother's son of Mukarreb Khan, one of his majesty's intimate courtiers and favourites, with the majority of the Omras, fell martyrs §; and Khuaja Othman proved victorious. He made his way through the vanguard and centre; and charged Sheikh Kabir, who personally stood forth against him. At this moment, Khuaja Othman's elephant, being in front of the line, pinned down Shujaet Khan with his teeth. Shujaet Khan, though dismounted, aimed several blows with his dagger at the elephant's trunk, so that he left the sheikh, and ran off; when they brought a horse, and seated the sheikh upon it. Meanwhile the evening prayers approached.—Islam Khan sent daily fresh troops from his residence at Decca, which lies at a distance of upwards of a hundred miles from the field of battle, which they call the Battle of Oujialas. Sheikh Kabir, unshaken in his gallantry, desired, on the approach of evening, to delay the battle to the next day. Khuaja Othman, being victorious, imagining his victory to be complete, rode, on the field of battle, up to the corpse of Sheikh Ahia. Mirza Iftikhar having yet a breath of life left, Khuaja Othman said to him: 'O Mogul! be quiet: I shall by all means endeavour to relieve thy afflicting situation.' He, in fact, gave orders to put Iftikhar in an elephant-litter. At this time, he rashly alighted from the horse, mounted an elephant, and cheered the people on to fight; when on a sudden, by the divine decree and the will of the Lord, and owing to the world-conquering fortune of his majesty, a fusileer of Mujaet Khan's body discharged a shot from

Dacca, by the then governor of Bengal, Islam Khan, and, in compliment to the reigning emperor, its name changed into Jehanghire Nuggur. But in A.D. 1608, Othman was yet in the possession of Dacca; and Islam Khan is related to have been appointed governor of Bengal in A.D. 1609. Dacca fell into Islam Khan's hands in A.H. 1021, A.D. 1612, as we are informed both by Neamet Ullah and Mutamid: see *Stewart*, p. 275. To solve this difficulty, we must assume that Islam Khan held the city of Dacca whilst Othman was in the possession of the fort of Dacca.

* In the Persian: "You are possessed of a praying carpet."

† In the *Histoire Universelle*, he is called Mirza Effagher, which is a mere corruption of Iftikhar.

‡ شيخ احيه. *Stewart* furnishes, شيخ اجهه Sheikh Ach'héh.

§ See *Stewart*, p. 277.

his fatal hand, and hit him in the forehead, near the right ear; so that the right eye was knocked out, and the left lost the sight; and Khuaja Othman departed for the next world. —Khuaja Vali, his younger brother, taking him down from the elephant, placed him in a palanquin. He then called Khuaja Vali before him, and said: 'I have defeated the troops of Sheikh Kabir and Islam Khan with a small number: their best men are slain: you must prove your fraternal love, and, with united forces, charge. You must finish him this very night, and put an end to this affair: for if they shall be allowed to recommence the work to-morrow, you will be no more in condition to fight, nor able to keep ground any longer.' Kuaja Vali, who had formerly contracted friendship with Islam Khan, and was at that time entirely forlorn, could not bring the affair to a conclusion: for, as by an army without a leader nothing can be achieved, Khuaja Othman's troops sustained a defeat; and they dismounted themselves in all directions, to save their lives. They put the Khuaja into a litter, and carried him towards Dacca; but on the road he delivered up this life to the Receiver of souls: upon which, Khuaja Vali interred him on the road, and went on to Dacca. The news of this reaching Islam Khan, he attached no credit to it; but was soon convinced of it, by couriers sent out to ascertain it. He then detached Shujaet Khan to pursue the fugitives; and immense booty, and a great number of elephants, fell into the hands of the imperialists. Mujaet Khan, on his arrival at the grave of Khuaja Othman, ordered his corpse to be dug out, and his head to be severed from the body; which he, with the news of the victory, forwarded to court. Islam Khan, in his pursuit, came to Dacca, the residence of Khuaja Othman, and surrounded it. Khuaja Othman, on his departure for the campaign, had charged a number of his trusty adherents, when the mournful intelligence of his death should reach them, to put his favourite wives to death; which they accordingly executed upon twenty-five of them. Islam Khan investing the fort of Dacca, Khuaja Vali perceived that escape was impossible; and that he neither would find shelter with the Zemindars and Rajas, in consequence of Khuaja Othman's harsh behaviour towards them. As he, previously to his brother's death, had opened the doors of friendship with Islam Khan, and of obedience to the imperial court, he, yielding to necessity, endeavoured to sue for a stipulation; and he and the sons of Khuaja Othman, upon oral assurances, came to wait on Islam Khan *. Thus great riches, mountain-like elephants, and the whole district of Dacca, fell into the hands of the imperialists; and this territory, after a long and protracted struggle, was incorporated with the imperial dominions. Islam Khan, providing Khuaja Vali and Khuaja Othman's followers with necessaries, sent them to court; and Khuaja Vali was in Agra allowed to pay his humble homage to the Emperor, who distinguished him with various royal favours, and bestowed upon him the title of Chagatai Khan, a command over one thousand, and a jaghir. Seven hundred thousand in coined money, and three hundred elephants, came from Khuaja Othman to the possession of his majesty. Khuaja Vali, released from his calamitous state, spent his time merrily in the service of his majesty. The duration of Khuaja Othman's government, after the death of his brother Suleiman, was nineteen years; of his life, forty-two years. This event happened in the year 1021; and the power of the Nohanian dynasty, resembling a phantom, terminated."

P. 183. l. 3. *Davud.*] L. " Suleiman."

* *Stewart*, p. 281.

# ANNOTATIONS

ON

## PART THE SECOND.

(1) Page 3. l. 18.] This sheikh, who was born in the year 585, A.D. 1189, and died in 603, A.D. 1205, consequently lived in the reign of Sultan Shahab Uddeen Ghori, up to the reign of Kotb Uddeen Eibak.

(2) P. 3. l. 26.] For an account of Kobachah, with his full name, Naser Uddeen Kobachah, see *Ferishta*, pp. 203, 206, 209.

(3) P. 3. l. 29.] This is Sultan Shams Uddeen Ilatmish; who vanquished Kobachah, and took the Multan from him.

(4) P. 3. l. 32.] Kelukery is a suburb of Dehli. In the *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. II. p. 94, it is said to have been built by Moëzz Uddeen Kaikabad (see *Ferishta*, p. 274), and is called Gunglookery; which difference merely arises from the diacritical points of one letter; the translator of the *Ayeen Akbery* having read كنلوكهري instead of كيلوكهري.

(5) P. 3. l. 33.] Jalal Uddeen Bostami is in L. called Jemal Uddeen Bostani, the Sheikh Ulistom of Dehli; and said to have contracted a strong friendship with Kotb Uddeen Kaki.

(6) P. 4. l. 36. *they carried him home.*] In L. it is said, that it was Kazi Hamid Uddeen and Sheikh Badr Uddeen who carried him home: immediately after which passage, we read in L. the following more circumstantial account of the sheikh's death:—" In the year 613 he relapsed into the same state. Sheikh Badr Uddeen and Kazi Hamid Uddeen, witnessing his condition, perceived that he was to emigrate to Paradise, and asked him about the succession. To which he answered, that the garment, the stick, and the praying-carpet, which he had inherited from his ancestors, should be given to Sheikh Farid. The Kazi immediately sent off some person to call Farid. Sheikh Badr Uddeen said: 'At that time I fell into a trance, and beheld the Khuaja ascending towards heaven, saying: Badr Uddeen, the friends of God are not liable to death. In the same moment I recovered again from my mental absence, and saw that the Khuaja had already expired.' After the usual trimming and shrouding, they buried him, according to his will, at the place mentioned; where there are, in his blessed neighbourhood, the tombs of some of his successors." The year of his death, 613, A.D. 1216, given in L., is more uniform with history (see *Ferishta*,

p. 208); and I suppose that, by an error of the copyist, in our copy the number ten has been omitted. Kotb Uddeen Khan is mentioned by *Ferishta*, p. 271, as one of the great men who flourished in the reign of Ghayas Uddeen Balban, who mounted the throne of Dehli in 664, A.D. 1266, and died in 685, A.D. 1286.

(7) P. 5. l. 13. *Khuaja Khyzer.*] The latter word, which is omitted in our copy, I have added from L.

(8) P. 9. l. 35.] Instead of "winter-time" زمستان, L. furnishes, "summer-time" تابستان, which is evidently more proper.

(9) P. 12. l. 4.] This year coincides with the age of the king of Dehli, Mobarek Shah, 824—839, A.D. 1421—1435.

(10) P. 12. l. 18.] In L., where there are some more stories of no importance of this sheikh related, is also a life of his followers, who became saints themselves: their names are, Davud Bateni the son-in-law to the sheikh, Isa Daftani, Isa Dotani, Hassan Surkh Bateni, Tarak Dotani, Moulana Eyub, Ibrahim Ashturani, Hassan Jalvani a sister's son of the sheikh, Shams Uddeen Khyzerkhail Sarvani, Zakarya Shivar, Roon Uddeen Miani, Moulana Nizam Uddeen, Khair Uddeen Gazer, Belal Nassaj, Shadi Bakhtiar, Hassan Bakhtiar, Khan Bakhtiar, Sohail Bakhtiar, Sheikh Ali Lagher a full brother of the sheikh, Ahmedek, Guda, Alik, Sheikh Ismail, Kano Nohani, &c.

(11) P. 15. l. 2.] In L., besides Joghies and Sanyasies, are named Malangs and Munis.

(12) P. 16. l. 20.] This word is left out in our copy, apparently by inadvertency of the copyist.

(13) P. 18. l. 11.] Instead of, "by a miracle of Sheikh Thabet," we read in L. "this firman comes from the Almighty."

(14) P. 19. l. 29.] Instead of Ghassan (غسان) L. has Arghan (ارغان); which no doubt is to be read ارغسان, and is the *Urghessaun.* See *Elphinstone*, Part I. p. 188.

(15) P. 19. l. 31.] Instead of "Nilani," L. has "Mogulani."

(16) P. 19. l. 33.] L. calls him "Sultan Hossain Mirza, a brother's son of Shah Tahmasp;" which is conformable with history: see Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Part I. p. 337. The event, told in our history, must have taken place about the year 1575—1577.

(17) P. 20. l. 23.] L. gives this passage thus: "He chose his abode on a mountain at a distance of one mile from Gualyar. In the reign of Sultan Islam Shah Sur, two thousand mounted Bakhtiaries, and others, resided around his abode."

(18) P. 21. l. 28.] This Sultan Ghayas Uddeen is Ghayas Uddeen Bulbun, who reigned from 664—685, A.D. 1266—1286.

(19) P. 22. l. 24.] These saints are called لنگبند or لنگوت بند in consequence of wearing a لنگ or لنگوت, that is, a cloth between the legs. See *Shakespear's Hindustani Dictionary.*

(20) P. 23. l. 13.] See Part I. p. 169.

(21) P. 24. l. 16. *the elder.*] These words appear not to be quite correct: for لوي signifies, in the Afghan language, 'great,' 'elder;' and دي is the third person of the substantive verb: so that لودي, without است, which is Persian, and unknown in the Pushtu, means, "he is the elder." The sheikh, in pronouncing his decision, wanted, consequently, only to say لودي.

(22) P. 26. l. 19.] In the text, we read بهٔتکبیر میرساند; which being obscure, I have adopted the conjecture of M. Charmoy, instead of تکبیر, to read تکبیل, which means *fettering.*

(23) P. 26. l. 20.] In L. there is another story of Mulla Khyzer added; who, in order to relieve his tribes suffering under a want of water, whilst the Sarvanians were abundantly supplied with it, went through Mount Sulcimau, which, of its own accord, opened a passage to him; so that he made a journey of three days in one hour, to the river called Derabhun, and requested it to run to his own tribe. But the Sarvanians giving notice of it to Sheikh Sulciman Dana, this saint caused the river to continue its former course.

(24) P. 26. l. 36.] This event is, therefore, referred to the year 955, when Islam Shah died.

(25) P. 27. l. 8.] L. adds another story:—" One day they said to him, ' Suleiman! Ala Uddeen Khilji, the king of Dehli, lays siege to the fortress of Chitore, and its capture depends on your arrival: it being laid down in the indelible tables*, that in Chitore, at the place where the infidels will kill their own wives and children and set fire to their effects, a handsome girl will come into your hands, from whom two accomplished sons and one daughter will be born. From the sons a numerous offspring will rise; and they will obtain the degree of sanctity and of Poles (Kotb). The name of the one will be Mulhi Kattal; and of the daughter, Alai.' After this speech, they sent Suleiman off to Chitore. On the very day of his arrival, owing to his prosperous presence, the fort was taken: and when the infidels were employed in destroying their own families, and setting fire to their possessions, the sheikh, in reliance upon the promise, conveyed himself to that place; where he, amongst the slain, beheld a girl of about ten or twelve years of age, shedding tears, and uttering bewailings. He seized her hand, and went off with her; and having converted her to Islamism, married her, and made his way home. The Almighty, some time after, presented him with two sons and one daughter: one of the sons he called Sheikh Mahmud; the other, Sheikh Mulhi; and by them, even in their infancy, miracles were worked. After Sheikh Suleiman's death, Sheikh Mahmud Dana succeeded his father on the carpet of sheikhood; whilst Sheikh Mulhi, in his youth, preferred going on travels, and was honoured with the company of Shahbaz Kalandar in Sahvan; where he, in his service, practised abstinence and religious warfare. He sojourned a long time with him; and, by divine grace, and the assistance of his eminent guide, displayed wonderful exertions; and gaining high reputation, he became known by the name of Sheikh Mulhi Kattal." Ala Uddeen Khilji took the fort of Chitore, in the year 703, A.H. 1303; as we are told by *Ferishta*, p. 353; who, however, mentions not a word of the miraculous circumstance recounted in our work.

(26) P. 40 l. 2.] *Rabia* was an eminently pious woman, who day and night performed a thousand prostrations. See the fortieth Makamat of *Hariri*, published by Silvestre de Sacy; where an account of this lady is given in the Scholia.

* *i.e.* of God's decrees and fore-knowledge.—ED.

(27) P. 40. l. 18.] Baten بتّن is more frequently spelled بيتن, and his descendants بيتني or بيتّن and بيتّني. It is also found written پتّن and پتّني Pat'an and Pattany.

(28) P. 40. l. 19.] There must be some mistake of the copyist; for, summing up

105 Sarbannies,
77 Batnies and Maties,
95 Ghurghushties,
105 Kerranians,

we obtain only three hundred and eighty-two tribes; consequently, thirteen wanting from three hundred and ninety-five. But in L., the Kerranians are said to consist of one hundred and twenty khails; which number being assumed, instead of one hundred and five, will furnish three hundred and uinety-seveu tribes.

(29) P. 41. l. 4.] Sharkhbun is a corruption of Sharf Uddin, as we are informed in the *Khulassat Ulansab:* "Sharf Uddin, whom the Afghans call Sharkhbun." This is also the case with Karshbun, whose original name is Khair Uddiu.

(30) P. 41. l. 7.] There must be again some mistake in our copy. In L., the passage ruus thus: "Ormar, the fifth son of Sharkhbun, fell in love with a blacksmith's daughter, and married her. She bore one son, whom he named Amerdin; who became possessed of wealth, and grew famous in the world. His father's name is but little known. But in the *Khulassat Ulansab,* Amerdin is expressly said to be the son of Sharf Uddin, and the father of Ormar, as the following passage will shew:—'Amerdin had one son, called Ormar: from Ormar, Amerdin's son, numerous issue sprang, which they call Ormar. The name of Amerdin, Ormar's father, has fallen into oblivion.' The *Riaz Ulmuhabbat* confirms the assertion, that Ormar is the name of an Afghan nation. Ormar is said to have received his name from the circumstance, that, he being born from a blacksmith's daughter, his step-mother would frequently, when his work was not well performed by him, become vexed, beat him, and cry: 'The blacksmith's fire is extinct!'" We add the following from the *Khulassat Ulansab:* "The Ormars have also khails among them; but they have not been mentioned, because they are but little known. They all reside in the town of Kanikoram, contiguous to the Lohanies. Both the Bokies and Ziracks are descendants from him."

(31) P. 41. l. 28.] L. adds the following: "When their mind was thus eased with regard to Shirani, Kaker gave the daughter of his son in marriage to Shirani; who, being his grandson, now became the son-in-law of his son. Kaker distributed all his wealth and possessions, in equal parts, to his sons; and gave Shirani also an equal share. In a short time, Shirani was, by divine grace, blessed with many sons and tribes; whose numbers augmeuted to such a degree, that he had no further room for them in the territory of Kaker. He therefore one day said to his grandfather: 'I have, by your care, become possessed of wealth, but have no room to abide: it would be a mark of much kindness, if you should present me with a place where to live.' At that time, the mount of Kashkar being in the possession of Kaker, the people of whose brother, called Pani, occupied the top of it; he, in order to gratify Shirani, took one part of the mount from the Panies, and ceded it to Shirani, to settle there. Shirani, in consequence of his grandfather's kindness, took up his abode on the mountain; and his offspring increased daily. To the sons of Damyani, who was the youngest of all, he assigned the top of the mountain, called Takht Suleiman; which place the Damyanies occupy up to the present day. In short, the

Shiranies call themselves Ghurghushties. When Shir Shah acquired sovereign power, he inquired of Rai Hossain Jalvani, 'Of what nation are you?' He answered: 'I am of the Ghurghushti nation; and though I was first a Sarbanni, yet I have entered the Ghurghushti family, quitting the Sarbannies.' "

(32) P. 41. l. 30.] The *Khulassat Ulansab* says, about the descendants of Shirani: "The Suryanies, Jalvanies, Seidanies, and Babers, are all descendants of Shirani. The Baber nation inhabit the tracts between the mount of Kiseh and Dera Ismail Khan. Besides the the khails mentioned, other tribes, who however are little known, arose amongst them. But they are all descendants of Shirani, and reside on Mount Kiseh, near Dera Ismail Khan."

(33) P. 42. l. 3.] He was called Toor on account of his black or dark complexion: his descendants are the Toor-Tarins.

(34) P. 42. l. 4.] Instead of "Aspin," the *Khulassat Ulansab* calls him, more properly, "Spin;" and adds, that he received the name from his white or fair complexion: his descendants are the Spin-Tarins: they reside in Pishin. See *Elphinstone*, II. p. 162.

(35) P. 42. l. 4.] "Avdal" is more commonly spelled "Abdal;" whence the Abdallies or Durranies. Ahmed Shah Durrani, and his son, Timur Shah, belong to this tribe; and more especially to the Saddozye.

(36) P. 42. l. 5.] "Malmuni" is apparently a slip of the copyist, for "Mamluni" (مملوني); as "Gondari" is for "Gondzye," by omitting the diacritical point over the letter *r*, when instead of گُنْدَزي occurs كندري. "Siki" is also written "Shiki."

(37) P. 43. l. 1.] In the *Khulassat Ulansab*, the first son is called Dur; the fourth, Opehi.

(38) P. 43. l. 2.] See the *Khulassat Ulansab*. Abdal, Tarin's son, had two sons: 1. Firak; 2. Isa. Firak had three sons: 1. Popal; 2. Barek; 3. Alekko. Isa had five sons: 1. Alizye; 2. Turzye; 3. Ishakzye; 4. Maku; 5. Khogani. These five khails they call Panjpaï; and they all live in the district of Kandahar. See *Elphinstone*, Part II. p. 115; where, instead of Turzye, we find Noorzye.

(39) P. 43. l. 4.] See the *Khulassat Ulansab;* which says, about the Mianies: "Ghorni, Loni, Rohani, Tughi, and Kharshin, are all descendants of Miani: other khails among them are but little known, and therefore not mentioned here. They all live on Mount Kiseh, east, contiguous to the Shiranies." The Lorni of our copy is, no doubt, a mistake for Loni. "Gharshin" is more commonly spelled "Kharshin."

(40) P. 43. l. 9.] See the *Khulassat Ulansab*:—"Baraich, Sharf Uddin's son, had two sons: (I.) Davud, who had six sons: 1. Sheikh Thabet, whose descendants are called Thabetzyes; 2. Mali, whose descendants are named Malizyee; 3. Badal, whence the Badalzyes; 4. Shakar, whence the Shakarzyes; 5. Proki, whence the Prokizyes; 6. Chowpan, whence the Chowpanzyes. (II.) Hassan, who had five sons: 1. Barek, whence the Barekzyes; 2. Basa, whence the Basazyes; 3. Zokko, whence the Zokkozyes; 4. Mando, whence the Mandozyes; 5. Rau, whence the Rauzyes. At present, these tribes, at Shorawuk, which is their primitive seat, are commonly known by the names of three tribes; the Badalzyes, Zokkozyes, and Mandozyes. The Chowpanzyes and Malizyes, though comprising large

tribes, have, for the greater part, abandoned these parts, and settled in the territories of the Yusufzyes; in the same way as some of the Yusufzyes, at different epochs, have emigrated to Hindustan, and dispersed themselves in the different districts of this country; so that, at present, but a small number are left in their original seat. Their clansmen, that have remained at Shoravuk, make up a few families; and have, on account of the small number of their khails, been enlisted among the three tribes, without bearing a peculiar name, or having separate khails. In the like manner, the other khails, as the Lasbkarzyes, Rauzyes, and others, together with the Thabetzyes, who are very few, are totally incorporated with the three said tribes, without being enumerated separately. The Badalzyes, who reside at Shorawuk, are at present divided into three khails; the Salarzyes, Sinzyes, and Odurzyes. It has also been understood, that of the Badalzyes, Mullakhail, and Doulatkhail, none have remained at Shorawuk, but that they all have emigrated to the territories of the Yusufzyes, and settled there. But the greater part of them have again relinquished the Yusufzyes, and emigrated to Hindustan; though some reside there to the present day. The Zakkazyes and Manduzyes contain also khails among them."

([41]) P. 43. l. 15.] Instead of "Jamand," the *Khulassat Ulansab* gives "Zamand," which is confirmed by the *Riaz Ulmuhabbat.* Instead of "Kasi," Lee's copy has "Kansi."

([42]) P. 43. l. 16.] "Gond had two sons: 1. Ghori, whose original name was Ibrahim; but from being born in Ghoristan, he became known by the name of Ghori. 2. Khak'bai, who first was called Sheikhi, which in the course of time has been changed into Khak'hai." —*Khulassat Ulansab.*

([43]) P. 43. l. 17.] In the *Khulassat Ulansab*, the five sons of Ghori are called: "1. Khalil; 2. Davud; 3. Mahmand; 4. Chamkani; 5. Zirani. The two latter are, by some, held to be only adopted sons of Ghori. Both nations reside at the base of Safid Koh, in the precincts of Jalalabad and Nanaghar."

([44]) P. 43. l. 19.] L. somewhat differs from our copy: "Mahmand, Douletzar's son, had eleven sons: 1. Yakub; 2. Kala; 3. Mulhi; 4. Omar; 5. Mando; 6. Kuni; 7. Musa. These* were born of Bibi Duyah, the sister of Sheikh Mulhi Kattal: of them, two remained without children. Three other sons were born from another wife, called Khatun; viz. 1. Miar; 2. Kuki; 3. Musa." The *Khulassat Ulansab* is here also more correct: "Mahmand, Ghori's son, had twelve sons: 1. Mahyar, whose descendants are called Mahyarzyes; 2. Kuku, whose descendants are called Kukuzyes; 3. Musa, whose descendants are called Musazyes; 4. Yakub, whose descendants are the Yakubzyes; 5. Mandu, whose descendants are the Manduzyes; 6. Kala, whose descendants are the Kalazyes; 7. Hassan, whose descendants are the Hassanzyes; 8. Omar, whence the Omarzyes; 9. Mali, whence the Malizyes. The other three sons died without children. The descendants of the three brothers, viz. of Khalil, Mahmand, and Davud, all reside in the environs of Peshawer."

([45]) P. 43. l. 23.] "Davud, Ghori's son, had four sons: 1. Mahmud, who is known by the name of Mamu: his descendants are called Mahmuzyes. 2. Amni, whose descendants are the Amnizyes. 3. Mandak, whence the Mandakzyes. 4. Yusuf, whose descendants, not bearing a separate name, are called Davudzyes."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

([46]) P. 44. l. 4.] "Khalil, Ghori's son, had two sons: 1. Sheikh Omar; 2. Bara. The

* Lee's copy appears to give the words "these eight;" which must be erroneous.—Ed.

descendants of which two brothers are broken into three khails: 1. Barnzyes; 2. Mutizyes; 3. Saghzyes."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(47) P. 44. l. 6.] "Khak'hai, Gond's son, had three sons: 1. Mandar; 2. Muk; 3. Tarkalan. Mandar had two sons: 1. Omar; 2. Yusuf. Omar had one son, Mandar."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(48) P. 44. l. 6.] "The Tarkalanies originally consist of two khails: (I.) Mahmud, who is known by the name of Momund. Momund again comprises four khails: 1. Sadin; 2. Amedek; 3. Or; 4. Gugha. (II.) Sih Saddeh, who comprise three khails: 1. Rustam Khail; 2. Amin Khail; 3. Ismailzyes. Both divisions, the Momunds and Sih Saddehs, have again khails among them; but they are not enumerated, because it would be too long. They all reside in Bajour, between Gond, Kashkar, and the Duabeh."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(49) P. 44. l. 8.] Respecting the Geghianies, see the *Khulassat Ulansab*, under the head Account of the descendants of Muk, Khak'hai's son. 1. Muk had but few descendants, who are called Mukahkhail: they are among the Gheghianies, who, with the exception of the Mukahkhails, are descended from Muk's daughter, called Gaghi. 2. Muk, they relate, had a daughter, Gaghi by name, whom he gave in marriage to a trusty agent of his: the children from this union became known by the name of their mother, and were called Gheghianies. They originally consisted of three divisions: (1) the Mohammedzyes, to whom the Mughalkail and Conjalkhail belong; (2) the Omarzyes, whose khails are, the Hassanzyes, Mirzyes, and Manduzyes; (3) Sih Saddeh, as they conjointly call the Mukahkhails, and Lalehzyes. Thus it must be known, that Muk's descendants being very small in number, but those of his daughter numerous, they, by way of preference, are called Gheghianies. They all reside in the Duabeh, between Peshawer and Hashtnagar, which is usually termed Ashnaghar."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(50) P. 44. l. 13.] "Yusuf ben Mandar had five sons: (I.) Elias, whence the Eliaszyes; who are again subdivided into five khails: 1. Panjpai; 2. Salarzyes; 3. Manuzyes; 4. Gudaïzyes; 5. Ayesharzyes, which latter assumed his name from his mother. (II.) Mati; whence the Matizyes, containing three khails: 1. Chagharzyes; 2. Nurzyes; 3. Doulehzyes; who again are divided in several tribes; viz. 1. the Mandarzyes; 2. Ismailzyes; 3. Barekazyes. (III.) Isa, whence the Isazyes, who comprehend several tribes; who, however, being little known, are styled Isazyes. These three nations, the Eliaszyes, Isazyes, and Matizyes, live in the province of Bunir; on which account they call them Bunirwal. (IV.) Badi, whose descendants are very few, and do not constitute a peculiar khail. (V.) Akko, whose descendants are the Akkozyes. Akko had two wives: (1) Rani, whose descendants are the Ranizyes: (2) Gouhara, who bore four sons; 1. Shadek, whence the Shadekzyes; but they are a small community, without comprising other khails among them; 2. Aba, whence the Abazyes, who are likewise small in number, and contain no other tribes; 3. Bazid, whence the Baizyes: they, being a numerous tribe, contain five other khails; viz. (1) the Amakhail, (2) Hajikhail, (3) Musakhail, (4) Babuzyes, (5) Maturizyes, but they are in general called Baizyes; 4. Khuaju, whence the Khuajuzyes, who are a numerous people, and comprise seven khails; (1) Alahdinzyes, (2) Mulizyes, (3) Shamizyes, (4) Shamuzyes, (5) Naikbikhail, (6) Thaibet, (7) Chunici. The latter two are generally confounded, and called Thaibet-Chunies; but the seven nations together go by the common name of Khuajuzyes. All these Akkozye tribes reside in Sewat and Panjeora, between Samma and Kashkar."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(51) P. 44. l. 14.] "Mandar ben Oma had four sons: 1. Mamuu, whose descendants are the Mamuzyes; 2. Khyza, generally known by the name of Khidar, whose descendants are the Khidarzyes; 3. Rajar, whose descendants are the Rajars. Rajar had three sons: 1. Mani, whence the Manizyes; 2. Malik Taj Uddin, the grandfather of Malik Ahmed, whose descendants are the Malikzyes; 3. Akko, whence the Akkokhails; 4. Manur, who is known by the name of Manu."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(52) P. 44. l. 15.] Manur had two sons: 1. Osman; 2. Otmau.

(53) P. 44. l. 18.] "Osman had two sons: 1. Eman, whence the Emanzyes; 2. Kamal, whence the Kamalzyes. Emau had two sons: 1. Doulet, whence the Douletzyes; 2. Ismail, whence the Ismailzyes. They comprise other tribes among them, but they, being well known, need not enumeration.

"Kamal ben Osmau had two wives, both named Aui; one of them an elderly; the other, a young woman. An elderly woman, in the Afghan language, being termed 'Mashrah,' they call her descendants, Mashranizyes: a young woman being called 'Kishrah,' they call her descendants, Kishranizyes. The Mashranizyes contain four khails: 1. Saddikhail; 2. Bujikhail; 3. Manikhail; 4. Amukhail. The Amukhail is broken into two divisions: (1) the Naikpikhail, (2) Zeidkhail. The Kishranizyes comprise six khails: 1. Alahdadkhail; 2. Hazikhail; 3. Nur Malikkhail; 4. Rustamkhail; 5. Dekankhail; 6. Parahkhankhail.

"Osman ben Manu had four sons: 1. Aka, whence the Akazyes; 2. Kaua, whence the Kanazyes; 3. Ali, whence the Alizyes; 4. Saddo. Saddo had two wives; the one called Darami, from whom are descended the Khodukhail, Mirkhail, and Shirzadkhail; these are comprised under the common uame of Durizyes: the other, called Zalai, who is the mother of Abakhail, and Omarkhail, whom they conjointly call Zaluzyes. The whole Maudar nation resides in Sammah; which, in Persian, is called Hamwareh, situate about Langherkot."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(55) P. 44. l. 22.] See *Elphinstone*, II. p. 32. who relates, that the Afghans reckon the whole numbers of the Yusufzyes at 900,000, which, in our work, is expressed by نه لك نيزه "nine hundred thousaud spears."

(56) P. 44. l. 26.] Instead of "Naki," the *Khulassat Ulansab* furnishes "Niku;" whose descendants are called Nikuzyes, and reside in the neighbourhood of Upper Bangash.

(57) P. 44. l. 27.] "From Mohammed Zamand's son descend the Mohammedzyes; who are broken into three divisions: 1. the Eliaszyes, consisting of the Branaks and Chehar Saddehs; 2. the Barenzyes, consisting of the Otmauzyes and Rajars; 3. the Bannzyes, comprising the Omanzyes, Shirpaï, and Mareksazyes; which khails again contain other tribes among them; but they are uot mentioned here, because it would be too long. They all reside in the territories of Ashnaghur, on the banks of the river Jondi, between the Duabeh and Langherkot."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(58) P. 44. l. 28.] Khishkai, whose descendants are called Khishkies, had six sons: 1. Shurgani, whence the Shurganies; 2. Ghazlan, whence the Ghazlanies; 3. Aziz, whence the Azizzyes; 4. Omar, wheuce the Omarzyes; 5. Battak, wheuce the Battakzyes; 6. Salmahak, the affairs of whose descendants have remained unknown in history: these mostly reside in Kallat, Tarnak; some in Ghorebund; and some at differeut places in Hindustau.

(59) P. 44. l. 30.] In Lee's copy, we read about Shuryani:—"Shuryani, Khuishki's son had three sons: 1. Vattozye, 2. Hossain, 3. Khalefzye. His son Vatto obtained the degree of sanctity, and his descendants are at present well established on the seat of guidance. Vatto had five sons: 1. Januzye, 2. Shahab Uddinzye, 3. Arefzye, 4. Ibrahimzye, 5. Ashuri (Ashuzyes). Hossainzye, Shuryani's son, had three sons: 1. Malizye, 2. Bahdinzye, 3. Shamuzye."

(60) P. 44. l. 34.] "Katani, whose descendants are the Katanies, who are a small nation, and possess no peculiar territory of their own, being scattered about in single families."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(61) P. 44. l. 34.] In L., "Isa, Katani's son, had three sons: 1. Musazye, 2. Hazar (Khidar), 3. Sahl. Omar, Katani's son, had two sons: 1. Lalazye, 2. Mullazye."

(62) P. 44. l. 36.] "Nukhi, whose descendants are the Nukhies: they all live between Cormah and Khost, contiguous to the territory of Banu."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(63) P. 45. l. 1.] In L. we read: "Kansi, a son of Sharkhbun ben Sarbanni, had twelve sons. Kansi, having no sons, at length adopted his nephew, the son of Jamand, and brought him up. The offspring that rose from him are called Kansi." This passage alone sufficiently shews how carelessly Lee's copy is sometimes written. From the *Khulassat Ulansab* we may derive some more elucidation on Kasi's descendants: its words on this subject are: "They relate, that the Shinwaries, Zhabaryanies, Alozyes, and Katrans, are his (Kasi's) descendants. The Shinwaries reside between Peshawer and Jalalabad, near the Khaibers: the rest of these three nations live on the borders of the Barohi Balochistan." They also say that Kasi had no son at all, but had adopted one of his brother's sons: wherefore the three said nations are sprung from his nephew.

(64) P. 45. l. 10.] In the *Khulassat Ulansab*, شپون , کچین Shpun, Kachin.

(65) P. 45. l. 34.] "The descendants of Sheikh Beit, called Bishani, all reside between the Lohanies and Viziries."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(66) P. 46. l. 22.] The word "*ben*" I have enclosed in brackets, it being, no doubt, a slip of the copyist.

(67) P. 48. l. 38.] L. adds: "From Kak's daughter, one son was born, who died in infancy. Some believe that Sheikh Beit called Muhi's son, Sarvani; whilst others assert Sarvani to have been a son of Mati, which is the right opinion." So, also, the *Khulassat Ulansab:* "Bibi Matu had three sons: 1. Ghilzye, who at present is called Ghilji, whose descendants reside between Cabul and Kandahar; 2. Lodi, whose original name was Ibrahim; 3. Sarvani."

(68) P. 49. l. 26.] "Ghilzye had three sons: 1. Ibrahim, 2. Turani, 3. Bular.*"—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(69) P. 49. l. 28.] In the *Khulassat Ulansab*, "Hujub and Sahak:" so also in the *Riaz Ulmuhabbet;* and *Elphinstone*, II. p. 180. This, I presume, is an error of the copyist.

* This Bular is the corrupted "Boorhan" of *Elphinstone*, II. p. 177.

(80) P. 52. l. 5.] In Lee's copy, Abulfarh, Ibak, Bobak, are real sons; Hassan, and Hudya, adopted ones.

(82) P. 52. l. 36.] "Babi, Ghurghushti's son, had four sons: 1. Mir, whence the Mirzyes; 2. Kato, whence the Katozyes; 3. Pir, whence the Pirzies; 4. Azrail, of whose descendants nothing is known here." They all reside about Kandahar."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(83) P. 52. l. 36.] Mandu, Ghurghushti's son: all his descendants are called Mandukhail; and all reside on the banks of the river of Zhibe, running from Koh Kisch to Dera Ismail Khan.

(84) P. 52. l. 37.] "Kaker, whose descendants reside in Zhibe and Bori, about Kandahar."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(85) P. 53. l. 33.] L.: "Nagher had two sons; 1. Yunes, 2. Damas. Yunes had six sons; 1. Palcat," &c.—The *Khulassat Ulansab* furnishes the following remark: "Nagher's descendants reside between the Kakers and Sind Balloches, about Dera Ghazi Khan."

(86) P. 54. l. 25.] "The Khovandies, known by the name of Khorandies, are said to be Seidzyes, and are incorporated with the Ghurghushties, and more especially with the Davies: both nations, the Khovandies and Davies, live about Kandahar."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(87) P. 54. l. 26.] Pani, "whose descendants reside in the country of Sangh Mundahi, contiguous to Shicarpur: the Safies and Gaduns are descended from him."—*Khulassat Ulansab.* *Farid Uddin Ahmed* furnishes more information on the Panies. His words on this subject are: "This is the account of the Ghurghushties. Of them, the Pani nation do not inhabit their own country; for, on account of some fault, they expelled them from their country: upon which they removed to the mountains of Jaypoor, Ahir, Joodepoor; and others, whom they call Dhonadhar, settled here. At present, which is the year 1217 of the Hejira, they inhabit a hundred large villages, each containing from 1000 to 5000 men. They mostly occupy themselves with traffic, and many of them are rich: they carry merchandize to the Deccan; others subsist on various employments. They all dwell in Dhonadhar."

(88) P. 54. l. 27.] I have no doubt but "Sabi" is a mistake of the copyist for "Safi."

(89) P. 54. l. 34.] In L., we find added a story to explain the origin of the name of Kerrani, in this manner: "It is related, that two of Ormar's tribe went out into the field, and came to a place where an army had rested the night and marched off in the morning. One of them found an iron axe on the ground; and the other, a boy born in the same night. Now, the man who found the axe happened to have no children; whilst the other, who found the boy, had many, and was in reduced circumstances. Both being of one tribe, and related, the finder of the axe said to him, 'O brother! thou knowest that I have no son, and that I am deprived of such blessing: if thou wilt give me this boy, I shall bring him up as my own child, and through him my name will remain in this world: this will be an excessive kindness and bounty of thee, and productive of prosperity and welfare: all my life long I shall be obliged to thee. Take this axe of me; it will procure you a sustenance for some days; and give me this boy.' The man, in order to gratify him, did so, and gave him the boy, receiving the axe in exchange. An iron axe, in the Pushtu language, being called 'Karri,' the man, on this account, called the boy Kerrani, and adopted him. When he arrived at years of discretion, he gave him his daughter in marriage; and a numerous

issue sprung from it."—In the *Khulassat Ulansab*, it is mentioned, that an iron axe, in Pushtu, is called 'Kerahi,' but that in the course of time it was changed into 'Kerlani,' whence the name of the Kerlanies or Kerranies. The *Riaz Ulmuhabbet* remarks, that Suleiman Khan, and Daund Khan, rulers of Beugal and Behar, were of this Kerlani nation. See Part I. p. 179, &c.

(90) P. 54. l. 35.] "Kodi had seven sons, by two wives: 1. Otman, whence the Otmaukhail, who inhabit the territory of Tuti, between Bajour and Sewat. 2. Dilazak, whence the Dilazaks, who occupy the Duabeh of Bajour and Sammah, which comprises the Takht Uljabal of the Yusufzyes; but when the Yusufzyes prevailed, and expelled them from that quarter, they went to Hindostan, and scattered in different directions: only a small number of them reside at present in the Hezareh kurlagh (district), belonging to Attok. 3. Varokzye, whose descendants are called Varokzyes: these three brothers were born from one mother. 4. Mani, who had one son, Farid, whose descendants are the Aferidies; these tribes, viz. the Varakzyes and Aferidies, live in Tirah, a dependency of Peshawer. 5. Khattak, whose descendants are the Khattaks, who inhabit the districts from Serai Akoreh and Khairabad, in the environs of the mount of Nilab; and from Lachi, as far as the territories of the Banossi nation. 6. Mangholi; from whom are sprung the Mughbals, Zhandrans, and Behaderzyes: they all live contiguous to Khost. 7. Khoghi, whose descendants are the Khoghianies: these four sons were born from one mother, Abd Ulrahman, Shirzad, Maudozye, Kharbari, Turi, and Zazi, all descended from Khoghi: these six khails live in the environs of Safid Koh, near Upper Bangash: the rest of these tribes, which are comprehended under the common name of Goghianies, live between Jalalabad and Peshawer. Some assert Goghi not to have been a son of Kodi, but a descendant of Goghi; but God knows it best.

"Goghi, Kerlani's son, had two sons: 1. Suleiman, from whom the Veziries Baïs, and Malik Miries, are descended: the descendants of Malik Miri, with the khails of the Bangash nation, reside in Cohat and Upper Bangash. They say, that the other khails, besides the Malik Miries, which are among the Bangash nation, as the Kaghedies and others, are called Bangash in consequence of their inhabiting Bangash. 2. Shitak, whose descendants are Dur, Surani, Mulhi, Kiwi, and Adukhail; all which they call Banussies, because they live in the territory of Banu. All the nations sprung from Kerlani again contain many khails; but, by way of abridgment, we have given such a brief account of them."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(91) P. 55. l. 9.] L. "Kashkar."

(92) P. 55. l. 13.] The *Khulassat Ulansab* calls him Seid Habib, who afterwards was named Bakhtiar or Baktaver: his descendants live among the Shiranies, betweeu Koh Kisah and Dera Ismail Khan, and have equal share and rights with the Shiranies.

(93) P. 56. l. 28.] "Ishturani, or Ashturani, was born of the Shirani lady; and is a nephew of Shirani: his descendants reside in Dahvah, between Dera Ghazikhan and Dera Ismail Khau."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(94) P. 56. l. 30.] "Mashvani was born of the Kaker lady, and is a nephew of Kaker: his descendants, named Mashvanies, reside iu Masharahrud, betweeu Shoraruk aud Balachistan. Lodin belongs also to the Mashvanies; and the Mandozyes reckon themselves, likewise, to be sprung from Mashvani; but some assert, that they are not descended from Mashvani, but from an adopted son of his."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(70) P. 49. l. 32.] "Turani, Ghilzye's son, had two sons; 1. Baru, 2. Babu. Babu had two sons; 1. Takhi, 2. Hottak. Takhi had four sons; 1. Nahmand, 2. Nur, 3. Eyub, 4. Hassan. These four brothers became Khails, and have again khails amongst them. Hottak had four sons; 1. Yusuf, 2. Arab, 3. Doulat, 4. Malikyar. Malikyar had three sons; 1. Bay, 2. Rami, 3. Hossain. Among Hossain's descendants was Hajr Mir Wais, who in the year 1110, from hatred and enmity to the Rafezides, slew the governor of Kandahar, who was a Rafezide; and occupied the kingdom of Iran, as far as Sistan and Farrah. Afterwards, his son, the world-adorning chief, the victorious and conquering Mahmud Shah, invaded Iran, engaged in frequent battles with its monarch, and at last laid siege to Isphahan; which being taken, he set up for king. After his death, the son of his uncle, Ashraf Shah, succeeded him, and filled the throne for several years. But when the divine will—according to the sentiment, '*Thou takest the empire from whom thou pleasest*'—was altered, the greatest of monarchs, and most noble of Khans, Nadir Shah, arose; and, wresting the crown from them, remained absolute king for many years. Babu Turani's son had two sons; 1. Lagheri, 2. Taheri; who again comprise tribes amongst them."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(71) P. 49. l. 34.] "Niazi, whose descendants are the Musa khail, Isakhail, Sambal, Saharangh, whom they conjointly call Niazies: they all reside about the town of Makhad, on the banks of the Sind river, as far as Dera Ismailkhan."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

(72) P. 49. l. 34.] The descendants of Dotani, Lodi's son, they call Dotanies: they all live in the fort of Arankah, near Kanikorum, and the territory of the Veziries. They say, that the nation of the Matainah derive also their origin from them, but more especially from the Lodies; but they are descended from the Servanies.

(73) P. 50. l. 18.] L.: "Baha Uddin had one son, whom he called Ibrahim. Ibrahim had also one son, named Hassan."

(74) P. 50. l. 19.] L.: "Hassan had, from an Afghan woman, two sons; 1. Farid, 2. Nizam: and from other wives, six sons; 1. Suleiman, 2. Ahmed, 3. Muda, 4. Shadikhan, 5. Yusuf."

(75) P. 50. l. 21.] In L., the ten sons of Shir Shah are named as follows: 1. Adil Khan, 2. Islam Khan, 3. Kotb Khan, 4. Nusrat Khan, 5. Kemal Khan, 6. Salim Khan, 7. Roon Khan, 8. Rasid Khan*, 9. Nur Khan, 10. Kaïm Khan.

(76) P. 50. l. 24.] Mamriz Khan is more commonly called Mobarez Khan.

(77) P. 51. l. 29.] L. adds: "The descendants of Tasu Khuaja Khyzer, and others, they call Tasukhail; those of Taj Uddin, Tajkhail; those of Abio, Baikhail; those of Ghori, Ghorikhail; those of Bahdin, Bahdinkhail; those of Ala Uddin, Ala Uddinkhail; those of Samu, Samukhail; those of Mir Ali, Mir Ali khail; those of Shah Rustam, Rustamkhail; those of Nakardi, Nakardikhail."

(78) L., furnishes "Alef," instead of "Ayef."

(79) P. 52. l. 3.] "Of Sarvani no khails are known: they all are called Sarvanies, and reside in the territory of Derabhun, contiguous to the Lohanies; but at present there are very few there, most of them being scattered all over Hindustan."—*Khulassat Ulansab.*

* This رسيد خان is, no doubt, the عبد الرشين Abd Ulrashid, who, in the *Mirat Ulalem*, is related to have been sent to the Emperor Humayun. See Annotation to p. 104. l. 6.

(95) P. 56. l. 34.] Vardak and Hani were both born from the Kerlani wife, and are nephews of Kerlani. The descendants of Vardak reside near Ghazni: those of Hani live among the Khattak nation, on the mount of Nilab: the tribe of Mahyar also claim their descent from Varduk; but some say, that they are only descended from an adopted son of his.

(96) P. 57. l. 25.] To those who are frequently considered as Afghans, but are not, belong the Servaties; concerning whom I insert the following remarks from the *Khulassat Ulansab*:

"Although the Servaties are not originally Afghans, but, having adopted both the Afghan language and habits, and being mixed up with them, they go by the name of Afghans, and are numbered among them. They are related to have originally resided in the territories of Servat and Bajour; but at the time when the Yusufzyes obtained a decided predominance, and reduced the whole of Takht Uljabal to their sway, they emigrated to Servat. They engaged in frequent wars with the inhabitants of Servat; and eventually succeeded in expelling them entirely from thence, and in forcing them to settle there, occupying Servat for themselves. The Servaties emigrated to the kingdom of Pakhti, which lies between the dominions of the Yusufzyes and Kashmir, where they reside up to the present day. They are broken into three divisions: 1. Gebri; 2. Mutaravi; 3. Mumiali. The Gebries are said to descend partly from the family of Sultan Ovais, Sultan Bahram, Sultan Pakhal, and Sultan Jehanghir, who all were Sultans of Servat, and are called also Jehanghirian Sultans. They originally are Tajiks: the rest of them consist of different nations. The Gebries are so named, because Gebri is the name of a place in Bajour, where they had been settled. The Mutaravies reckon themselves to be descended from the Yusufzyes; and contend, that their ancestors had been separated from the Yusufzyes by some circumstance at the time when the Yusufzyes lived in the environs of Kandahar, in the kingdom of Garra and Voshki, when they took up their abode in Servat; but this assertion is unfounded. The Mumiali, who are considered as one khail, originally are composed of different khails of Derrani and others."

THE END.

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