

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

THE
HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

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EDITED AND CONTINUED

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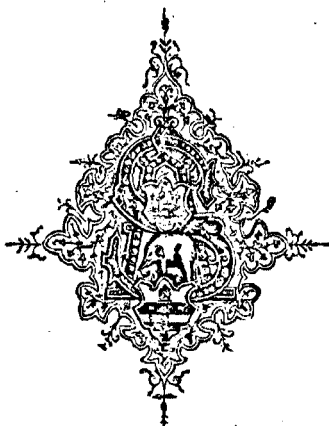
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P R E F A C E .

THE reign of Akbar, which the Fifth Volume left unfinished, is in this volume brought to a close. Copious Extracts have been drawn from the great *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, a work as yet but little known to the European reader except by vague reputation. Some Extracts relating to the closing years of Akbar's reign have also been taken from the continuation of the *Akbar-náma* by 'Ináyatu-lla. Another and smaller *Akbar-náma* by Shaikh Illáhdád, otherwise called Faizí Sirhindí, has also been laid under contribution; but it does not fulfil the expectations which had been formed of it, as it proves to be little more than a compilation from the *Tabakát-i Akbarí* and the greater work of Abú-l Fazl. Some curious and interesting personal details have been derived from the Memoirs of Asad Beg, an officer in Akbar's service. His statements place the Imperial government in an unfavourable light, and are far from exalting the personal character of the monarch. The original writers upon the life and times of Akbar may now be considered as exhausted, for their writings have all been diligently searched, and there cannot remain much to be yet gleaned.

A considerable portion of the volume is occupied with notices published by Sir H. Elliot in his original Volume I., and all the contents of that publication have now been re-printed.

The history of the reign of Jahángír depends almost entirely on the Memoirs written by himself or under his direction; for although there are other professed historians of the reign, they mainly draw their information from the Memoirs, and rarely venture upon an independent statement. It has long been known that there were different works, claiming to be Auto-biographies of Jahángír. The copious Extracts which are given in this volume leave little room for doubt as to which must have been the more approved and authentic version.

The Note in the Appendix, on the Early Use of Gunpowder in India, is a reprint, with some alterations and additions by Sir H. Elliot himself. The Comments on the Institutes of Jahángír are entirely his own work. Two other Notes were prepared under his direction and superintendence. Sir H. Elliot's notice of Firishta's great history appears in this volume, and the Editor has taken the opportunity of supplying an oft-expressed want, by giving a complete translation of the Introduction to that voluminous work.

The following is a list of the articles in this volume with the names of the respective writers:—

- XLII.—Akbar-náma of Abú-l Fazl—Editor.
- XLIII.—Takmilá-i Akbar-náma—"Lieutenant" Chalmers.
- XLIV.—Akbar-náma of Faizí Sirhindí—Editor and "Ensign"
F. Mackenzie.
- XLV.—Wáki'át-i Shaikh Faizi—"Lieutenant" Prichard.
- XLVI.—Wikáya of Asad Beg—B. W. Chapman, Esq., B.C.S.
- XLVII.—Táríkh-i Hakkí—Reprint from old volume.
- XLVIII.—Zubdatu-t Tawáríkh " "
- XLIX.—Rauzat-u-t Táhirín " "
- L.—Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh " "

- LI.—Tārīkh-i Firishṭa—Reprint from old volume.
 LII.—Ma-āsir-i Rahīmīf " "
 LIII.—Anfa'u-l Akhbār " "
 LIV.—Tārīkh-i Salīm Shāhī or Tūzak-i Jahāngīrī—Major Price.
 LV.—Wāki'āt-i Jahāngīrī—Sir H. M. Elliot, Editor, and others.
 LVI.—Tatimma-i Wāki'āt-i Jahāngīrī—Editor.
 LVII.—Ikbāl-nāma—Editor.
 LVIII.—Ma-āsir-i Jahāngīrī—Sir H. M. Elliot and Editor.
 LIX.—Intikhāb-i Jahāngīr Shāhī—Sir H. M. Elliot and a *munshī*.
 LX.—Subh-i Sādīk—Sir H. M. Elliot.

APPENDIX.

- A.—Early Use of Gunpowder in India—Reprint from old volume.
 B.—Extracts from a work of 'Abdul Hakk Dehlawī—Major
 A. R. Fuller.
 C.—Comments on the Institutes of Jahāngīr—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 D.—Translations from *Shah Faḥ-i Kāngrā*—A *munshī* and Sir
 H. M. Elliot.
 E.—Translation of the Introduction to Firishṭa's History—Editor.
 F.—Bibliographical Notices—Reprint from old volume.

ADDENDUM TO VOL. IV.

The following paragraph ought to have been inserted in page 228 at the end of Sir H. M. Elliot's notice of the Memoirs of Bābar. But in arranging the fragmentary copy of the article, part of which was MS. and part print, the passage was accidentally omitted—

"Almost all the above remarks have been taken from Elphinstone's India, vol. ii. pp. 119, 122, and the *Edinburgh Review*, No. xci. Article 2."

ERRATA IN VOL. VI.

Page 8, six lines from bottom, for "translation," read "translations."

„ 181. Note at foot, read: "Some Extracts from another work," and see p. 483.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

ON THE EARLY USE OF GUNPOWDER IN INDIA.¹

To the passage at p. 219 *suprà*, where it is said that the elephant of the Hindú prince became unruly from the effect of the naphtha balls, Major-General Briggs adds the following note :

"This passage is differently written in the various manuscripts I have seen ; and, in some, the word *tope* (gun) has been written for *nupth* (naphtha), and *toofung* (musket) for *khudung* (arrow). But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention, A.D. 1317, long after which it was first applied to the purpose of war. It appears likely also, that Babar was the first invader who introduced great guns into Upper India, in 1526, so that the words *tope* and *toofung* have been probably introduced by ignorant transcribers of the modern copies of this work, which are, in general, very faulty throughout. It is a remarkable fact, that the words *guns* and *muskets* occur in the India House manuscript, which was copied in 1648, and it may, therefore, probably be no error of the transcriber ; the fact, however, appears impossible."

A confirmation of this reading of *tope* and *tufang* is given by Wilken, who observes, that the two copies which he consulted have the same words, and that even the roar of the cannon is spoken of. He considers it not improbable that Greek-fire was used by Mahmúd. Dow boldly translates the word as *guns*.²

It does not appear on what authority Firishta rests his statement. The *Tárikh-i Yúsuf*, the *Jámi'e-i Tawárikh* of Rashidu-d din, the *Tárikh-i Guzálá*, Abú-l Fidá, the *Tabakát-i Nisíri*, the *Bauzáta-s*

¹ [This note is reprinted from the old edition. The alterations and additions (excepting those in brackets) are entirely the work of Sir H. Elliot.]

² Wilken, *Mughul History* *Gazetier*, p. 169.

Safá, the *Tárikh-i Alfí*, and the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, though almost all of them notice this important engagement, in A.D. 1008, between the Hindús and Muhammadans, and mention the capture of thirty elephants, yet none of them speak of either *naft* or *topé*.

But, ten years after this, we find express mention made of the use of naphtha in a naval action near Multán, between Mahmúd and the Jats of the Júd Hills. On this occasion Mahmúd built 1400 boats, each of which was armed with six iron spikes, to prevent the enemy boarding, and in each were twenty archers and five naphthamen, to attack and set fire to the enemy's flotilla. The Jats opposed him in 4000 boats, but were completely defeated, many of their vessels being set on fire by the naphtha.¹

We may therefore conclude that, if any combustibles were used in action near Pesháwar, they were composed of naphtha, and that it must be an error to read either *topé* or *tufang* in the passage under consideration. This probability is greatly increased by the fact, that the country where both these transactions are recorded to have taken place abounds with naphtha. Near Mukeya Ghát, on the Indus, it oozes out from parts of the Khyssore range. The natives are ignorant of its commercial value, and use it only as a cure for sores on their camels' backs; and at Kohát, thirty miles from Pesháwar, it is also abundant.²

"Amír Khán sent into the mountains for some mineral liquor, which he told me was collected by dipping cotton into places where it oozed through the ground."³

At Narr Topa, near Khánpúr, there is a copious spring of asphaltum.⁴ I have seen petroleum near Jabba, about ten miles east of the Indus. It exudes from the rocks at the head of the Kathá-nadi, which falls into the Indus a few miles below Mári, and floats on the surface of the water. The natives call it sulphur-oil, and burn it in their lamps. They also apply it medicinally in diseases of cattle. They would not acknowledge the name, but called it *lalirá* and *kálá-páni*. It is chiefly used for dissolving

¹ Reinand, *Écl. des Voyages*, vol. i. p. lxi.

² Burnes' *Bukhara*, vol. iii. p. 259.

³ Vigne's *Ghazni*, etc. p. 62.

⁴ Capt. J. Abbott's *M.S. Reports*.

resins, caoutchouc, etc., by virtue of the naphtha it contains, which it yields by distillation.¹

In the Yúsufzái country there is a basin situated to the east of Dhyr, where a fire has burned from time immemorial, and is at present maintained under a cupola in charge of a Guebrián woman.² Sulphur is found in Sind.³

When Sikandar, the Iconoclast, who subverted the Hindú religion in Kashmír, ordered all the places of worship throughout the kingdom to be razed, a temple to Jag Deo, in the Panj-hazára district, on being levelled with the ground, emitted from its foundations volumes of fire and smoke, which the Hindús declared to be an emblem of the wrath of the deity,—but which more sober inquirers may safely attribute to an asphaltine fire-pit.

Capt. A. Cunningham has gone further than this, and in his valuable paper on Arian Architecture in the Asiatic Society's Journal, has considered that Sikandar must have used gunpowder in the progress of his demolition. He observes:

“Most of the Kashmirian temples are more or less injured, but more particularly those at Wantipur, which are mere heaps of ruins. Speaking of these temples, Trebeck⁴ says: ‘It is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of man, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt; earthquakes must have been the chief agents in their overthrow.’ I have quoted this passage to show the utter confusion that characterizes the ruins of the Avantipura temples. In my opinion their overthrow is too complete to have been the result of an earthquake, which would have simply prostrated the buildings in large masses. But the whole of the super-structure of these temples is now lying in one confused heap of stones totally disjointed from one another. I believe therefore that I am fully justified in saying, from my own experience, that such a complete and *disruptive* overthrow could only have been produced by gunpowder. I have myself blown up a fort,

¹ Dr. A. Fleming's *Report on the Salt Range*, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1843.

² M. Court, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. viii. p. 312.

³ Barton's *Unhappy Valley*, vol. ii. pp. 165, 209.

⁴ *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 245.

besides several buildings both of stone and of brick; and I have observed that the result has always been the entire *sundering* of all parts, one from another, and the capsizing or *bouleversement* of many of them. Neither of these effects can be produced by an earthquake. It seems also that Trebeck and Moorcroft would most likely have attributed their destruction to the same agency, had they not believed that the use of gunpowder was unknown at that time: for, in speaking of a traditional attempt made by Sháh Hamadán to destroy Martand, they say, 'It is fortunate he was not acquainted with the use of gunpowder.' I admit that this destructive agent was most probably unheard of in Kashmir so early as the reign of Sháh Mír Sháh, of Hamadán; but the destruction of the Kashmirian temples is universally attributed both by history and by tradition to the bigoted Sikandar, whose idol-breaking zeal procured him the title of *Dut-shíkan* or 'Ikonoklastes.' He was reigning at the period of Timúr's invasion of India, with whom he exchanged friendly presents, and from whom I suppose that he may have received a present of the 'villainous saltpetre.' This is not at all unlikely, for the furious Tamerlane was as great an idol-breaker as Sikandar himself. Gibbon, it is true, denies that either the Mughals or the Ottomans in 1402 were acquainted with gunpowder; but as he points out that the Turks had *metal* cannon at the siege of Constantinople in A.D. 1422,¹ I think it is no great stretch of probability to suppose that gunpowder itself had been carried into the East, even as far as Kashmir, at least ten or twenty years earlier, that is about A.D. 1400 to 1420, or certainly during the reign of Sikandar, who died in 1416.²

"Even if this be not admitted, I shall still adhere to my opinion that the complete ruin of the Avantipura temples could only have been effected by gunpowder, and I would then ascribe their overthrow to the bigoted Aurangzeb. Firihta³ attributes to Sikandar the demolition of all the Kashmirian temples save one, which was

¹ *Decline and Fall*, chap. 65, note 93.

² Even in 1401 against Bajazet, Timúr had only wild fire on his elephants, which were taken to display his Indian successes; but Iba Arab Sháh mentions the *thunder* and lightning at the siege of Damascus from the machines *modáf*.—Calcutta edition, p. 223.

³ Briggs, vol. iv. p. 465.

dedicated to Mahadeva, and which only escaped 'in consequence of its foundation being below the surface of the neighbouring water.' In A.D. 1380-90, however, Abú-l Fazl¹ mentions that some of the idolatrous temples were in 'perfect preservation;' and Firishta himself describes many of these edifices as being in existence in his own time, or about A.D. 1600.² Besides, as several of them are still standing, although more or less injured, it is certain that Sikandar could not have destroyed them all. He most likely gave orders that they should all be overturned; and I have no doubt that many of the principal temples were thrown down during his reign. For instance, the tomb of his own Queen in Srinagur is built upon the foundation, and with the materials of a Hindú temple; likewise the wall which surrounds the tomb of his son Zeinu-l Abidin was once the inclosure of a Hindú temple; and lastly the entrance of a *masjid* in Nowa-Shehra of Srinagur, which, according to its inscription, was built during the reign of his son Zeinu-l Abidin, is formed of two fluted pillars of a Hindú peristyle. These instances prove that at least three different temples in the capital alone must have been overthrown either by Sikandar or by one of his predecessors. But as the demolition of idol-temples is not attributed to any one of the earlier kings, we may safely ascribe the destruction of the three above mentioned to Sikandar himself."

The points mooted in the preceding quotations invite us to a consideration of the general question respecting the invention and introduction of gunpowder. A work upon this subject which has lately been jointly published by MM. Reinaud and Favé, entitled *Histoire de l'Artillerie; du Feu Grégeois*, etc., Paris, 1845, has increased the interest of the inquiry, though, it must be confessed, there are many doubtful points which are left in almost as great uncertainty as before. It shows that among the Arabs of the thirteenth century, many receipts were in use for the mixture of sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in different proportions; that there is strong reason for supposing that these were obtained originally from the Chinese, about the ninth century; that they improved their knowledge during the three following centuries; that they

¹ *Asiatick Researches*, vol. ii. p. 124.

² *Asiatick Researches*, vol. iv. p. 414.

again derived more instruction on this subject, after the Mughal irruption of the thirteenth century; that as "China snow" and "China salt" are the names given by the oldest writers to saltpetre, its discovery originated with that nation; and that in the history of the Sang dynasty, as early as A.D. 1253, there is distinct mention of a projectile by means of fire; for that in the first year of the period *Khaiking*, a kind of fire-arm was manufactured, called "impetuous fire-dart;" a nest of grains (case of chick-peas?) was introduced into a long tube of bamboo,¹ which, on being ignited, darted forth a violent flame, and instantly the charge was projected with a noise like that of a *pao*, which was heard at about the distance of 150 paces.² There are, however, some anecdotes which militate against the probability of the Chinese being so early in possession of this destructive power; but there is no occasion to notice them here. These authors consider that Greek fire never became extinct, that it was gradually improved upon, till the name was lost, and that by progressive transitions it reached its maximum effect by conversion into gunpowder.

It is not intended, however, to introduce in this place a disserta-

¹ Hence is probably derived the name of *bamboo*, "vox a sono facta," as in *βουβος*, *bombarda*, *bombanum*, *bombe*, and *bomb*. The name is usually ascribed to the early Portuguese, who, on first burning this reed, were astonished at the noise occasioned by the expansion and escape of the air between the joints, and gave it a name significant of this peculiar property. Either way, it derives its name from its explosive faculties. There is perhaps the same sort of connexion between the Hindi *bán*, "a rocket," and *báns*, "a bamboo." The word "cannon" is derived from *canna*.—Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 191; Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 413; Humboldt differs, see *Cosmos* (Sabine), vol. ii. note 143.

² *Du feu Grégeois*, p. 192. In the review of this work in *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1846, there is a ludicrous mis-translation of this passage, where it is said, "the nest of grains was projected with a noise, like to that of a *peacock*;" but the *pao* here mentioned is a warlike machine. Father Gaubil says, "Par le moyen de plusieurs *pao*, ou catapultes;" "Les Mangous se servirent alors de *pao* (ou canons) à feu;" "On avait dans la ville des *pao* à feu;" and in a note he adds, "Je n'ai pas osé traduire par *canon*, les caractères *pao*, et *ho-pao*; un de ces caractères a à côté le caractère *ché*, *pierre*, et c'était une machine à lancer des pierres. L'autre caractère est joint au caractère *ho*, *feu*, et je ne sais pas bien si c'était un canon comme les nôtres. De même, je n'oserais assurer que les boulets dont il est parlé se jetaient comme on fait aujourd'hui."—*Histoire de Gentschican*, p. 69; D'Ohsson, vol. ii. p. 461; *L'Unicora. Pitt.* vol. i. p. 357; *Univ. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 313, vol. iv. pp. 191, 232-3, 258; Rampoldi, vol. viii. p. 562, vol. x. p. 496; Chesney's *Fire-arms*, pp. 22, 27; Mill's *Hist. Maham.* p. 210.

tion on a subject which has occupied so many able and discriminating pens. I will confine myself to a few remarks having special reference to India, and to some illustrations, most of which have not been noticed by authors who have entered upon this interesting inquiry.¹

When the Muhammadan connexion with India first commenced, we find, according to the ancient and authentic historians, that the powerful engine called *manjanik* was brought into use as a propelling machine. It was a favourite implement with the Arabs, and was used by them in A.H. 9, when Muhammad besieged Táif;² but it was known to them much earlier: for Ibn Kotaibah says that it was first used by Jazymah, the second King of Hyrah, who flourished about A.D. 200. The Arabs ascribe its invention to the Devil, and say that he suggested it to Nimrod, when he persecuted Abraham.³ Whether the word be derived from *machina*, or *manganum*, the substitution of the soft *j* for the harsher consonant, and the circumstance that this warlike engine was first used in Hyrah, render it probable that the Arabs received the *manjanik* from the Persians, and not directly from the Greeks.

Biládurí gives us the following account of Muhammad Kásim's

¹ Those who wish to ascertain what has been said upon this subject may consult the following works and articles, which for the most part treat the question with copious reference to other authorities: M. L. Dutens, *Essays*, tom. i. pp. 194-199; *Histoire des Mongols*, tom. i. pp. 132-137, 284-292; *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xx. pp. 266-7; *Journal des Savants*, Feb. 1847, pp. 87-93, March, 1847, pp. 140-150, April, 1847, pp. 209-223; Wilkinson's *Engines of War*, pp. 44-70, 132-150; Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, fourth edition, pp. 482-512, 533-539; M. Eusebe Salverte, *Philosophy of Magic*, translated by A. T. Thomson, M.D., vol. ii. pp. 197-242; Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, vv. Bombarda, Canonica, Ignis Græcus, Muschetta, and the *Encyclopadia*, vv. Artillery, Bow, Cannon, Gunpowder, Greek-fire; Italian, *Medie Aegæ*, vol. i. pp. 509-511; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. x. pp. 14-18, vol. xii. pp. 62-64; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.*, vv. Aisous, Barud, Bondok; Kampoldi, *Ann. Mus.*, vol. iii. p. 354; Cheaney's *Fire-arms*, pp. 17-72; Meyrick's *Ancient Armour, passim*; Grose's *Military Antiq.*, vol. i. pp. 387-401; Tacitus, *Hist.*, lib. iii; *Nahavatu'l Atrak*, pp. 160, 166, 242; D'Ossun, i. 267, 276, 289, etc.; Thomas's *Fathus Sultans*, p. 202; *Calcutta Review*, no. xiii. p. 515; Edwards's *Panick*, vol. i. p. 405; Grote's *Greece*, vol. v. p. 156; Thucydides, iv. 100; "Biblical Antiq." in *Encyc. Metr.*; *Hist. of Assyria*, p. 167; *Journ. des Sav.*, Jan., 1851; Maurice's *Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 443; Crawford's *Embarcations*, vol. ii. p. 149. *Tahaklut-i-Nasiri*, Text, pp. 343, 346, 350-1-6.

² Hájí Khálifa, vol. i. p. 394; Jauharí, *apud* Gagnier, v. Gibbon, chap. x. note 143, and chap. xi. note 60.

³ *Journ. Exp. Geog. Soc.*, vol. ix. p. 81.

proceedings at the port of Daibal, in A.H. 93 (A.D. 711-12), in which the *manjaník* plays an important part :

" [As soon as Muhammad Kásim] arrived at Daibal, he dug an entrenchment, and defended it with spearmen, and unfurled his standard; each band of warriors was arranged under its own standard, and he fixed the *manjaník*, which was called 'The Bride,'¹ and required the power of 500 men to work it. There was at Daibal a lofty temple, surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red cloth, which, when the breeze blew, was unfurled over the city."²

Shortly afterwards he continues :

" A letter came from Hajjáj to Muhammad to the following effect, 'Fix the *manjaník* and shorten its feet (foot),³ and place it on the east; you will then call the *manjaník*-master, and tell him to aim at the flagstaff, of which you have given a description.' So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken; at which the Infidels were sore afflicted."

On the capture of the town, Biláduri continues to say, the carnage endured for three days, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Other authors say that Muhammad Kásim caused every Bráhmín, from the age of seventeen and upwards, to be put to death; and that the young women and the children of both sexes were retained in bondage.

Later writers, in speaking of this period, tell us distinctly that fiery projectiles were used in the capture of Alor, which fell shortly after Daibal.⁴ Mir Ma'súm Bhakkari, in his History of Sind, and Haidar Rázi, in his General History, both in the same terms mention fire-playing machines (*átish-bázi*), "which the Arabs had seen in use with the Greeks and Persians;" and again, when Rájá Dáhir was mounted on an elephant, the Arabs took vessels filled with fire-works (*hukkáká-e átish bázi*), and threw them upon the seat, which was fixed on the back of the elephant; upon which the affrighted

¹ "'*Erís*." I doubt if this means "bride" here. It is evident from many passages that '*urís*' was also a generic term. The word has more connexion with "funia." See Khusrú's *Ghurratu-l Kamál*.

² [See Vol. I. *suprà*, p. 120.]

³ See pedes of a ship in Ramsay's *Antiquities*.

⁴ Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, p. 236.

animal became ungovernable,¹ ran off, and, breaking the ranks of the Hindús, endeavoured to throw itself into the river. This, if true, is the first account we have of the use by the Arabs of the incendiary preparations of the Greeks, which has hitherto not been dated earlier than from the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 1099.²

This is also related in the *Chach-náma* and *Tuhfat-ul Ákrám*;³ but in one of the best copies of the *Chach-náma* I have seen, while there is mention of the catapulta called "The Bride," which required 500 men to work it, there is no mention of engines throwing fire. Dáhir's elephant is distinctly mentioned to have taken flight at an arrow of naphtha, which the Arab general ordered one of his strong naphtha-throwers to aim at the elephant-seat of Dáhir.⁴ If we except the *Chach-náma*, these later testimonies are of little value against the silence of Biládurí, and we must reject the story of the projectiles, the *kukkahá-e átish bází*, though we may admit, on the authority of the *Chach-náma*, that a naphtha-arrow was used. The place of action offers the same probability as to the use of such a weapon, as it does in the case of Mahmúd the Ghaznvide, mentioned above.

A few years later, we find one of Muhammad Kásim's successors using a battering ram :

"And Junaid fought against Kíraj, which had revolted, and he took a battering ram with horns of great power, and demolished with it the walls of the city. He entered the breach, and slew, imprisoned, and pillaged the inhabitants. He then sent his officers towards the Nermada, Mandavi? Jhand? and Baroach.⁵

Passing over three centuries, we come to the period of Mahmúd, to which allusion has already been made. Throughout his reign,

¹ The alarm with which elephants view fire is frequently a marked feature of Indian warfare, and was never better exemplified than in the gallant night-sally of the Portuguese Governor of Damás upon the camp of Aurangzeb, when an army of 40,000 men was put to flight by the consternation of the elephants at the fireworks incessantly playing upon them. On this occasion, it is said, the Emperor came to a resolution never to attack Europeans any more.—*Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, part ii. p. 289; Niebuhr's *Lectures*, vol. i. pp. 1-36.

² *Biog. Diet.* (L. T. K.), vol. i. p. 76.

³ See *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 307, and vol. x. p. 189.

⁴ [See Vol. I. p. 170.] There is an important passage in two copies which I have consulted, which says that Muhammad Kásim had 900 naphtha-throwers who discharged naphtha from bows (p. 145).

⁵ [See Vol. I. *supra*, p. 125.]

and the whole of the Ghaznvide reigns, we find no single author alluding to such implements; but it is incidentally mentioned that Altún Tásh received a *manjanik* when in India.¹

Nearly two centuries after that, a little before A.D. 1200, we come to the Dynasty of the Ghorians, and though no mention is made by the Muhammadan writers of any incendiary preparations used in the wars between the Muhammadans and the Hindús, yet if we are to believe the contemporary Hindú bard, Chánd, we shall find even cannon-balls to be in use at that time. But it appears to me evident that the passages where they are mentioned are spurious, and interpolated to accommodate the poem to the knowledge of subsequent ages.² In the 150th *chhand* or stanza of the *Kanauj-Khand*, Tátár Khán says to Muhammad Ghorí, "Oh! chief of Gajní, buckle on your armour, and prepare your fire-machines." Another meaning may be given to the passage, which, however, would be forced and unnatural.

Atish is a Persian word, and *Káfir* and *Sultán* used in the same stanza, are also of foreign stamp; though they no doubt were among the first words of Muhammadan extraction which were introduced into India. The use of *Atish* renders the passage suspicious. In other respects the verse in which it occurs does not bear the appearance of modern manufacture. In the 257th stanza, it is said, that "The calivers and cannons made a loud report, when they were fired off, and the noise which issued from the ball was heard at a distance of ten *kos*."³ The two lines in which this passage occurs

¹ Prose authors give no information, so we must have recourse to poets. Sa'd Salman gives long descriptions of Indian battles, yet never alludes to the use of anything like gunpowder, but notices fire at the siege of Agra. Badar Chach notices *manjaniks* at Nagarkot, in Muhammad Tughlik's time. In the *Tujul Ma-dair* there is not the remotest allusion, though every kind of fancy is indulged in describing swords, arrows, and spears, and other weapons of war. Nor are *manjaniks*, or any such implement, mentioned, though there is a description of the capture of many forts. There is a very late mention of the use of *manjaniks* in India in Ahmad Yádgár's *Afghán History*, p. 183 [*supra*, Vol. V. p. 45].

² [Mr. Beames, B.C.S., who has paid special attention to Chánd, informed me, when he was in England, that he had not found these passages in the MSS. he had consulted.—Ed.]

³ Froissart beats this with his marvellous *bombard* at Audenarde, which made such a noise at night, even at the distance of ten leagues, that all the devils of hell could not exceed it. "Et quand cette Bombarde declinquoit, on pouoit par jour bien de

are evidently a modern interpolation, and the lines which precede and follow them are of doubtful antiquity. The words used in the middle lines, though Hindi, seldom occur in ancient authors, and the introduction of *tope* is decisive as to the period of composition.

In the 416th *chhand*, we have: "The *zambúr* lodged in his breast and he fainted away: thus fell Rái Govind, the strength of Dehli."

Zambúr is used in this and in the preceding extract. It is now usually applied to a camel-swivel. It used also to be applied to an arrow, and like *musquet*, *baston*, *bombarda*, and some other words, continued to signify an offensive weapon introduced under the new system of artillery, which followed the invention of gunpowder. The use of the word, therefore, is equivocal, and cannot be pronounced decidedly to mean a fire-arm; though, to be sure, if an arrow were meant, there was no occasion to resort to a foreign word. In other respects, the passage is not open to suspicion.

Wild fire was used against Changiz Khán at Bámián,⁴ and the *Jahán-kushá* tells us, that in his siege of Khwárizm, Changiz Khán was compelled to use the wood of the *top*.⁵

In A.D. 1258, we find the *wazír* of the King of Dehli going out to meet an ambassador from Hulákú, the grandson of Changiz Khán, with 3000 carriages of fireworks.⁶ The same word, *Atish-bázi*, being applied to pyrotechnic displays, as well as artillery, leaves the meaning of the passage ambiguous.

Khusrú, who died in 1315 A.D., is full of illustrations, and leaves no manner of doubt that nothing like gunpowder was known to him; though there is an attempt in the *káshiyá* of the *Kíránus Sa'dáin* (p. 49), to make out *garárá* to be a cannon ball.

In A.D. 1308, we have seen (*suprà*, p. 230) Muhammad Sháh Bahmani I. possessing himself, amongst other spoil, of 300 gun-carriages, upon which the translator of Firisháta observes in a note, as follows:

cinq lieus kúng, et par nuit de dix, et menoit si grande noise au dadiquer, que il sembloit que tous les diables d'enfer fussent au chemin."—*Chronicle*, tom. ii. p. 214. See also Meyrick, v. Bombard; D'Ohsson, vol. ii. p. 36; Taylor's *Hist. of Mohem.*, p. 260.

⁴ *Med. Univ. Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 155.

⁵ The *Kháshiyá-ta-Tawáriká* says, that *tops* were used at Aurore in 1303.

⁶ *Fuzúshá*, Lich. Ed. vol. i. p. 128.

“If any reliance is to be placed on Moola Daud Eidury, the author of the *Tohfut-u-s Sulatin*, guns were used at this time by the Hindús, and in a subsequent passage it is remarked that the Muhammadans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Muhammadans might have procured guns from the west in 1368, because they are said to have been used eighteen years previously by Edward III. at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable; and Firishta, in stating it to be the first time the Muhammadans employed them, also observes, that Turks and Europeans skilled in gunnery worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by Faria-e-Souza.”¹

In the same author we find a *manjanik* used for a horrible purpose in A.D. 1371.²

It is remarkable that ‘Abdu-r Razzák gives no hint of gunpowder at Bijanagar; there the pyrotechnists are naphtha-throwers. This would seem to show that gunpowder must have been subsequent to his time. The *Matta'u-s Sa'dain*, however, in one passage speaks of *múshksús* (squib-making).

The testimony as to the skill of the natives in the use of fire-arms, upon the first arrival of the Portuguese, is somewhat contradictory.³ Maffei, who may be considered an abridger of Juan de Barros, says that the Indians far excelled the Portuguese.⁴ He also states that “Bador,” at the siege of Chitor, had four balistas of so large a size that each was drawn by 100 yoke of oxen, so that the ground trembled beneath them. Another author, quoted by Bohlen, speaks of a certain Indian king being in the habit of placing several pieces of brass ordnance in front of his army.⁵

¹ Briggs, vol. ii. p. 432.

² Briggs, vol. ii. pp. 303, 404.

³ Mickle's *Camerus*, p. 79; *Intro.*, pp. 82, 90.

⁴ *Jamque Indici sclopi, seu ferrea fistula et sulphureus pulvis longo intervallo Lusitanice antecellunt.*—*Histor. Indic.*, p. 25.

⁵ *Das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 63. Rex magnum numerum secum trahit tormentorum eneorum in prelium, quæ solet collocare in fronte exercitus.—Hayus, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 693. This may be the same work that is quoted elsewhere as the *Historia Relatio*, Antwerp, 1605.—Bohlen, *ib.* vol. i. p. 102, vol. ii. p. 69; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. vi. pp. 7, 192.

There is certain testimony to the use of cannon in Gujarát before the arrival of the Portuguese; which is easily accounted for by the constant communication at that time with the Turks of Egypt and Arabia.¹ In A.D. 1482, Mahmúd Sháh I. of Gujarát is mentioned as fitting out a fleet against the pirates of Bulsar, on board of which he embarked gunners and musketeers from Kambay. Two years after, we find him using cannon to breach the walls of Champanír. and even firing shells at the palace of the Rájá. It is curious that one of the first applications of gunpowder amongst Muhammadan Indians was in the manufacture of shells. A few years later, Sher Sháh met his death by the explosion of one in his own batteries, when besieging Kálinjar.

Castanheda, in describing Vasco de Gama's entrance into Calicut in 1498, says, "The procession again set out, preceded by many trumpets and sacbuts sounding all the way; and one of the Nayres carried a caliver, which he fired off at intervals."² Two years afterwards the Zamorin cannonaded the Portuguese vessels.³ In Castanheda's work, two Milanese lapidaries are said to have deserted, in 1503, to the Zamorin, for whom they offered to make ordnance, resembling that of the Portuguese, "which they afterwards did, as will appear in the sequel of this history, and for which service they were highly rewarded."⁴ "This caymal had a force of 3000 Nayres, 700 of whom were archers, and forty were armed with matchlock. He had likewise several paraws provided with ordnance, with which he was supplied by the Zamorin."⁵

Vertomann says that the Portuguese who entered into the service of the native princes taught them the art of using cannon.⁶

¹ See *Notices des MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 420.

² Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 364. The original has *espingarda*, "que leuava hás espingarda, com que tirava de quando em quando."—*História do descobrimento*, etc., vol. i. p. 96. This cannot be the *espringal* which in Grose's *Min. Antig.* (vol. i. p. 17) is described as throwing large darts called *muckette*. See Du Cange s.v.; also "Gun-barrels," in *Ency. Metr.* There is an English translation of Castanheda, dated 1582, noticed in Baloe's *Anecdotes*, vol. vi. p. 263, and *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, Preface.

³ Rowlandson, *Talkat-ul-Mujahideen*, p. 81.

⁴ Kerr, p. 454. The fate of these men is shown in the same *Collection*, vol. vii. p. 128.

⁵ *Id.* vol. ii. p. 459.

⁶ *Id.* vol. ix. p. 403. See Vertomann in *Hakibyt*, vol. iv. pp. 576, 577, 591, 608.

Faria-e-Souza speaks of a Gujarát vessel in A.D. 1500 firing several guns at the Portuguese;¹ of the Indians of Calicut using fire-vessels in 1502; and of the Zamorin's fleet carrying in the next year 380 guns.²

In 1511, the Portuguese are opposed at Malacca by a people using cannon, who defend their streets by mining with gunpowder. At sea, they employed floats of wild fire. Muhammad, King of Java, brought 3000 guns to bear, out of the 8000 which he possessed.³

If we come to later times, we find Bábar mentioning that the soldiers in Bengal were expert artilleryists; for which of course they were indebted to the Portuguese. He himself had in his own camp large cannon, which fired huge stones, and took a long time to load. He had also several pieces which he styled *Feringis*, showing their European origin.⁴ Arrows were also used in this action. In another part of his Memoirs, Bábar speaks of cannon being cast at the capital in his days; but the fact of the welding system being adopted at Dacca in the days of Sháh Jahán, does not say much for the efficiency of Bengal artillery a century previous.⁵ At the battle of Pánipat also, A.D. 1526, Bábar had used artillery, "chained together according to the custom of Rúm, with twisted bull-hides."⁶ He alludes no doubt to the victory gained by Salím over Sháh Ism'áil in 1514, in which this method had been found very effective. Bábar appears to have had no light pieces, for here also arrows were used in skirmishes.⁷ Between every two gun-carriages were

¹ Faria-e-Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, tom. i. part i. chap. 6.

² *Id.* chap. 7.

³ *Id.* tom. i. part ii. chap. 7.

⁴ Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs of Bábar*, pp. 413-416.

⁵ *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, 1847, p. 590.

⁶ [See *supra*, Vol. IV. p. 251.]

⁷ Gibbon shows the use of ancient and modern artillery at the siege of Constantinople. See also *P. Cyclo.* "Artillery," and other Encyclopædias for this matter. Indeed, the superiority of the bow over the musket was for a long time insisted on.

"The whole faith of historic cannot show
That e'er the musquet yet could beat the bow."

—Alleya's *Henry VII.*

Grosz's *Mil. Antig.*, vol. i. pp. 141, 151, shows the bow long maintained its place, and the same with projectile machines, *ib.* p. 381; likewise Greek-fire, p. 390. See Meyrick's *Ancient Armour*, vol. iii. pp. 50, 78; Briggs, vol. iii. pp. 50, 129, 411.

six or seven *túbras*,¹ or movable breast-works. The matchlock-men stood behind these guns and *túbras*, and discharged their matchlocks.²

Shortly after this, we begin to have frequent mention of the use of rockets. Indeed, there is much reason to suppose, that as in the west, so in the east, rockets preceded cannon: yet it is strange that they should now be regarded in Europe as the most recent invention of artillery. Under the Emperor Leo the philosopher, who lived at the close of the ninth century, the soldiers of the lower empire used to carry within their shields light tubes (*χειροσφύρα*), which were filled with artificial fire, and rushed through the air with extreme velocity. These were made under Leo's own directions.³

In A.D. 1232, the Chinese defended themselves against the Tartars by the use of rockets.⁴

In modern Europe there are proofs of their use as early as A.D. 1380.⁵ Bombshells also appear early in Europe. Stowe's *Chronicle* says that Peter von Collet, in the year 1543, "made certaine hollow shot of cast yron, to be stuffed with fire-werke," etc.⁶

¹ *Túbras* are nose-bags, but 'Abdu-l Kadir Badáúni makes the meaning plain, by saying they were filled with earth (*Tárikh-i Badáúni*, fol. 136). The same author says that 800 of these gun-carriages were prepared in one day (*Muntakhab-i Tawárikh*, MS. fol. 67). The sacks used by Sher Sháh as temporary fortifications on his march towards Rájputána were *túbras* (v. sup. Vol. IV. p. 405); Erskine's *Memoirs of Bular*, vol. i. p. 433.

² *Cole. Rev.*, no. xiii. 63. See quotations from De Barrae, at p. 34 of Chesney's *Fire-arms*; see also p. 85. Gamelli Cuñari, in 1695, observes that even in Aurangzeb's time, most of the soldiers had bows and arrows, and "the swords made in that country being apt to break, the English furnish them with such as are made in Europe." "All the artillery, especially the heavy, is under the direction of Franks or Christian gunners, who have extraordinary pay, especially the Portuguese, English, Dutch, German, and French, who go from Goa, or run away from aboard ships. Some of them formerly had 200 roupies a month, but now the Moguls have learnt somewhat of the art, they have less."—*Churchill*, vol. iv. pp. 236-7. Chesney's *Fire-arms*, p. 60. Baldirus has given us, in chap. ii., a copy of a *farmán* from "Mír Chasjan (Sháh Jabán) to Mirza Arep, his Governor of Suratte," in which the following passage occurs: "You shall endeavour to list ten Christian constables, well versed in their art, into our service; and you shall spare no cost to have some great cannon cast for our use."—*Churchill*, vol. iii. p. 520.

³ *Leonis Tactica*, ap. Mouraii Op. vi. 19, 57; *Journal des Savants*, 1647, p. 149.

⁴ *A Danduli Chronicle*, ap. Muratori, xii. 448.

⁵ Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* iii. 1197, xv. 769; Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Lat.* v. *Bombarda*.

⁶ Stowe, p. 584 (quoted in Meyrick, vol. ii. p. 293); *Penny Cyclo.* v. "Artillery." On grenades, see Meyrick, vol. iii. p. 63.

Yet we are informed by the best authorities,¹ that rockets were first used in warfare at the siege of Copenhagen in 1807. Even in the modern history of India, we cannot fail to be struck with the frequent mention of rockets. Every page of the native historians abounds with notices of their use from Akbar to Sháh 'Alam.² The iron work of one has been found to weigh thirty pounds.³

It is probable that the indications which we have of the early use of fiery missiles in ancient Indian warfare, refer more to rockets than cannons, and we will now proceed to consider the nature of these weapons.

Mann, quoted by Elphinstone, prohibits the use of fire-arrows.⁴ The passage most commonly quoted to show the early use of fire-arms in India is extracted from the Code of Gentoo Laws, where we have the following prohibition: "The magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any kind of fire-arms." Halhed, commenting on this passage, says: "The reader will probably from hence renew the suspicion which has long been deemed absurd, that Alexander the Great did absolutely meet with some weapons of that kind in India, as a passage in Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain. Gunpowder has been known in China, as well as Hindústán, far beyond all periods of investigation. The word "fire-arms" is literally the Sanskrit *agniaster*, "a weapon of fire;" they describe the first species of it to have been a kind of dart, or arrow tipped with fire, and discharged upon the enemy from a bamboo. Among several extraordinary properties of this weapon, one was, that after it had taken its flight, it divided into several separate streams of flame, each of which took effect, and which, when once kindled, could not be extinguished; but this kind of *agniaster* is now lost."⁵ He then goes on to say, that

¹ *Penny Cyclopædia*, v. "Rocket." They were used in the attack on Boulogne in 1806.

² Gladwin's *History of Jahángir*, p. 25; *Autob. of Jahángir*, p. 55 [*supra*, pp. 333, 344]; Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 244. Shells and rockets are spoken of in the *Tarikh-i Tuhiri* about 1591 A.D., but some European was concerned, and, according to Ahmad Yádgár, they were used earlier still in Bahlol's reign. See Ma'súmi also.

³ Moor's *Hindú Pantheon*, p. 299; A. Hamilton in *Pinkerton*, vol. viii. p. 427.

⁴ Mann, Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 47.

⁵ Halhed, *Code of Gentoo Laws*, Introduction, p. lii. See also the *Amara Kosha* and *Sabda Kaipa Drama*, vol. i. p. 16.

cannon is called *shataghnee*, or weapon that kills one hundred men at once,¹ and that the *Poorán-shásters* ascribe the invention of these destructive engines to Viswacarma,² the Vulcan of the Hindús,—a name which M. Eusebe Salverte³ is tempted to believe furnished the etymology of the French word *écarme*;—which is about as reasonable as to suppose, that Charivari comes from Chakravarti, because it is a title exclusively devoted to those who have made a considerable noise in the world.

The submarine fire *arva*, in the drama of the *Sakuntalá*, where it is called “the mysterious fire which burns in the depth of the seas,” has been supposed to allude to a composition similar to Greek-fire; but M. Langlois, appealing to an episode from the *Harivansa*, entertains the much more probable opinion, that a submarine volcano is alluded to.⁴ Viswámitra, who is represented in the *Rámáyana* as giving different kinds of weapons to Ráma, speaks of one as *ágnya*, another as *shikhara*.

Carey and Marshman, who render *shikhara* as a combustible weapon, deduce from this passage that the ancient Hindús were acquainted with gunpowder. The passage, however, seems to contain a mere poetic fiction. The author there speaks of numerous kinds of weapons, some of which were evidently imaginary, as, for instance, the *ráyara* or *airy*.⁵

¹ It may well admit of doubt if this was really a cannon. In the *Rajáranas* it is distinctly said, that the “Demon laid his iron-headed *anteghái* upon Ráma, as Kúvera laid his celebrated club upon Jamráj.”

² *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 264.

³ *Philosophy of Magic*, vol. ii. p. 235.

⁴ See M. Chézy, *Le Reconnaissance de Sacountala*, p. 213. Wilson, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, *Sabda Kalpa Drama*, vol. iii. p. 2489, and Eusebe Salverte, *Occult Sciences*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. p. 223, where, in allusion to this passage, it is said, “The fire which burns and crackles on the bosom of the waves denotes that the Greek-fire was anciently known in Hindústán under the name of *árvava*.”

⁵ [The *Mahábháratá* represents the sage Bharadvája as bestowing the *ágnyastra*, or weapon of fire, upon Aguirasa, son of Agni, the deity of fire, who afterwards delivered it to Bharadvája's son Iroha. The manner in which this weapon is spoken of might justify the supposition of its being some special unique weapon of supernatural origin. Wilson, in a note to the passage, says, “Fiery arms or rockets were possibly employed by the Hindus in remote antiquity, as well as in recent times: whence came the notion of certain mysterious weapons framed of the elements, and to be wielded only by devics and demigods. These make a great figure in the battles-scenes of the *Mahábháratá*. For a further account of these weapons, see translation of the *Utara Lámá Charitra*.”—Johnson's *Selections from the Mahábháratá*, p. 1.—Ed.]

The Harivansa speaks of the fiery weapon thus :

“ King Sagara having received *fire-arms* from Bhārgava,¹ conquered the world, after slaying the Taljanghas and the Haihayas.”

Again, the same :

“ Urva, having performed the usual ceremonies on the birth of the great-minded (prince), and having taught him the Vedas, instructed him in the use of arms; the great-armed (Urva) (presented him) the fiery weapon,² which even the immortals³ could not stand.”

The following lengthy description in the *Srī Bhāgavat* of the discharge of the *brahmāstra*⁴ is somewhat peculiar.

“The murderer of the princes (Aswatthāma), seeing him advancing from a distance, was much alarmed, and fled for his life in his car, like Brahma running away for fear of Siva, as far as it was possible to go on the earth. When his horses being fatigued, he considered himself without help, the Brahmin's son looked upon the *brahmāstra* as his only refuge. Accordingly, having washed his hands, and fixed his mind, he adjusted, and discharged it, though he did not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. Arjuna, seeing a glaring light flaming on all sides, and considering his life in danger, spoke to Krishna: ‘O Krishna! Krishna! thou great-armed! thou who makest thy followers fearless! thou art the only deliverance for those who burn in the world. Thou art the first Being, absolute God, superior to Prākṛiti itself. Thou dwellest in the spirit alone by the power of intellect, giving up *Māyā*. Thou ordainest by thine own power the righteousness and well-being of all people, whose minds are blinded by *Māyā*. Even now thou art incarnate, in order to bear the burden of the world, and even to help thine own people, who

¹ M. Langlois observes that these fire-arms appear to have belonged to the Bhārgava, the family of Bhrigu. —*Harivansa*, p. 68.

² M. Langlois translates it *arme de feu*, in this and the preceding passage. The whole legend of Urva and Arva will be found in the *Harivansa*, vol. i. p. 211, where the translator considers that some kind of Greek-fire is alluded to.

³ It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between the fights of Demons and Immortals in the Shāstras and the war of the Titans against Saturn, and of the Giants against Jupiter; and in nothing is it more striking than in the use of fiery weapons and thunders. It is worthy of remark that those contests are of late importation into Greek mythology. Homer and Hesiod are silent on the subject, on which so many later writers have employed their imagination.

⁴ Wilson, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v., calls it “the Brahma weapon, a fabulous weapon originally from Brahma.”

think of no body else. Oh God of Gods! I know not whence this is, or what it is. I see a fearful light coming from all sides.' Krishna's answer:—' Know this to be the *brahmástra* of the son of Drona. He does not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. He has no other counteracting weapon. Thou art well skilled in arms; destroy the force of this by the power of thy arms.' Síta continued: 'Arjuna, the destroyer of hostile chiefs, having heard Krishna's language, and having washed his hands, discharged his *brahmástra* against that of his antagonist. The fury of the two fiery darts acting against each other, overpread the heavens and earth, and waxed strong like the burning rays of the sun. The three worlds were illuminated by the great light of the two weapons; the inhabitants were all burnt, and believed the end of the world to be at hand. Arjuna observing the calamity which befell the world and the distress of the people, drew in both weapons agreeably to Krishna's wishes."

In a note on the subject of the *brahmástra*, the Rev. Krishna Mohan Báneerjea, to whom I am indebted for the preceding reference, observes in his excellent work the "Encyclopædia Bengalensis," that the *brahmástra* was probably a piece of musketry, not unlike the modern matchlock.¹

The *Sri Bhágvat* makes mention also of Aswattháma's discharging his *brahmástra* against Uttara while she was with child, with a view to destroy her embryo; and Krishna, the constant friend of the Pándavae, is represented as saving her by his superhuman power. The *Devi Purána* says that Brahma made the instrument for the purpose of killing Náráyan.² The curious part in the preceding description is the drawing the missile back.³ In this respect it has some resemblance to the boomerang of the Australian savages. An account of this magic stick, which returns to the persons who throw it, is subjoined.⁴

¹ *Encycl. Beng.*, vol. iii. p. 21. The Hindi *Prem Ságar*, which is founded upon the tenth chapter of the *Bhágavat*, represents the guards of Krishna as seizing their weapons and firing their muskets (*lagu supak ákharne*).—End of chap. iv.

² *Sukto Kalpa Drona*, vol. iii. p. 839.

³ Was not the *chakra* drawn back by a thong?

⁴ The instrument is a flat curved piece of hard wood, about eighteen inches long, three inches wide in the middle, tapering off towards the extremities, and nearly half an inch thick; the native uses are very roughly finished, and vary in size considerably; which is of no importance: it is used either to bring down birds in their

In the *Mahābhārata* we read of a "flying ball emitting the sound

flight, or to arrest the progress of men or animals until they can be despatched by other means; but its singular property is that of returning to the thrower, which has often excited the astonishment of travellers, and the incredulity of those who have only heard of it, until it has now become quite familiar. This curious fact has been related in such a manner as to render it much more extraordinary than it really is when correctly stated; for if it touch any object in its flight, it will not return, although, by some, it has been supposed capable of killing an animal, and then returning to the thrower.

The principle on which it acts merits some investigation: and I think I shall be able to prove that this peculiar property does not depend wholly on its form, although the one adopted may be the most convenient for the purpose. Any thin flat body, whatever may be its form, will exhibit the same phenomenon, provided a rapid rotation round its centre of gravity be communicated at the same time that it is projected forward at a considerable angle of elevation. The natives are, of course, perfectly ignorant of the principles, and, like all other savages, confine their knowledge to effects.

Many familiar instances of rotation causing bodies to return, after being projected forward, may be adduced. A hoop, for example, will return, if thrown forward with a sudden jerk inwards from the upper part of its circumference. A billiard ball, struck with force and dexterity just below its centre, may be made to pass from one end of the table to the other and return without having touched the cushion. The blow in this direction gives the ball a rapid rotation towards the striker, and at the same time drives it forward, not rolling, but sliding along the cloth, and revolving in an opposite direction; the moment the friction has overcome the projectile force, the ball rolls back by virtue of the original revolving motion communicated to it by the stroke of the queue.

Another instance less known I have already mentioned in a former part, namely, that of a bullet discharged from a crooked barrel, being thrown at long distances, in an opposite direction to the curvature.

The *boomerang*, however, is influenced by different causes. To exhibit the phenomenon properly, it must be thrown into the air with great force, at an angle of 50° or 60° of elevation, and by an inward motion of the wrist (difficult to describe, and not easy to execute), a rapid spin must be communicated to it, otherwise it will not return. I have repeatedly thrown it forward, upwards of forty yards, and it has returned backwards over my head, and fallen fifteen or sixteen yards behind me. If pieces of card be cut in various forms, rectangular, oval, circular, and semi-circular, all of them will return across a room, more or less, when projected from the fingers at a considerable angle of elevation, with a rapid rotary motion; and it is immaterial whether the rotation be from right to left, or the contrary; the only effect of the rotation being to keep them nearly in the same plane of air as that in which they were propelled, and thus prevent them from obtaining an horizontal position to which they always incline from the situation of the centre of gravity; thus, if left to themselves, they would present their broad surfaces to the air, and descend nearly in a perpendicular direction as soon as the projectile force ceased to operate, if unaccompanied by rotation; but the rotation, continuing after the projectile force has ceased, causes them to slide down the inclined plane of air up which they were thrown, merely because it is *the line of least resistance*; that is, they cannot descend perpendicularly, because their broad surfaces are opposed to the resistance of the air in that direction, while their edges are inclined to the same angle as that in which they were

of a thunder-cloud," which Bopp considers to apply to a meteor, though the scholiast is express in referring it to artillery.¹

In this place observation may be drawn to the very singular relation of a combustible, which occurs in the Extract from the *Mujmalat Tawarikh* (*supra*, Vol. I. p. 107), where we read that the Bráhmans counselled Hál to have an elephant made of clay, and to place it in the van of his army, and that when the army of the King of Kashmir drew nigh, the elephant exploded, and the flames destroyed a great portion of the invading force.² Here we have not only the simple act of explosion, but something very much like a fuze, to enable the explosion to occur at a particular period. The testimony is valuable, for the work was translated as early as A.D. 1126 from the Arabic, which had been translated a century previous from a Sanskrit original, even then acknowledged to be very old.

We have other Eastern stories, all bearing much the same character, and all composed long before the invention of gunpowder; and, therefore, the writers had no opportunity of applying modern knowledge to the history of a more remote era.

Firdúsi, who died A.D. 1020, tells us that the troops of Sikandar (Alexander the Great) were greatly terrified at the sight of the two thousand elephants which Fúr had brought into the field, and that some philosophers were requested to consult together to contrive some means of counteracting this tremendous force. They suggested the construction of an iron horse, and the figure of a rider, also of iron, to be placed upon wheels like a carriage, and filled with naphtha; so that, on coming in contact with the elephants, the whole

projected. These are the principles on which the *boomerang* acts, for if it be thrown forward at a small elevation, or horizontally, the rotation has no tendency to cause its return; it therefore proceeds forward, cutting the air always in that direction which opposes the least resistance, exactly in the same manner as any other body having a thin edge in one direction and extent of surface in another: for which reason it often winds round and performs a variety of curious and amusing gyrations in the air, which depend on the relative degrees of projectile and rotatory force communicated to it and the currents of air through which it moves: but in these instances, although it may describe a semi-circle, or even return within the line in which it was thrown, it never returns to the thrower.—Wilkinson, *Essays of War*, pp. 240-294; see Bonneau's *Nisook and its Palace*, p. 135.

¹ Bopp, *Anmerkungen zu Ardochani's Himmelsruhm*, p. 74; Buhler, *des alté Indien*, vol. ii. p. 66; see also Theodore Baskin, *India*, p. 239.

² Lemaud's *Mém.* p. 62.

engine might explode.¹ The monarch approved of this invention, and collected all the blacksmiths and artizans in the country, to construct a thousand machines of this description with the utmost expedition. The consequence was, that when Fúr advanced to attack, the combustibles were fired by the Grecians, and the horses exploding, many of the elephants were burnt and destroyed, and the rest, together with the army, fled away in confusion.²

M. Eusebe Salverte³ gives the same story from the lately discovered life of Alexander by J. Vactrius,⁴ referring to the *Biblioth. Univers. Litt.* tom. vii. pp. 225, 226.

It is not improbable that the *rolling horses*, mentioned in a Chinese account of India, were used for a similar purpose. "The Indians are timid in battle; their weapons are the bow and arrows, and shield. They have also, like the Chinese, flying, or winged ladders; and according as the ground will permit, they follow the rules of the *wooden oxen* and *rolling horses*."⁵

¹ This reminds us of Plancarpin's story of Prester-John. The Tartars informed the monk that Prester-John, when attacked by the son of Changiz Khán, led against his assailants figures of bronze, mounted on horseback. The inside of these figures was filled with fire, and behind each there was a man, who threw something within them, which immediately produced an immense smoke.—*Voyage de Plancarpin*, v. 42, ap. *Phil. of Magic*, vol. ii. p. 236.

² *Sháh-adma*, Turner Macan's edit., vol. iii. p. 1308; see *Mirkhond*. Mohl's version of this passage is as follows: "Ils firent un cheval de guerre en fer, son cavalier était de fer, et de fer la bride; ils rattachèrent les jointures avec des clous et de la soudure de cuivre, polirent le cavalier et son cheval, et les traînèrent sur les rous devant Iskender, après en avoir rempli et noirci tout l'intérieur avec du naphte. Iskender vit leur invention et elle lui plut. Le roi intelligent sut en tirer parti et ordonna que l'on fabriquait en fer plus de mille chevaux et cavaliers semblables. . . . On alluma le naphte qui remplissait les chevaux de fer et les Indiens se frappèrent le front d'étonnement. Le feu alluma le naphte noir et ébranla toute cette troupe de fer; l'armée indienne poussa un cri immense, on rendit furieux les éléphants par les coups de *arochets*; mais quand ils saisirent avec les trompes ses cavaliers en flammes leurs conducteurs restèrent confondus. Toute l'armée des Indiens recula, et les éléphants de guerre qui portait haut la tête quand ils furent ainsi repoussés par ces hommes de fer, se retirèrent en tout hâte avec les troupes."—*Le Livre des Rois*, tom. i. p. 50.

³ *Phil. of Magic*, vol. ii. p. 223.

⁴ A great error has been committed here in the name, which should be Julius Valerius. The error is, I fancy, Salverte's. The whole story will be found in Müller's edit. (Didot) of *Pseudo-Calisthenes*, p. 97, to which "versionis loco" J. Valerius's work is appended. Respecting these fabulous histories, see Niebuhr's *Lect. on Asia Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 351.

⁵ Ma-twan-lin, *Deep Researches into Ancient Monuments*, translated in *As. Journal*, 1836, vol. xi. p. 218.

Kazwini, writing at the close of the thirteenth century, says, in his Chapter on the Islands of the Indian Sea, that the inhabitants of a certain island petitioned Alexander to free them of an enormous dragon, who used to require two bulls for his daily sustenance, and if he did not get them, he would take his revenge by laying waste the fields and killing men and women: "which when Alexander heard, he ordered the hides of two bulls to be brought, and stuffed them with pitch, sulphur, lime and arsenic, together with iron hooks, and then directed that they should be placed where the dragon used to come for his daily food. The dragon came, and devoured them as usual; but, as he was retiring towards his den, a flame was kindled in his belly, and the hooks adhered to his entrails, so that he died."¹

The *Rauzatu-s Safá* speaks of Alexander's meeting Porus with explosive machines. Western authors also connect Alexander's name with many anecdotes relating to the use of incendiary preparations in warfare. These accounts, combined with those given by Oriental writers, make it difficult to believe that the ancient Indians did not possess a knowledge of some substances which had much the same power and effect as gunpowder. Philostratus says: "Had Alexander passed the Hyphasis, he never could have made himself master of the fortified habitation of these sages. Should an enemy make war on them, they drive him off by means of tempest and thunders, as if sent down from heaven. The Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus made a joint attack on them, and by means of various military engines attempted to take the place. The sages remained unconcerned spectators, until the assault was made, when it was repulsed by fiery whirlwinds and thunders, which, being hurled from above, dealt destruction on the invaders."²

Themistius also mentions the Bráhmans fighting at a distance, with lightnings and thunders.³

Alexander's use of incendiary compositions is a favourite topic with the early romancists. One was furnished to him by a certain Alcays, with which he fired the city of Tyre from a mangonel. No

¹ Correa, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, vol. ii. p. 387; see Edrisi, vol. i. pp. 198, 200.

² Philostrati *Vit. Apollon.* lib. ii. c. 33, G. Olearius, p. 86.

³ *Orat.* xxvii. p. 337, ap. Dutens, *Origine des divinités attribuées aux Modernes*, p. 196; Maurus, *Med. Hist. of Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 164; Weston's *Fragmenta*, p. 68.

doubt this instructor is the same as the Keyd of the *Sháh-náma*, the Kefend of the *Mujmalat Tawárikh*, and the Kend of Mas'údi.¹

In the famous treatise of Marcus Græcus, entitled *Liber ignium ad comburendos hostes*, we find recipes headed,—“Ignis quem invenit Aristoteles, quando cum Alexandro rege ad obscura loca iter ageret;” and again, “Sequitur alia species ignis, quo Aristoteles domos in montibus sitas destruxit incendio.” The use of fire, however, is so obvious an auxiliary, that we are surprised it is not more often mentioned. Thucydides speaks of it at the siege of Plataea (ii. 77). Livy mentions the use of πυροβολοι by the Ætoliens (xxxviii. 6). And Æneas, the tactician, who lived about the time of Aristotle, enjoins its use in his valuable *Commentarius Poliorceticus* (J. C. Orelli, Leipzig, 1818). Josephus also slightly mentions it (iii. vii. 9).² Some other early instances are adduced in Note A., Vol. V. p. 550.

In the apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle, we find mention made of the terrific flashes of flame, which he beheld showered on his army on the burning plains of India. Dante has immortalized the tradition, which, according to Landino, he obtained from Albertus Magnus:

Quali Alessandro in quelle parti calde
D'India vide sovra lo suo stolo
Fiamme cadere infino a terra calde,
Perch' ei provvide a scalpitar lo suolo
Con le sue schiere, perciochè'l vapore
Me' ai stinguera, mentre ch' era solo;
Tale scendeva l'eternale ardore.—*Inferno*, xiv. 31-7.

Ctesias says that the Indians manufactured an oil on the banks of the river Indus, inclosed in earthen jars, and that on being shot out against woodworks, a flame was kindled, which could only be extinguished by a quantity of mud, thickly laid on it; that it was manufactured solely for the king; and no one else was allowed to have it in his possession.³

Ælian, while he quotes Ctesias, at the same time improves upon this relation. He says that the oil has such strength, that it not only

¹ *Histoire de l'Artillerie*, p. 48; *Fragments Arabes*, p. 45; *Sháh-náma*, vol. iii. p. 1290; Reinaud's *Mém.* p. 62; Spiegel, *die Alex.*, 20, 53; Thomas, in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* n.s. vol. i. p. 453.

² See Potter's *Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 47.

³ *Ctesias Indice Excerpta*, xvii. ed. Baer, p. 356.

burns up wood, but men and animals, and, indeed, anything it touches; that the king of the Indians takes cities by its means; that no battering-ram, or other poliorcetic machine, can resist it; earthen jars are filled with it, and thrown upon city gates; the jars being fractured, the oil spreads, and is inextinguishable and insatiable, burning both arms and fighting men.¹

Philostratus, speaking of the same, says, there is in the Hyphasis an insect which looks like a white worm, producing an oil, from which issues a flame of such a nature, that it can only be extinguished by mud.² This insect is the King's sole property, and is used by him in destroying the walls of besieged towns; for, the moment it touches the battlements, it is said to kindle such a flame as cannot be put out by any of the ordinary means for extinguishing fire.³

These three authors concur in representing that this oil is procured from a worm, *σκώληξ*, which must be a pretty large one, as it is seven cubits long, and of proportionate breadth. However fabulous may be the origin of this product, we cannot entertain a doubt that it was something highly inflammable and destructive. This river worm is described as having two teeth, one above and one below, and with them devouring whatever comes within its reach. During the day it burrows in the mud, but at night emerges on the land, and carries off oxen, and even camels. It is taken with a large hook, to which a goat or sheep is fastened with an iron chain. When captured, it is hung up for a month, with vessels placed underneath, into which runs as much oil as would fill ten Attic cotylæ. Professor H. H. Wilson considers that the alligator is alluded to. He is not, however, aware, that oil is extracted from the alligator; but, at the dissection of one at which he assisted, "enormous masses of yellow fat were found under the skin, which might have been converted into oil."⁴ But there can be no doubt

¹ *De Naturâ Animal.* lib. v. cap. 2.

² *εὐλαβή*. The edition of Olearius reads *ἀεὶ*, which is followed by Berwick, who translates it: "only to be contained in a glass vial,"—which is very forced and unnatural; besides, the former is used both by Ctesias and *Ælian*.—*Philostratus* *que sequuntur omnia*, Lipsiæ, 1762, fol. p. 92. Much the same property is ascribed to Greek-fire in the monkish lines quoted in *Cross's M. Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 388.

³ *Script. Vet.* by Dr. Schenkelberger, p. 68.

⁴ *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 61.

about alligator—or rather, when referring to India, crocodile—oil; for almost all the native works on *Materia Medica* notice it, and ascribe wonderful properties to it. Even in the crocodile's products live the wonted alarms which its natural voracity inspires. Happy the man in whose frail bark its oil, or fat, burns! Him will not assail the croak of frogs, when—

mali culices raneque palustres
Avertunt somnos.—*Horat.*

from those unhappy mortals not similarly provided.¹ Let it even be mixed with wax, let even the rains be the season of their operations, and their eternal croaking, while it may be distracting the ears of his next neighbours, is as inaudible to him as if he were in Seriphus or Sicendus.² Happy the he-goat on whose forehead it is rubbed! for he can put to flight all competitors. Happy the city which has its skin! for if drawn round the walls and suspended from the entrance gate, no hail will fall within it, or blast the tender crops of its inhabitants:³

neo illos
Expectata seges vanis eludet aristas.—*Georg.* i. 226.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that fire-arms of some kind were used in the early stages of Indian History; that the

¹ The Greeks attributed this miraculous effect to the burning of any lamp. Africanus says:

Βάτραχοι σιωπήσουσι κρίζοντες, εὖν λέχρον εἶψα θῆς πρὸς τὴν ἔχθην.

² See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. c. 58, and Tzetzes, *Chiliad*, 8.

³ *Tuhfat-ul Muminin*; see also Muhammad Husain's *Mukhtazan-i Adwiyah*, Hooghli edit. vol. i. p. 425.

The prescription in the text affords another curious coincidence between Asiatic and European superstitions. The value of the crocodile's skin in averting hail was well known to the Greeks and Romans, and the same mode of circuit and suspension was adopted.

Grandini creditur obviare, si quis crocodili pellem vel byæne vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat, et in villas aut cortis suspendat ingressu, cum malum viderit imminere.—Palladius, *De Re Rustica*, lib. i. tit. 35; *Cod. Justin.*, lib. ix. title 18, quoted in Hutchinson on *Witchcraft*, p. 202.

Again, an unknown author in the Geoponical Collection of Cassianus Bassus says:

Πάλιν εὖν ἐν τῷ χειρὶ περιεργῆς βάτης ἢ κροκοδείλου ἢ φάκης δέρμα, καὶ τούτο πρὸ πυλῶν τῆς δικήσεως ἀναρτήσης, εὖ πεσεῖται χάλαρα.—*Geoponicorum*, lib. i. cap. xiv.

⁴ From the annexed extract it will be seen that the subject has been discussed by the person most competent to illustrate it.

June 17.—Prof. Wilson in the chair.—The Director, Prof. Wilson, read to the Asiatic Society a paper written by himself, "On the Military Science of the Ancient

missiles were explosive; and that the time or mode of explosion was dependent on pleasure; that projectiles were used which were made to adhere to gates, buildings, and machines, setting fire to them from a considerable distance; that it is probable that saltpetre, the principal ingredient of gunpowder, and the cause of its detonation, entered into the composition, because the earth of Gangetic India is richly impregnated with it in a natural state of preparation, and it may be extracted from it by lixiviation and crystallization

Hindûs." The paper began with the observation, that although the Hindûs had always been inferior to their foreign invaders in practical warfare, they were probably superior to them in its theory. A supplementary portion of their Vedas, or Sacred Institutes, was devoted to the science of war, under the denomination of *Dhanus Veda*. This original treatise is probably lost; but many interesting particulars are derivable from the *Agni Purana*, the *Mahâbhârata*, and other of their standard works. The bow appears to have been their chief weapon (as is demonstrated by the word *dhanus* "a bow," in the name *Dhanus Veda*); but other missile arms, as the discs, javelins, short iron clubs, etc., were used. The troops were also generally armed with swords, maces, axes, and spears, and defended by helmets, quilted jackets, and coats of mail. Their armies were theoretically arranged in bodies of relative proportions, consisting of elephants, chariots, horse, and foot—the former being equal in number, and the latter in the proportion of three horsemen and five footmen for each chariot. The number of chariots and elephants is the great characteristic of Hindû warfare; and it is remarkable that in their heroic poems the heroes are generally represented as riding in a chariot, and never on a horse. In a few cases they are mentioned as coming to battle on an elephant; but in the course of time horses have entirely superseded chariots in India as in Britain, where the chariot once played so important a part in battle. The paper proceeded with a description of the various sorts of bows, arrows, and other weapons used by the ancient Hindûs. The question as to the knowledge of gunpowder, or any similar explosive substance, by the ancient people of India, said the Professor, is one of great historical interest. It is clear from their medical works that they were acquainted with the constituents of gunpowder, and possessed them in great abundance: and our acquaintance with their literature is as yet too imperfect to warrant a reply in the negative because we have not met with a positive account of the invention. Their writings make frequent reference to arms of fire; and rockets—which appear to be an Indian invention, though not mentioned by name in Sanskrit writings—had long been used in their armies when Europeans first came in contact with them. Tactics also were not omitted in Hindû military science. The division of the army into centre, flanks, wings, and reserve, is laid down; and rules for the order of march, the modes of overcoming obstacles, the choice of a position, and the different kinds of array, are given, and illustrated by quotations from the *Agni Purana*. The subject of encampment received attention; in illustration of which the paper concluded with a quotation from the *Mahâbhârata*, describing in considerable detail the pitching of Yudhishtira's camp upon a level and fertile spot on the banks of the Himavati, agreeably to the precepts laid down for the regulation of the practice.—*Athenæum*, July 2, 1848. [The paper of which this was a summary seems to have remained in MS.—Ed.]

without the aid of fire ; and that sulphur may, for the same reason, have been mixed with it, as it is abundant in the north-west of India.

This destructive agent appears to have fallen into disuse before we reach authentic history, and, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary, there seems reason to suppose that, at the time of the Muhammadan invasion, the only inflammable projectiles which were known were of a more simple nature, composed chiefly, if not entirely, of bituminous substances,—from naphtha, the most liquid, to asphaltum, the most solid of them,—and that, whether from cumbrousness or “ineffectual fires,” they were very rarely brought into action.

It is not to be gathered for certain that the natives of Southern India were superior in the use of artillery to the Portuguese on their first arrival ; but, even if they were, they might easily have acquired their skill from Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, with which during the period of Muhammadan supremacy there was constant communication ; so that there is nothing in the testimony of either native or foreign witnesses sufficiently positive to lead to the conclusion that, in modern times at least, the knowledge of fire-arms was indigenous in India, and antecedent to their use in Europe.

NOTE B.

'ABDU-L HAKK DEHLAWI.

THESE Extracts are from a treatise by 'Abdu-l Hakk Hakkí Dehlawi,' containing memoirs of certain famous philosophers and poets of Delhi, with notices of some of their writings, and a catalogue of the works composed by himself in Arabic and Persian, which was compiled in the reign of the Emperor Núru-d din Jahángir. Translated from a copy in the possession of Nawab Zíáu-d din Khán of Loháru by (Major) A. R. Fuller, Artillery.

EXTRACTS.

As soon as¹ these eternal lights, by reflecting the effulgent rays of Muhammad (on whom be the choicest of favours and the greatest of blessings!), illumined every quarter and corner of Hindústán, they shone on the metropolis of Delhi also, which is the centre of the circle of sanctity and holiness, and the true tabernacle of faith and religion. For a vast host and multitude of all classes of men professing the creed of Islám, and consisting of august *sháikhs*, learned sages, and eloquent orators, repaired to this city from all quarters of the globe, both from Arabia and Persia, and took up their illustrious residence in it. They then enlightened and civilized with the lustre of religion and wisdom all parts and bounds of this realm, which had previously been shrouded and enveloped in the gloom of paganism and ignorance.

The writer of these lines (may the Lord preserve his fortunes from calamity and disaster!) introduced memoirs of Kings and

¹ [The title of the work is not given. But it is evidently a distinct work, and not a portion of the same author's history. The note, *supra*, page 151, is therefore not quite accurate.]

² Referring to the men of eminent sanctity and learning who immediately succeeded the Prophet.

nobles into his history of this realm, which is a work entitled *Zikru-l Mulúk* (The Chronicle of Kings), and abounds with historical matter; while he gave a full account of virtuous *shaiikhs* in his book called *Akhháru-l Akhyár* (Reminiscences of the Good), which is stamped with the brand of publicity and renown. After fully making up his mind, however, he was unable to write the memoirs of the best of the philosophers and poets, notwithstanding that they were numerous enough, inasmuch as scarce a trace remained of their names and lineage, and hardly any vestiges of their compositions were extant. * * * Nevertheless, there are some few whose names are mentioned, and whose literary labours are quoted and described. One of those learned men, who flourished in the august age of Sultán Násiru-d dín, the son of Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh (may the Lord brighten his judgment!), whom they style Sultán Nasíru-d dín Ghází, was Kází Minháj Júzjání, the compiler of the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, a history dedicated to the aforesaid monarch, which he wrote and left behind as a monument of his genius. Although he had not a perfect mastery over the art of pure and elegant writing, yet his style, from its brevity and conciseness, was not wanting in the requisites of boldness and vigour. A few of the particulars regarding him, detailed in the memoirs of the aforesaid shaiikhs, are given in the *Akhháru-l Akhyár*, and may God's mercy be upon him!

Another one was Zíá Barní, the author of the *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhi*, who continued the history from the commencement of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban's reign, where the *Tabakát-i Násiri* leaves off, down to the occurrences of the seventh year of Fíroz Sháh; besides which, he wrote other works and treatises as well. He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizámu-d dín Aulia's (may the Lord sanctify his tomb!), and in the *Akhháru-l Akhyár* some of his sayings and doings are also recorded (God have mercy upon him!). After him came another individual, who wrote all the rest of the annals of Sultán Fíroz's reign, as well as those of the Gujarát sovereigns, under the title of *Tárikh-i Bahádur Sháhi*.

Tárikh-i Muhawmadi is likewise the name of an historical work that somebody composed, and the *Siráj-i 'Afif*¹ is another. One of

¹ [The *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhi*, of Shams-i Siráj 'Afif, *supra*, Vol. III. p. 269.]

those who are famous for their literary efforts, both in prose and verse, is Zia Nakhshabi, who lived in Badáún. Although his works scarcely possess merit enough to make them worthy of remark, yet as he was a man who had retired into the nook of asceticism and solitude, he was callous to the world's praise or blame, acceptance or refusal, and confidence or mistrust, and gave free vent to his own opinions. Mention has been made of him likewise in the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*, and a few extracts from the *Silk-i Salák*, which, of all his publications that touch upon the sentiments of this class of mankind, is, to my mind, the most pleasing, have been introduced. There was also a person in Badáún called Shaháb Mahmarah, of whom mention has been made in Amír Khusrú's poems, where he says, "It cast a tremor over Shaháb Mahmarah's grave," from which it is evident that the individual in question had formerly flourished, though at the present time none of his works are extant.

Táj Rezah, too, was an inferior poet, who cultivated his talents under the tuition of Shamsu-l Mulk, who was *Sadr* (Prime Minister) in the time of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. Most of the learned men of that age, indeed, studied under this individual, and even Shaikh Nizámu-d dín Auliá (may the Lord purify his tomb!), in the course of his education, read the *Makámat-i Harfí* with him, and has said in his writings:—

"Now the *Sadr* has succeeded according to the best wishes of his friends,
For he has become prime minister of the realms of Hindústán."

During the time of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Dehlí was the great rendezvous for all the most learned and erudite personages; for, notwithstanding the pride and hauteur, the neglect and superciliousness, and the want of kindness and cordiality, with which that monarch treated this class of people, the spirit of the age remained the same.

Among the philosophers and poets of those times, the cleverest and most renowned were Mir Hasan and Mir Khusrú (on both of whom be mercy and forgiveness!). Mir Khusrú, however, is the Prince of Poets and the First among Philosophers, for he was one of those steeped in spiritual wisdom, and such skill as he possessed in every kind and manner of literary composition, both in the use of ordinary or unusual phraseology, and of plain or dubious

terms, has seldom been allotted to any one. He wrote a great many verses, but made no choice selection from them; and he compiled and arranged several *diwáns* (books of odes). With respect to the aggregate number of his own verses, he made this mirthful remark by way of a puzzle and enigma: "My verses are fewer than 400,000, but upwards of 300,000." As for Mír Hasan, although he has written but little poetry, yet what he has written is musical and pleasing. The illustrious Shaikh's opinion, however, respecting the difference between their two styles, is sufficient; for he declared that our Khusrú is the salt ocean, and Hasan a sweet stream.

After the close of 'Alá's reign, the high standard of wisdom and erudition began to sink to an inferior level, and literature assumed quite another complexion; for, although Sultán Muhammad Tughlik fully appreciated all sorts of learning, yet there was not such a number of learned men flourishing in his time as had congregated together under 'Aláu-d din's rule.

One of the most famous sages and philosophers of the city was Mauláná Muaiyyanu-d din 'Umrání, the author of sound and instructive commentaries on the *Kanz*, *Minár*, *Ilusámí*, *Talkhís*, and *Mifnah*. Sultán Muhammad despatched him to Shiráz with an invitation for Kázi 'Azdu-l Millat wa-d din Alíchí, and a request that the latter would prepare and publish a suitable work (or the work called *Muákif*), dedicated to his royal person. As soon as Mauláná reached the Kázi's dwelling, he began persuading him to an excursion into Hindústán, and acquainted him with all that Sultán Muhammad required of him; whereupon the monarch of that period called upon Kázi 'Azd, and made him an offering of the whole realm and sovereignty. The Kázi, therefore, in obedience to the dictates of modesty and sound sense, dismissed the idea of travelling to Hindústán from his mind, and resolved upon remaining at the court of his own monarch.

In the reign of Sultán Firoz, also, there were many sages, philosophers and lawyers, who held a place on the throne of study and erudition; and *Tátár Khání*, which is a lengthy and copious work on law and religion, was composed in the time of that auspicious monarch, and dedicated to Tátár Khán, one of his chief officers of

state, by the author Mauláná 'Alim Andapathí. This Tátár Khán, however, in whose name the work in question is published, is said by some to have been one of 'Alá(u-d din)'s nobles, but God only knows if such be the case. One of the learned men of Fíroz Sháh's time was Mauláná Khwájagí, the preceptor of Kázi Shahábu-d din Daulatábádí. Mauláná Ahmad Thúnesári and Kázi 'Abdu-l Muktadir Shaníhí were also distinguished literary characters of that period; and the latter, besides possessing vast knowledge, could compose excellent poetry, his Arabic verses being even superior to his Persian. The most talented and clever authors of Persia and Arabia having agreed upon trying to write something equal to the *Lámiat-ul 'Ajam*, which is a celebrated elegy, he also made an attempt to rival it, and came out of the trial with great *éclat*. Mauláná Ahmad Thúnesári likewise wrote poetry in the Arabic language, and his noble elegies, the whole of which are copied into the *Alkháru-l Akhyár*, bear convincing testimony to his eminent talents and genius. Subsequently to the auspicious time of Fíroz Sháh, whom they call the last of the sovereigns of Hind, inasmuch as after him the monarchy of this country came to an end, and, like as in the neighbouring kingdoms, an independent ruler sprung up in every district. During Sultán Ibrahim Sharkí's time, a prince who ruled in the direction of Jaunpúr, there flourished Kázi Shahábu-d din Záwálí Daulatábádí, who is both a shining star and a brilliant luminary of this realm. He used to be called the "King of Sages" by his contemporaries; for although there were many more learned men in existence at that time, yet none of them enjoyed the popularity and fame that he had acquired. He is the author of several works that have been stamped with the die of general favour and celebrity, such as *Hawásh Káfak*, which is the cleverest of his writings, *Irshád*, *Badis-l Bayán*, etc. He has also written an unfinished commentary on the *Parkhánu*, and an exposition in Persian entitled *Dátr-i Mawáij*. But in preserving the due rhythm of his sentences, he exhibits laborious exertion; and to that end has made use of many awkward and inapplicable words and expressions. With the exception of this drawback, however, it is a useful and profitable book, and well adapted for affording enlightenment and instruction.

After Kází Shahábu-dín's demise, Maulána Shaikhu-l Hadád Jaunpúrí, who was a pious and unaffected divine, began plying his pen in literary composition. He made notes to the Kází's Commentaries, and further wrote expositions of the *Hidáyah*, *Madárik*, and *Pazhdánt*, though his questions are evidently more powerful than the replies. Many more people of that country likewise made notes on the Kází's Commentary; but in comparison with them, those of Miánu-l Hadád are much clearer and more pertinent. The literati of that country paid no attention to the subjects of grammar, syntax and scriptural law, together with its rudiments; while as for the other reasoning sciences, they were seldom or rarely studied, and became as it were totally extinct. One of the poets of Sultán Fíroz's reign, or even of an earlier period than that, was Muttahar Kurrah, whose style is by no means wanting in grace and elegance. He is the author of a *diwán* (collection of odes), and several elegies, the latter of which are extremely scarce, and in fact not to be procured anywhere in the present day. In the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár* are introduced several lines of his description of Shaikh Nasíru-dín Mahmúd, may the Lord sanctify his tomb!

Within the same brief period of time, too, there lived an individual called Mughís Hánsavi, who held a high position in the literary world from his discourses on practical and metaphysical subjects. He is the author of a treatise, which enjoys no great publicity, however, and mention of him has been made in the notices of Shaikh Nasíru-dín Mahmúd's life.

Another one was Zahir Dehlawí, to whom Shaikh Jamáli used to apply the epithet of Zahir, on account of the want of freshness in his style. This same Shaikh Jamáli, in the time of Sultán Sikandar Lodi, and Nasíru-dín Humáyún Bádsháh, ranked among the chief nobles of the city. He is the author of a *diwán*, which comprises both elegies and odes, as well as of a *masnaví* (book of moral doctrine in verse) entitled *Míhr-o-Mah* (Sun and Moon). After him, his son displayed eminent genius and a cultivated understanding, and had he lived in the present times, would undoubtedly have been the paragon of the age in poetry. They say that he wrote a history, which was compiled and published under the patronage of Salím

Shāh, but it is not now extant. In later times, just before the present age, the writer's father, Shaikh Saifu-d din, flourished, who used to bear the literary soubriquet of Saifi, and was distinguished among his contemporaries in Hindústán for the perspicuity of his style and the elegance of his diction. The shock that your humble servant endured on that august individual's demise is ably portrayed in the lines which Amír Khusrú indited, as his father's funeral dirge.

"The sword has passed over my head, and my heart is left split in two;
The running stream has flowed by, and the orphan pearl remains behind."¹

He owns several treatises on the subject of theology and the Unity of God, and his verses were very numerous, insomuch, that had he been bent on collecting and publishing them, they would have made up a complete *diwán*. The carelessness and indifference of his disposition to the compliments of popularity, however, made him pay no heed to the matter; for his mind was absorbed in the contemplation of eternity and the Unity of God. A few of the events of his life are given at the conclusion of the *Akkáru-i Akhyár*, from whence the true scope of his genius can be detected, of which it is otherwise impossible to gain an idea.

Your humble servant's illustrious uncle, too, who owned the literary soubriquet of Shaikh Rizk'u-lla, was one of the wonders of the age, a perfect and upright character, and a follower of the right road. He was also an ardent votary of love and devotion, and wrote some very pleasing things both in Persian and Hindí; his compositions in the latter language having gained considerable celebrity. The *Tárikh-i Wak'áti-i Mushtáki*, containing the adventures of Sulţán Bahául Lodi and others, is also by him; for in Persian he uses the soubriquet of Mushtáki, and in Hindí that of Rágan to write under.

Mauláná Hasan Nakshí, Shaikh Táju-d din, and Mauláná 'Alí Ahmad Nisháni, were also numbered among the sages, poets, and saints of that period (may the mercy of God rest on them all!). Besides these, there were many more learned and talented men, as well as poets, both in this and other cities of Hindústán, a detailed

¹ There is a play on the Persian word *Saif* in this line. The verse may be also translated: "Saif has passed away from my society, and my heart is therefore covered in tears." The term "orphan," as applied to a pearl, signifies a very large and handsome one.

account of whom would lead to prolixity; whereas the object at present in view is to furnish a memoir of those deceased authors only who have left some work or remains behind them, and not to quote merely a host of names and persons.

One of these, who within a very recent period has opened his lips in poetry, and reached the highest standard of literary merit, is Faizí of Ágra, so eminently distinguished for the graceful ease and fervid eloquence of his periods; but, alas! that he should have drawn censure, obloquy, and misfortune on himself through sinking into the abyss of error and infidelity, for now all men of piety and religion, and all friends and supporters of the apostolic faith, refrain from ever uttering his name or speaking of his accursed clique (may the Lord have patience with them, if they be true believers!).

Among the blessings, too, of which the good fortune of people in these times announces glad tidings, as a favour for which it is incumbent on all impartial and liberal characters to return thanks, is the auspicious child, the light of the eye of wisdom and intelligence, Núru-l Hakk, commonly called Mashriki; for the effulgent luminary of his talent and learning in each of the two paths of literature and erudition has almost reached the zenith of the firmament of excellence and maturity. I feel convinced that if he were to direct his attention to the matter, and, after the manner of the poets of the present age, were to apply his energies night and day to practising composition, and brooding over poetry, he could both imitate and rival the five standard works of Nizámi and of Khusrú. His time and attention, however, being entirely devoted to the departments of science, virtue, and essential religion, they will not admit of his applying himself to poetry after the manner of poets. May the Sublime and Noble Protector preserve the star of his prosperity and good fortune from sinking into obscurity! The beloved child, Muhammad Hásham, likewise, is a good imitator and follower of his brother in the acquisition of science and virtue; and his innate disposition is eminently distinguished for its liberality, soundness and vigour, both in theory and practice, and more especially in the knowledge of the scriptural law, and traditions. May God, the helper of mankind, aid him in attaining his object! • • •

(The author then enters into a fabulous dialogue with his pen, at whose urgent request he eventually proceeds to give an account of himself and his writings.)

A brief memoir of your humble servant is contained in the following paragraph: The poet Hakkí, who roams a wanderer over the road of humility and superiority, was a crazy fellow, who, under the influence of companionship with the wise, according to the adage, "Madness delights in the sciences," exerted himself for some time in mastering and acquiring the sciences; but ultimately, in verification of the saying, "The sciences produce madness," finding his capacity unequal to the task, he gave way altogether to madness. • • •

(The pen next requests him to give some particulars of the lives of godly and pious men, to which he replies thus:)

A detailed account of them also is introduced in certain places; the commencement of the narrative being at the conclusion of the *Alhbáru-l Akhyár*, which contains the memoirs of the *sháikhs* of this country; the middle portion in the *Jazba-l Kulúb*, which is a history of the glorious city (Medina); and the finale in the *Záru-l Mutakiyín*, which gives the lives of the *sháikhs* at the two holy shrines. However, I will produce a summary of these particulars in a brief style, as well as some of the things that have not been recorded and set down in that book, in order that by these memoirs the main object in view, which is the enumerating and classifying of my writings, may be faithfully accomplished and carried into execution. • • •

(The author next speaks of the progress he made in his studies during his youth, and of his pilgrimage to Mecca, with the immense intellectual profit he gained from it; after which he thus continues:)

The works which are about to be enumerated were all composed subsequently to my return from this auspicious journey, with the exception of the *Alhbáru-l Akhyár*, the *Adábu-s Silikis*, and one or two more treatises on grammar and logic, the rough copies of which were written previously, during the period of my education, but were only finally corrected and methodically arranged some time subsequently. Now, after bringing forward the said works, I shall conclude my dissertation; and as a separate treatise on their

names, entitled *Tálif-i Kalbi-l Alif-ba-kitábati Fihristi-t Tawálf*, has been already written, I shall copy them in the same fashion. These books and treatises, moreover, being in different languages, some in Arabic, and a few in Persian, the descriptions of the former have also been given in Arabic, and those of the latter in Persian.

(He then commences a descriptive catalogue of his writings.)

Tárikh-i Saláti-i Hind (History of the Sovereigns of India). The original copy consisted of 3000 verses; but after adding the annals of the princes who ruled in all the various quarters of this country, which had been omitted in the former collection, it amounted to somewhat more than 4000, and became known by the title of *Chronicle of Kings* (*Zikr-i Mulúk*), which is his principal historical work. * * *

Risálah Núriyah Sultániyah (The Glorious Imperial Volume), which treats of the regulations of government, its statutes and institutions, the ways and means of its just administration, and the conduct and management of its important affairs, is embellished with the august name¹ of the Emperor of the Time and Monarch of the Age (may the Lord ever keep his kingdom and sovereignty in prosperity, and augment his power and glory!), and consists of nearly 1000 verses. * * *

The sixty-second work, *Talabu-n Núr* (Search after Light), describing the incidents of the Lahore journey. * * *

¹ The monarch alluded to is the Emperor Núru-d din Jahángír, son of the Emperor Akbar.

NOTE C.

INSTITUTES OF JAHANGIR.¹

THESE Institutes have been highly lauded by the Emperor's admirers. Let us see how far he is entitled to praise, either for their original promulgation or personal observance.

First.

I forbid the levy of any duties under the name of *tamghá* and *mír bahrí*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *júgirdárs* of every *súba* and every *sarkár* had been in the habit of exacting on their own account.

Commentary.

This casts an ungenerous reflection on the administration of his father, who had been equally stringent in his prohibitions, both with respect to *tamghá*² and *mír bahrí*.³ Bábar had been equally imperative with regard to *tamghá* from Musulmáns—"Orders have been given that in no city, or town, or road, or street, or passage, or port, should the *tamghá* be levied."⁴

"His Majesty Akbar, from the excess of his beneficence, has remitted duties in this department that equalled the revenues of a kingdom. Nothing is now exacted upon exports and imports, except a trifle taken at the ports, which never exceeds two and a half per

¹ [This is the work of Sir H. M. Elliot. The translations of the Institutes, *suprà* p. 284, were made independently of those here given.]

² Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 407.

³ Gladwin's *Asiatick Researches*, vol. i. pp. 288, 309.

⁴ See the enactment at length in Erskine's *Memoirs of Bábar*, pp. 355-7. These perpetual repetitions of the same edicts show either the very weak authority of the original promulgators, or the vain-glory of their descendants, in assuming to themselves credit to which they were not entitled.

cent. Merchants account this reduction a perfect remission."¹ It will be seen from one of the extracts given above that Jahāngir's total reduction also implied a levy of two and a half per cent.²

"Mukrab Khān (Viceroy of Cambaya, who had no command in Surat except what regarded the King's customs), to get possession of my goods, took what he chose, and left what he pleased, giving me such price as his own barbarous conscience dictated; when thirty-five was agreed, giving me only eighteen."³

"All caravans must remain at Multan ten or twelve days, before leave can be procured from the governor to proceed, on purpose that the city may benefit by their stay. We remained five days, and were then glad to get leave to depart, by means of a present."⁴

"I found that the English who were settled at Ahmadābād were injured and oppressed by the governor in their persons and goods, being fined, subjected to arbitrary exactions, and kept as prisoners; while at every town new customs were demanded for their goods on their passage to the port."⁵

Second.

I enjoined that on the line of those roads which were infested by highway robbers, a *sarāf* and a *masjid* should be built on the most deserted spots, and that a well should be sunk in order that the country might be reclaimed, and a few people be induced to reside there. Where these occurred on *jāgir* lands, the *jāgirdārs* were to complete the arrangements at their own expense; but on *khālsa* land, the Government undertook the work.

Commentary.

This was considerate towards the *jāgirdārs*, and must have considerably diminished the value of the tenures which in the tenth Institute he says he confirmed to the holders of his father's time. At a later

¹ Gladwin's *Asiatick*, vol. i. p. 233.

² *Supra*, pp. 291, 354.

³ Capt. Hawkins's narrative in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 208.

⁴ Journey of R. Steel and J. Crowther, *ib.* p. 521.

⁵ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 264.

period, even on the more populous routes, the Government relieved itself of this burden on the *khāsa* lands, and placed it on the shoulders of the unfortunate landholders.¹ This erection of *sarāis* must have been proceeded with very generally before his time, for Sher Shāh and Salim Shāh are represented to have done the same at shorter distances than those contemplated by Jahāngir.²

"Sir R. Shirley remained at Thatta till a fit opportunity offered of proceeding to Agra, where he went at last, finding the way long and tedious, and much infested by thieves."³

His father also had directed the same. His orders to the *sipāh-sāldār* are: "He must give attention to the digging of reservoirs, wells, and watercourses; to the planting of gardens; to the erecting *sarāis* and other pious and useful foundations; and see that such as have fallen into decay be repaired."⁴

"In this kingdom there are no inns or houses of entertainment for travellers and strangers. But in the *cities* and *large towns* there are handsome buildings for their reception called *sarāis*."⁵ These also appear to be the work of private individuals. "Many Hindús devote their fortunes to works of charity, as in building *sarāis*, digging wells, or constructing tanks near highways."⁶

The arrangement must have fallen heavily upon the Exchequer if we are to judge of the state of the police as drawn by our travellers. "The country is now so full of thieves and outlaws, that one can hardly stir out of doors in any part of his dominions without a guard, as almost the whole people are in rebellion."⁷ "I waited during the remainder of that month for the arrival of a caravan, going from Agra to Srat, by which I might transmit my papers in safety."⁸ Of one of the most frequented roads it is said, "Cambaya is thirty-eight *kos* from Ahmadābād, by a road through sands and woods much infested by thieves."⁹ "I was plundered on the way of my

¹ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 90.

² See Extract from the *Tārīkh-i-Badshāhī*, *sup.* Vol. V.

³ Capt. Walter Peyton, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 530.

⁴ Gladwin's *Asiatick*, vol. i. p. 297.

⁵ The Rev. E. Terry, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1470.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 1475.

⁷ Narrative of William Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. I. p. 230.

⁸ Sir T. Roe, in Koor's *Col. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 320.

⁹ Observations of William Finch, Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. I. p. 230.

clothes, and everything else about me. * * One may travel as soon from Agra to Scinde as to Surat, but there is more thieving on the Scinde road."¹ Even on the famous high road from Agra to Lahore, which was planted on both sides with mulberry trees, Richard Steel and John Crowther observe: "In the night this road is dangerously infested with thieves, but is quite secure in the day."² In such days as those, therefore, *saráis* must have been built, or there could have been no travelling or trade.

Third.

No person shall open any package of merchandize on the road, without express permission of the proprietor. Throughout the empire no officer of Government shall claim the property of any deceased Infidel or Musulmán; his whole estate, real and personal, descending to his heirs solely. If there be no heirs, then officers specially appointed for the purpose shall take charge of the effects, and the produce thereof shall be applied to the building of *saráis*, repairing bridges, and digging tanks and wells.

Commentary.

The descent to heirs is a mere repetition of Tímúr's Institute;³ but how little it was acted upon may be seen by reference to the history of Jahángir's grandson, Aurangzeb, who again abolishes the same custom of confiscating the estates of deceased subjects, which he says was constantly practised by his predecessors.⁴

"Daulat Khán was the chief of the eunuchs of my father's seraglio, and obtained in this employment the title of Náziru-daula. Of this man I will venture to say, that in the receipt of bribes, and his disregard of every principle of duty, there was not his second in the empire. In specie alone he left at his death no less a sum than ten *krors* of *ashrefes* of five *methkals*, exclusive of

¹ Nicholas Whittington, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 131.

² Journey from Ajmir to Ispahan, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 520.

³ Davy and White, *Institutes of Tímúr*, p. 373.

⁴ *Mírátu-l'Álam*.

jewels, etc., to the value of three *krors* more (120 millions sterling!), the whole of which became an accession to my father's treasury."¹

His father's order was still more liberal. "Let him look after the effects of deceased persons, and give them up to the relations or heirs of such; but if there be none to claim the property let him place it in security, sending at the same time an account of such to Court, so that, when the true heir appears, he may obtain the same. In fine, let him act conscientiously and virtuously in this matter, lest it should be the same here as in the kingdom of Constantinople."²

In the towns there appears to have been less scruple about opening packages of merchandize. The inhabitants of Lahore were directed to afford every assistance towards rendering the reception of the Prince as magnificent as possible, by decorating the streets and bazars with gold-woven carpets, figured draperies or tapestry, both European and Chinese, and canopies also of cloth-of-gold, both within and without the city, to the distance of nearly four *kos*. All this the *kotwal* was to keep in readiness for the space of four or five days.³

"The custom of the Mogul is to take possession of all the treasure belonging to his nobles when they die, giving among the children what he pleases, but he usually treats them kindly. In my time, Rájá Gaginat, a great lord or prince among the idolators, died, when, his effects being seized to the King's use, besides jewels, silver, and other valuables, his treasure in gold only amounted to sixty *mans*, every *man* being twenty-five pounds weight."⁴

"The preceding night, at the Guzalean, the jewels of Shaikh Farid, governor of Lahore, who was lately deceased, were presented to him."⁵

"This I supposed to allude to his servant Hergonen, lately dead, whose goods had been seized to the King's use."⁶

¹ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 34. As Daulat Khan died in the seventh year of Jahangir's reign, this enormous property of a deceased Muslimán must have fallen into the son's instead of the father's treasury. See Kewal Rám's *Tazkiratul Umard* (M.S. fol. 65 v.).

² Bird's *History of Turan*, p. 403, and Gladwin's *Si-yun-i-Akbari*, vol. i. p. 302.

³ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 136.

⁴ Narrative by William Hawkins in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 220.

⁵ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 263.

⁶ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 266.

"No subject of this empire holds any lands by inheritance, neither have they any titles but such as depend on the will of the King. Owing to this, many of the grandees live up fully to the extent of their means. Merchants also, and others, are very careful to conceal their wealth, lest they be made sponges. Some small means of living are allowed by the King to the sons of his great men, which they can never make better, unless they succeed to the favour enjoyed by their fathers."¹

"The seaports and the customs were full of gross abuses, the governor seizing on goods at arbitrary prices. Even Roe, though otherwise treated with hospitality and respect, had his baggage searched and some articles taken by the governor."² His own words are: "We continued there to the 30th October, suffering much vexation from the governor, who forcibly caused search many of our chests and trunks, taking away what he thought fit."³

"The Prince had intercepted the presents and goods on their way up, to satisfy his own base and greedy inclinations. * * It is the custom in this country, for the great men to see all merchant goods before even the King, that they may choose first."⁴

"During this interval the King had caused the chests to be privately brought to him, and had opened them."⁵ "He opened the cabinet, and sent for the *padre* to read the letter, and to see everything contained in the boxes; but finding nothing to his liking, he returned all."⁶

"I said, that if our goods continued to be taken from us by force, so that we could neither get back our goods, nor yet their value in money, it would be impossible for us to subsist. This was delivered with some heat, and the King, catching at the word *force*, repeated it to his son, whom he sharply reprehended. The Prince promised to see me paid for all that had been taken. He said likewise that he had taken nothing, having only caused the presents to be sealed;

¹ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 414.

² Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 323.

³ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 255.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 327.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 329.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 341.

and, as his officers had received no customs on these, he desired to have them opened in his presence."¹

"This humiliating personal search was a system favoured by the local authorities, along with an unscrupulous examination into luggage, by means of which they obtained valuable articles at indifferent prices; and their subordinates did not allow such opportunities to escape without the appearance of gold, or what was deemed by them equally substantial. Choice, and taste, and cupidity, were at work on these occasions, and all the older travellers complain of this unhappy means of extortion."²

"In one case he seized on a convoy coming to the ambassador from Surat, and consisting of presents intended for himself and his court, together with the property of some merchants who took advantage of the escort: he rummaged the packages himself with childish curiosity; and had recourse to the meanest apologies to appease and cajole Roe, who was much provoked at this disregard of common honesty."³

"The collection of *jehat*, which brought in an annual revenue of several *krors* of *dams*, had before been remitted throughout the empire in confirmation of a regulation made by the late Emperor. Jahangir now abolished the *sayerjehat* in Kabul, which produced annually one *krors* and twenty-three *lacs* of *dams*. When the *jehat* was collected, it fell very heavy in Kabul and Kandahar, and the abolition of that tax with the annual remission of the *sayerjehat* were great encouragements for the merchants of Iran and Turan to carry on a trade in those parts that was very advantageous to Hindustan."⁴

Fourth.

No person is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor which occasions inebriety; though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing, and from my eighteenth year until now,

¹ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Voyages*, vol. ix. p. 361.

² Briggs's *Cities of Gujarastra*, p. 63.

³ Prynstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 328.

⁴ Cluavin, p. 101.

which is my thirty-eighth, have always taken it. In the beginning, when I was devoted to the practice, I used to take from fifteen to twenty cups of double-distilled spirit. By degrees, when this began to have a visible effect upon my constitution, I determined to reduce the quantity till I attained a mean of only six or seven. The times at which I used to indulge in my cups also differed: sometimes it was in the afternoon, sometimes at night, sometimes in the daytime, till I reached my thirtieth year. From that time I have taken wine only at night, and at this present period I drink it solely to promote digestion.¹

Commentary.

“The religion of the Christians was agreeable to him, chiefly on account of the license which it affords for the use of wine, and the flesh of all kinds of animals. This was the only view which he took of it. That spirit of patience, humility, charity, and temperance, which is the soul of Christianity, was never a subject on which he reflected. With prepossessions founded on such impure motives, did he declare himself openly in favour of the Christians, and violate, without scruple, the law of Mahomet. He drank wine in the face of his whole Court.”²

“Four or five cases of red wine should be sent as presents to the King and Prince, as never were men more enamoured of that drink as these two, and which they would more highly esteem than all the jewels in Chepeside.”³

“At the time Hemayun went upon an expedition against Ranna Sanka, he made a vow, that if he gained a victory over the infidels, he would ever after abstain entirely from the use of wine. Shah-jehan was determined to excel his grandfather, by making an offering previous to the victory. He accordingly ordered that all the wine in the camp should immediately be started into the river.”⁴

“The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them

¹ [See Jahāngir's additional statement, *supra*, p. 311.]

² Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 133.

³ Sir T. Roe's *Travels*.

⁴ Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 52.

remaining sober, except Sir Thomas and a few other grave personages, who were cautious in their indulgence. Jahángir himself never left off till he dropped asleep, when the lights were extinguished, and the company withdrew. On these occasions he was overflowing with kindness, which increased with the effects of the wine; and once, after talking with great liberality of all religions, he fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight."¹

"It was more particularly during the night that the King gave himself up to intoxication, in the society of his friends. All the Franks in Agra, that is, all Europeans of whatsoever nation, were allowed free access to the palace. He continued drinking in their company till the return of day; and he abandoned himself, especially, to these midnight debaucheries, at the season which the Mahometans observe as a fast with the most scrupulous exactness. When some of his nation of rather rigid principles happened to be present at these meetings, he compelled them to violate their fast, threatening them, in case of disobedience, with being abandoned to the rage of two lions, who were kept always chained under the windows of his apartments."²

"Mocurrab Khan now joining them, was permitted also to mount the elephant, but not till after he had received a wound from one of the Rajpoots. Kidmit Pirest, Jahangir's cup-bearer, scrambled up too, with a bottle and glass, and was crowded into the howdah with the Emperor."³

"He then goes into a private room, where for two years I was one of his attendants; and there he drinks five other cups of strong liquor. This done, he chews opium, and, being intoxicated, he goes to sleep."⁴

"So, drinking heartily himself, and commanding others to drink, he and his nobles became as jovial as could be, and of a thousand humours."⁵

¹ Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 325.

² Castron's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 139.

³ Gaden's *Key of Jahangir*, p. 61.

⁴ Narrative by W. H. Khan, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i.

⁵ See T. Esq. in Kerr's *Col. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. p. 200.

"The King returned to the city on the evening of the 25th, having been far gone in wine the night before."¹

"One day, that Jahángir happened to be recreating himself, attended by the musicians and female dancers of his palace, he exceeded the nine goblets to which he had been restricted by Núr Jahán. The Queen remonstrated, but the Emperor turned a deaf ear to her complaint, and carried his indulgence to the extent of intoxication."²

"The very day which he had appointed for dismissing the Queen, Mahábat inquired what he could do to afford him pleasure. 'Give me the Sultanness, and wine,' replied the Emperor. The generous minister refused him both. Wine, on account of his attachment to the law of Mahomet; and the Sultanness, lest she should succeed in destroying that returning reason, with which he had begun to inspire the Mogul."³

"He often disappeared in the evening from the palace, and dived into obscure punch-houses, to pass some hours in drinking and talking with the lower sort. Being in the hall of audience accessible to all ranks of men, after the performance of the usual ceremonies, he was often known in his nocturnal excursions. He often desired his companions at the bowl to ask no favours of him, lest Salim, in his cups, might promise what Jahangir, in his sober senses, would not choose to perform. When the liquor began to inflame him, he was rather mad than intoxicated."⁴

"He now took a decided aversion to opium, which had been his constant companion for forty years, and took nothing but the juice of the grape."⁵

"On the 8th I found the King so nearly drunk, that he became entirely so in half an hour, so that I could not have any business with him. . . . All business being conducted at night, in the *guzalcau*, and then the opportunity is often missed, His Majesty being so frequently overcome by drowsiness proceeding from drunkenness."⁶

¹ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 307; see also p. 321.

² Catron's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 146.

³ *Ibid.* p. 153.

⁴ Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 108.

⁵ Muhammad Hádi, *Continuation of Memoirs*, Julás 22nd.

⁶ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 321.

"Wine-houses, since the days of Akbar, had been tolerated in the capital. The Emperor took a seat near an artisan, who was drinking with great gaiety, and, inspired with the wine, was disposed to indulge his vocal talents. Jahangir was delighted to find himself in such pleasant society. A familiarity was soon established between them, and the artisan was particularly charmed with the liberality of the new guest, who paid the entire score, and made him drink deep."¹

Fizh.

I declared that no one had a right to take up his abode in the dwelling of any other man. I prohibited magistrates from cutting off the noses and ears of culprits, whatever might have been their offence; and I myself made a vow to heaven that I would not inflict that punishment on any one.

Commentary.

"I then gave orders that the palace of Mohábat Khán should be cleared for the reception of Parwez; the Khán being absent at the time, employed in quelling some disturbances on the frontiers of Kábul, and his family being, by my directions, removed to another place of residence."²

This was no new prohibition. It had been issued by his father: "Have a care that no soldiers or others enter in any one's house without his permission." Mutilation was prohibited in the 6th clause of the same edict;³ and this prohibition does not appear to have had much effect, for he again has to repeat it in the sixth year of his reign.

He did not care so much for the poor man's dwelling, when he chose to burn whole cities. Sir T. Roe says: "Necessity enforced me to remove, as the King had set fire to the whole *leshkar* at Agimera. The town was burnt, and utterly desolate; and I was in

¹ Catron's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 158.

² Prier's *Memoirs*, p. 122.

³ Bud's *History of Gujarat*, pp. 391, 394.

great danger from thieves." Again: "The King caused the town near which he was encamped to be set on fire, appointing a new governor."¹ "The poor forsook the city of Mandu; many more were commanded away by proclamation."²

With respect to mutilations. Though noses and ears might not have been cut off, other more barbarous torments were commonly practised; and we are reminded of the Circumcellions, who used to beat their victims to death with huge clubs, *because* Christ had forbidden the use of the sword to St. Peter;³ and Daulat Rao Sindia, who, on the plea of abstaining from taking the blood of Brāhmans, used to blow them up with rockets.⁴

"I accomplished about this period the suppression of a tribe of robbers, who had long infested the roads about Agra; and whom, getting into my power, I caused to be trampled to death by elephants."⁵

"The sons of Bhagwandas received the rewards of their perfidious deeds, having their heads crushed under the feet of my elephants, and being thus despatched to the hell prepared for them."⁶

He ordered a thief to be trampled to death by an elephant; and, at the culprit's request, allowed him instead to fight with the elephant. Upon being successful, he was rewarded; but for subsequently making his escape, he was hanged.⁷

"The King commanded one of his brother's sons to touch a lion on the head. But he refused it, being afraid; on which the King desired his youngest son to touch the lion, which he did, without receiving any harm. On this the King commanded his nephew to be taken to prison, whence he is never likely again to be released."⁸

"In the most inaccessible parts of Gujarat lived a race of men, known by the name of Koolies, who exercised perpetual depredations and cruelties upon the inhabitants of the open and cultivated

¹ Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. pp. 317, 325.

² *Ibid.* p. 335.

³ Milman, vol. ii. p. 377.

⁴ Noble's *Orientalist*, p. 175.

⁵ Price's *Memoirs*, p. 34.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 37.

⁷ See Extracts from *Memoirs of the eleventh year of the reign* [*Suprd.*, p. 346.]

⁸ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 275.

districts. The enormities of these people had lately risen to an extraordinary height, when Jahāngir issued a sanguinary order for the utter extirpation of the race. Many were slaughtered; the rest hunted to their mountains and deserts."¹

"Since that time he has caused all the adherents of his son to be put to cruel deaths. While I was at his Court I have seen him do many cruel deeds. Five times a week he orders some of his bravest elephants to fight in his presence, during which men are often killed or grievously wounded by the elephants. If any one be sore hurt, though he might very well chance to recover, he causes him to be thrown into the river, saying, 'Despatch him, for as long as he lives he will continually curse me; wherefore it is better that he die presently.' He delights to see men executed and torn in pieces by elephants."²

"This day a gentlewoman was taken in the King's house in some improper act with an eunuch, when another animal of the same kind, who loved her, slew her paramour. The poor woman was set up to the armpits in the ground, with the earth hard rammed round her; being condemned to remain there three days and two nights in that situation, without sustenance, her head and arms being exposed to the violence of the sun. If she survived, she was then to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants."³

"Whether owing to ill advice, wine, or some fault of his nature, he often issued very cruel orders. Happening to catch an eunuch kissing one of his women whom he had relinquished, he sentenced the lady to be put into the earth, with only her head left above ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and the eunuch to be cut in pieces before her face."⁴

"The King, however, insisted upon it, and the poor fellow was torn in pieces. Not yet satisfied, but desirous to see more sport, the King sent for ten of his horsemen, who were that night on guard, whom he commanded, one after the other, to buffet with the lion. They were all grievously wounded, and three of them lost their

¹ *Mir's History of British India*, vol. ii. p. 559.

² Narrative by William Hawkins, in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 220.

³ Sir T. Loe, in *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 278.

⁴ *Modern Universal History*, vol. v. p. 302.

lives. The King continued three months in this cruel humour; in which time, merely for his pleasure, many men lost their lives, and many were grievously wounded."¹

"The 9th of August a band of one hundred robbers were brought in chains before the Great Mogul. Without any ceremony of trial, he ordered them to be carried away for execution, their chief being ordered to be torn in pieces by dogs. The prisoners were sent for execution to several quarters of the city, and executed in the streets. Close by my house the chief was torn in pieces by twelve dogs; and thirteen of his fellows, having their hands and feet tied together, had their necks cut by a sword, yet not quite through, and their naked and bloody bodies were left to corrupt in the streets."²

"About four thousand were made prisoners, all of whom, as an example to other wretches who might be disposed to follow in their steps, were, by my command, trampled to death by elephants."³

"Seffy sent him forty-four persons who had been active in the late commotions in Gujârat, two of whom were trampled to death by elephants, and the rest committed to prison."⁴

"He sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, executions performed on offenders by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses?*"⁵

"I determined that the perpetrator of this horrible villany should be immediately led to the great plain, where, as an awful example, he was torn piece-meal with red-hot pincers."⁶

"One of his greatest pleasures was, putting to the test the constancy of the Persians newly arrived at his Court. He commonly carried in his girdle a stile, the point of which was particularly acute, with which he pierced the ear of the new comer, at a moment when he was quite unprepared for such a salutation. By his outcries, or by his silence, that is to say, by the impatience or the tranquil resolution which he manifested under the infliction of pain,

¹ Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 220.

² Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 281.

³ Price's *Memoirs of Jahanguir*, p. 40.

⁴ Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 70.

⁵ Sir T. Roe, in Kerr's *Collection*, vol. ix. p. 261.

⁶ Price's *Memoirs of Jahanguir*, p. 119.

he formed his opinion of the courage of the Persian; and he measured his favours by the result of his experiment."¹

"On the banks of the Chenab the Emperor received from Zuffer Khán the head of the rebel Ahdad, which was ordered to be placed over the principal gate of Lahoor."²

"One of the King's sons, Sultan Shariar, a boy of seven years old, was called by him one day when I was there. Because he had not said that he would go with all his heart along with his Majesty, he was sore beaten by the King, yet did not cry. . . . On this his father struck him again, and taking a bodkin, thrust it through his cheek; yet he would not cry, though he bled much."³

"Some nobles that were near his person he caused to be whipped in his presence, receiving 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument of torture, having, at the ends of four cords, irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead, he commanded the standers-by to spurn them with their feet, and the door-keepers to break their staves upon them. Thus, cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried away, one of them dying on the spot."⁴

"The next morning Khusro was brought before his father, with a chain fastened from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of Chinghez Khan. On the right hand of the Prince stood Hassan Beg, and on his left Abdurraheem. Khusro trembled and wept. He was ordered into confinement; but the companions of his rebellion were put to death with cruel torments. Hassan Beg was sewed up in a raw hide of an ox, and Abdurraheem in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses, with their faces towards the tail. The ox's hide became so dry and contracted, that before the evening Hassan Beg was suffocated; but the ass's hide being continually moistened with water by the friends of Abdurraheem, he survived the punishment, and afterwards obtained the Emperor's pardon. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahoor, two rows of stakes were fixed in the ground, upon which

¹ Catron's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 140.

² Gladwin's *Life of Jahangir*, p. 79.

³ Narrative by W. Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ix. p. 207.

⁴ Sir T. Burn, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 307.

the other rebels were impaled alive; and the unhappy Khuro, mounted on an elephant, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers."¹

"The story of Seif Alla remains as a monument of his savage justice. The sister of the favourite Sultana had a son by her husband Ibrahim, the Suba of Bengal, who, from his tender years, had been brought up at Court by the Empress, who, having no sons by Jahángir, adopted Seif Alla for her own. The Emperor was fond of the boy; he even often seated him upon his throne. At twelve years of age Alla returned to his father in Bengal. Jahángir gave him a letter to the Suba, with orders to appoint him governor of Burdwan. Alla, after having resided in his government some years, had the misfortune, when he was one day riding on an elephant through the street, to tread by accident a child to death. * * Alla obeyed the Imperial command; but he knew not the intentions of Jahángir, which that prince had locked up in his own breast. The youth encamped with his retinue, the night of his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river; and sent a messenger to announce his coming to the Emperor. Jahángir gave orders for one of his elephants of state to be ready by the dawn of day; and he at the same time directed the parents of the child to attend. He himself was up before it was light, and, having crossed the river, he came to the camp of Alla, and commanded him to be bound. The parents were mounted upon the elephant, and the Emperor ordered the driver to tread the unfortunate young man to death. But the driver, afraid of the resentment of the Sultana, passed over him several times, without giving the elephant the necessary directions. The Emperor, however, by his threats, obliged him at last to execute his orders."²

"The cap, or tiara, of the chief, containing jewels to the value of twenty laks of rupees, and ten thousand of the heads of the rebels, fixed on spears, with all the commanders who were taken alive, were conveyed to my presence; Abdallah Khaun remaining in full possession of the subjugated districts. To deter others from the

¹ Gladwin's *History of Jahangir*, p. 9. [*Supra*, p. 300.]

² Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. pp. 110-12.

commission of similar acts of rebellion towards their sovereign, and of ungrateful perfidy towards their benefactor, I directed the bodies of the slain who fell in the defence of Kanouje, to the number of ten thousand, to be suspended from trees with their heads downwards, on the different high roads in the vicinity. And here I am compelled to observe, with whatever regret, that, notwithstanding the frequent and sanguinary executions which have been dealt among the people of Hindūstaun, the number of the turbulent and disaffected never seems to diminish; for what with the examples made during the reign of my father, and subsequently of my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle or by the sword of the executioner, five and six hundred thousand human beings have not, at various periods, fallen victims to this fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence. Ever and anon, in one quarter or another, will some accursed miscreant spring up to unfurl the standard of rebellion; so that in Hindūstaun never has there existed a period of complete repose."¹

The Kotwal brought a culprit before me, who had been several times mutilated for thieving. On the first occasion his right hand was cut off, then the thumb of his left, then the left ear, then his heels, and at last his nose. On the present occasion I gave him over to be executed by the family of the man whom he had robbed.²

"About this time Aldad and his rebellious Afghans were deserted at Cabul, by Motamad Khan, who made a pyramid of six hundred of their heads. He was rewarded with the title of Lushker Khan."³

"On the 1st Decem̄ber I went six cosses to Ramsor, where the King had left the naked bodies of an hundred men, put to death for robbery." "On the 4th I overtook a camel laden with 300 heads, sent from Candahar to the King, the people to whom these heads had belonged having been in rebellion."⁴

"I ordered that his tongue should be cut out, that he should be imprisoned for life, and that he should mess with dog-keepers and sweepers."⁵

¹ Price's *Memoirs of Jehanowir*, p. 128.

² *Authentic Memoirs*, twelfth year of the reign.

³ Gladwin's *History of Jahangir*, p. 29.

⁴ Sir T. Ene. in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 320.

⁵ *Authentic Memoirs*, second year of the reign. [*Supra*, p. 314.]

"In these circumstances I ordered a camel to be brought to my presence, and sending for Nour-ud-dein Kály, I told him that the dress of the Hindu, with the valuable chaplet of pearls which encircled his neck, was all his own. But he was to conduct the unhappy man to the outside of the town, where he was to cause his bowels to be cut open, after which he was to be fastened to the side of the camel, and so carried round the camp."¹

This tendency to cruelty, notwithstanding his asseveration to the contrary, was early exemplified in the career of the Emperor.

• A wakianavess, or intelligencer, and two other servants belonging to Sileem, had formed a conspiracy against his life; in which, being detected, they attempted to make their escape to Sultan Daniel, in the Dekhan; but their flight was soon discovered, and some horsemen being sent in pursuit of them, quickly brought them back. Sileem was so exasperated against them, that, in the fury of his passion, he ordered the wakianavess to be flead, one of the accomplices to be castrated, and the other severely beaten. These cruel punishments, which were executed in his presence, put an end to the conspiracy; neither were there any more desertions. This transaction, in itself sufficiently culpable, was reported to the Emperor with all the exaggeration that malice could invent. The criminals were represented as innocent sufferers; and it was asserted that the Prince commonly practised such barbarities in the paroxysms of inebriation, a vice to which, in common with his two brothers, he was unfortunately very much addicted. Akbar, who possessed a mind fraught with every principle of philanthropy and humanity, was shocked at these accounts of his son's barbarity. He wrote him a letter, in which he severely reprobated his conduct, and said, that not being able himself to see a sheep stripped of its skin without sensations of horror, he was at a loss to conceive how it was possible for his son so far to stifle the common feelings of nature as to suffer a fellow-creature to be flead in his presence."²

"The trials are conducted quickly, and the sentences speedily executed; culprits being hanged, beheaded, impaled, torn by dogs,

¹ Price's *Memoirs of Jahanguir*, p. 134.

² Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. ix. See also Kámgar Khán's *Ma-dair-i Jahangiri* (MS. fol. 21r.).

destroyed by elephants, bitten by serpents, or other devices, according to the nature of the crimes; the executions being generally in the public market-place. The governors of provinces and cities administer justice in a similar manner."¹

"The disrespectful language in which the son of Khan-i Douraun presumed to express himself, could not be overlooked. I therefore commanded that one side of his head and face should be flayed of the skin, and in that state he was led round the encampment, proclamation being made at the same time, that such was the punishment which awaited those who dared to apply disrespectful language to him who was at once their sovereign and benefactor."²

Sixth.

"I ordered that the officers of government and *jâgirddars* should not forcibly seize possession of the lands of my subjects, and cultivate them for their own benefit.

Commentary.

"The administration of the country had rapidly declined since Akbar's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical."³

"The edict of his father, enjoining the observance of kindness and conciliation towards the cultivators, goes much further than this."⁴

"Bengal, Gujarât, and the Deccan, are likewise full of rebels, so that no one can travel in safety for outlaws: all occasioned by the barbarity of the government, and the cruel exactions made upon the husbandmen, which drive them to rebellion."⁵

"But this observation may serve universally for the whole of this country, that ruin and devastation operates everywhere; for since the property of all has become vested in the King, no person takes

¹ The Rev. E. Terry, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1476.

² Price's *Memoirs*, p. 131.

³ Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 225.

⁴ Lud's *History of Gujarat*, p. 394.

⁵ Narrative by William Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 230.

care of anything; so that in every place the spoil and devastations of war appear, and nowhere is anything repaired."¹

"For all the great men live by farming the several governments, in which they all practise every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions."²

Seventh.

I prohibited the Government *'ámils* and *jágírdárs* from contracting marriage, without my leave, with any inhabitant of the districts under their control.

Commentary.

This prohibition extended to other cases.

"Khojah Birkadar having married the daughter of Mehabut Khan, unknown to His Majesty, upon the discovery thereof, was ordered to the presence, where he was beaten, and then committed to prison."³

"Before his arrival, he betrothed his daughter to a young nobleman named Berkhadar, without first asking the Emperor's leave, as was usual with persons of his high rank. Jahángir was enraged at this apparent defiance: he sent for Berkhadar, and, in one of those fits of brutality which still broke out, he ordered him to be stripped naked, and beaten with thorns in his own presence; and then seized on the dowry he had received from Mahábat, and sequestrated all his other property."⁴

Eighth.

I established hospitals within the chief cities, and appointed physicians to attend upon the sick, and directed that the expense should be defrayed out of the royal treasury.

¹ Sir T. Roe, in *Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 321.

² *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 333.

³ Gladwin's *Reign of Jahangir*, p. 79. [*Supra*, p. 396.]

⁴ Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 339. See also Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 89.

Commentary.

This is one of the Institutes of his lying ancestor Timúr, and was, no doubt, as much observed in one instance as the other.¹

Ninth.

In imitation of my father, I directed that on the 18th of every Rab'u-l awwal,² my birthday, no animal should be killed. There were also two other days of prohibition; viz. Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, on which my father was born, who used to pay that day extraordinary respect, not only because it was dedicated to the Sun, but because the Creation commenced on that day. On which account he also prohibited the killing of animals on Sundays.

Commentary.

Pope Pius V. allowed the inhabitants of Aberdeen the privilege of fishing on Sundays and Fast-days, provided the first fish caught were presented to the Church.

"The fast, which the Mahometans observe so scrupulously, for an entire month, was the subject of his derision. He invited to his table the most conscientious observers of the laws of their religion, and inveigled them into a companionship in his excesses in wine, and in eating prohibited meats. The Cazi, and the Imama, who are the doctors of Mahometan law, in vain admonished him, that the use of certain meats was forbidden by the Alcoran. Fatigued with their importunities, he inquired in what religion the use of drinks and food of every species, without distinction, was permitted. The reply was, in that of the Christian religion alone. 'We must then,' he rejoined, 'all turn Christians. Let there be tailors brought to us, to convert our robes into close coats, and our turbans into hats.' At

¹ Davy and White's *Institutes of Timour*, p. 371.

² Gladwin translates this differently: "By as many days as he should be years old, commencing with his birth-day." The literal meaning will bear this construction; but it seems an improbable one. [The literal meaning certainly favours Gladwin's rendering. See *supra*, p. 256.]

these words the doctors trembled for their sect. Fear and interest made them hold a less severe language. They all declared that the sovereign was not bound by the precepts of the Alcoran, and that the monarch might, without scruple, use whatever meats and drinks were most agreeable to him."¹

Tenth.

I gave a general order that the *mansabs* and *jágirs* bestowed by my father should be confirmed to their respective holders, and a short time afterwards I increased the *mansab* of each according to his deserts; thus, the holder of ten was raised to twelve, and so forth. The *ahadis* were raised from ten to fifteen, and the salaries of all the servants of my father were raised from ten to twelve; and the provisions supplied to the ladies of the royal household were raised in the proportion of ten to twelve, and ten to twenty.

Commentary.

"Many Subas were removed from their respective governments into other provinces; some were dismissed to make room for the Emperor's abettors and friends. The deprived governors repaired to Court to restore themselves, by money and intrigue, to their former dignities. Some succeeded in their views; others were reduced to despair, through want of success. The latter began to form treasonable designs to recover the consequence and power which they had lost."²

Sir T. Roe would lead us to question this proclaimed liberality. "Having venison of various kinds before him, he gave me half a stag, and said I should see the rest bestowed on his ladies. This was presently cut into four pound pieces, and was sent into the interior apartments, by his young son and two women, in their bare hands, just as if he had been doling out such small fragments to the poor by way of charity."³

"Hussein Beg Chan Buduchshe, who had been governor of the

¹ Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 138.

² Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 6.

³ Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 333.

province of Cabul during a considerable part of the former reign, being turned out of his office by the Emperor, was on his way to court."¹

Eleventh.

The holders of *ayima* and *madad-ma'ash*, who form an army of persons invoking blessings, I at once confirmed in their holdings, according to the tenor of the *farmans* held by each; and Mirán Sadr Jahán, one of the *saiyids* of pure descent in Hindústán, who held the high office of Sadr for some time under my father, was directed to look daily after the poor and needy.

Commentary.

Mirán Sadr Jahán had received the same order from Akbar. "His Majesty bestows upon the poor and needy money and necessaries of every kind. Many are allowed daily, monthly, or annual pensions, which they receive regularly, without any delay or deduction."²

"The affair required an agreement clear and explicit in all points, and a more formal and authentic confirmation than it now had, by ordinary firmans, which were merely temporary commands, and respected accordingly."³

"The prince gave us one day a plirmaund for our good usage, with a grant of privileges, and countermanded all the next by contradictory orders, in which proceedings there was neither honour nor good faith."⁴

Twelfth.

I ordered that all the prisoners in every fort and prison throughout the kingdom should be released.

Commentary.

A very foolish order, and one calculated to bring his father's police system into contempt.

¹ Dow's *History of Hindustan*, vol. iii. p. 8.

² Gladwin's *Asiatick Researches*, vol. i. pp. 221, 223.

³ Sir T. Ross, in Kerr's *Coll. of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 267.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 309.

Jahángir's sense of sympathy for prisoners was not always so acute. "The King's manner of hunting is thus :—About the beginning of November he goes from Agra, accompanied by many thousands, and hunts all the country for thirty or forty coss round about, and so continues till the end of March, when the great heats drive him home again. He causes a tract of wood or desert to be encompassed about by chosen men, who contract themselves to a near compass, and whatever is taken in this inclosure is called the King's *sykar* or game, whether *men* or beasts, and whoever lets aught escape loses his life, unless pardoned by the King. All the beasts thus taken, if man's meat, are sold, and the money given to the poor. If men, they become the King's slaves, and are sent yearly to Cabul, to be bartered for horses and dogs; these being poor, miserable and thievish people, who live in the woods and deserts, differing little from beasts."¹

Precept and practice were never more forcibly contrasted.

¹ William Finch's Travels, 1611, in Kerr's *Voyages*, vol. viii, p. 291.

NOTE D.

SHASH FATH-I KANGRA.

This little work was written to show the author's ingenuity in composing, in six different styles, the account of the capture of Kángrá—an instance of *παραιοτεχνη*¹ which has not often been exceeded. The authorship is doubtful; some attribute it to Námát Khán 'Alí, others to Jalálá Tibátibá. The style, which is very difficult, certainly resembles that of the former, and the vicious redundance of ornament which serves to make him one of the most popular of the modern authors of India, as well as the frequent use of medical phrases, appear at first to convey internal evidence of the fact. It was certainly written after the time of Jahángir, because he is styled *Jinnat-makání*, his honorific title after death; and so far, it might have been written by either author to whom it is ascribed: but I entertain no doubt that it was written by Muhammad Jalálá Tibátibá; not only because the general voice concurs most in this opinion, but because in a common-place book in my possession, which must be at least a hundred years old, amongst other compositions of Jalálá, there are the first and last *Faiks* expressly ascribed to him.

He was fully capable of this versatility of style, and was, moreover, a *músháfi* of Sháh Jahán, which would account for his ascribing a conquest to him, individually, in which he had so little real concern. Námát Khán 'Alí, who lived later, would not have had the same reason for flattering a bygone monarch at so much expense of truth.

Jalálá Tibátibá is the author of a history of Sháh Jahán, which will be noticed hereafter. He is also the author of the Persian translation of the *Taukyátí-Kieratiya*, or the Institutes of Khusrú

¹ *Id est supervacua artis imitatio.*—Quintilian, ii. 20. Where he instances a man who stuck vechees on a needle, and was rewarded by Alexander with a bushel of them —“*præmium illo opere d. graminum.*”

Anúshirwán, translated originally from the Pehlavi into Arabic, and by Jalálá from the Arabic into Persian.¹ This is a very celebrated work in India, and was printed at Calcutta in 1824, and subsequently lithographed at Lucknow.

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SIZE.—Duodecimo, with 11 lines to a page.

It appears therefore that the first is the longest, and the translation of it is given below. Absurd as it may read, it gives but a faint idea of the extravagances of the original. Then follow the beginnings of the other five, in order to show the nature of the different narratives which have been attempted.

[The translation was apparently made by a *munshi*, but has been revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

First Conquest.

Before the agents of the illustrious court of the Supreme Ruler could visit the provinces of the kingdom of creation, and before the recorders of fate could paint anything in the gallery of beginnings; when time and place were not defined, when all things which we now see around us were screened in his designs, like life in bodies, or meaning in words; and when there was a state of perfect solitude, and all things, from the highest heavens to the lowest regions of water and earth, had their forms only in his imagination, the universal physician who has existed from all eternity, that is, the Almighty God, according to His wise dispensation, and with a view to preserve regularity and system, predestined that great and arduous works should be performed by the hands of man, and for this purpose endowed him with exalted

¹ *Bibliothèque de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy*, tom. iii. p. 290.

intellect. Certain men He made to surmount certain difficulties, and for each work appointed a time for its accomplishment. When that time comes, all obstacles and difficulties in the way of success are removed, and the key of its easy elucidation is soon found. When the individual whom fortune has made great, is born in this world, all circumstances become subservient to his purposes. That which gives pain to others, affords him delight, and dust produces the effect of collyrium in his eyes. All difficulties vanish of themselves; the dark rust turns for him into a glass, through which he is able to see the world. Through his good fortune the star of prosperity shines over a nation, and the hand of his generosity relieves people from their wants. From his perfection in the knowledge of the doctrine of jurisprudence, with which the Almighty enlightens his mind, he can effect the satisfactory management of his government, can awake people from the slumbers of idleness, and settle all disturbances by his judicious plans. He can rule over the seven climates of the earth, as the soul governs the body; and by his superior wisdom is able even to alter the effect of the revolutions of the heavens upon the affairs of mankind. His pleasure and displeasure, as shown in the government of people, has a much better effect towards perfecting their morals, than the heat of the sun has upon ripening fruit. His justice, severity, liberality, and frugality are more advantageous to the people than the sweet and bitter medicines or the plaister of a physician, or the bleeding instruments of a surgeon to his patients. His anger is as beneficial to the people as the animal heat to the body; and his dissatisfaction, like the bitter precepts of philosophers, gives men the fruits of precaution. The description of his virtues is worthy of forming a preamble to the book of holiness and justice, and the account of his generosity fit to introduce the history of sovereigns. Kings should make his morals their example, and his mode of administration their rule. This may be illustrated by the following brief account.

When under the influence of the fortunate star of Shah Jahán, a victory was achieved over the Ráná, and the tribes of Jáin and Bhárá¹ were subdued in Gujarát by the royal army, the Emperor

¹ By the Jáin is meant the chief Zemindár of Surath in Gujarát; and by Bhárá, the Zemindár of Kuch.

Jahángir, who knew every person's worth by only looking at his face, was exceedingly happy to find the Prince possessed of every good and excellent quality, and, from the achievements he had performed, the Emperor had every reason to believe that he would become the most powerful prince of his age. From his excellent manners and good disposition, he found him quite worthy of being his successor; and it was a matter of great satisfaction to him that he had such an accomplished prince for his son. Hence it was that His Majesty, who was equally kind to all, nobles and plebeians, was often heard to speak in public of the high qualities of the Prince. His Majesty always took advice and assistance on all points which seemed difficult and doubtful, a fact which showed to all that there are things in the world which every man is not able to do, and that one key cannot fit every lock. To overcome particular difficulties, men are specially raised up; for every great work is destined to be performed by the exertions of one particular chief.

Since the shaking of the chain of prosperity produces all that is necessary for the accomplishment of any purpose, the Almighty God determined to reveal a wonder from the hidden chambers of secrecy, and effect a miracle by his beneficence in behalf of the Prince, who justly sustains the weight of the successorship of God. This was exemplified in the revolt of Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, who, overcome by excessive pride, and through vain ideas, having lost all his senses, and becoming delirious through the fire of his madness, which burnt up the storehouse of his wits, had altogether eradicated the tree of allegiance by the fingers of insubordination, and having, by his ridiculous fantasies and vile thoughts, made a breach in the fabric of obedience (as Magog in the wall of Alexander), and by the scratching of his bad fortune deformed with his own hand the face of his prosperity, the malignity of his dark fate, owing to the drunkenness of his neglect, made him break the bowl of his good faith. Through his folly he relied upon the precarious shelter of his forts, and exulted in having the hills for his defence, not knowing that the warriors of the royal army were so powerful that, even if he were to flee from water and fire, and to conceal himself under stones, they would easily destroy him with their blazing spears and

Blades of good water, as a short-lived spark vanishes to nothing, or a little drop becomes absorbed by the earth. In short, when the Emperor, who by his generosity and kindness had confirmed him in the paternal dominions after the death of his father, had been informed of Súrj Mal's revolt, and that from the excessive bile of his pride he had soured the taste of the honey of his obedience, and through his shortsightedness having thrust his foot beyond his blanket, deserting the highway of loyalty, and entering on the plain of rebellion, had laid his rapacious hands upon some of the *parganas* of the Panjáb; he (the Emperor), according to the wishes of his heart, entrusted the duty also of punishing the rebel to the hands of the Prince, and that ornament of the world, and director of its conquests and administration, in order to display the excellence of his arrangements, gave the command to Rájá Bikramájít, an old, brave, and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne, for whom the Prince had used every endeavour to obtain advancement, the gold of whose friendship, when tried by the touchstone, had turned out pure and red, and who had successfully rendered many services to the Emperor on former occasions, and also in the conquest of the tribes of Jám and Bhára, just alluded to above, against whom matters had been previously ill-conducted, and for whose present discomfiture the Government was indebted entirely to his exertions and valour. Agreeably to the orders of the Prince, he with a stout heart, experienced judgment, loyal intentions, pure friendship, and great precaution, marched from Gujarát against the rebel, at the head of a considerable army, in order to secure success, on the 12th of Shahriyár, the 13th year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding with the 1st of Sha'bán, A.H. 1027.

Súrj Mal,¹ on receiving the intelligence of his motion towards him, was so overwhelmed with fear that he dared not lay his rapacious hands upon the rich province of Panjáb, which he had intended to plunder. He ran with precipitation towards Pathánkot, and took shelter in the fort of Mau,² which is surrounded by hills and

¹ The local traditions and poems universally call Jagat Sing the son of Béro, and to him they ascribe the defeat of the Muhammedan armies.

² There are two *Talukas* of Mau, upper and lower, *bald* and *svi*, in the *pargana* of Núrúr, to the S.W. of that town, and not far from Pathánkot. In the first are said to be seen the remains of the palace of the *Khans* of Núrúr.

forests, and is reckoned one of the loftiest and strongest forts in the country. From ancient times it had been the capital of the chiefs of that territory, and several times siege was laid to it, but no enemy was ever able to take it. Rájá Bikramájit, at the head of a royal army, soon reached the place, and laid siege to the fort. The refugees offered opposition, but they were soon defeated. About 700 persons on their side, male and female, were killed, many men were taken prisoners, and Súraj Mal himself, with a few others, fled to the fort of Núrpúr, which had been raised by Rájá Bású. This town, before the fort was built, was called Dhamri, and subsequent to its conquest it was called Núrpúr, after the illustrious name of the Emperor Núru-d dín Jahángír. Bikramájit, having taken possession of the fort of Mau, and having collected his munitions of war, was bent on the destruction of Súraj Mal, and the conquest of Kángará. With this intention he pursued Súraj Mal without delay; but the fugitive chief, not finding himself able to stand before the mighty torrents of the royal army, and being quite unfounded, dared not stop there for a moment, but, before its arrival, fled away at midnight towards the mountains; and having entered the dominions of the Rájá of Chamba, concealed himself in the fort of Tárágarh,¹ which is very ancient, lofty, and strong, and is hemmed in by thick forests and mountains. He was, however, soon besieged there by the royal army. For three days the Rájá led successive attacks upon the fort, and on the fourth day stormed it with all his warriors, who, though they sustained a great loss in killed and wounded, yet bravely, and by the force of their arms, carried everything before them, took possession of the fort, and obliged Súraj Mal to flee. After he had lost more than one thousand men on his side, and a great number had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, he fled from Tárágarh to the Rájá of Chamba, and took refuge in a fort in which the Rájá and his family resided, and here he considered himself fortunate in obtaining a respite of two or three days.

¹ The copies read Isrál, but inquiries in the neighbourhood satisfy me there was no such place, and that we should read Tárágarh. Local tradition represents that Tárágarh held out for twelve years, when the siege was raised; the royal army having surrounded it long enough to eat the fruit of the trees they had planted there.

Bikramájít, after the capture of Tárágarh and the flight of the rebel chief, marched towards the fort of Núrpúr, where he determined upon staying for some days, and then to move from that place with his mighty army, and make at once all the neighbouring places his prey. He soon conquered the forts of Hárá, Pahári, Thathá, Pakrotá, Súr, and Jawáli, which all lay in the vicinity of Núrpúr, surrounded with jungle, and were all very strong. Having so far succeeded in his undertaking, he determined now to seize Súraj Mal, and take the fort of Kánggrá. While he was engaged in making preparations for this purpose, Mádhú Sing, brother of Súraj Mal, taking advantage of the opportunity, raised a rebellion in the same territory; but, through fear of Rájá Bikramájít, he chose to secure himself within the fort of Kotila, between Kánggrá and Núrpúr. It is bounded on three sides by a large river; and on the land side, which was as dark and narrow as his own understanding, he fortified it with cannon blazing like the firmament of fire. The prudence of Rájá Bikramájít did not permit of his leaving behind him this new rebel unpunished. With all haste, therefore, he marched towards him, and having reached the place, suddenly laid siege to the fort. The enemy offered a bold resistance, but at last was defeated; and, after much bloodshed, the fort fell into the hands of the royalists. In short, Rájá Bikramájít, having wrested the whole territory from Súraj Mal and his agents, made himself master of it on the part of the Emperor. He removed all the rebel's officers from their different posts, and established his own *sháás*. He gave several *parganas* to the servants of the throne as *jágírs*. The unfortunate Súraj Mal, being properly punished for his insolence and rebellious conduct, and having suffered great loss, reflected now upon his conduct with regret. In a short space of time, so many strong forts had been easily taken, a large number of people had been slain, and many men had been taken prisoners. Being entirely humbled to the dust, and overwhelmed by sorrow and remorse, he was seized by a fatal disease, and soon after died in the fort of the Rájá of Chambá; who, after the rebel's death, wisely saw his safety in acknowledging obedience to the throne. With this conviction he sued Rájá Bikramájít for peace; and, having succeeded in gaining his favour, craved him to obtain the Emperor's forgiveness for his

past misconduct. Rájá Bikramájít called upon him to surrender all the property of Súrj Mal, and to make the most unconditional offer of surrender. The Rájá of Chambá accordingly made over the whole property of Súrj Mal, and Bikramájít despatched all the prize property, under a strong escort, to the Emperor; which, besides other valuables, consisted of fourteen large elephants, and 200 Arab and Turkish horses. Having thus got rid of the rebels, he now proceeded to the conquest of Kángrá.

Immediately on his approaching the fort, he surrounded it with his troops; and although his religion was calculated to make him revolt from such a proceeding, yet, for the sake of his master, he used all his exertions to conquer it. He acted contrary to his creed, of which he was a most devoted adherent, rather than become guilty of disloyalty and ingratitude, and considered the service of his master equal to the service of God; for in this fort there was a temple of Deví, who is one of the greatest goddesses of the Hindús, and to worship which idol people resorted to this place in great numbers from the remotest parts of the country. Rájá Bikramájít was one of the most faithful and obedient servants of the throne. He was attached to the Emperor's interests to such a degree that in promoting them he would fear no danger, and there was nothing too difficult to be surmounted by his bold and daring spirit. Although his ancestors did not possess the title of Rájá, and hereditary honours did not, therefore, inspire any confidence in his character, yet by his own meritorious services he obtained the title of Bikramájít, and the *mansab* or rank of a commander of 5000 horse. Entire power was placed in his hands in the execution of the present command. Indeed, the advantages of obedience and gratitude to a master are incalculably numerous and infinitely great. In short, Bikramájít, having surrounded the fort, ordered intrenchments to be made, and mines to be dug in their proper places. Each officer was appointed to a certain service, and he himself remained to superintend the whole. He led on several gallant attacks upon the fort. The warriors of the royal army fought very bravely with the enemy, and the Rájápúts displayed astonishing feats of valour. The besiegers at last effected a breach in the walls, and forced a passage into the fort. A most sanguinary contest ensued. The brave soldiers of the royal

army shot a great number of their opponents with their arrows, and like lightning opened a dreadful fire on them. The warriors fought so boldly that they rivalled the celebrated Sâm and Narimán in feats of chivalry; and the musketeers threw such a shower of balls that the heavens appeared to have hid themselves under the veil of clouds. The whole atmosphere was filled with the smoke of the guns. The arrows of the archers made so many holes in the shields of their antagonists that they resembled the lives of bees; and the breasts of the fighters, from the wounds they received, became as hollow as the scales of a balance. The nooses which the besiegers threw towards the enemy were so strong that they might have drawn down the milky way in the heavens. The musket-balls, which fell at a very great distance and with much velocity, exceeded in number the drops of rain, and the noise of the drums drowned that of thunder. The shouts of triumph and the sounds of the musical instruments reached the heavenly regions, and confounded Jupiter in the fifth heaven. At last the opponents, being entirely defeated, found their safety in flight. Although they had made a vigorous resistance, and showed much intrepidity and courage in defending themselves, yet the brave warriors advanced to the attack with such great impetuosity, and their ardour and zeal were so unremitting, that towards the close of day the gale of victory blew upon the royal standards, and a complete overthrow was given to the enemy, whom their mighty hand compelled to surrender the keys of the fort. Rájá Bikramájít triumphantly entered the fort, appointed trustworthy officers to protect the property which might be found there, and placed *'ámils* at different stations where they were required. After this signal victory, he made the whole army happy by offering them his thanks, praising them for their valorous deeds, and rewarding every man with goods and cash according to his rank and deserts. He also increased the *mansabs* of those warriors who distinguished themselves in battle. He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the Rájás of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the informa-

tion of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms among the poor and the needy.

(Having given an account of the conquest of Kángrá, the writer, agreeably to what he before promised, now gives a description of its fort.)

The fort of Kángrá is very lofty, and stands on a very high hill, its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong; insomuch that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient Rájás, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan Kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720, or the commencement of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-dín's power, to the year 963, when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindústán, the fort has been besieged no less than fifty-two times by the most powerful kings and rulers, but no one has been able to take it. Fíroz, who was one of the greatest kings of Delhí, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts; for at last he was contented with having an interview with its Rájá, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khán Turkomán, entitled Khán-i Jahán, Governor of the Province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Panjáb; but, notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. To be successful in such a great and difficult task was beyond all expectation; but Providence has destined a time for all works, at which they must be accomplished; and hence it was that that Emperor, notwithstanding all his efforts, could not obtain its possession. It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahángir, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.

Second Conquest.

At the time when the page of creation was blank, and nothing had yet taken form or shape, the Supreme Wisdom, with a view to preserve regularity and order in the world, fixed the destiny of each man, and deposited the key for unravelling each difficulty in the hands of an individual endowed with suitable talents. A time is fixed for everything, and when that time comes all obstacles are removed. When the man who is destined to perform it is born, and illumines this world by the light of his mind, he finds very easily the way to its efficient performance. This may be illustrated by the following brief account.

As the Emperor Jahángír, according to the general custom, had entrusted the management of the affairs of government to the unerring wisdom of his son Sháh Jahán, this Prince, possessed as he was of a power which could surmount all difficulties, first achieved a very glorious victory over the Ráná; and then, by the instrumentality of his sword, subjugated the tribes of Jám and Bhára. That the secret designs of the Eternal Wisdom and the mysteries of the heavens might be discovered, and the heavenly light which had adorned the mind of this Prince, who was an honour to the Muhammadan religion, might shine upon all people, it was reported to the Emperor, in these days of his increasing prosperity, that Súraj Mal, who was generously confirmed in the *zamsádári* of his father Rájá Bású, had, through some vile ideas, raised disturbances in the country, and, under the influence of his declining star, revolted against the throne; and, having exceeded his proper limits, had begun to oppress the people of the *parganas* of the Panjáb by his plundering expeditions. His Majesty being well aware of the superiority of the Prince's talents, was conscious that no difficulty was too great to be surmounted by him, and no enterprise too hazardous to be achieved. • • •

The duty of punishing the new rebel was therefore entrusted to him; that, by the sharp edge of his sword, all disturbances might be quelled. The Prince accordingly resolved to take measures for the accomplishment of this trust, and gave the command to Rájá Bikramájit, who was one of the oldest and most experienced servants of the throne. • • •

Third Conquest.

The Emperor, by the divine guidance, had always in view to extirpate all the rebels in his dominions, to destroy all infidels root and branch, and to raze all the Pagan temples level with the ground. Endowed with a heavenly power, he devoted all his exertions to the promulgation of the Muhammadan religion; and through the aid of the Almighty God, and by the strength of his sword, he used all his endeavours to enlarge his dominions and promote the fame of the religion of Muhammad. Through fear of his sword, which had the quality of fire, the country of Hindústán, like the Muhammadan faith, received every moment a new splendour. Under his powerful sway the song of Islám was sung anew with a loud voice, and the rose of the principles of religion bloomed and widely spread its fragrance. Under the care of this representative of the Almighty God, Islám got every moment a new lustre; and the bride of his fortune, adorned by the ornaments of his talents, which shone over all the world, appeared every hour with a new show of splendour. Being thus favoured by the grace of God, His Majesty, in the 13th year of his reign, or A.H. 1027, led his victorious arms into the territory of Gujarát. When the distance was travelled over, the bright sun of his glory reflected its rays upon the inhabitants of Ahmad-ábád, and filled that pleasant and delightful city with the light of justice, generosity, tranquillity, and peace. By his going there he exalted the rank of the place to a height much above the seventh heaven. While he was in this city it was reported to him that Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, from his folly and perverseness, had revolted from obedience, and by his ill-luck and depravity of conduct, having advanced beyond his proper limits, had begun to oppress the people of the *parganas* of the Panjáb. His Majesty, who had just before this learnt the victory achieved by Prince Sháh Jahán over the Ráná, and also of his success in subduing the tribes of Jám and Bhárá, was well convinced of the increasing prosperity of the Prince, and therefore entrusted to him the duty of rooting out the rebellion of Súraj Mal, and taking the fort of Kángará, a concise account of which shall be given at the end of this book. The Prince accordingly undertook the adventure, and engaged in prepar-

ing his army, which he placed under the command of Rájá Dikramájít, the tree of whose fortune had blossomed under the care of the Prince, who was nourished in the bosom of the kindness of Almighty God, etc., etc.

Fourth Conquest.

The commencement of the 13th year of the Emperor Jahángir's reign was the beginning of the time in which several great victories were destined to be achieved. Every day of this year was as good as the Nau-roz, and every morning as pleasant as that of the great festival of 'Id, or as happy as hope. Every night appeared as bright as the sun, and as delightful as that called the Lailatu-l Kadr or the night of power. In short, it was a time when the bud of the prosperity of this excellent reign was fully blown. It was in these happy days that the Emperor, having proceeded to Gujarát, adorned the city of Ahmadábád by his presence. While he was there, it was reported to him that Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, whom he had generously confirmed in the *zamidári* of his father, had, by his short-sightedness, revolted against the throne, and that, acting upon the dictates of his folly, and deviating from the path of prudence, he had the intention of stretching out his rapacious hand upon the *parganas* of the Panjáb. His Majesty, whose whole efforts were always directed to the extinguishing of the fire of Paganism, and removing the mischief of mutiny and rebellion, immediately ordered the Prince to take measures towards the punishment of the revolter. As, through the guidance of the Supreme God, his attention was always devoted to the extirpation of rebels and infidels, he directed the Prince, who was as wise as Jupiter and as prudent as Mercury, to undertake the capture of the fort of Kángrá, which from its foundation to this time was never approached by any sovereign. The Prince, who had already achieved a victory over the Rána, and also subdued the tribes of Jám and Bhára, lost no time, according to the Emperor's orders, in preparing the army, and placed it under the command of Rájá Dikramájít, whom the Prince had kindly exalted to great rank, and who on former occasions had rendered many meritorious services to the throne, and latterly conducted a successful war against the tribes of Jám and Bhára, etc., etc.

Fifth Conquest.

When, in the 13th year of his reign, the Emperor Jahángir led on his ever successful and victorious arms to the territory of Gujarát, and, having reached the city of Ahmadábád, exalted its rank higher than the ninth heaven by his auspicious arrival, it was reported to him that Súraj Mal, son of Rájá Bású, deviating from the way of prudence, had raised disturbances in the country, revolted against the throne, and having advanced beyond his bounds, had begun to oppress the people of the *parganas* of the Panjáb. The Emperor, who saw from the infancy of the Prince Sháh Jahán, that the light of fortune and greatness beamed forth from his countenance, and that the sun of his prosperity was rising higher and higher every day, was fully confident of the hope that no difficulty was too great to be overcome by his courage, and no enterprize too hazardous to be achieved by his valour. Just before the rebellion of Súraj Mal, a victory was gained by him over the Ráná, and the insurrection of the tribes of Jám and Bhárá was totally subdued. The duty of punishing this new revolter, and the destruction of the fort of Kángrá, which was so strong that no king was ever able to take it, were also placed under his charge. He was accordingly obliged to turn his attention to this expedition. He gave the command of his army to Rájá Bikramájít, who, by his good luck and the effect of his fortunate star, had rendered him valuable services on all occasions, etc., etc.

Sixth Conquest.

The Emperor, having observed in the Prince those qualities which befit a great monarch, and which indicate the marks of future prosperity, and also being convinced that his praiseworthy character would soon enable him to become a most fortunate and powerful ruler, always took such measures which might show to the people that His Majesty wished to make him his successor, and hence it was that the achievement of every great enterprize was referred to the force of his arms, and the unravelling of each difficult proposition was entrusted to his talents. When a victory had been achieved over the Ráná by the ever-successful army of the Prince, the Emperor Jahángir, in the 13th year of his reign, proceeded to the

province of Gujarát, and the city of Ahmadábád, which is always as delightful as a garden in spring, was adorned by the marks of his footsteps. At this time, and immediately after the Prince had subdued the tribes of Jám and Bhárá, the Emperor received the news of the rebellion of Súraj Mal, and his oppressions over the inhabitants of the *parganas* of the Panjáb. The duty of punishing this new rebel was also entrusted to the Prince, who was at the same time ordered to take the fort of Kángará, which had long been the object of His Majesty's desire. The Prince, agreeably to the royal mandates, prepared an army, and placed it under the command of Rájá Bikramájit, who had rendered many valuable services to the throne, etc., etc.

NOTE E.

INTRODUCTION TO FIRISHTA'S HISTORY.

{FIRISHTA's history is preceded by an Introduction, giving, as his translator, General Briggs, has stated, "a rapid and imperfect account of Hindú history previous to the Muhammadan invasion." Sir H. Elliot spoke very disparagingly of this part of the work, and compared it "with the first ten Books of Livy, or Dr. Henry's first volume of the History of Great Britain based on the poems of Ossian."¹ General Briggs made only a partial translation of the Introduction, and evidently held a very low opinion of its value; but notwithstanding this, and the openly expressed condemnation of Sir H. Elliot, a desire has been often felt and expressed for a complete translation. The subject treated of in the Introduction is one of the greatest obscurity, and inquirers who are striving to penetrate the gloom of Hindú antiquity are eager for the smallest ray or spark of light. Firishta deals with it in a very bold and decided manner, nothing doubting; and a perusal of General Briggs's abstract, or a partial examination of the Persian text, might well excite a wish for a perfect translation. The Editor has therefore made the following complete version of all the historical part of the Introduction. If it does not satisfy, it will at least extinguish expectation; and the work will no longer be looked upon as a partially worked mine containing undiscovered or unappreciated gems of light. As a literary production, the work is certainly curious. Scattered Hindú traditions, which the author had gleaned from various sources, are unhesitatingly connected with the teachings of the Kurán and the legendary lore of the *Sháh-náma*: like as in Christendom there have been writers who have striven to bring all history into unison with the Old Testament. Musulmán's and their idolatrous forefathers are persistently represented as lords paramount of Hind, the land of infidels, and as regularly receiving and enforcing payment of tribute. It may be that there are in the account some faint glimmerings of

¹ *Suprà*, p. 210.

fact, some "synchronisms," as Sir H. Elliot says, "between Persian and Indian heroes;" but whether such are to be found or not, the investigator of Indian history will now no longer be debarred, by ignorance of the Persian language, from a complete investigation of this Muhammadan summary of ancient Hindú history. The translation has been made from General Briggs's lithographed edition, but a MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society has also been used.]

TRANSLATION.

[This Introduction contains an account of the tenets of the people of India, a record of their Rájas, and a description of the rise of the Muhammadan power in that country. At the present time there is no book more extensive and more trustworthy among the Hindús than the *Mahá-bhárat*. This book was translated from Hindí into Persian by Shaikh Abú-l Fazl Faizi, son of Shaikh Mubárák, in the reign of the Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar. It contains more than a hundred thousand couplets. The writer of these lines has undertaken the work of making an abstract of the book, and here gives an epitome of it, so that inquirers may obtain a knowledge of its contents from the beginning to the end. It is no secret that in this country there has been a variety of opinion among philosophers, devotees and doctors as to the creation of the world. Of these various views, thirteen are mentioned in the *Mahá-bhárat*; but no one of the writers has been able to give satisfaction on the subject to an inquiring mind, or to gratify his desires in the smallest degree. (*Couplets*.)

According to the faulty belief of the Hindús, the revolutions of time in this changeful world are marked by four ages—the first is called Sat Yúg; second, Tritá Yúg; third, Dwápar Yúg; fourth, Kalí Yúg. Whenever the Kalí Yúg shall be completed, the Sat Yúg will come round again, and an end will be put to the Kalí Yúg. The affairs of the world have always gone on in this way, and no sign has been given either of its beginning or its end. In one of the books of authority it is related that a person of false and frivolous character once asked the Leader of the Faithful: "Who existed three thousand years before Adam?" His Highness

answered, "Adam!" and as he repeated this three times, the man was silenced, and hung down his head. His Majesty then continued, "If you asked me three thousand times, 'Who was before Adam?' I would still reply 'Adam.'" So the age of the world cannot be ascertained, and the Hindú dogmas upon this point are sheer absurdities. From a saying of one of the old Bráhmans it appears that the world will have an end, and that a day of resurrection is certain. Their most acute and authoritative doctors confirm this doctrine.

The duration of the Sat Yúg was seventeen *lacs* and twenty-eight thousand years (1,728,000). During this age the works of the dwellers in the world were good and righteous. The lowly and the noble, the poor and the rich, never turned aside from the way of truth and rectitude, and from doing the will of God. The natural life of man in this age is said to have been one hundred thousand years. Gracious God, what a statement is this, and what a lifetime! (*Verses.*) The length of the *Tritá Yúg* is twelve *lacs* and ninety-six thousand years (1,296,000). In this age three-fourths of mankind lived in obedience to the law of God, and the natural life of man was ten thousand years. In the third age, *Dwápar Yúg*, there are eight *lacs* and sixty-four thousand years (864,000). In this age the dwellers in the world were of honest conversation and of upright conduct; and the age of man was one thousand years. But the age of the patriarchs Adam, Noah, and others, was a thousand years, or nearly a thousand years. The people of India aver and maintain that as these patriarchs lived towards the end of the *Dwápar Yúg*, their lives were of this short duration. The fourth or *Kalí Yúg* extends to four *lacs* and thirty-two thousand years (432,000). In this age three-fourths of mankind live an unrighteous and discreditable life; and the natural age of man is one hundred years. The duration of each age is ordered in this way: the length of the *Kalí Yúg* being doubled, gives the duration of the *Dwápar Yúg*; the years of the *Dwápar* being augmented by the number of the *Kalí Yúg*, shows the length of the *Tritá Yúg*; and the years of the *Tritá Yúg* being increased in the same way, the duration of the *Sat Yúg* is found. At the present time, in the year one thousand and fifteen (1015) of the *Hijra*, the

people of India in their reckoning make the date to be 4684 of the Kali Yúg. (*Verses.*)

According to the belief of the people of India, the Almighty first created five elements, four of them the familiar (or terrestrial) elements, the fifth being *ákás* or ether. After that he made a person devoid of form, but a concentration of wisdom, who was called Brahmá. According to various accounts, God brought him forth from the void of non-entity into palpable existence, and made him the first means of creation, and the cause of the foundation of the world. The meaning of the word *ákás* in the language of the common people of Hind is heaven (*ámśá*); but the select few deny this, and say that the sages of Hind are not convinced of the existence of a heaven, and that which surrounds the mortal world is air. The planets (*kawákíl*) are the celestial forms of departed great men, who, by keeping under their natural desires, and by devout worship, having obtained bright forms and spiritual embodiments, have been made like unto God in their nature and qualities, and move in the most elevated heights, where, in mortal phrase, they are the birds of the world above. Some who have attained to a high degree of perfection have become great stars, and they never return to the world below. Those who are of a lower standard of perfection, having enjoyed, according to their merit, a life in the highest sky, return again to the lower world. So the word *ákás*, as used in the Hindú books, has a variety of meanings; and it seems inexpedient to enter into a long explanation of it here. (*Verses.*)

Brahmá, having by the will of the Creator brought man out of the invisible condition into manifest existence, created four castes — Bráhman, Khatri, Bais, and Súdra. He appointed the first caste to maintain a holy warfare, to practise austerities, to uphold the laws, and to enforce restrictions. To them he confided the direction of the mortal world. The second class he seated upon the throne of rule and government, and giving to it the sovereignty of the world, he provided for the due government of men. The third caste was appointed to carry on agriculture, trades, and crafts. The fourth caste was created to serve their superiors. By divine direction and holy inspiration, Brahmá brought forth a book about the future and the present life. This book was called *Ded*. Under the guidance

of the Supreme, his active and discriminating intelligence laid down principles for the guidance of all sorts and conditions of men; and having gathered his rules and precepts together in a book, he called it the Sacred Book. Mankind was thus supplied with a controlling power, so that, having a guide before and a guard behind, they might pursue a straight course without deviation. The *Bed* contains a hundred thousand *sloks*. The word *slok* signifies a verse of four *charan* (feet), and a *charan* cannot be of less than one nor of more than twenty-six *achars*. The word *achar* signifies a letter, or a compound letter. The sages of Hind agree that the lifetime of this Wonder of Creation, the author of the book in question, reached one hundred years; but these years were extraordinary ones, for each consisted of three hundred and sixty days, and each day contained four thousand years of the age above referred to, and each night, like the day, contained one thousand Yúgs. The learned Bráhmans of Hind affirm that up to the time when I write this book, several Brahmás have come into the visible world, and have departed into the unseen. I have heard from my Bráhman friends, that the present Brahmá is the one thousand and first; that fifty years and half a day of his life are past, and he has entered into the latter half of his existence. (*Verseæ.*)

Story-tellers and fabulists relate that, in the latter half of the Dwápar Yúg, there was a Khatri Rájá at Hastinápur, in Hindústán, who sat upon the throne of justice, and protected the rights of his people. His name was Rájá Bharat. He was followed by seven descendants in direct succession, who carried on the government, and departed to the other world. The eighth successor of his race was Rájá Kúr. Kúr-khet (or) Thánesar, which is a large city, still bears his name. His descendants were called Kuruvas. After six generations a son was born, who became famous under the name of Chaturburj. He was a great king, and had two sons, one called Dhritaráshttra, the other Pand. Dhritaráshttra was the elder, but he was blind; and so the government and sovereignty devolved upon his younger brother Pand. His power so increased that his sons were called Pándavas, after his name. His sons were five, Judishtar, Bhím-sen, and Arjun, whose mother was named Kunti; and Nakul and Sahadeo, whose mother was called Mádri.

Dhritarāshtra had one hundred sons by Gandhārī, who was daughter of the Rājā of Kandahār.¹ The eldest son was Duryodhan. He had another son by a daughter of a corn-merchant, who was named Yúyúchha. These sons were known by the name of Kuruva.

When Pand died, Dhritarāshtra took the kingdom by right of relationship, and his sons shared the honours of royalty with him. Duryodhan, his eldest son, being impressed with the duty and expediency of defending the State against enemies, became suspicious of the Pándavas, and resolved to overthrow them. Dhritarāshtra also, being informed of the hostility of the Pándavas, ordered them to build a residence farther away from the city, and to go and live there; so that a stop might be put to the ill-feeling. Duryodhan directed the architects and workmen to build the roof and walls of that house with lac and pitch, so that a spark might set fire to it, and that no vestige of the Pándavas might be left. The Pándavas got information of this; so, to secure themselves, they one night set their house on fire, and went off along with their mother to the desert. A woman named Phil, with her five sons, who had been commissioned by Duryodhan to set the house on fire, was there watching for an opportunity; and on that night she and all her sons were burnt. The spies of Duryodhan, thinking that this woman and her sons were the Pándavas with their mother, and that the Pándavas were all burnt, conveyed the glad intelligence to the Kuruvās, who were greatly rejoiced.

After this catastrophe, the Pándavas, as the translation of the Mahā-bhārat testifies, changed their names and appearances, left their desolated home, and went to the town of Kampilā. There by artifice they married Draupadi, the daughter of the Rājā of Kampilā, and all five brothers had her as their common wife. It was settled that each was to have her for seventy days; and upon this understanding, they lived in peace and unity. Some Hindús maintain that this was unlawful, and explain the fact away: God knows the truth! But the nobility of their character was evident, and the fame of them spread abroad until it reached Duryodhan, who, having made inquiries, ascertained the facts, and that the report of the burn-

¹ The name is written with *J* as the modern Kandahar is written, but Gandhārī got her name from the old Gandhara on the Indus.

ing of the Pándavas was untrue. With friendly professions, but selfish designs, he brought them to Hastinápúr. After courteously entertaining them, he divided the hereditary dominions as between brothers. So Indarpat, which is near Old Dehli, with half the territories, fell to the lot of the Pándavas; and Hastinápúr, with the other half of the territories, remained in the possession of the Kuruvaa.

In course of time many of the chief nobles, observing the intelligence and excellent qualities of the Pándavas, entered into their service: outwardly they were loyal to the Kuruvaa, but in their hearts they were hostile to them. At this time it came into the mind of Judishtar that he would perform the sacrifice called *Rájasúya*, that being the name given to a large fire which is kindled, into which all kinds of odoriferous things, fruits, grain, etc., are thrown, to be consumed in fire, the mother of the elements; that performing this sacrifice with due ceremony and all the proper observances, he would thus seek for a nearer approach to the deity. One of the requirements of the *Rájasúya* sacrifice is, that the princes of the whole world should assemble and pay homage at the time of its performance. Judishtar accordingly sent out his four brothers in four different directions to effect the conquest of the remainder of the world. Under the favour of the Almighty, this object was in a short time accomplished. The enterprising brothers, under Divine guidance, marched through the world, and brought the reigning monarchs of every country, from Khatai, Rúm, Abyssinia, Arabia, Persia, Turkistán, Máwaráu-n nahr, and all the other regions of the world, with vast treasures, to Indarpat; and having performed the *Rájasúya* sacrifice, accomplished the object of their wishes.

At the sight of all this greatness and glory and power, Duryodhan was unable to contain himself. The fire of envy which was smouldering in his bosom burst forth, and he took counsel with the crafty men of the time. Gambling was then very prevalent. It was resolved to play at *ka'batais* (two dice), which, like back-gammon (*nard*), is a kind of gambling game. It was agreed that Duryodhan should play with Judishtar and his brothers. Accordingly the Pándavas were invited with great ceremony from their capital Indarpat to Hastinápúr. They were entertained sumptuously; and when

they became engrossed in play, the *ka'batais* above mentioned were brought forward. The Pándavas, in the honesty of their hearts, never thought that they were playing against cheats; and having no knowledge of the game of *ka'batain*, they lost wealth, kingdom, and everything. Duryodhan was desirous of ruining them, and kept his mind intent upon the game. The final stake was made. If the Pándavas won, they were to get back all that they had lost; but if they failed, they were to leave their home for twelve years, and, putting on mendicants' attire, were to go out into the wilds, and dwell with the birds and beasts. After the completion of that time, they were to go to some city, and pass one year in seeking for a livelihood, but so that no one should know them. If this condition was not fulfilled, they were to go out once more into the wilds for the same period of time, and undergo all the same hardships. They played again, the dice were against them, and they lost. So, in fulfilment of the wager, the five brothers expatriated themselves, and dwelt for twelve years in the wilderness. In the thirteenth year they proceeded to the country of Wáin,¹ which is one of the districts of the Dakhin. There they passed a year in such a way that, although Duryodhan made active search and inquiry, they were not discovered.

At the termination of the prescribed period, they sent Kishan, son of Bāsdeo, as an ambassador to demand the restoration of their country. Duryodhan complained about the condition not having been fulfilled; and as he had no honesty of character, he failed to carry out the agreement. The affairs of the Pándavas became known to the nobles of the country, and war was resolved upon. The Pándavas assembled their forces, and the rival armies met in the field of Kúr-khet, which is situated near Thánesar, in the early years of the Kalí Yúg. The opposing armies were drawn out in array according to the rules of warfare, and a battle began, which lasted for eighteen days, when the victors could not be distinguished from the vanquished. But the career of the wicked ends in shame, so at length Duryodhan and his allies were overpowered, and fell upon the field of battle. According to the belief of the Hindús,

¹ A town on the banks of the Krishna, near the fort of Pande-garh, twenty miles north of Sattara.—*Brigya*.

there were in this battle eleven *kushúns* on the side of the Kuruvás, and seven *kushúns* on the part of the Pándavas. *Kushún*¹ is a word used by the Hindús for twenty-one thousand six hundred and seventy (21,670) elephant-riders, an equal number of chariot riders, sixty-five thousand six hundred (65,600) horsemen, and one *lac* nine thousand six hundred and fifty (109,650) infantry. It is said that not more than twelve men of both sides were left alive. Four persons survived of the army of Duryodhan: first, Kripa Achárj Bráhmaṇ, the preceptor of both parties, who was both a man of the sword and a man of the pen; second, Ashwatthámán, son of the sage Dron, who also had been a preceptor of both parties; third, Kiratu Varmán, of the race of the Yádavas; fourth, Sanji, who was distinguished at the Court of Dhritaráshtira for his wisdom. Of the Pándavas, eight men survived: Judhishtar and the rest of the five brothers; the sixth was Sának, of the tribe of the Yádavas, who was renowned for his bravery; seventh, Jujutash,² the half-brother of Duryodhan; eighth, Kíshan, the blazon of whose fame is beyond description, but some little will be written about him.

Kíshan was born at Mathurá. There are various opinions about him current among the Hindús. Some stigmatize him as the greatest rogue in the world, and the most artful cheat of all the sons of Adam. Some believe that he was a prophet, others raise him to divinity. It is well known that the astrologers, having obtained fore-knowledge of his graceless character from his horoscope, gave information to Rájá Kans, the chief of the Yádavas; and he issued an order for putting Kíshan to death. Kíshan passed eleven years in the house of Nand, who was by occupation a milk-seller and cowherd. At length, by tricks and stratagems and magic, Kíshan killed Rájá Kans, and gave the name of king to Ugrasen, father of Kans. He himself was openly carrying on the government. By degrees,

¹ *Kushún*, as used in Persian, is, as Firishta says, a word of Hindú origin, being an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *Akshauhiní*. The copies vary as to the numbers. The published text has been followed here; but it is not quite accurate, as, according to Sanskrit authorities, the *akshauhiní* consisted of 21,870 elephants, 21,870 chariots, 65,610 horse, and 109,350 foot, making a grand total of 218,700. As Briggs observes, these numbers are quite incredible. He proposes to reduce them by "the sacred and mystical figure" 9, which divides them without a fraction. But the reason for this process seems insufficient, and his method of applying it is unintelligible.

² Or, as called above, "Yúyúcha."

and with the aid of deception and impostures, he set up a claim to divinity, and large numbers of people put faith in his absurd pretension. For thirty-two years after his departure from the house of Nand, he passed his life among the libertines of Mathurá, and his wonderful pranks and actions are notorious. Rájá Jarásandh, of the country of Bihár and Patna, marched against Mathurá with a large force to overthrow him. Another Rájá also, called Kál Yavan, of the race of the Mlechhas, that is to say, a race that did not follow the Hindú religion, came up from the west to attack him. It is said that this Rájá came from Arabia ('Arabistán). Krishna was not able to withstand the attack of these two Rájás, so he fled to Dwáráká, which is on the sea-shore, one hundred kos from Ahmadábád in Gujarát. There he fortified himself, and continued to dwell there for seventy-eight years. He strove for his deliverance, but without effect, until he had attained his one hundred and twenty-fifth year, when, through the malice of Gandhári, the mother of Duryodhan, he was treacherously killed. It is the belief of some that he withdrew into retirement, and that he is still alive.

The cause of Gandhári's hatred was very curious, so I will record it. The story runs, that when the time drew near for Gandhári to give birth to a child, she reflected that, as her husband Dhritaráshtira was blind, and would never see his child, she also, to sympathize with her husband, would keep her eyes from the child in this world. So on the day that Duryodhan was born, she bound up her eyes, and kept them so bound for many years, until her son Duryodhan grew up, and went to war with the Pándavas. When the forces were assembled, and the opposing armies drew near for battle, on the day before the fight, she said to her son, "Oh light of my eyes! the eyes of parents are to the person of their son a sure protection and defence against all troubles and calamities. To-morrow the battle will begin, and as your tender body is not defended with this armour, I am fearful lest some evil should befall thee. Therefore come naked before me, so that I may uncover my eyes, and look upon your figure." Duryodhan asked how he should attend upon her, and she replied, "My son, there is no one in the world like unto the Mánlavas in intelligence, wisdom, excellence, truth, and integrity; — hasten to them, and make inquiry." Duryodhan went

alone to the Pándavas, and told them the reason of his coming. They showed him the greatest hospitality, and, although they knew that there was the most violent animosity between them, they never let the thread of rectitude slip from their hands, but spoke out with sincerity, and said, "The child comes naked from his mother's womb, and the eyes of his parents fall upon him first in that state. As this is the first time your mother will have seen you, to-day is as the first day of your existence; therefore it is right that you should strip yourself naked, and so go into the presence of your mother, so that her eyes may behold the whole of your person, and preserve it from dangers." Duryodhan took leave, and started to return. On the way he was met by Kishan, who asked him what was the reason of his coming alone into the army of his enemies. Duryodhan informed him. Kishan said to himself, "What a pity! if he acts upon the advice of the Pándavas, his body will become as brass; no weapon will take effect upon it, and he will prevail over us." So he laughed loudly, and deceitfully said, "O simple man, they who seek the advice of their enemies, and follow the course which they prescribe, will assuredly fall into the pit of destruction. They have been making sport of you. When you were born, your members were small and mean; but you are grown large and vigorous,¹ how can you show yourself to your mother without shame! When Duryodhan heard this, unsuspecting of deception, he seized the garment of Kishan, and said, "What the Pándavas told me was true; but I will throw belts with long ends over my shoulder, so that the privy parts of my person may be covered." Duryodhan did so, and went before his mother, and said, "Behold, here I am: uncover your eyes." His mother, believing him to have been instructed by the Pándavas, and being assured that they had not spoken improperly, uncovered her eyes. When she perceived the sword-belt, she uttered a cry, and fell down in a swoon. Upon recovering her senses, she wept bitterly, and said, "O my son! did the Pándavas tell you to adopt this trick of the sword-belt?" And he told her that Kishan had advised it. Gandhárí raised her hands in prayer, and in deep affliction cursed Kishan. Then, wringing her hands in sorrow, she said, "O my son! in the very place which

¹ The language of the text is much more explicit.

thou hast hidden from my eyes shalt thou receive a wound, which shall prove thy death." Kishan, as above stated, died after great suffering.

Judishtar, upon the death of Duryodhan, and the extermination of the Kuruvas, was established in the sovereignty of Hind and other places, and ruled as monarch. Thirty-six years after this event, he, under divine guidance, became convinced of the emptiness and instability of this world; so, before entering into the future state, he gave up the vanities of the world, and along with his four brothers retired into seclusion, and at length departed this life.

The Kuruvas and the Pándavas reigned together for seventy-six years. Duryodhan reigned alone for thirteen years, and after the termination of the war, Judishtar reigned over the whole world for thirty-six years, making altogether one hundred and twenty-five years as the duration of their supremacy. Gracious God, what a marvellous and out-of-the-way story is this! In no history throughout the world, excepting in Hindústán, is such a circumstance to be found.

Old historians have recorded that in later days, after two breaks, the son of a son of Arjun was born, and he, having ascended the throne, carried on the government with justice and clemency; and making the events of the past the monitors of the future, he acted in obedience to the will of God. One day it came into his mind to inquire what was the cause of the dissensions of his predecessors, and what were the facts of the war between them. He made inquiries of a learned man of the age named Blisham Báin (Vaisampáyana), and Blisham told him that his preceptor, the sage Byás, had witnessed the various events, and was minutely acquainted with their causes; so he had better make inquiries of him. The King showed the sage Byás every princely courtesy, and sought from him the information which he desired. Byás, through the weakness of old age and spiritual pre-occupation, had given up talking; but he slowly reduced to writing this story with its precepts and counsels, and formed it into a book. He called the work Mahá-bhárat, the signification of which name, as I have heard from common report, is, that mahá means great, and bhárat war; for as the book commemorates the great wars, he gave it the name of

Mahá-bhárat. But there is an objection to this, because *bhárat* in the language of Hind does not mean "war." The book records the history of the race descended from a famous king named Bharat, and so apparently the book is named after him, the letter *a* having been lengthened by use—but God knows! This Byás is considered to be an emanation of the Divine Spirit, and it is believed that he is still alive. Some Hindús affirm that a person named Byás appears in every Dwápar Yúg to record the events which occur among mankind; but others believe that he is a person who makes his appearance in time of war.

It is admitted by common consent that Byás compiled the *Bed*, which was delivered by the tongue of Brahmá, and arranged it in four books. 1. Rig *Bed*. 2. Jajur *Bed*. 3. Sám *Bed*. 4. Atharban *Bed*. It was by doing this he got the name of Byás, because the meaning of that word is compiler or arranger. His original name, as it was known in the middle of the Doáb, was Dadi Báin (*Dwaipáyana*). Wonderful and incredible stories are related about this Byás; but, fearing to be prolix, I have not repeated them. This wonderful book consists of sixty *lacs* (6,000,000) of *sloks*. After its completion, he (Byás) repaired to the banks of the Sarsuti, near Thánesar, and his labours being ended, he there prepared a great feast, to which he invited the learned from all parts and quarters of the world. The festival was kept up for a lengthened period, and he enriched the people with valuable gifts. The sixty *lacs* of *sloks* are divided as follows: Thirty *lacs* were allotted to the *deotás*, who are heavenly spirits or divinities. Fifteen *lacs* were assigned to the inhabitants of the *Satar-lok* (*Satya-loka*), who dwell in the world above. Fourteen *lacs* were appropriated to the *Gandharbs*, one of the varieties of created beings endued with the property of life. One *lac* he left for the benefit of mankind. This he divided into eighteen *parbs* (*parvas*) or books, for the benefit of men of merit. This one *lac* of *sloks* is still extant among men, and is known by the name of *Mahá-bhárat*. Twenty-four thousand *sloks* are occupied with the wars of the Kuruvas and Pándavas; the remainder consists of precepts, homilies, apologues, stories, explanations, and details of the dissensions and wars of former generations. The Bráhmans believe that a prophet or apostle in each Yúg writes a book, and

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that, notwithstanding the long periods of time which ~~have elapsed,~~ these works are still extant. POO

The infidels of Khatá, Khutan (Tartary), Chín, and Hind ~~deem~~ that the deluge of Noah reached their country, or rather they have no belief at all in the deluge. It is the belief of some (Hindús) that the Bráhma and Khatri castes have existed from the most ancient times. There are many other castes which came into existence at the end of the Dwápar Yúg or third age, and the beginning of the Kali Yúg or fourth age. Thus the Rájputs were not known at first, but sprang into existence in later times. After the death of Rájá Bikramájít Khatri, who lived 1600 and some years before the time in which I write, they (the Rájputs) attained the sovereign power, and the manner of their gaining it is thus related: According to a custom which is still prevalent, the *rás* of the Khatri make their damsels wait upon them during the day, but give them liberty to do as they please at night; so each fair one chooses whom she will, and gives birth to children. These are brought up with great care, and are looked upon as the children of the great *rás*. As sons of the house, they consider themselves as of noble birth, and call themselves sons of the Rájá. If you ask one of them whose son he is, he will tell you he is a Rájput, that is, son of a Rájá; for *Raj* means the same as Rájá, and *pút* signifies "son." It is related that the sons of Rájá Súraj, whose history will be told subsequently, were called Rájputs.

Another article of faith among the Hindús is that Adam¹ formed of earth has existed from the beginning of creation, and will continue to exist hereafter. The world is ancient (*ladim*), and will never pass away. But it is no secret to men of wisdom and perspicacity, that although from the beginning of creation, a period supposed to be 800,000 years, it may be that as many thousands of Adams have appeared on the face of the earth, they have all passed away behind the curtain of oblivion. Ján bin Abú-l Ján, whose history is recorded in the Holy Book, is the only exception; but he was not born of the earth. Some were formed of air, some of fire; but the race was always given to disobedience and rebellion, and

¹ The word used is "Adam," but it seems to be used here both for Adam and mankind in general.

under the behests of the God of vengeance, they were destroyed. Another race sprang up, who were not formed of earth. It appears indeed that the Hindús supposed these beings to be men formed of the dust; but how can this be? For the statements they make about the magnitude of their bodies and the length of their lives, and the wonderful and miraculous powers which they attribute to Rám, Lakhman, and others, are inappropriate to the nature of man. All this is mere talk and sound, and is of no weight in the balance of intelligence. If by accident there are any such, they must belong to that class of which mention has been made. Before Abú-l Bashar (the father of mankind), there was no Adam of earthy extraction; and from the time of Adam to the time when I write, not more than 7000 years have passed. So what the Hindús say about hundreds of thousands is all extravagance, and mere falsehood. The truth is, that the country of Hindústán, like other parts of the habitable world, was populated by the descendants of Adam, and the explanation of the matter is this: After the deluge, the Patriarch Noah, under the orders of the Creator of heaven and earth, sent his sons Sám (Shem), Japhet, and Ham into different parts of the world, and directed them to engage in agriculture.

History of the sons of Noah.—Sám was the eldest son and representative of Noah. He begat nine sons.¹ Arshad, Arfakhshad, Kai, Núd, Yúd, Aram, Kabta, A'ád, Kahtán, were their names. All the tribes of the Arabs and their congeners draw their descent from them. So the patriarchs Húd and Sálìh and Abraham sprang from Arfakhshad. The second son of Arfakhshad was Kayúmars, great ancestor of the Kings of Persia. He had six sons, Siyámak, Fárq, 'Irák, Túz, Shám, and Damaghán. Of these Siyámak was the successor of his father. The other sons separated, and they gave their names to the countries in which they severally settled. Some men believe that one of the sons (*pisar*) of Noah was named 'Ajam, and that the country of 'Ajam takes its name from his descendants. The eldest son of Siyámak was named Hoshang, from whom the Kings of Persia down to Yazdajird and Shahriyár all descended.

The children of Yúfat.—In obedience to the command of his father, Yúfat went towards the east and north. There children were born

¹ Genesis x. 22.

to him. His eldest son was named Turk, and all the races of the Turks, the Mughals, Uzbeks, Chaghatáis, Turkomans of Irán and Armenia, are all descended from him. Yáfat's second son was named Chín, and from him the country of China was named. The third son of Yáfat was Árdes, whose descendants settled all the north country to the extreme regions of darkness: the Tájiks and the people of Ghor and Sclavonia sprang from him.

Account of the descendants of Hám, with a brief description of the settlement of Hindústán.—Hám, under his father's command, went southwards, and engaged actively in settling that country. Six sons were born to him, named Hind, Sind, Jash, Afranj, Hurmuz and Búyah. The countries of the south received their names from them. Hind, the eldest son of Hám, went to that country, which from him received the name of Hind, and employed himself in settling the country. His brother Sind settled in Sind, where he built the cities of Thattá and Multán, which received their names from his sons' names. Hind had four sons—1. Púrb; 2. Bang; 3. Dakhín; 4. Nahrwál; and they populated the countries which are known by their names. Dakhín, the son of Hind, had three sons, among whom he divided the territories of the Dakhín. Their names were Mahrát, Kanhar and Tilang; and these three races are still extant in the Dakhín. Nahrwál also had three sons, Bahroj, Kambáj and Málráj;¹ whose names he gave to cities which he founded. Bang also had sons by whom the country of Bengal was peopled. Púrb, who was the eldest son of Hind, had forty-two sons, and in a short time their progeny became numerous. They raised one of their number to be their ruler, and he exerted himself in bringing his country into order. His name was Kishan.

History of the reign of Kishan.—It must not be concealed that the first person who ascended the throne of royalty in Hind was Kishan. He was not the celebrated Kishan about whom the marvellous stories are told, wonderful adventures are related, and to whom a divine origin is attributed. This Kishan was wise, learned, brave and generous. He was of gigantic form, and unable to ride; so, after mature reflection, he gave directions for catching elephants and other wild beasts in snares. His plans having succeeded, he had animals

¹ Busch, Kanber, and — ?

on which he could ride. During his reign a person named Bráhmaṇ, descended from Bang, the son of Hind, made his appearance. He was very wise and intelligent, and Kishan made him his minister. Many crafts, such as carpentry and working in iron, sprang from his intelligence; and some maintain that writing and reading also derived their origin from him. In those days the city of Oudh was built, which was the first city established in India. Kishan was cotemporary with Tahmúrâsp, and he lived more than four hundred years. During his reign nearly two thousand towns and villages were built. He left thirty-seven sons, the eldest of whom, Mahá Ráj, succeeded him.

History of Mahá Ráj, son of Kishan.—With the assent of the chiefs of the tribe and of his brothers, Mahá Ráj ascended the throne; and he was more active even than his father in settling the country, and in establishing a government. The men who descended from Púrb he appointed to the duties of rule and government; and to those who descended from Bráhmaṇ he allotted the duties of acting as ministers and clerks and the sciences of astrology and medicine. One tribe he appointed to carry on trade and agriculture, another he directed to practise all sorts of crafts and trades. He also busied himself in the spread of agriculture, so that he brought many distant parts of Hindústán under cultivation, and founded many cities. In these cities he settled men of knowledge and character, whom he gathered together from all parts. He also built many temples and colleges, and assigned the revenues of the lands near to them as endowments. The *sannyásis* and *jogis* and *bráhmans* were engaged in teaching, doing good, and in scientific pursuits. His reign lasted seven hundred years. The kingdom of India reached a high degree of prosperity and glory, and vied with the empire of Jamshid and Faridún. To secure the stability of the government, and to promote the happiness of his soldiers and people, he made excellent laws and regulations, some of which are acted upon to the present day. He gave to each tribe a distinctive name, such as we now find in the Ráhtors, Chauháns, Powárs and the like. He kept up friendly relations with the Kings of Irán. But one of his brother's sons being offended with him, went to Faridún, and that monarch sent Gurhasp, son of Atrúd, with a valiant army, to

assist the fugitive. So Gurshasp marched to Hindústán, and inflicted great evil on the country, ravaging and devastating it for the space of ten years. Mahá Ráj gave his nephew a portion of territory, and so satisfied him. He also sent a rich tribute by Gurshasp to Faridún. Towards the end of his reign, the *zamíndárs* of Singaldíp (Ceylon) and Karnátak came up with their forces, and expelled Sheo Ráj, the ruler of the Dakhin. He came to seek assistance of Mahá Ráj, who sent his eldest son with a large army and mighty elephants along with Sheo Ráj. The *zamíndárs* of the Dakhin united, and having collected a large and powerful force, made ready for battle. A terrible conflict ensued, in which the son of Mahá Ráj was killed, all the baggage and elephants were lost, and Sheo Ráj, with his auxiliary army, fled wounded and defeated. At the news of this defeat, Mahá Ráj writhed like a snake, and bit his hands with vexation; for up to that time none of the *zamíndárs* of distant lands, such as the Rájá of Tilang,¹ Pegu and Malabar, had ventured upon disobedience or rebellion.

About this time Sám Narimán,² under the orders of the King of Irán, marched to invade Hindústán, and came up to the Panjáb. The commander-in-chief, Mál Chand, with the flower of the army of Hindústán, went to oppose him; but he was not able to arrest his progress. Being compelled to treat, Mál Chand sent clever envoys with gold and jewels and elephants, and made peace by ceding the Panjáb to Sám Narimán. Some writers maintain that from the reign of Faridún the Panjáb was held by the Kings of 'Ajam, and that the descendants of Gurshasp, among whom were Rustam and his ancestors, held the Panjáb, Kábul and Zábul, Sind and Nimroz in *jágír*. Mál Chand was a distinguished general, and the country of Málwá derived its name from him. After returning to Mahá Ráj, he marched without delay in great force against the Dakhin. As soon as the enemy heard of his approach, their hearts sank, and they

¹ The original words are, "*zamíndáran-i jazáir-i dár dást miál rájd-i Tilang,*" etc. Briggs's translation is: "The islands of Acheen and Malacca and Pegu." Malacca is clearly an error for Tilang; but some warrant may be found for "the islands of Acheen" in the words, "*jazáir-i dár,*" which mean literally "distant islands"; but the following words, "such as Tilang, Pegu, and Malabar," show that the word *jazáir* is not used literally.

² Grandfather of Rustam.

dispersed. Mál Chand so used the sword of retribution upon them, that not a vestige of them was left. He placed garrisons in several places, and on his march he founded the forts of Gwálior and Bayána. Mál Chand brought back with him from Telingána and the Dakhin the sciences of singing and music. He spent much of his time at the fort of Gwálior, and there he had many children by the singers whom he had brought back with him;—so music flourished in that country. After seven hundred years, Mahá Ráj died, leaving fourteen sons, and he was succeeded by the eldest, Keshú Ráj, who took his seat upon the glorious throne of Hindústán.

History of Keshú Ráj, son of Mahá Ráj.—At the very beginning of his reign, he sent his brothers (on service) in various directions while he marched by way of Kálpí to Gondwára. Then he pursued his course to the Dakhin, and rode as far as the boundaries of Singaldíp. There he exacted tribute from the rebellious ráis, and exerted himself in bringing the various tribes into subjection. On his return, the *zamíndárs* of the Dakhin leagued together, and raised the banner of hostility. Day by day their forces increased, till they became powerful enough to threaten Keshú Ráj. Finding himself unable to resist, Keshú Ráj made peace, and returned home. He sent letters and many gifts to Minuchihr, and begged for his aid. Minuchihr then sent Sám Narimán with a powerful army. Keshú Ráj went to Jálandhar to meet his ally, and after having entertained him, marched with him towards the Dakhin. The ráis of the Dakhin were dismayed at the approach of the army of Irán, and so that country came back into the possession of the Rájá of Hind. Keshú Ráj showed every attention to Sám Narimán, and accompanied him homewards to the borders of the Panjáb. Then he sent presents and rarities to Minuchihr, and went to dwell in the city of Oudh. There he spread the protection of his justice over the realm of Hind, and secured the happiness of his people. After he had reigned two hundred and twenty years he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

History of Fíroz Rái,¹ son of Keshú Ráj.—Fíroz Rái was well versed in the Hindú *shástras* or sacred books. He was fond of the society of learned and religious men, and took no thought of riding

¹ Briggs's translation calls him "Munere Ray."

or warfare. He devoted himself entirely to religious men, and bestowed much money on the poor. He went twice to the city of Dihár, and there dispensed large sums in charity. The city of Munír was built in his reign. One very improper action of which he was guilty was this: When, through the death of Sám Narimán, weakness fell upon the government of Minuchihr, Afrásiyáb, seizing the opportunity, raised a force against him, and defeated him. Fíroz Rái, then, throwing aside his obligations to Minuchihr and Sám Narimán, marched an army to the Panjáb, and wrested that country from the possession of Zál,¹ son of Sám Narimán. He then made Jalandhar his capital, and sent an ambassador with presents to wait upon Afrásiyáb, and to enrol himself among the numbers of his tributaries. The Panjáb remained in the possession of the *rdís* of Hind, until the reign of Kai-kubád. When Rustam, son of Dastán,¹ the champion of the world, had won the fame of a hero by his own deeds, he marched to recover the Panjáb. Fíroz Rái was unable to resist his attack, so he fled to the hills of Tírhút. Rustam having taken Sind, Multán, and the Panjáb, set off towards Tírhút. Then Fíroz Rái, in the greatest fear, fled by way of the desert to the hills of Jhárkaud and Gondwára. He never saw another happy day, but died soon afterwards, having reigned five hundred and thirty-seven years.

Account of Rustam's bestowing the sovereignty of Hind upon Súraj.— They say that when intelligence of the death of Fíroz Rái reached Rustam, son of Dastán, the dishonesty and faithlessness of the deceased Rái made him averse to permitting any one of his sons to succeed to the throne. Accordingly he raised to the regal dignity one of the chiefs of Hind, named Súraj, who had been early in making his submission. Rustam then returned to Irán. Súraj established his authority, and became a powerful King. From the shores of the sea (*daryd*) of Bengal to the confines of the Dakhin, his governors and officers sat (in authority). He was very active in promoting the erection of buildings and the spread of agriculture. During his reign, a Bráhma came from the hills of Jhárkaud to wait upon him, and as he was deeply versed in the occult sciences and magic, he obtained a complete ascendancy over the mind of Súraj, and converted him to idolatry.

¹ Zál and Dastán are names of the same person, the father of Rustam.

Establishment of Idolatry.—They say that Hind obeyed and worshipped the true God, as he had seen and heard of his father Hám, the son of Noah. His descendants, generation after generation, pursued the same course. At length, in the reign of Mahá Ráj, a person came from Irán, who inculcated the worship of the Sun. That worship spread widely, and some men became worshippers of the stars, others of fire. But when idol-worship arose, it spread more widely than all. Because that Bráhmañ told Súraj that whoever made a large image of an ancestor¹ in gold or silver or stone, would find the way to salvation; so many people, small and great, formed images of the departed, and engaged in the worship of them. Súraj, having built the city of Kanauj on the bank of the Ganges, applied himself to idolatry. This sentiment spread among the people, and every man formed an idol according to his own devices, and paid it his adoration. So ninety tribes, each in its own way, engaged in idolatry. Súraj made the city of Kanauj his capital, and dwelt there for some years. During his reign, it spread to the distance of twenty-five *kos*. Súraj died after a reign of two hundred and fifty years. He was cotemporary with Kai-kubád, and every year used to send tribute to him. He also acknowledged the claims of Rustam, son of Dastán, gave him his own sister's daughter in marriage, and continually sent him presents and rarities. He had thirty-five sons, the eldest of whom, Bah Ráj, succeeded him. *

History of the reign of Bah Ráj, son of Súraj.—When Bah Ráj ascended the throne, he built a city, which he called Bahráj,² from his own name. He studied music for many years. He exerted himself actively in completing the city of Benares, which his father had founded in the latter days of his life, but had not been permitted to finish. Showing great affection and kindness to his brothers, he made them happy with suitable *jágirs*. Some assert that Bah Ráj gave to his brothers, the sons of Súraj, the name of Rájput. He also gave names to other tribes. But he set at nought the regulations of Mahá Ráj, which had been the mainstay of the State; so the affairs of government fell into disorder, and madness seized upon

¹ "*Buzury*," simply, "great,"—and hence "ancestors" or "great men." The subsequent use of *guzashtagán* "the departed," makes clear what was meant.

² Bahráich or Bahroj (Broach) ?

every brain. A bráhmaṇ named Kídár came down from the Siwálik hills, and raised a rebellion against him. After some fighting, the bráhmaṇ obtained the mastery, and the sovereignty of Hind fell from the hands of Bah Ráj. His reign lasted for thirty-six years.

Account of the reign of Kídár Bráhmaṇ.—When this man took the bride of the sovereignty of Hind to his bosom, he was well acquainted with the science of government, and became a great king. He acknowledged himself tributary to Kai-Káús and Kai-Khusrú, and sent offerings to them. He built the fort of Kálinjar. Towards the end of his reign, a powerful man named Shankal came from Kúch, and raised a rebellion. First he got possession of Bang (Bengal) and Bihár. Then he collected an enormous army, and fought several hard battles with Kídár, over whom he obtained the victory. Kídár reigned nineteen years.

*History of the reign of Shankal.*¹—After Shankal obtained the throne, he affected great pomp and state. He founded the city of Lakhnautí, better known under the name of Gaur. For two thousand years that city was the capital of the Kings of Bang (Bengal), but in the days of the descendants of Timúr, the place went to ruin. Tándá became the seat of government, instead of it. Shankal got together a force of four thousand elephants, one hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand infantry, and was very proud and magnificent. In his time Afrásiyáb sent a messenger to demand payment of his tribute and dues; but Shankal sent him back again with great scorn and contempt. Afrásiyáb was greatly enraged at this, and sent his general Pirán Wasiya, with an army of fifty thousand fierce Turks, to Hindústán. Shankal resolved to fight, and having assembled a mighty force, marched to the encounter. The armies met in the hills of Kúch, near the frontier of Bangal, and the battle began. For two whole days the conflict raged. The Turks showed great resolution and bravery, and put fifty thousand of their opponents to the sword; but the enemy was so numerous that they made no great impression upon them. The Turks on their side had lost seventeen thousand men, and matters at length went so hard with them, that on the third day they were compelled to retreat. Their country was far away, and the enemy overwhelming;

¹ See *supra*, Vol. II. p. 159.

so they fled into the hills of the neighbourhood, and got possession of a stronghold. Pírán Wasiya drew up a despatch containing an account of his condition, and sent it by some brave young men to Afrásiyáb. Pírán was engaged night and day in fighting, for the Hindús swarmed around, and pressed him vigorously. They endeavoured to force an entry with showers of arrows, and all were in perplexity as to how matters would end.

Arrival of Afrásiyáb in Hind and Relief of Pírán Wasiya.—At this time Afrásiyáb was at the city of Kankdazh (Kunduz?), between Chín (China) and Khutan (Tartary), one month's march on the other side of the city of Khánbáligh. When he was informed of the situation of Pírán Wasiya, he resolved to go to his rescue with a hundred thousand choice cavalry. Pressing on with all speed, he arrived just as Shankal had summoned his Ráis, and by means of the vast force he had collected was pressing Pírán Wasiya to extremity. Afrásiyáb instantly made his attack, and the Hindús were so dismayed that he scattered them like chaff. All their equipments and baggage fell into his hands. Pírán Wasiya being released from the grasp of the enemy, waited on his master. Afrásiyáb then pursued Shankal; and as often as he came up with him, he inflicted loss upon his men. Shankal fled into Bang, and went into the city of Gaur; but the Turks pressed after him so closely that he could only stay there one day, but continued his flight into the mountains of Tírhút. The Turks so completely devastated the country of Bang that no trace of a town was left. Afrásiyáb got information about Shankal, and prepared to pursue him. But Shankal was driven to extremity; so he sent some prudent men with a message to Afrásiyáb, asking forgiveness, and offering to do homage. Afrásiyáb consented, and Shankal came to his presence, with a sword and shroud (hanging on his neck), and begged permission to be allowed to go with him to Turán. Afrásiyáb approved of his proposal, and bestowed the throne upon Shankal's son. So Afrásiyáb took Shankal with him, and Shankal served him faithfully till he was killed by the hand of Rustam in the war of Hamáwarán. Shankal reigned sixty-four years.

Rahát, son of Shankal, raised to the throne by Afrásiyáb.—Rahát was a devout and well-meaning Rájá. He divided the revenues of his

kingdom, which stretched from Garhi to Málwá, into three portions. One he dispensed in charity, the second he appropriated to the support of his father Shaukal and the tribute to Afrásiyáb, and the third he devoted to the maintenance of his army and cattle. Through this arrangement his army diminished, and the Rájá of Málwá, who was subject to him, and paid him revenue, threw off the yoke of obedience, and wrested the fort of Gwálior from the possession of his officers. Rájá Rahat had built the fort of Rohtás, and he had erected a large idol temple, where he was then engaged in worship. He led an army against the Rájá of Málwá, but returned unsuccessful.¹ Rahat reigned eighty-one years, when he died. As he had no son who had attained to years of discretion, a disturbance arose at Kanauj, which was the capital. A man named Mahá Ráj, of the Kachhwáha tribe, and a native of Márwár, raised a rebellion, seized upon the capital Kanauj, and became King.

History of the reign of Mahá Ráj Kachhwáha.—After a time, and when Mahá Ráj had established his power, he led a large army against Nahrwála. He wrested that country from its *samudáirs*, who were *ahírs* or cowherds, and established ports on the sea-shore for the purposes of traffic. There he built ships and launched them, after which he returned. He died after a reign of forty years. His cotemporary was Gushtásp, to whom he sent tribute every year.

History of the reign of Kaid Ráj.—Kaid Ráj was nephew by the sister's side of Mahá Ráj, in accordance with whose will and testament he ascended the throne. At this time, Rustam, son of Dustán, had been killed, and as the Panjáb had for some time had no vigorous governor, Kaid Ráj led his army thither, and easily obtained possession of the country. He dwelt for some time in one of its ancient cities named Behra, and then built the fort of Jammú. In it he placed one of his adherents, a man of the Gakkhar² tribe named Durg, and made him governor of it. From that time to the present, that fortress has remained in the possession of that tribe. After a while the Gakkhar tribe, and a tribe called Chobeh, who are *samudáirs* of consequence in the Panjáb, allied themselves with the

¹ The lithograph is defective here.

² This is clear enough in the lithograph, but Briggs's translation has "Boulhan," and a MS. "Malua."

dwellers in the desert, and with the people who live in the hills between Kábul and Kandahár. The allies marched against Kaid Ráj, and he, being unable to resist, relinquished that country (of the Panjáb) to them. From that time this tribe spread, and took possession of every hill which had a chief. It would seem that this tribe is the same as the Afgháns of the present day. Kaid Ráj reigned for forty-three years.

History of the reign of Jai Chand.—Jai Chand was the commander-in-chief of Kaid Ráj, and, finding himself strong enough, placed his feet upon the throne. In his reign there was a great famine; and as he was not of royal race, he had no sympathy for the sufferings of the people. He spent his days at Bayána in debauchery and pleasure, while his soldiers and subjects were perishing. Many villages and towns went to ruin, and Hindústán was many years before it recovered from the effects of his neglect. Jai Chand reigned for sixty years. His cotemporary was Dáráb, to whom he sent tribute every year. He left a son of tender years, whom his mother placed upon the throne, she herself carrying on the government as regent. But Jai Chand's brother, named Dihlú, conspired with several chiefs, put the boy aside, and placed the crown upon his own head.

History of the rebellion of Rájá Dihlú.—Dihlú was a Rájá of considerable courage and daring, and he was kind and gentle to the people. His great object was to promote their happiness. He built the city of Dehlí, and named it after himself. When he had reigned forty years, a man named Fúr, who was related to the Rájá of Kamáún, and dwelt in that country, broke out in rebellion. He first got possession of the country of Kamáún, and then he marched against the fort of Kanauj. A great battle was fought between him and Rájá Dihlú, in which Dihlú was taken prisoner; and Fúr sent him to be confined in the fort of Rohátás.

*Reign of Rájá Fúr.*¹—Fúr soon afterwards led an army to Bang, and extended his sway as far as the shores of the Indian Ocean. He became a very great Rái, and, according to Munawwar Khán, no Rái was ever equal to him. After he had ascended the throne, he relinquished the practice of sending tribute to the King of Irán.

¹ Porus.

Iskandar led his army to India; and as Fúr would not submit, Iskandar marched with his army like a swarm of locusts or ants to encounter him. A great battle was fought near Sirhind, and Fúr was killed. Fúr reigned for seventy-three years. It must not be concealed that the Ráís of the Dakhín also had grown in power and dominion;—such as Kul Chand, who built the city of Kulbarga; Mirich Chand, who built the town of Mirich, to which he gave his own name; Bijí Chand, who built and populated the city of Bijanagar, and made it the seat of the government of the Dakhín. There were other Ráís besides these; but to name them all would be a tedious task. When Iskandar came to India, there was a great Rájá named Bídár, who had built the fort of Bídár. The tribe of Ráj-bídara, which still exists, and is renowned as one of the bravest of all the tribes of the Dakhín, is of his lineage, and by the decrees of Fate is established in the sovereignty of the Dakhín. When this Rájá heard of the arrival of Iskandar, and the death of Fúr, he sent his son, with valuable presents and elephants, to Iskandar, with the object of inducing him to abstain from the conquest of his kingdom, and to return to Irán. After the death of Fúr, and the return of Iskandar, a man named Sínsár Chand¹ seized the reins of authority in Hindústán, and in a short time became master of the whole country, which had fallen into a state of anarchy. He had seen with his own eyes the destruction of Fúr; so, through fear, he every year sent the tribute before it was demanded to Gudarz, who at that time was reigning in Irán. His reign lasted seventy years. A man named Júnah then obtained the throne by force.

Rebellion of Júnah.—Some state that Júnah was son of a daughter of Fúr. After he ascended the throne, he performed many good deeds, and exhibited many excellent qualities. He endeavoured to promote the prosperity of the kingdom, and established many towns and villages on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna. He also made great efforts to administer justice. He was contemporary with Ardashír Bábagán. One year Ardashír marched against India, and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind. Júnah was very much alarmed, and hastened to do homage to him. He presented pearls and gold and jewels and elephants as tribute, and so induced

¹ Chandragupta?

Ardashír to return. Júnah then went back to Kanauj, and lived there for some time in tranquillity. After a reign of ninety years, he died, leaving two sons, the elder of whom, Kalyán Chand, succeeded him.

Reign of Kalyán Chand.—Kalyán was a violent and tyrannical ruler, who for trifling faults put his people to death, and upon mere suspicion seized the wealth and property of innocent men. He also exacted contributions from the *raiyats* by force. So the people emigrated to other parts, and Hindústán became desolate. Kanauj, the capital, was reduced to such a state of wretchedness that only the Rájá and a few inhabitants were left. The splendour of his Court had departed, and the realm of Hindústán was full of misery. The Ráis on all sides grew strong in power and high in dignity, so that it is necessary to write something about them. But as it is not necessary to record all the matters relating to the Ráis of Hind and Kanauj, I will write about the affairs of Rái Bikramájít, who reigned in the kingdom of Málwá.

History of Bikramájít the Just, King of Málwá.—Bikramájít belonged to the tribe of Powár. His excellent character is apparent in the many stories and tales about him that are current among the Hindús. In his youth he put on the garments of a religious mendicant, and wandered over many countries in the society of devotees, submitting to their discipline. When he reached his fiftieth year, under the guidance of heaven, he placed himself at the head of his army. It was ordained by the Almighty that he should attain a high position, and should rescue God's servants from the violence and oppression of the tyrannical Ráis. Day by day his power and prosperity increased, so that in a short time all the territory of Málwá and Nahrwála came into his possession. He spread the shadow of his justice and equity and kindness over the inhabitants of every city, so that violence was repressed, and protection secured. The Hindús believe that he had a fore-knowledge of what would happen to men, and that whatever he foretold came to pass without lack or fail. Whatever of good or evil, of benefit or injury, occurred in his dominions during the night, all, without the least exception, became known to him in the morning as clear as the light. Notwithstanding his royal station, he associated with his

people in the most brotherly way. In his dwelling he had only earthenware vessels and ordinary mats. The city of Ujjain was built in his reign. He also founded the fort of Dhar, and chose it as his place of abode. The temple of Mahá-kál at Ujjain was built by him, and he made fixed endowments for the *bráhmans* and *jogís* whom he appointed to live in that temple, and perform the worship. He passed much of his time in the worship of the creation and in the worship of the Creator (*parastish-i khalk wa parastish-i khálík*). The faith of the people in him is unbounded, and they tell most wonderful and miraculous stories about him. An era of years and months dating from his death is used in documents, and at the time when I write this, in the year one thousand and fifteen of the Hijra, one thousand six hundred and sixty-three years of this era have elapsed. Rájá Bikramájít was a cotemporary of Ardashir, or, according to others, of Sháhpúr. Towards the end of his reign, a *sasánidár* of the Dakhin named Sálíbáhan rose in rebellion against him, and a battle was fought between them on the banks of the Nerbadda. Sálíbáhan was victorious, and Bikramájít was killed. There are many statements as to the length of the reign of Bikramájít; but as none of them are acceptable to reason, nothing is here said about it. For a long time after the death of Bikramájít, the country of Málwá was in a wretched state, and had no just and liberal ruler. At length a Rájá named Bhoj seized the reins of government.

Reign of Rájá Bhoj.—This Rájá also belonged to the tribe of Powár. In justice and liberality he vied with Bikramájít. He did not do as people usually do at night, but wandered about the city, looking into the circumstances of the poor and needy. His constant anxiety was to better the condition of men. The cities of Ghargún (Gágrún?) and Bījagar and the town of Hindiya were built in his reign. He was very fond of gathering women together. Twice every year he held a great festival, to which musicians and singers resorted in flocks from all parts of Hindústán. For forty days the amusements were kept up, and nothing went on but dancing, singing, music, and story-telling. In those days, all classes received food and wine and betel from the Court, and at the time of departure each person received a robe and ten *misáls* of gold. He died after a reign of fifty years. In those days, a ruler named Bís

Deo sat upon the throne of Kanauj. He recovered the countries of of Bihár and Bengal, which had been lost to the Ráis of Kanauj, and he was a monarch of great power and dignity. In his reign, Bahrám Gúr disguised himself in the dress of a merchant, and went to Kanauj for the purpose of ascertaining the truth about the kingdom of Hindústán, and inquiring into the manners and customs of the Hindús. It is said that in those days a fierce and terrible elephant frequented the neighbourhood of Kanauj, and not a day passed without his trampling to death some of the wayfarers who were going to or coming away from that city. Bäs Deo made repeated attempts to destroy him, but had returned unsuccessful. It so happened that on the very day on which Bahrám reached Kanauj, that elephant approached the outskirts of the city, and made a terrible trumpeting and bellowing. The Rájá ordered the gates of the city to be shut, but Bahrám went out of the city alone, attacked the animal, and despatched him with one wooden arrow (*chobah tir*). All the people of the city, small and great, who had gone out to see the sport, fell at the feet of Bahrám, and their shouts and acclamations reached the skies. When Bäs Deo heard of this, he sent for him to his presence. On Bahrám's approaching the Rájá, one of the attendants of the Court, who had in a previous year conveyed the tribute to Bahrám's country, recognized him, and informed the Rájá. Thereupon the Rájá descended from his throne, and paid homage to Bahrám. Afterwards he gave him his daughter in marriage, and sent him back with all honour. As long as he lived, he every year sent him rare and choice presents. He died after reigning seventy years. The fort and city of Kálp were among the works of his reign. He left thirty-two sons, and for ten years after his death there was a continual struggle and war among the brothers for the throne. At length Ram Deo, the commander-in-chief of Bäs Deo, with the aid of other leaders of the army, took possession of the throne, and became a powerful monarch.

Reign of Rám Deo Ráhtor.—Rám Deo belonged to the tribe of Ráhtor. He was a man of much courage, determination and vigour. By degrees he put down the rebellious chiefs who had shown signs of disaffection, and made himself quite secure against domestic revolts. Then he equipped an army, and marched against Márwár,

which he wrested from the possession of the tribe of Kachhwāha, and established his own tribe, the Rāhtora, in their place. From that day to this they have held the country. He removed the tribe of Kachhwāha, and settled them in the vicinity of the fort of Rohitā. He took in marriage the daughter of a chief of that tribe. Afterwards he marched against Lakhanāsi, and having taken possession of it, he gave it to his nephew, and carried off enormous spoil. At the end of three years, he returned to Kanauj, and remained there two years. Then he led an army against Mālwa. Having made the country amenable to his revenue officers, he founded many towns and villages. He repaired the fort of Narwar, and placed a Rāhtor in it as commandant. Then he demanded of the Rājā of Bijānagar his daughter in marriage. Sheo Rāj, who then held in his hands the reins of authority over the Dakhin, was alarmed at Rām Deo's power, and sent him his daughter, with a handsome dowry. Rām Deo stayed for two years in Gondwāra, and killed many of the powerful *samādāra*. He then returned to Kanauj, and dwelt there seven years in happiness. After that, he marched into the Siwālik hills, and made all the *samādāra* tributary. The Rājā of Kamān, who was the most important person in those mountains, and whose ancestors had ruled the country for nearly two thousand years, came out against Rām Deo, and gave him battle. The conflict raged from morning till night, and there was dreadful slaughter on both sides; but victory at length inclined to Rām Deo, and the Rājā of Kamān, leaving his equipage and elephants, took refuge in the mountains. Rām Deo took his daughter and tribute, and having confirmed the country to the Rājā, he next turned his attention to the country of Nagarkot. He ravaged all that country, and pursued his course until he came to a place called Sankot¹ Pindi. There he stopped, and went no further, in consequence of the sanctity of a temple of Durgā, near Nagarkot. He sent a messenger to summon the Rājā of that place; but the Rājā refused to come to him. Some Brāhmans then came to Rām Deo, and gave assurances to him, that if he would go and visit the temple, the Rājā would wait upon him. So the two Rājās saw each other. Rām

¹ The lithograph has "Hankot," but the translation has "Sankot," with which the M.S. agrees.

Deo gave much gold to the attendants of the temple, and having asked the hand of the Rájá's daughter for his son, he went on towards the fort of Jammú. The Rájá of Jammú, confident in the valour of his army, the strength of his fortress, the difficulty of access, the density of the jungle, and the abundance of his supplies, refused to surrender, and came forth to battle. But he was unable to stand against Rám Deo, and his army fled. Rám Deo sent a force in pursuit, while he himself invested the fortress, which he shortly took. He made many prisoners, and obtained much spoil. Afterwards the Rájá of Jammú came humbly to wait upon him. He demanded a daughter of the Rájá for another son of his, and then departed. From the river Behut, which descends from Kashmir, that land of Paradise, into the Panjáb, he proceeded to Bengal and the shores of the sea, which is far distant from the Siwálik hills, as much perhaps as five months' march. Nearly five hundred *rás* and *rájás* who dwelt in the hills were reduced, and compelled to pay tribute. With gold and jewels, and stores and elephants, he returned to Kananj, his capital; there he took his seat upon his throne, and held a great festival. Then he assembled his soldiers, and made them an increase of twenty (per cent.). Having rewarded his brave men, he distributed a third part of his booty among the people. After this, he stayed at home in ease and happiness, and never travelled abroad, until, like other mortal men, he died, after a reign of fifty-four years. The Hindús are agreed that they never had a greater king than Rám Deo. He was the cotemporary of Firoz Sháh Sámání, son of Kai-Kubád, to whom he every year sent tribute, and never failed to show his obedience.

Reign of Partáb Chand Sansodiyah.¹—After the death of Rám Deo, quarrels arose among his sons, and war and bloodshed followed. Many calamities fell upon the State of Kananj, and the enormous treasures of Rám Deo were squandered. One of Rám Deo's generals, named Partáb Chand, took advantage of the brothers' quarrels, and assembling a numerous army, and marching to Kananj, he easily took possession of the throne. His first act was to remove all the sons of Rám Deo who were the heirs to the throne, and he left no trace of any one of them. He then repressed all the *zamíndárs*,

¹ The Ránás of Udípur are of the Sansodiya or Sasodiya tribe.

who in various parts had cast off authority and gathered strength. Having brought them into due subordination, he became a powerful King. He was successful in many of his enterprises; so he became puffed up with a sense of his own greatness, and withheld the tribute due to the Kings of Irán. When a person came from Naushirwán to demand it, he sent him back empty-handed. Naushirwán then sent the army of Irán, and overran the country of Multán and the Panjáb. Partáb Chand was in dismay, and repenting of his conduct, he begged forgiveness, and sent much gold and jewels to obtain a cessation from the ravaging and plundering. So long as he lived, he ever afterwards sent the tribute yearly. After his death, the Ráís of various parts became powerful, and seized upon much territory, so that little was left to his children. They were consequently called Ránás, because in Hindí a Rájá of small territory and inferior power is called Ráná.¹ The descendants of Partáb Chand continue to wield authority at the time of my writing this book; but the mountain land of Komalmír and the neighbouring country is all that they hold. Chítór, Mandisor, and many other of their possessions have been conquered by the descendants of Anúr Timúr.

Reign of Anand Deo Rájá.—Anand Deo was of the Bais tribe. After the death of Rájá Partáb Chand, he revolted in the country of Málwá, and his power increased from day to day, until he became possessed of all the countries of Málwá, Nahrwála, Mahrát (Mahratta country), and the territory of the Dakhin and Birár. He built the forts of Rámgar and Mahúr. The fort of Mándú also dates from his time. His cotemporary was Khusrú Parwiz. He reigned sixteen years, and then died. In the same year a Hindú, by name Mál Deo, rose in rebellion in the Doáb, and collecting a large army he wrested Delhi from the hands of the sons of Partáb Chand. After the capture of Delhi he led his army against Kanauj, which also he acquired. They say that under him Kanauj attained a high degree of prosperity, so that the shops of the betel-sellers increased from one to thirty thousand, and there were sixty thousand houses of singers and musicians. From these instances some idea may be

¹ Firishta is here inaccurate, for the Rank of Udipúr was and is considered of the very highest dignity.

formed of the rest. Mál Deo died after a reign of forty-two years. He had no sons, and in every part of the country the Ráis assumed independence, so that until the rise of the great and glorious Muhammadan power, there was no great paramount Rájá sitting on the throne of Hindústán. When Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní made his holy war against Hindústán, there was a Rájá ruling at Kanauj who was called Kúr; the Rájá at Mirat was Dharm Datt; at Mahában was Kul Chand; at Láhore was Jaipál, son of Hatpál; at Kálinjar was Bijí Ráo; and so in each of the countries of Málwá, Ajmír, Gujarát, and Gwálior, there was a different ruler. Of these I shall take no notice, but shall proceed to describe the rise and progress of the Muhammadan Empire, and the exploits of its Sultáns.

Rise of Islám in Hindústán.—The first leader of Islám who placed his foot upon the territory of Hindústán, and waged the holy war with the people of that country, was Muhallab, son of Saфра. In the year twenty-eight of the Hijra, 'Abdu-lla, son of 'Amar, governor of Basra, marched against Persia on behalf of the Khalífa 'Usmán, as the people of that country had cast off their allegiance after the death of the Khalífa 'Umar. He led his army thither, and returned victorious to Basra. In the year thirty the Khalífa 'Usmán removed Walid 'Akaba from the government of Kúfa, in consequence of his habit of drinking, and appointed Sa'id, son of 'As, to succeed him. In the same year, Sa'id went towards Tabaristán. The Khalífas Hasaa and Husain also took part in that invasion, and under their auspicious influence, the country of Júrján, of which Astarábád is the capital, was conquered. As the price of peace, the men of Júrján, two hundred thousand in number, accepted the faith of Islám, and thus made their home flourish.

In the year 31 the Khalífa 'Usmán commanded 'Abdu-lla bin 'Amar to make the conquest of Khurásán; so he marched against that country by way of Kirmán, with a large army. His advanced force was under the command of Hanif bin Kais. He afterwards subdued Sistán, Khután and Naishápúr. The *marzbán* of Tús joined him, and then Sarakhs, Hirát, Bálghis, Ghor, Ghurjistán, Marv, Tálíkán and Balkh came under Muhammadan sway. After 'Abdu-lla had in a short time achieved all these conquests, he appointed Kais bin Húshim to Khurásán; Hanif bin Kais to Marv, Tálíkán

and Naishápúr; and Khálid bin 'Abdu-lla to Hirát, Ghor and Ghurjistán. Having left these governors, he himself returned to the holy places at Mecca.

In the year 32 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Rabi'a, under the command of 'Usmán, had gone out to war against Balkh; but he and many of his men were slain. Such of them as escaped the sword fled into Júrján and Jilán. In the same year Kárún, one of the *amírs* of 'Ajam,—when he found that 'Abdu-lla 'Amar had gone to visit the holy places, and that Khurásán was left without any Persian Musulmáns,—collected forty thousand men from Tabbas, Hirát, Bádghís, Klután, Ghor and other places, and then rose in rebellion. 'Abdu-lla 'Azim, who was with Hanif at Naishápúr, with forty thousand men, put down his rebellion, and for that service received the government of Khurásán.

In the year 44 Mu'áwiya, son of Abú Sufiyán, appointed Ziyád bin Ummáiya governor of Basra, Khurásán and Sistán. In the same year 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Samar, under the permission of Ziyád, effected the conquest of Kábul, and reduced the inhabitants to obedience. About that time Muhallab bin Abú Saфра, one of the great 'Arab *amírs*, came from Marv to Kábul and Zábul. He then proceeded to Hindústán, to wage holy war against the infidels. He made ten or twelve thousand boys and girls prisoners. At that time many of the people of Hind, by the will of God, became Musalims.

In the year 53 a disease¹ made its appearance in the fingers of Ziyád bin Ummáiya, and he died. Mu'áwiya then appointed his son 'Abdu-lla to be governor of Kúfa. After a while, he marched towards Máwaráu-n Nahr; and after capturing several cities, he returned, and received the government of Basra. He sent before him Isákus bin Zir'at al Giláni to take charge of Khurásán.

In the year 59² Mu'áwiya appointed Sa'd bin 'Usmán 'Affán to the government of Khurásán. In the year 62 Yazid bin Mu'áwiya appointed Salam bin Ziyád to the government of Khurásán and Sistán. Among the men whom Yazid sent with Salam was Muhallab, son of Abú Saфра. He appointed Salam, son of his

¹ *df'án*, a plague or pestilence.

² The lithograph erroneously gives the date as "60."

younger brother Yazíd bin Ziyád, to the government of Sístán. When he heard that the King (*pádsháh*) of Kábul had broken out in rebellion, and had imprisoned 'Abdu-lla bin Ziyád, the 'Arab governor (*Ákim*), he immediately collected an army, and marched against the people of Kábul. After a severe fight, he was defeated with heavy loss. When intelligence of this reached Salam Ziyád, he sent to Kábul Talha bin 'Abdu-lla bin Hanif Khuzái, who is well known by the title of "Talha of the Talhas," with the object of buying back Abú 'Ubaidah for five hundred thousand *dirams*. After that, Salam gave the government of Sístán to Talha. He then sent the armies of Ghor and Bádghís against Kábul, and compelled the people of that place to become obedient. Then he appointed to the government of Kábul Khálid bin 'Abdu-lla, who, according to some, was of the lineage of Khálid Walíd; but according to others, he was of the stock of Abú Jahl. When Khálid bin 'Abdu-lla was dismissed from the government of Kábul, he, through fear of the governor of Majad, thought his journey to 'Irák-'ajami would be difficult and dangerous. So, with his wives and children, and with a party of 'Arabs, he, under the guidance of some of the chief men of Kábul, proceeded to the Sulaimán mountains, which lie between Multán and Pesháwar, and there took up his abode. He gave his daughter in marriage to an Afghán of repute, who had become a convert to the Muhammadan faith. That woman bore sons, from whom sprang two individuals, who obtained high renown. One was Lodí, the other Súr. The Afghán tribes of Lodí and Súr spring from this source. In the book, *Malla'u-l Anwár*, written by a trustworthy author, which I saw at Burhánpúr, in Khándes, it is affirmed that the Afgháns are (descended from) nobles of Pharaoh. For when the Prophet Moses prevailed over the reprobate Pharaoh, many of his chiefs were repentant, and were converted to the religion of Moses. Some of the chiefs who were devoted to Pharaoh and his god, in the grossness of their ignorance, rejected Islám; and having left their native land, emigrated to India, and settled in the Sulaimán mountains. There their tribes grew numerous, and received the name of Afgháns. When Abrahá went up to attack the Ka'bah, many infidels from far and wide accompanied him. Among them were the Afgháns, who joined him for a certain time. When

they arrived at Mecca, they met their punishment, and went to destruction. The Musulmán Afgháns engaged in agriculture, and in other occupations, for obtaining a livelihood. They became rich in horses, cattle and sheep, and they formed connexions and kept up communications with those Muhammadans who had followed Mullahmád Kásim through Sind to Multán, and there dwelt.

In the year 143, when their descendants had greatly increased, they descended from the mountains, and took possession of certain places in Hindústán, such as Karmáj, Pesháwar, and Shanúrán. The Rájá of Láhore, who was related to the Rájá of Ajmír, resolved upon preventing their inroads, so he sent against them one of his nobles, in command of a thousand horse. The Afgháns advanced to meet him, and slew many of the Hindús. After this the Rájá of Láhore sent his nephew with two thousand horse and five thousand foot, well fitted out, against the encroaching Afgháns. On this occasion the people of Khilj and Ghor, and the men of Kábul, who were now adorned with the glory of Islám, considered it their duty to assist their countrymen, so they sent four thousand men to support them. When they joined, the flag of resistance was unfurled. In the course of five months seventy battles were fought with the infidels, and in many of the fights the confederates were victorious. But when winter brought up its forces, the infidels were unable to endure, and were reduced to great misery, so they abandoned the contest, and returned to their homes. When the winter was over, the nephew of the Rájá of Láhore returned to the attack with a fresh army. On this occasion, also, the men of Kábul and of Khilj brought up their reinforcements. The armies met between Karmáj and Pesháwar. Sometimes the infidels gave battle, and drove the Musulmán to the hills; sometimes the Musulmán took the offensive, and repulsed the infidels at the point of the sword. When the rainy season came on, the infidels were anxious about the rising of the waters of the Indus, so, without knowing whether they were victorious or defeated, they retired to their homes. The men of Kábul and Khilj also went home; and whenever they were questioned about the Musulmán of the Kolistán (the mountains), and how matters stood there, they said, "Don't call it Kolistán, but Afghánistán; for there is nothing there but Afgháns and dis-

turbances." Thus it is clear that for this reason the people of the country call their home in their own language Afghánistán, and themselves Afgháns. The people of India call them Patán; but the reason for this is not known. But it occurs to me, that when, under the rule of Muhammadan sovereigns, Musulmáns first came to the city of Patná, and dwelt there, the people of India (for that reason) called them Patáns—but God knows!

When the peace between the Rájá of Láhore and the infidel Gakkhars ended in war, the Gakkhars formed an alliance with their neighbours the Afgháns. The Rájá of Láhore made peace; and, to put an end to contention, he ceded to them some districts of the Lamghánát, and associated with them the tribe of Khilj, which, in the infancy of the Afgháns, had settled in that desert (*sahrá*). The conditions were, that they were to guard the frontier, and prevent the armies of Islám from entering into Hindústán. The Afgháns erected a fort in the Kohistán (mountains) of Pesháwar, which they called Khaibar; and they took possession of the country of Roh. During the ascendancy of the Sámánians, these (Afgháns and Gakkhars) prevented them from doing any injury to the territories of Láhore. This is why it was that the incursions of the Sámánians from first to last were made by way of Sind and Bhátiya. Roh is the name of a particular mountain, which extends in length from Swád and Bajaur to the town of Siwí, belonging to Bhakar. In breadth it stretches from Hasan Abdál to Kábul. Kandahár is situated in this territory.

When the throne of Ghazní came to Alptigin, his general Subuktigin made several attacks upon Lamghán and Multán, and carried off many prisoners. Unable to endure these attacks, the Afgháns applied in their extremity to Jaipál, the Rájá of Láhore, and complained of Subuktigin's inroads. Jaipál was aware that the army of Hindústán could not continuously occupy those parts, in consequence of the extreme cold; so he consulted with the Rájá of Bhátiya, and by his advice he called to his presence Shaikh Hamíd, a man of great consideration among the Afgháns, and raised him to the dignity of *amir*. Shaikh Hamíd in this way obtained possession of the territory of Lamghán and Multán, and carried on the government on his own behalf. Thus, at that date the Afgháns obtained an *amir*

of their own, and became people of importance. When Alptigin was dead, and Subuktigin had succeeded him, Shaikh Hamid thought it advisable to avoid war; so he sent to Subuktigin a message, saying: "You and I are both Musulmans, and so there is a bond of union between us. It will be a gracious and proper course, if you will consider my people as your own, and give instructions to your victorious forces, that when they attack the country of Hindustan, they shall do no harm to us, your well-wishers." Subuktigin, through the exigencies of the time, agreed to their proposal. After the death of Jaipal, Subuktigin, dealing in a friendly spirit with Shaikh Hamid, conferred on him the *ikta'* of Multan. Sultan Mahmud's course of action was different from his father's. He subdued the Afghau tribes, put their leaders to death, and reduced the people to a state of obedience and service.

NOTE F.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF WORKS OF THE PERIOD.¹

I.

TÁRÍKHU-L JANNÁBI;

AKHBÁRU-D DAWAL.

THE first work, of which the correct name is supposed to be *Bahru-z Zakhkhár*, "the swelling sea," comprises a general history from the beginning of the world to A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589). D'Herbelot quotes the author of the *Kashfu-l Zanún* as saying that this history is called by some '*Ilmu-z Zakhkhár*, "superabundant knowledge," and that it is the most copious history which the Muhammadans have. Háji Khalfa says it has no known title, but that the author of *Akhbáru-d Dawal* mentions it under the name of *Bahr*, and that some learned men call it, '*Ailemu-z Zúkhír fí ahwálu-l-awáíl wau-l-awákhír*, "an overflowing well in the transactions of ancients and moderns."

It gives an account of the creation of the world, the Prophets, Syrians, Sabians, Jews, Christians, the four ancient Persian dynasties, the Kings of the Greeks, of the Israelites, Sultáns of Egypt, the Arab tribes, Muhammad, the first four Khalífs, and those of the Ummayide and 'Abbáside dynasties, the Mamlúks who ruled over Syria, the several dynasties of the Saffárians, Sámánians, Ghorians, Ghaznivides, Dilamites or Buwaihides, Saljúkians, Khwárazm-sháhíá, Changíz Khán, Tímúr, and their descendants, the Ottoman Emperors, and others.

The work was originally written in Arabic, and translated by the author into Turkish, and abridged by him also in that language. Hence some confusion has arisen in describing it, and a second

¹ [These are works which Sir H. M. Elliot had never met with, but about which he has drawn information from other sources.]

source of error arises from there being another author of this name, who wrote a history of Tímúr.

It is divided into 82 sections, each containing a different dynasty; and, although Hájí Khalfá notices that several dynasties are omitted which are mentioned in the *Jakán-árá*, yet he states that he knew no work equally copious as a compendium. He therefore abstracted the greater part into his own historical work, entitled *Fazlaka*, but increased the number of the different dynasties to 150. He states also that the *Akhbáru-d Dawal wa ásuru-l-awwal*, "the annals of dynasties and the monuments of ancient things," in 380 folios, written A.H. 1008, by Ahmad bin Yúsuuf bin Ahmad, is an abridgment of Jannábi's history, to which the epitomator adds a little of his own, omitting at the same time many dynasties given by Jannábi.

D'Herbelot varies in giving the name of this author. Under the article "*Gianabi*," he gives it as, Abou Mohammed Mosthafa ben Seid bin Saiyd Hassan al Hosseini, and under "*Tarikh al Gianabi*," he calls him, al Gianabi ben Seid Hassan al Roumi. Uri gives his full name as, Abu Muhammed Mustafá ben al-Said al-Hasan ben al-Said Senan ben al-Said Ahmed al-Hosaini al-Hashemi al-Carshi. He died A.H. 999 (A.D. 1591).

I know of no Manuscript of this work in India, but there was a copy in Sir Gore Ouseley's collection. The name of *Bakru-l Zakhkhár* is familiar, as being the title of a ponderous work devoted to the lives of Muhammadan Saints. It is also the name of the first volume of a modern compilation, called *Majm'au-l Malúk*.

The Arabic history exists at Oxford and St. Petersburg, and the Turkish is in the Royal Library of Vienna. The Bodleian has two copies, both in two volumes; one copy is in folio, comprising 553 leaves, but there are only 76 sections included in it; another is in 4to. comprising 880 leaves.¹

¹ Compare Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or.*, pp. 150, 170, 173, Nicoll and Pusey, *ib.* pp. 590, 595; Fraehn, *Indicium Bibliograph.*, No. 221; Kehler, *Kiehl. Exped.*, vol. iv. p. 274; *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, vol. iv. p. 235; Hájí Khalfá, *Lex. Bibl. et Enc.*, vol. ii. p. 124; *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde*, p. xviii; *Wien. Jahrb.*, no. lxxix. pp. 11, 13; *Fundg. d. Or.*, vol. iv. p. 329, vol. vi. p. 370; Fleischer's *Cat.*, no. 80; *Cat. As. Soc. Beng.*, p. 7; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 120, vol. ix. p. 230; Gemäldeaal, *Prof.*, p. xi.

II.

TÁRÍKH-I HÁJÍ MUHAMMAD KANDAHÁRÍ.

THIS work is very frequently quoted by Firishta, both in the General History, as well as in the Histories of Bengál, Sind, and Gujarát, and throughout a period extending from Mahmúd of Ghazni to the accession of Akbar. It is, therefore, evidently a General History. The work is also quoted by Ghulám Basít, but probably at second hand.

In the *Sahíhu-l Akhbár*, Sarúp Chand quotes as one of the authorities to which he is indebted, *Tárikh-i Sadr-i Jahán* by Háji Muhammad Kandahári, in which he has confounded two names together, and rendered himself open to the suspicion of quoting works which he never saw,—a practice by no means uncommon with our modern historiographers.

I cannot learn that there is any copy of this work extant.

(See Briggs's *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 52, 408, vol. iv. pp. 48, 345, 401.)

III.

FUTÚHU-S SALÁTÍN.

THE "Victories of the Sultáns" would seem, if we may judge by the title, to be a General History. It is quoted in the preface of the *Tabakát-i Akbari* as one of the authorities on which that history is founded.

Firishta, under the reign of Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik, quotes this anecdote from it.

"As the King was near the hills of Tírhút, the Rájá appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the King alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at the fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of water, and defended by a high wall. The King invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Rájá and

his family were taken, and great booty was obtained, and the government of Tírhút was conferred upon Ahmad Khán."

Briggs observes in a note, "I understand this is a compilation of little authority, and may be ranked with the *Jám'a-i Hikáyát*, or other collections of historical romances."

 IV.

TÁRÍKH-I HÁKIMÁN-I HIND.

A HISTORY of India; comprising an Introduction, twelve Sections and Supplement.

Introduction.—The sovereigns of India, from Shem, the son of Noah, to Anand Deo.

1st Sect.—The Sultáns of Láhore, from Násiru-d dín Subuktigin, to Khusrú, son of Khusrú Sháh.

2nd Sect.—Kings of Delhi, from Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám to Akbar.

3rd Sect.—Kings of the Dakhín in six Chapters, treating of the Kings of Kullbarga, Bijápúr, Ahmadnagar, Telingána, Birár and Bidar.

4th Sect.—Princes of Gujarát.

5th Sect.—Princes of Málwá.

6th Sect.—Princes of Burhánpúr.

7th Sect.—Kings of Bengal.

8th Sect.—Kings of Sind and Tatta.

9th Sect.—Princes of Multán.

10th Sect.—Kings of Kashmír.

11th Sect.—Rulers of Malabár.

12th Sect.—The holy men of Hindústán.

Supplement.—A description of Hindústán.

Author unknown; the work follows the same order, and so would appear to be an abridgment of Firishta.¹

¹ *Maclean's Collection*, vol. ii. p. 126.

V.

TÁR KH-1 HAIDAR RÁZ.

THIS is a very good general history of the world, which was begun in 1611 A.D., and took the compiler twenty years to complete. The author was a native of Eastern Persia, and a contemporary of Firishá. He avows that he is a mere copyist, even of the words of his authorities, and states that the chief source of his History of Hindústán is the *Tárikh-i Alfi*, from which he has extracted no less than sixty thousand lines. Wilken, who makes great use of this author in his notes to his translation of the History of the Ghaznvide Emperors, says that the first volume alone of this work, which is in the Royal Library of Berlin, comprises no less than 737 leaves, and even this is not perfect. I have never heard of the work in India, but it is quoted under the name of *Tárikh-i Mirzá Haidar*, by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshi,¹ as one of the chief sources of his information.²

¹ This cannot be the same work, for Nizám Ahmad's work does not come down later than 1592.

² *Journ. As.* 1851, p. 147; *Jahrbücher*, no. 73, p. 25; *Frøhn*, no. 218; *Goldene Horde*, p. xxiv.

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