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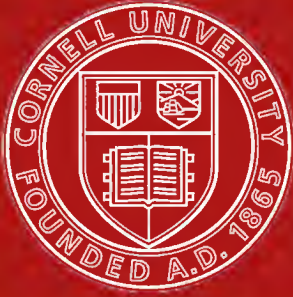


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Institutes, political and military.



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TIMOUR.

From an Original in the Bodleian Library.

INSTITUTES
POLITICAL AND MILITARY,
WRITTEN ORIGINALLY
IN THE MOGUL LANGUAGE,
BY THE GREAT
TIMOUR, IMPROPERLY CALLED TAMERLANE;

First translated into PERSIAN by ABU TAULIB ALHUSSEINI;
and thence into ENGLISH, with Marginal Notes,

BY MAJOR DAVY,
PERSIAN SECRETARY TO THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF
THE BENGAL FORCES
From the Year MDCC LXX to MDCC LXXIII.
AND NOW PERSIAN SECR. TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL.

The Original PERSIAN transcribed from a MS. in the Possession of
Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER, PHYSICIAN EXTRAORDINARY to the QUEEN,
F. R. & A. S. and of the ROYAL ACADEMY of SCIENCES at
PARIS; and the WHOLE WORK published with a Preface, Indexes,
Geographical Notes, &c. &c.

BY JOSEPH WHITE, B. D.
FELLOW of WADHAM COLLEGE, and LAUDIAN PROFESSOR of ARABIC IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

OXFORD:
AT THE CLARENDON-PRESS. MDCC LXXXIII.
SOLD BY J. MURRAY, N^o. 32 Fleetstreet, London; AND BY D. PRINCE
AND J. COOKE, Oxford.

TO
WILLIAM DEVAYNES, Esq.
CHAIRMAN,
AND THE OTHER DIRECTORS
OF THE
HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
IN THE YEAR 1780;

THIS WORK,
WHICH THEIR MUNIFICENCE
HAS CAUSED TO BE PUBLISHED,
FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS
IN THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST,
IS WITH MUCH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE INSCRIBED

BY

W. DAVY AND J. WHITE.



P R E F A C E.

THE illustrious Name of **T I M O U R** was first made known to Europe by tradition: and his heroic actions are still celebrated by many who have never seen the history written by Ali Yezdi, nor perused the accounts of D'Herbelot and Voltaire. I am therefore happily unencumbered with the embarrassments of an author who labours to combat general prejudices, or to introduce a new character to the world.

THE life of this great conqueror was written, in obedience to the command of his grandson, by Ali Yezdi, a native of Persia. That work, which has been translated into French by Petis de la Croix (and from his translation into English) is valuable, not so much for the flowery phrases with which it abounds, as for the authenticity of its materials: it was collected from the journals regularly kept by the Emperor's secretaries, in which were recorded every event and transaction of his reign.

IN

IN the thirty sixth year after the death of TIMOUR, his life was again written, in Arabic, by Ahmed Ibn Arabshah, a Syrian. That author possessed, like the former, a lively and descriptive pen: but what he gains in elegance, he loses in truth and candour; for in every page of his work may be discerned the hatred of a conquered enemy, and those national prejudices which are disgraceful to an historian.

OTHER histories of TIMOUR's life and actions have been written, and some of them are now preserved in European cabinets. One of them which has eclipsed the rest, and which alone deserves to be the object of our particular notice, was written under the conqueror's inspection, if not by his own hand. The superior value of this history is at once perceived: for it was drawn not only from those authentic sources to which Ali Yezdi found access, but also from a personal recollection of those transactions whose motives and objects were perhaps known only to himself. It has not yet found its way into Europe: but I have been informed by Mr. DAVY, who has read it in the East, that it is a minute and faithful narrative of an interesting and eventful period. I therefore hope my friend, who will spare no search or expence to procure it, will bring it with him when he returns from his public station abroad, and translate for the information and entertainment of his country, a larger and more certain account of TIMOUR's conquests than we now possess. To this history, some who have no other wish than to lessen its estimation, have objected, that it must certainly be partial, and that its imperial author must have studiously concealed his
vices

vices from the reader's eye, and reflected upon his virtues more light than they will bear. But these harsh opinions can be pronounced or credited by those only who are unacquainted with his writings, and the praise which his enemies have given him, that he was a lover of veracity, who hated, detected, and punished falsehood, with sincerity, penetration and constancy. That he might pursue his great objects by the light of truth, he made use of every friend and every foe: and in his Institutes he does not blush to acknowledge his errors and misfortunes, but glories that he has profited by them. Ambition, the infirmity of noble minds, was perhaps his only fault. The desire of conquest is a principle which the liberty of modern times has justly reprobated. But TIMOUR'S conquests were in a great measure produced by other causes; by the manners of the age and country in which he lived, and by the treachery of kings, who whilst they envied his greatness, professed themselves his friends. It is needless to speak of his valour; for who has not heard of his successful wars, his perseverance and resolution in distress, and his serene and temperate conduct after victory? That he possessed the humane and liberal virtues cannot be doubted, when we read that he forbore to take revenge when it could not interfere with his interest, and that he extended the rights of subjects and citizens to nations who were willing to be slaves. When he had seen his vast empire rising, like the infant world, out of anarchy under his victorious hands, he dispensed order through every part of the dominion he had created, and governed it with wisdom, justice and benevolence. There is therefore less reason to blame his ambition, than to admire the amiable moderation by which it was restrained.

IF the reader of this preface has not perused any history of TIMOUR'S actions, he will think these praises laboured, perhaps will call them extravagant; if he has, he will consider them as the free tribute which honest admiration and a feeling heart pays to the virtues of an exalted character. There is, however, another reason which has induced me to speak so largely in this place of TIMOUR'S character, and of the History written by himself: for from that History he selected those Designs and Institutes which I have the honour of presenting in this volume to the public.

THERE is ever a solemnity and a kind of sacred authority in the instructions which a dying parent delivers to his offspring. When the Lord of the East laid down his sceptre, which he had long and well supported, he did not leave to his successor a verbal injunction, a short lesson of morality, which might soon be forgotten amidst the cares and pleasures of a court; but bestowed with his empire a gift more valuable, the art to preserve it. In the leisure of his declining years, he had thrown a retrospective eye over the scenes of a long and various life, and thence he committed to writing for the perpetual instruction of his imperial descendants, those rules of government and those measures of policy which himself had invariably followed: and from his History he collected, without regard to chronological order, the several plans he had formed, and their success. To these he added his OMENS, which are omitted in this publication, because, however consistent they might have been, when they were written, with the manners and religion of the East, and whatever political purposes they might

might then have tended to promote, the present age wisely disregards such superstitions.

THE MS. of which I now present a translation to the public, is to be found in that inestimable repository of literary treasures, Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER'S Museum. *

* This Museum is universally known as one of the most august monuments of a love of science now existing in the world, and is become much too illustrious an object of curiosity not to merit a more exact description than has yet been given of it to the public. My reader therefore will, I am persuaded, readily forgive me, if I embrace this opportunity of acquainting him in a more detailed manner, with the great extent and variety of those obligations which its generous possessor has already conferred, and is likely to confer in a still higher degree upon the learned world.

IN saying that the Museum stands unrivalled in the number, usefulness, and neatness of the ANATOMICAL PREPARATIONS, I say no more than what every person is prepared to expect. No man could approach Dr. HUNTER'S Museum without a conviction that no exertion of art, no expence would be wanting to illustrate and embellish a science which his own studies have carried to a degree of excellence, that has made our Metropolis the first school of anatomy in the world.

THE collection of MEDALS acquired at an immense expence, defies the competition of any Royal Cabinet in Europe, that of his most Christian Majesty only excepted. The latter, which before the establishment of Dr. HUNTER'S was without a rival, can hardly claim a decided superiority; in many respects is confessedly its inferior. The Doctor, who is not more distinguished by his possession than by his knowledge of these treasures, is at present employed, with the learned and ingenious Mr. COMBE, in publishing a part of them in three divisions; one containing the Greek cities, another the Persian, Phœnician, Samaritan, Palmyrene, Punic &c. and the third the Greek Kings:

OF this MS. I published in 1780 a translated Specimen: The attention with which that experiment of the public favour and opinion was received, gave birth to the present work,

The work will be executed not only with elegance and splendor, but with a degree of accuracy and fidelity totally unusual in publications of this sort.

THE LIBRARY comprehends most of the early printed books of the xv. century, the rare editions of the classics, the expensive works of natural history, of general history, and antiquities; and particularly all the curious and valuable books in medicine. And in addition to this collection of printed books, there is a considerable collection of MSS. in all the languages that are cultivated by men of erudition.

THE collection of NATURAL HISTORY is enriched with specimens of the most beautiful productions in every class. The class of FOSSILS, and likewise that of CORALS, and of BIRDS possess many specimens that are peculiar to this cabinet. The class of SHELLS is ample and elegant; the same character is applicable to that of INSECTS. And there is a numerous catalogue of miscellaneous curiosities not reducible to any particular arrangement.

THIS Museum, thus splendidly and scientifically established, has been the laborious and expensive acquisition of a Gentleman, to whose love of science the academies of our own and other countries have borne the most honourable testimonies.

THE public must be anxious to know the final destination of such treasures; it is largely interested in their fate, and would have abundant reason to lament their dispersion. But, happily for the world, their proprietor is actuated by much higher motives than those of mere personal gratification; a selfish, solitary love of letters was not the primary inducement that influenced his mind; and in proportion as his treasures become more important, he feels more strongly the obligation of devoting them to the use of the public. Such an act of munificence, as, I hear, He intends to perform in bequeathing his collection to the
public

which I immediately determined to execute. As I proceeded in the translation, I found difficulties in the sequel, which had not occurred in the specimen: and I observed in the course of the work so many terms of the Military Art, which my studies had never led me to examine, and so many idioms of the Tartar Language which no lexicon in Europe has explained, that I chose to decline the first honours of the present publication, and desired to devolve the whole task of translation on Mr. DAVY. His knowledge of that art and language pointed him out as one peculiarly qualified to undertake it; and his ready compliance with my request has added an obligation of a public nature to many instances of private friendship. The translation was fortunately completed, when Mr. DAVY was called to India by an honourable appointment under LORD MACARTNEY. The subordinate duties of an Editor, therefore, reverted to me: and I hope that by my accuracy in superintending the impression of the Original, and my diligence in compiling the Indexes, I shall give satisfaction to my friendly associate as well as to the public. That I may not however lose any assistance which a colleague so ingenious and intelligent can contribute, I have subjoined to this preface a Letter on the Authenticity of the Institutes, with

public, is all that is wanting to perpetuate the gratitude of the learned world, and to place the name of HUNTER on a footing of equality, in the estimation of future ages, with the SLOANES, the MAFFEIS, and other illustrious benefactors of mankind.

IT was to the Doctor's library that this publication was indebted for the original MS; and it was still further assisted by a donation of three plates, and a very liberal encouragement of subscription.

which I was favoured in answer to my earnest request, and which has received the praise and assent of all who have read it.

THIS is all, concerning the Author and the Edition, that I think necessary to be observed to the general readers of TIMOUR'S Institutes; a work, which if I am not misled by the prepossessions of an editor, will be esteemed curious and valuable by men of various professions. The scholar is ever delighted with a larger knowledge of illustrious characters, with their remains rescued from long oblivion, and all that tends to throw additional light on the history of mankind. He who studies and professes the military art, will survey with pleasure modes of marshalling and encamping armies, and the stratagems of a great conqueror, judiciously and successfully formed, though different from his own. The politician must be interested in the perusal of measures, by which distant nations were united under the same government, and which baffled all the dangerous intrigues of powerful courts and designing men.

BUT the most immediate and evident advantage that can be derived from the present publication, remains yet to be told. The superiority which a knowledge of the Persian language confers on its possessors in our East India settlements is allowed by all whose civil or military stations have obliged them to reside in those countries. To those readers who have not received this personal conviction, I recommend an attentive consideration of Mr. DAVY'S letter upon the subject, which I have added for their perusal at the end of this volume,

volume, and by which every doubt that remains will be removed. To facilitate the attainment of this beautiful language, a Dictionary, and a Grammar, have been published by two Gentlemen, whom I have the honour to call my friends. The first of these performances is distinguished by immense labour and accuracy, the other by that propriety of arrangement which is peculiar to an elegant mind. But a language is neither learnt nor studied in a grammar or a dictionary. It can only be acquired by the help of books, or oral converse: and it has often been lamented by gentlemen intending to enter into the company's service abroad, and therefore desirous of learning the Persian language, that in England where it cannot be acquired by colloquial methods of instruction, the secondary advantages of printed Persian volumes should be wanting.

THAT this deficiency may no longer be the occasion of difficulties and a reason of complaint, the Institutes of TIMOUR are now published in a faithful English version, and the Persian from which it is translated. Nothing can be more happily calculated for the purpose of teaching a language than a work like the present, abounding with that simple grandeur which is peculiar to Eastern compositions, and which has been so often admired in the scriptures of the Hebrew testament.

GRATITUDE will not suffer me to conclude these prefatory remarks, without expressing acknowledgements to C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esq; for favours which he has conferred with a friendly politeness on the work and its editor; for the use of a valuable Persian MS. which containing a considerable portion of the original work, has enabled me to collate and correct
many

many faulty passages; and for the communication of several curious Persian papers, by the help of which my pupils in that language have derived such advantages from my lectures as could not be supplied by the single assistance of the printed volume.

I ALSO desire the same ingenious Gentleman to accept my public thanks for the translation of the Brahminic Prayer, * with which he has favoured me, and which, in compliance

* Notwithstanding Mr. D O W E's assertion to the contrary, there is reason to believe that various translations of Sanscrit books have been composed in the Persian language; and that the theology and philosophy of the Hindoos have been a subject of enquiry amongst men of rank in Indostan, when letters were much cultivated. In a curious and valuable work composed about two centuries ago by the command of the Emperor Akbar, we find a large account of the astronomy, philosophy, religious principles and customs of this very singular nation. This is not the only Persian work that illustrates the history of a people so little known. A translation has been made into the same language of the famous Sanscrit poem, called Mahabarit (or the great war) said to contain a hundred and twenty thousand stanzas. We find likewise that Dara Shekoo, one of the sons of the Emperor Shah Jehan, paid such attention, and gave such encouragement to the professors of the Hindoo Religion, that he was treated as an infidel by his younger brother Aurengzebe, who made this partiality a plea for exciting all the Mahommedans against him, and preventing his succession to the empire of his father. This learned prince was the author of many works, the most valuable of which, perhaps, is his summary of the Four Vedes (or sacred books) of the Hindoos, containing very curious and abstract discussions of their metaphysics and religious principles, *upon the nature and existence of the world — of the supreme Being — of the human mind and its faculties — of the worship due to the supreme Being, as sole Creator of the world &c. &c.*

Some translated fragments of this work, as well as the original Persian, having been shewn me by Mr. ROUSE, I was highly struck with the sublimity and beauty of many of the passages; and judging that a specimen would be extremely acceptable to the readers of this volume, I requested leave to insert at the end of it *One of the Prayers directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being.*

The

with my wishes he has given me permission to publish. I have therefore inserted it, annexed to the specimen of *Eusfoof* and *Zoolleikha*, in the present publication: not merely for the sake of that beauty of thought and expression, of which there is much in both to be admired; but because, like the work of TIMOUR, it serves to prove that a knowledge of the Persian displays to the European scholar not only whatever is valuable in its native compositions, but also the yet undiscovered treasures of the Shanacrit, the Mogul, and other remote languages of the East.

WADH. COLL.
Oct. 15. 1782.

J. WHITE.

The knowledge of the particulars contained in this note I owe to my conversations on the subject with Mr. ROUSE, from whose general acquaintance with the literature of India I have derived much curious and useful information.

Mr. DAVY's Letter on the Authenticity of the Institutes.

Gloucester, Oct. 24. 1779.

“ MY GOOD FRIEND,

I HAVE received your favour of the 20th instant, and with most heartily that my ability to comply with your request was equal to my inclination.

“ You apply to me for *external* evidence to establish the Authenticity of TIMOUR's Institutes: it is by no means an easy task which you impose on me; such reasons, however, as have led me to believe them genuine, I shall freely communicate. How far they may tend to remove the doubts of unbelieving Critics, I cannot pretend to say; possibly, in the opinions of such Gentlemen, they may only serve to establish my own credulity: be that as it may, I shall set out with declaring to you, that I cannot produce any *historical* proofs of the Authenticity of these Institutes.

“ THE only Histories of TIMOUR, which I have read (that written by himself excepted,) are those of *Shurruf u'deen Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkbond*: the latter is in the *Rouzut ul Suffau*. True it is that neither of these authors, to the best of my remembrance, take any notice of the Institutes, or of the History (or Commentaries) of TIMOUR, said to be written by himself. *Alli Yezzudi* says, that TIMOUR was always attended by several learned and able men, whose sole employment was to keep a sort of historical Journals of all Transactions as they occurred, both military and civil; that they were directed to adhere

adhere minutely to the truth in their relations of the most trifling facts, and that they were still more particularly enjoined to observe the strictest impartiality in their narratives of the conduct and actions of the Emperor himself. These historical Journals, if they may be so called, were, from time to time, read in his presence, in the presence of his Ministers and Officers, and of the learned: they were compared with, and corrected by, each other, by the Emperor himself, and by such of his people as had a personal knowledge of the Transactions therein related. It must be allowed, that this was no bad way of collecting authentic materials for the history of a mighty Emperor, governing a mighty Empire; if he took care to enforce his commands by proving himself superior to flattery, and by an encouragement of that truth and impartiality, which he so strictly enjoined. From these materials, some of which were in prose, some in verse, some in the Turki (or Mogul) language, some in the Persian, *Alli Yezzudi*, afterwards compiled the History of the Reign and Conquests of Timour, as he himself declares: and with the assistance of these very materials, it is concluded that TIMOUR wrote that voluminous and valuable History of his own Life, to which he added his Institutes. How it came to pass that that History and those Institutes were not taken notice of either by *Alli Yezzudi*, or *Mirkbond*, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to tell; but though the cause cannot with certainty be pointed out, there is room for many plausible conjectures. The historical Journals before mentioned were numerous, and they were public also; the great and the learned had free access to them; many copies of them were taken, and, with the originals, handed down to posterity: the Life of TIMOUR, and his Institutes, on the contrary, was a private work, composed by himself, with the assistance which those materials afforded him. This work the Conqueror was led to engage in from motives to us unknown: amusement or ambition, or both, might urge him to the arduous undertaking. Whether it was written with his own
hand,

hand, or by a favourite and trusty amanuensis, is uncertain; but which ever was the case, it is most probable, that one copy only existed during his life-time, and possibly for many years afterwards: what became of that copy, during the confusions that followed his death, is equally uncertain and open to conjecture. But after all, it is no unreasonable supposition, that such a work in manuscript might have existed, though *Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkbond* knew nothing of the matter. That they were not acquainted with it, is evident: for if they had, and thought it authentic, they would have bestowed upon it all the applause which is due to the intrinsic merit of the work; if they had known and thought it spurious, they would have refuted its authenticity. But they have done neither; they are totally silent on the subject: from whence we may conclude, that they were strangers to the work. But it by no means follows, that such a work could not exist, because they, or even cotemporary authors, knew nothing about it.

“THE History of TIMOUR, written by himself, carries with it the strongest proofs that he wrote for posterity only; and that he could not, in prudence, or in policy, make his work public during his life: for it contains not only the same accurate detail of the Facts and Occurrences of his reign, as are found in other Authors, but it goes much further. He gives you that which he only had the power to give, the secret Springs and Motives which influenced his conduct in the various political and military transactions of his life, the arts by which he governed, as well as the power by which he conquered. He acknowledges his weaknesses, honestly owns his errors, describes the difficulties in which he was occasionally involved by those errors, and the policy by which he surmounted and overcame those difficulties. In a word, it is a complete Index to his head and his heart; and though, take it all in all, it redounds to the honour of both the one and the other, yet it was a work by no means calculated for the perusal of his enemies,

or even his subjects during his life; since it would have enabled those who chose it, to combat him with his own weapons, or, in other words, to have turned his arts and his policy against himself. Hence it is reasonable to suppose, that the Work in question was entirely unknown during his life; and its subsequent temporary obscurity may, I think, be plausibly accounted for, by the probability of one copy only existing at the time of his death, by the uncertainty into whose hands that copy fell, and by the divisions which followed in his family after the death of *Saabroch*.

“ *Abu Taulib ul Husseni*, in the Dedication of his Translation to *Sultaun ul Audil*, says, that in the Library of *Jafir, Haukim of Yemmun*, he met with a manuscript in the Turki, or Mogul language, which, on inspection, proved to be the History of TIMOUR, written by himself; containing an account of his Life and Actions from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age, &c. &c. He then proceeds to give the Translation of the said History, in which are included the Institutes.

“ IT may appear remarkable that the Translator should say so little, or in fact nothing, to prove the authenticity of the valuable work, which he was about to translate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow; but, I think, the following inferences only can be drawn from it: either that he thought the work itself contained sufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he translated it, it was so well known, as not to admit of doubt, or dispute. For my part, I think his inattention to this point is a very strong, if not the strongest possible proof, that the History and Institutes of TIMOUR are genuine.

“ AN European Critic may say, that this same *Abu Taulib* might have wrote the work himself in the Persian language, and have imposed it upon the world as a Translation from the
Royal

Royal Mogul author. This I take to be impossible. Authors in the East neither sold their works to booksellers, nor published by subscription, nor depended for support on the applause, the generosity, or the credulity of the public: they were patronized by Princes, who rewarded their labours in proportion to the value of their works. And therefore, if *Abu Taulib* had been capable of writing such a work, he never would have been guilty of so dangerous and foolish an artifice, which could tend only to diminish both his fame and his profit. The applause and the reward due to the Translator of an excellent work, must, whatever his merit, be inferior to those which are due to the author of such a work; if therefore he had been master of abilities to write the Life and Institutes of TIMOUR, as there written, he would have spoke in the third person instead of the first (no other alteration being necessary,) and have stood forth as the author of the first and best History of the Life of TIMOUR, that ever was wrote; for which he must have obtained both applause and profit tenfold. The same mode of reasoning will hold good to prove that the *Turki* copy could not be wrote by any *Mogul* author, but him to whom it is ascribed, TIMOUR HIMSELF.

“ THE noble simplicity of Diction, the plain and unadorned Egotism that runs through the whole of the Institutes and History of TIMOUR, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity also. The Orientals, for some centuries past, have adopted a very different mode of writing; the best of their historical works are filled with poetical and hyperbolical Flowers and Flourishes, which are so numerous, and occur so frequently, that many a *folio* volume, weeded and pruned of these superfluities, would be reduced to a very moderate *octavo*.

“ THE only work bearing the least resemblance to the Life and Institutes of TIMOUR, which has fallen under my observation, is the History (or Commentaries) of *Sultaun Babour*, written

written by himself. Babour was descended from TIMOUR in the fifth degree; he was the son of Omer, the son of Abu Saeed, the son of Mahummud, the son of Meraun Shaah, the son of TIMOUR. About eighty years elapsed between the death of TIMOUR and the birth of Babour. Babour in the twelfth year of his age, and the 899th year of the *Hejra*, sat upon the throne of his father, in the kingdom of *Furgauneh*. The earlier part of his life very much resembled that of his great predecessor, TIMOUR: and his abilities in the Field and in the Cabinet, his fortitude in distress, his activity and courage when surrounded with difficulties and danger, and the glory and success with which his Enterprizes were finally crowned, make the resemblance between these two Princes still more striking. Like TIMOUR, Babour wrote an accurate History of his own Life and Actions in the *Turki* language; which though by no means equal to the admirable composition of his renowned ancestor, is a work of infinite merit. Yet this history, great as the Royal Author was, remained in obscurity till the middle of the reign of his grandson *Acbur*, when it was translated into the Persian language by one of his Omrahs, *Khaun a Khaunaun*. It is more difficult to account for the temporary obscurity of this valuable work, than for that of TIMOUR's; for at the death of Babour it must have fallen into the hands of his son *Humaioon*, and on his death, into those of *Acbur*. Yet till the middle of his reign it remained unknown and untranslated: and if *Acbur* had, in the early part of his life, been driven from his throne, if Divisions had taken place in his family, and his posterity had been scattered abroad, this valuable Manuscript might have fallen into private hands, and have remained unknown for a century longer; possibly, have been totally lost. No Critic, either Oriental or European, pretends to dispute the authenticity of Babour's History; and, as far as I have been able to discover, the Learned of the East consider the Institutes and History of TIMOUR as equally genuine.

“ I WAS acquainted with several great and learned Men in India, both Natives and Persians : on perusing the works of TIMOUR, I was led to make the same enquiry which you have made, Whether they were, or were not authentic ? The answers I received were always in the affirmative, and attended with some tokens and expressions of surprize, that I should, or could, doubt their being genuine. SHAAH AULUM, the present Mogul, has a beautiful copy of the History and Institutes of TIMOUR ; which he holds in such esteem, and of which he is so exceedingly careful, that though he granted me the use of any other book in his possession, this he positively excepted by name, as a work so rare and valuable, that he could not trust it to the care of any person whatever.

“ UPON the whole, if the learned of the East, for several generations, have been induced to give implicit credit to the Institutes and History of TIMOUR, which is certainly the case, I do not see how Europeans can, with any degree of propriety, doubt their authenticity. The Oriental Critics have the very best materials on which to form their opinions ; our small stock of knowledge in the language, and still smaller stock of Asiatic Historians, render us very incompetent judges of the point in question. There are a great number of Oriental Manuscripts in the libraries of the Learned ; but I am convinced, that there are still many, very many, which never have found, and possibly never will find, their way into Europe ; and therefore, though no *historical* evidence can be produced to prove the authenticity of the Works of TIMOUR, yet no one can pretend to say, that such *historical* Proofs do not exist. The learned of the East must be the best judges whether they do, or do not merit their belief and veneration ; and they have thought proper to bestow upon them both the one and the other. It is much to be regretted, that the Life of TIMOUR, written by himself, is not to be found in Europe : if that, and the Insti-
tutes

tutes could be translated and published together, such is the accuracy of the narrative, such the importance of the matter, and such the lights that they would mutually reflect on each other, that it would, I conceive, be impossible for any one to read them, without acquiescing in their Authenticity from the *internal* Evidence alone.

Yours, most assuredly,

WILLIAM DAVY."

Account of the Portrait of TIMOUR.

The Note and Letter here following are printed from a Book of Eastern Portraits given by Mr. POPE to the University. They are sufficiently explicit in themselves and require no Illustration.

“ THIS Book (containing one hundred and seventy eight
“ Portraits of the Indian Rajahs continued to TAMER-
“ LANE and the great Mogols his successors as far as to Au-
“ rengzebe) was procured at Surat by Mr. JOHN CLELAND,
“ and given to the Bodley-Library, as a token of respect by

ALEX. POPE.”

1737.



To Mr. EVERARD, Fellow of Braze-Nose College, Oxford.

LONDON, the 8th. July, 1760.

“ WITH great pleasure it is, SIR, that I comply with
your intimation to me of a desire to know some par-
ticulars of that Collection of the Miniature Portraits of the
sovereigns of Indostan presented by Mr. POPE to the Bodleian
library at Oxford, inscribed with his name and mine.

“ WHILE I was in India sometime before the year seven-
teen hundred and forty, one of the Mogul’s generals was with
an army incamped before the town of Surat, of which Tegbeg
Khaun was then governor for the Mogul. On those occasions

d

the

the general never enters the town himself, but deposes certain officers to the governor, under pretext of taking cognizance of his conduct, but in fact to receive a bribe, in form of a present, not to make too strict a scrutiny.

“TEGBEG KHAUN, who was far from being on good terms with the court, being obliged to proportion his present to the need he stood in of absolution for the past, and protection for the future, sent the general some lacks of rupees, not less than to the amount of three or four hundred thousand pounds. But that such a transaction may not appear too barefacedly what it always is, a corrupt bargain, the general usually makes the governor some present, which is to pass for a return. On this occasion then the Mogul general sent Tegebeg Khaun a false set with rubies, emeralds and diamonds, worth perhaps at most three or four thousand pounds, together with this Book containing a set of Miniature Portraits of the successive sovereigns of Indostan for several ages back. They are in colours, on vellum-leaves, and are copies from a series of originals in the Mogul's palace.

“THAT they are not fancy-pictures, there is great reason to believe (independent of the presumption in their favour from the circumstance of their being a present on so capital an occasion from one great officer of state to another) it being well known, that such a set of pictures actually exists in the royal palace, it hardly seems improbable that a copy was taken from them. And here it is observable, that the Mogul-moors have nothing of that aversion to images or pictures, which is even a point of religion to the Mahomedans in general. But these Moguls retain so much of their Tartarian origin as to tolerate all religions, and even to incorporate theirs of the *Thien*, such as the court of China also professes, with the predominant religion of whatever country they conquer; for the greater ease of preserving their conquests by this political conformity.

THE

“ THE portrait of Tamerlan (Timur-lang) in this collection, and perhaps the only one extant in Europe on which any dependence for genuineness may be reasonably had, seems to favour the belief of its authenticity, in that you may very clearly remark in it the distinctive Tartar lineaments, a broad, flattish face, with small eyes. These in his son and successor, are somewhat less conspicuous, and, as the line of descent proceeds, they melt by degrees wholly into the softness of the Indian features.

“ IT may also be observed, that the Moors, or Mahomedan sovereigns of Indostan, are in this collection distinguished from the Gentoo ones, by the fashion of the skirts of their robes, which in the Gentoos, hang on each side, cut at bottom into an angular form, as all the Rajahs wear them to this day for an ensign of royalty.

“ HOWEVER, this book, such as it is, was by the governor Tegbeg Khaun made a present of to Mr. Frazer, the same who, at my instance and request, translated from a Persian manuscript the account of Shah Nadir's (the famous Thamas Kooly Khaun's) expedition into India; and who brought home a curious collection of oriental manuscripts, most of which once belonged to the royal library of Ispahan, and had escaped the rage and barbarism of the Aphgoons, or Ophguan invaders, under Emir Veifs and his successors.

“ MR. FRAZER having parted with this Set of Portraits to me, I sent it to Mr. POPE, with whom I was then in correspondence; and who wrote me, That judging it too great a curiosity for his private study, he had done it the honour of presenting it to the Bodleian Library.

“ I NEED not, I presume, insist on how agreeable such a disposal must be to one so penetrated as I have ever been with sentiments of veneration for an university, which in quality both of a spring-head of learning and of a noble conservatory of literature, is so justly considered as a national ornament and honour. But I now receive from that circumstance a fresh pleasure in its furnishing me an occasion of assuring yourself of the truth with which I most respectfully am,

SIR,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

JOHN CLELAND.”



The following systematized View of the Matters contained in the Work of TIMOUR was sent me by my learned and respected Friend Mr. HENDERSON of Pembroke College, to whom my Thanks are due for this Communication, and whose own Words will best serve to introduce it.

SUCH a collection as the following has been acceptable in the editions of various authors. I need not mention the *Penu Tullianum*, or the similar work from SENECA. Hereby the most important parts are got together, more ready for use: and the book is brought, as it were, to a focus. In some authors this is more useful than in others, in none quite vane. If we may have nothing to learn from TIMOUR, it will at least please the curious to see in one view several good things which his mind was acquainted with: we shall be pleased to know that he knew them.

To avoid superfluity of bulk I have made but three heads, *Political, Military, and Theologic* — adding a few remarkable Events.

In *political* management TIMOUR seems to have relied chiefly on amusing persons, bribing them, keeping them in suspense, and dividing them. He was acutely sagacious, rightly provident and firmly resolute. He was generally willing by any unde-
served

served or excessive kindness to make and keep friends: he seemed not to know, but readily pardoned enmity and treachery. And such was his delicacy of sentiment, such the art of his address that he cleared every suspicion of the guilty and fearful; he covered the blushes and soothed the confusion of the conscientiously unworthy. One so qualified, with so discerning an eye, so sensible yet strong a heart, so open yet powerful a hand, so free yet so forcible an address, what wonder that he was great?

In *military* occasions his great excellence seems to have been hiding or magnifying his strength, surprise, varying his attacks, and obstinacy in keeping his ground. His *politics* availed him much in *governing* his army, and he often used prayers, his *oracle* of the KORAN, and other *religious* means to *encourage* them.

PARTICULARS in either of these parts are not here noticed; but the more generally applicable Sentences.

IN *theologic* matters I have been more scant, not meaning a detail of Mahummudan principles. There are only a few notes, tending to shew that religion every where has it's force, and is serviceable to a general and prince.

I COULD have added *parallel* sentences from sacred and other writers in most places. But I thought it needless to those who knew them, and useless to the rest. I only note TIMOUR'S Maxims.

POLITICAL MAXIMS.

TIMOUR's ends "Reduction of kingdoms, obtainment of empire, defeating armies, circumventing enemies, making friends of foes, going out and coming in among friends and enemies." ^a P. 3.

"In conducting the concerns of government take by the hand four assistants, Deliberation, Counsel, Vigilance, and Circumspection." 5.

"Requisites for conducting the concerns of empire are one portion, patience and forbearance; and one portion, pretended negligence and feigning not to know that which thou knowest." *ibid.*

"The experienced have said, By policy kingdoms may be conquered and numerous hosts may be defeated, which by the swords of united armies cannot be overthrown." 7.

"By experience it is known to me that Counsel and Deliberation, and skilful Measures, are only to be found with the wise and sagacious."

9.

"Though the conclusion of every worldly event is covered by the curtain of fate; yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud, in every enterprise which I undertook, I acted from Counsel and

Deliberation." *ibid.*

"When my counsellors and my advisers were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the disadvantages, of undertaking or relinquishing, the enterprise before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of their opinions." *N.B.* Every plan in which I discovered a twofold hazard I rejected, and chose that in which the peril was single."

11.

"After examining the avenue of retreat, enter on the execution." *ib.*

"Those are worthy to be counsellors who steadfastly adhere to that which they say and do." 13.

"Turn the ear to the counsel of the tongue, but treasure the counsel of the heart in the soul." ^c *ibid.*

When officers are sent to lay waste a province, and it is necessary to the province to gain time, the officers are to be amused with bribes and promises. 19.

They are contracted hearts and eyes to which presents seem great.

21.

If officers be known to have

^a Of these ends the two last only are essentially good. The others are as their final cause.

^b Hereby, 1. He improved his own wisdom, 2. He had the advantage of every good hint — (And seldom does the wisest not need one.) 3. He pleased the courtiers by giving them the honor and importance of advising their sovereign. But by determining for himself, 1. He kept his counsellors from being too powerful. 2. From being envied. And, 3. Was more likely to have nothing offered him unreasonable or unplausible.

^c First be able to distinguish them.

taken bribes, their prince must cause them to *refund the Bribes*, and displace them. ^a *ibid.*

People broken by oppression, tho' readily agreeing with an opposition may break their engagements. Mauwur u Nuhur ^b. 33.

An army is the sinews of empire. *ibid.*

A prince delivered from oppression will sometimes turn against his deliverer, suspecting that else he may seize the government. ^c 47.

When a person aspiring to the throne is known among the people, they will look with observation at him. Therefore he must please them. He must shew royal generosity and liberality. ^d p. 65.

When Timour saw his people divided, and some not heartily with him, he sent for these privately, promising each according to his particular desires. But to each he appointed a *Kotul*, i. e. a person who should succeed, in case of death, desertion, dismissal, or the like. By this act he engaged their hearts, he made them watchful to seem worthy their rank, he had a spy over them ready to tell when they deserved dishonour, and he retained two persons by one place. 75.

Since GOD is one, and hath no

partner, therefore the vice-gerent over the land of the Lord must be one only. *N.B.* This was said against making confederate princes partakers of their commander's fortune. 89.

Suspected princes are to be divided, that they may be weak. But one must be their reconciler to profit by their united strength. 91.

Ki Khiffero and Aljauitoo Burdi. 93.

A friend in all places cometh to use. 103.

One obstinately resolved on resistance, who is dangerous, may be won by seeming neglect, or indirect commendations, which he may hear. 111.

An ambassador of use to give intelligence. 127.

Unless it be quite necessary a prince should not displace officers of his own promotion. ^e 133.

Timour having a design against Moosi, complaint was made, and redress sought against Moosi from Timour, by the brother of a governor whom Moosi had slain, and who had been Timour's friend. Timour put the complainant into custody, seeming therein very unjust and giving great offence. Then he said that Moosi and he were on

^a Perhaps this is not so good. For in this case, people might urge bribes persuasively enough on purpose to ruin an officer. Nor do bribers deserve to recover money so mischievously spent. — Would it not be better to put such bribes in the public stock?

^b This may admonish at the present time. ^c As for example. There is a *possibility* of it between the (supposed oppressed) Americans, and the (supposed deliverers) the French. ^d At least he must be better than he whom he rivals. ^e In some

cases this may be necessary. As, 1. When they are known to be less qualified than they seemed at first. 2. When they act very wrong. 3. When they are too important. (But here is need of caution.) 4. When they are found treacherous. 5. When their removal is required by a more powerful. (But this being a physical or political necessity, not an ethical, justice, and the public good, are to be regarded as much as possible.) 6. At the remonstrance of the people, where they have a part of the government.

good terms. Which Moofi hearing became secure, and obeyed Timour's summons. By this stratagem Timour took him, and afterwards punisht him. 137.

"I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the *valor*^a of princes than conquering of kingdoms and empires, and waging holy wars with infidels."^b 141.

When seditions are not checked in time, they may grow to open rebellion. *ibid.*

Seditious people are to be divided by dispersing them.^c 143.

Such discipline is to be kept that men and officers may maintain without presumption their proper station. 161.

A prince is never to be easy or secure. 163.

It is good to pardon, to be liberal, to be affable, merciful; but chiefly to regard the low and redress the injured. 165.

The valiant are to be distinguished by a general. And a prince must favor the learned and religious. *ib.*

Those who labor to hurt others, are not to be admitted to intimacy. 167.

History and politics should be studied by a prince; that he may know what has happened to royalties and realms, and wherefore, and how it happened.^d *ibid.*

A prince should learn the con-

ditions of his subjects in all ranks particularly. 169.

For that purpose intelligencers should be dispersed, who should be condignly punisht for falsehood. *ib.*

The oppressions of inferior governors to be righted and adequately punisht. *ibid.*

Evil persons are to have scope till they make their selves manifest and odious. 171.

Not only good and great men are to be rewarded, but enemies and traitors on submission are to be pardoned and used as friends, till their suspicions are overcome and their hearts won. Especially if they are brave, wise and eminent. *ibid.*

One of various fortune learns neither to confide in friends too much, nor fear his foes. 173.

The man who is faithful to an enemy is honest, and *may* be faithful to the other side. *ibid.* And vice versa. 175.

A prince should make his laws according to the religion of his country. 177.

Teachers of the divine law should be appointed. 179.

The prince is judge of ecclesiastic matters. *ibid.* 181, et seq.

In weighty matters the divines are to be consulted about religion. 189.

A prince should attend to the minute parts of religion, and make a reformation when they are ne-

^a But a prince must be just and good as well as valiant.

^b This is not inserted as a maxim of true, but of Timour's, policy. Have all European princes been more wisely politic?

^c They may be separated without dispersion. And that will be as good. For instance, 1. communication may be cut off by lines of army and fortification; 2. some may be brought over and garrisoned, protected and privileged; 3. seditious people are the easiest to divide by suspicious hints.

^d Timour learnt hence the evil of tyranny and cruelty.

glected. ^a *ibid.* et seq.

It is important to have the approbation of those who are eminent. And they grant concurrence to one who honours them, and courts it. 193, 195.

If a prince would be strong and secure, he must attach to him the religious. 197.

When those who have injured can be made friends, their injuries are not to be revenged, but forgot. If they still will be evil, they are to be left for a time. Else they are to be overcome with good. 199, 201.

Princes should avail their selves of the intercourse with divines, lawyers, sagacious persons, holy men whose prayer is effectual, warriors, prudent and secret men, learned men in sciences and arts, historians, ascetics and solitaries, artificers and tradesmen, and travellers. 209 et seq.

Soldiers and subjects equal, but one must not hurt the other. 209.

Wages of soldiers to be advanced, not detained, especially in critical Times. *ibid.*

Inferior governors well chosen and ordered do much service. 211.

Plenty and population are main ends in a government. *ibid.*

Merchants may be useful not for their wares only, but intelligence from various parts. 217.

It is good to reinstate persons who are conquered in their former rank in one's own service. 217.

When merchants from enemies become subjects a sufficient capital should be allowed them. 219. The same of the peasant.

A prince's words and actions ought to be his own, and his subjects and soldiers should know they are not caused by the influence of any other. ^b 221.

A prince should hear advice from every one. But so attend to none as to make him equal or superior to his self in ruling. *ibid.*

A king should be just. But especially he should have just and good ministers. Because they can counteract his evil. But if they do evil, it will ruin him. ^c 223.

He must act resolutely and firmly: giving his orders in person, that none may dare or be able to oppose. *ibid.*

A resolution, enterprise or command must not be altered. Even tho the consequence is expected to be bad. ^d *ibid.*

^a It makes him, 1. less suspected; 2. more revered; and 3. gains him the influence of the religious. *N.B.* The reformation meant is only bringing again into use those established things which by omission were obsolete. — The attention is to maintain and spread religion.

^b This Maxim must be qualified. It is a good one in an absolute government, as Timour's; where the person, not the law, rules. But in mixt governments, where the law is understood to be above the king, it is more secure for the prince to let his subjects know that ministers direct the government, and to give them up when demanded by the people. Unless in some special cases. ^c This also belongs to an absolute government. See the note foregoing.

^d This resolution often brings affairs to an unhop'd for issue: and so gives soldiers an opinion of the commander's being infallible and irresistible. Which upon the whole may do more good than evading an evil by change of council. And it is better that a superior do not succeed in a business, than that he so submit to the subjects as to be expected or constrained to submit again.

Too great a share of government should be trusted to none. Neither discretionary power. But government is to be divided into as many posts as may be. Then every one's own business and watching over others will keep the supremacy safe. 225.

Rulers should have and maintain a dignity of authority: a majesty, which can overawe from presuming at all against them. 227.

The power of every officer, even the most inferior, to be absolute over all below. * 231.

The learned and divines to have subsistence from the prince. 235.

A province should be inspected on the third year. And if populous, plentiful and satisfied, the governor should be continued. Else removed; and receive nothing for three years. 241.

Tax-gathering may be enforced by menaces: but not corporal punishment. *ibid.*

“The governor whose authority is inferior to the power of the scourge is unworthy to govern. *ib.*

Ameers to be tried by their Peers. 245.

Ministers not to be condemned but on fair trial and clear proof. Because many seek their ruin, either envying them, or plotting against their sovereign. *ibid.*

Peculation in ministers of revenue to be made good from their own fortunes. 249.

They whom a minister patronizes

will deceive and betray him: whom he neglects oppose him. *ibid.*

Extortion and rapine in all cases to be punished and righted by restitution. 251.

The ecclesiastic judge to decide of causes and crimes cognizable by ecclesiastic law. The civil judge to order the rest. 253.

A minister should be firm and generous, intelligent and sagacious, be able to live in harmony with the subjects, be patient under difficulties, and cultivate peace. *ibid.*

Such a minister should be distinguished by honor, a post of authority, the confidence of his master, and discretionary power. *ibid.*

The minister equal to his office is just and moderate (concerning government, land and property) never *appears* a hypocrite, speaks well of the soldiers and subjects, neither says nor hears ill of others, behaves so prudently as to turn a man's mind from bad intentions, and does good for evil. 255.

Office must not be conferred on the *wicked*, the *envious*, the *vengeful*, or the *seditions*. *ibid.*

If a minister be too compliant the worldly-minded will bear him down. 259.

N.B. That minister is wise who regulateth royalty by a just knowledge of mankind. *ibid.*

The dignity^b of empire is supported by extensive territories, by a rich treasury and numerous armies. *ibid.*

* This belongs to an university, or other absolute government. And is best for such. This shews how nearly approche such government, aristocracy and democracy. The mere subject has *many* lords. ^b The dignity, but not the true welfare. As little army as safely may: and well filled, not large territory, are best.

A good minister in affairs of the empire, seeth not his enemy.^a 261.

N.B. That is a valuable minister who keeps in eye the population and cultivation of the country, the prosperity of the subjects, the strength of the army, and the fulness of the treasury. *ibid.*

He is a skilful minister who can, in fit time, divide or unite the subjects and armies; who can remove the difficulties of his sovereign, and can bring the confused matters of administration to order. 265.

An inferior officer should not do the work of a superior; nor vice versa. 273.

The several officers of different departments should state to the prince in council the truth of the affairs under their jurisdiction: to be recorded, by official secretaries for the council and a secret one for the prince, in private confidence. 303. et seq.

Regular accounts to be taken of receipts and expenses in each department. 307.

A minister should (at least) do that for the king which he expects from his own steward and Major domo. 313.

A good servant does his duty, because he loves his master. *ibid.*

A good minister takes not affront nor meditates revenge for the slights or chidings of his prince: but takes

his sovereign's faults on his self.^b 315.

The servant whose eye is on the gleanings of his master will overlook his duty. 315.

He who forgetteth his duty should be trusted no more. *ibid.*

"The servant who in the hour of trial searcheth after excuses, who on the day of enterprise demandeth his dismissal, who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat,^c and who transferreth till to-morrow the business of to-day, let the names of such servants be held in contempt, and let them be delivered over to the Almighty."^d *ibid.*

If a good servant be any how put to shame, let it be repaired. 317.

When one who had forsaken his master, returns of his own accord, let him be received with honor.^e *ibid.*

That servant, who was good and faithful to his former master, is to be received with honor, and promoted if he come to another: and the contrary. *ibid.*

When a servant in policy *pretends* friendship to his master's foe, he should be considered as a wise friend. But if it be earnest, let him be given to the enemy. 321.

When Timour conquered the kingdom of Tooraun, he behaved alike to his friends and enemies;

^a That is, 1. is intimidated by no opposition to his well-doing; 2. has no consideration of his own private enmities. His power is never the tool of his own revenge.

^b *N.B.* Under an oriental master.

not that of the adventure.

^c i. e. His *own* safe and advantageous retreat;

^d i. e. Be no more concerned with them.

^e How

does this consist with the last maxim but two following? Sometimes one is good, sometimes the other. Discretion to be used. As in answering and not answering a fool according to his folly.

even to those who had injured him, and had deceived him. So that his foes blushed at his generosity. 323.

The like to those also who envied him. 325.

If a tyrant govern another kingdom it ought to be assaulted, that it may be delivered. ^a 331.

Also if religion be dishonored there. 333.

N.B. Where schism and faction abound the nation is near ruin. And it should be invaded. ^b 335.

Timour informed his self of the dispositions of a people; and indulged their prejudices in his appointments of rulers. 337.

Business is not to be postponed: — lenity and severity have their seasons — the sword is not to be used where negotiation will serve. *ib.*

“Dominion may be continued to the *infidel*; but to the *tyrant* it shall not be continued.” ^c 341.

In conquered kingdoms, Timour revered the divines and learned, and provided for them. The rich and the powerful he held as brethren; the poor as his children. He exalted the nobles. He honored the soldiers and soothed the subjects. To the good he did good, expelling the vicious. He kept the base in proper bounds. He suspended all between hope and fear. He opened the portals of equity, and closed the avenues to oppression, 345.

He gave the government again

to the subdued prince, holding him obedient by generosity. ^d To the refractory he gave “a *vigorous, sagacious and upright Governor.*” 347.

Thieves were put to death, seditious banished, and vagrants and buffoons kept out. *ibid.*

A magistrate watched the soldiers and subjects in every city, and was accountable for all stolen. *ibid.*

Guards were appointed on the roads and answerable for losses. *ib.*

Soldiers were not permitted to enter forcibly a subject's house or seize his property. 349.

Provision was made for mendicants, that begging might be abolished. *ibid.*

N.B. *Particulars* of police are recounted after this page, which will not be noted here: only the more general and important.

Beggars persisting to beg were sold into another land. 361.

“I ordained that the revenues and taxes should be collected in such a manner as not to ruin the subject or depopulate the country. ^e For that causeth a diminution of the imperial treasures, and the dispersion of the troops; and the dispersion of the troops, an extinction of the imperial power.” 361.

Charters of safety granted to conquered subjects. 363.

The subject paid one third of the *current price* of his commodities into the royal treasury. ^f *ibid.*

^a This may have limitations. *N.B.* *WILL.* III. ^b When the policy or religion of a country is wrong, Timour would have it righted by a victorious foreign power.

^c When *men* are injured they are more impatient (and short-sighted) than *God*.

^d That is not always safe. The subject king has too much power and opportunity (if still reigning) to hurt the conqueror. It is easy to observe that Timour was, like other men, sometimes in extremes. He was too open or too artful. ^e A necessary consequence on the former.

^f So taxes were always proportionably tolerable. But the exigencies of the state are so different, that is impracticable: except by varying the tax from

Soldiers were paid according to that price also. *ibid.* in note.

Whoever cultivated waste land, or made an aquæduct or canal was free from tax the first year, in the second what he offered was received, in the third he was regularly taxed. 367.

If a rich injured a poor man, recompense was levied on the wrongdoer. 369.

Waste lands unowned were annexed to the crown. If poor, insufficient people owned them, they were enabled to cultivate. *ibid.* ^a

Bridges repaired and built: Inns supplied. *ibid.*

In every city a mosque, a school, a monastery, ^b an alms-house, an hospital (with a physician who had salary) a government-house and a court of justice. 371.

An officer (with approbation of ecclesiastic and civil judges) took care of the effects of those who absconded, the insane, those who died intestate, or suffered as malefactors. *ibid.*

Property given to the lawful heir. If none, expended in public piety. 373.

from one commodity to another; so as that the most saleable bears the burthen. That cannot be where all are taxed in the lump. This is said on supposition that the state may want more than the usual revenue, sometimes. But one third is higher than any rate of taxation with us. ^a *N.B.* Our Commons. ^b Better a college, or the like.



M I L I T A R Y P A S S A G E S.

“ONE experienced and able soldier can direct the efforts of thousands of thousands.” p. 7.

If a prince send an army against a foe there is a twofold danger, i. e. that his army may be defeated or revolt. But if he go with them, there is only one peril, i. e. of defeat. ^a 11.

Counsils tending to divide the soldiers are not to be hearkened to. And the dictates of fear are not to be regarded. 15.

One in war, having few men, should abide in the desert. 41.

If the men will not stay in the desert the commander must dispose of them, within call, and go to levy more. *ibid.*

“And the spirit of glory assaulted me, and said, “Since thou hast advanced forth with pretensions to empire, even this is becoming the dignity and the rank of a king that thou resolve on war. And that thou be either triumphant or be slain in battle.” 63.

^a Timour always preferred the single to the double peril.

“And I saw the duration of my power in this, that I should divide among my soldiers the treasures which I had gathered.” 65.

“I saw it was good that I should be quick and break their power before they could gather their army.” 69.

“I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous I saw it was good that I should shew kindness to some, and that with some I should dissemble, and that I should tempt some by riches, and sooth some by promises and persuasions, and engagements.” 71.

“I overpowered them at the second charge. And as the night was come I pitched my tents on the ground where I was. And I counselled with myself that I would not let the plain of battle cool. ^a And I considered that if I was guilty of delay something might come to pass which might cause me to stand in need of assistance. And tho Ameer Hooffein was encamped behind me, I did not cause myself to stand in need of his support. ^b But by skilful measures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and the men of Jitteh.” 77.

“And I saw that they were going troop after troop. And my Ameers and my soldiers called for orders to pursue them. And I said to myself ‘I must delay to pursue them until their intentions be

known.’ And after they had travelled four fursungs they halted. And I discovered their design. Behold their intention was this, that they might bring me down from the mountain apart and assault me.” 79.

“And on this account the honor of my station urged me that I should take the castle of Kurshee. And certain of my Ameers counselled that I should go and seize it by force. But I deliberated thus, ‘If I attempt to reduce it by a siege; perhaps my forces may be repulsed.’ And in a siege several dangers occurred to my mind, and I rejected that measure. And I saw it was good that I should turn my face toward Khoraufaun ^c until the hearts of the keepers of the castle should be at rest: and that then I should return and march with speed and assault the castle by surprise, and reduce it. And I marched and went toward Khoraufaun. When I crossed the Waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khoraufaun, and they were journeying toward Kurshee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts to me. And I asked him of the state of the Ameers of Khoraufaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khoraufaun. And I dismissed him. And I sent a spy with the people of the Kauruvvaun. And I tarried on the border of the waters of Amuveah until the spy

^a According to the different circumstances the event of such conduct may be different. ^b Sometimes it may be well to do at almost any rate without help, rather than make one, who might help, of too great consequence. But sometimes this slight may be returned by the slighted person's becoming as important a foe as he would have been a friend. ^c In a different direction. As if he were going else where than to Kurshee.

brought word that the people of the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Moofi saying, 'We saw Ameer Timour on the border of the waters of Amuveah, and he was going toward Khoraufaun.' And when Ameer Moofi and the forces of Ameer Hooffein heard this news, they were glad of heart. And they pitched their tents, and spread abroad the carpet of riot and dissipation. And when I received intelligence thereof I selected 243 brave and resolute, and tried, and experienced warriors from among my forces. And I re-crossed the waters of Amuveah. And I marched with great speed. And I alighted at the distance of a fursung from the castle of Kurfhee. And I commanded that they should make ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And at this time Ameer Jaukoo kneeled before me and said, 'Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they shall arrive, delay is necessary.' And at this time it came into my mind that I should go *alone* and examine the castle. And I took forty warriors with me, and turned my face toward the castle of Kurfhee. And when the blackness of the castle appeared, I commanded my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mub-bushur and Abdullah, who had been born in my house. And when I

came to the border of the ditch I saw that the ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and I beheld a water-pipe. And water ran through that pipe to the castle, and they had laid it across the ditch, and I delivered my horse to Mub-bushur. And I crossed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and struck on the door with my hand, and I discovered that the guards of the portal were asleep.^a And they had filled up the portal, behind the door, with clay and earth. And I looked round the walls of the castle, and saw the place where the steps of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I mounted my horse, and went back to my warriors. And the troops, who had remained behind, came with the ladders. And they were all armed. And they took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the castle. And they crossed the ditch on the pipe. And having fixed their ladders they entered on the walls of the castle. And when 40 resolute men had entered the castle, I also placed my foot on the ladder and went in unto them. And they sounded their trumpets.^b And I obtained possession of the castle.

95.

"And at that time news came unto me, that the Ouzbuds^c con-

^a Is not this excellent adventure disgraced by some rashness in this part of it? Timour might have been knocked on the head from the wall. The guards might have rushed out and seized him. This solitary part seems hardly necessary to the rest. At least another might have done it. ^b A common artifice, especially in surprise: that few men make a terrible noise. ^c An untuly, mischievous, oppressive tribe in Mauwur u Nuhur — the government of which had been taken from Timour, and given to Ouleaus Khaueh. But Timour fought against them for the injured. See p. 25, 27, 29, 35, 61, 65, 77, 79, 81, 83.

tinued

tinued in the castles. And I saw it was not good that I should send my armies against them. And I wrote a summons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I sent forces with him. And I commanded them to shew themselves, and to raise a great dust. And when the Ouzbuds received the summons of Ouleaus Khaujeh,^a calling them to him,^b and saw the dust raised by my people, they quitted the castles, night after night,^c and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from those oppressors, who had sought to slay me. And that kingdom submitted to my government.”^d 105.

“Although I had determined to put them to death, yet as they were warriors, I saw it was good that I should dispel their fears, and employ them in war.”^e 109.

“And I saw my success in this, that I should throw the people of Khorausaun into the sleep of negligence. And I turned toward Summurkund. And when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had sat down quiet, I resolved thus, ‘Now the hearts of the people of Khorausaun are no longer affraid of me, I must fall upon them.’ And I turned back. And I marched with speed. And coming to Hurraut I

took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the sleep of security.” 111.

“I saw my advantage in this, that I should speak fair to his ambassador, and dismiss him, and shut up the road to the Dusht,^f and appoint an army to set out after the ambassador: And that on the day after that on which the ambassador should enter the presence of Auroos Khaun without suspicion, whilst Auroos Khaun should be unprepared, my forces should assault him. And even while the ambassador related his story my victorious armies, like an unforeseen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun. And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppose them. And the Dusht of Kipchauk was subdued.” 115.

No more army to be taken on an expedition than can be maintained. (Else they will mutiny or decay.)^g 121.

“And my people were a hungered. And the army of Touktummish Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameers set not their hearts upon battle, until my sons and my grandsons came and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me. And at this time the standard-bearer of Touktummish plotted secretly with me.^h And I found it was good that I

^a As they believed. ^b Perhaps to strengthen his army for some sudden expedition. ^c To keep it as secret as might be, that the castles were unmanned. ^d What became of the Ouzbuds who left the castles? Did not they go to Timour's army, taking it for Ouleaus Khaujeh's? Were not they then taken prisoners? Timour says nothing of them. ^e But they must be watched. ^f Why? To retard the ambassador? If he made it quite impassable, there must have been some other (probably longer or worse) road which the ambassador took. ^g This admits some variety, when the army can be sustained at cost of the enemy — as in foraging or plundering the country. ^h See p. 175. for Timour's private opinion, and, in general, public acknowledgment of such behaviour.

should assault the foe. And that when the two armies were engaged, the standard-bearer of Touktummish Khaun should invert his standard.^a And when the flames of war and of slaughter ascended high, I commanded that the tents should be pitched, and that they should prepare victuals.^b And at this time the standard of Touktummish Khaun was inverted. And Touktummish, dismayed and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of desolation; and turned his back on the field of slaughter, and fled." 123.

When Timour's Ameers objected to attacking Hindostaun, he answered them saying, "I will seek the sign of war in the Koraun." And they all consented thereto. And this sacred verse came forth, "O Prophet! fight with the infidels and the unbelievers."^c 131.

"I deliberated with myself concerning the Ameers, whether I should throw them down from their commands. But since I myself had exalted them, I fought not to pull them down. And I treated them

with kindness, although they had angered me." 133.

"And the whole of my army was 92 thousand horse-men: according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of God. And I took this number as a fortunate and a happy omen." 135.

"It came into my mind, that if I should resolve on subduing the castle of Dehli, perhaps the war might be long and tedious. And I counselled with myself, that I would make myself appear weak in their fight: that the enemy might gain courage, and fight with me on the plane.^d And I dug a ditch round my army, and I strengthened myself within that ditch. And I sent a force to meet them. And I commanded the soldiers that they should shew their selves weak and fearful. And when the enemies found their selves powerful, they exulted. And they came into the plane. And they opposed my victorious armies face to face. And Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle. And he was defeated, and he fled

^a The standard seems equally important in most armies. ^b David speaks of a table spread in fight of enemies. Timour did this to shew his defiance of the foe, and certainty of victory. This, if he gained the conquest, would give him confidence among the soldiers. But how if the already false standard-bearer had been false to Timour? How if his seeming plotting with him had been really against him? This is one of the many risques which heroes have been remarked for running. Had they failed they would have been called rash. Having prospered they are stiled glorious. It may be sometimes *necessary* to dare at hazard. But events alter not the characters of actions. Nor is that the best glory which is acquired by chance. ^c Timour was resolved in his self.

He wished an omen that should suit his resolution. He was prepared to construe a doubtful one in it's favor. Do Christians always consult their bible more impartially? Even in matters of doctrine, where passion and interest are generally less concerned? — This use of the Koraun is of the same kind with auguries and other omen-seeking. It is an address to popular prejudices. It is applying a strong motive. — How desirable that princes in Christendom would, at least, as implicitly obey the more peaceable dictates of their gospel, as the hero Timour did the warlike verse of his fighting Prophet!

^d They were in the castle.

toward the mountains. And spoils, and wealth, above measure, fell to my soldiers." 139.

"And I let loose the brave men." 143.

"I gave encouragement to my soldiers. And with money, and with jewels, I made them glad of heart. And I permitted them to come into the banquet. And in the field they hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my gold nor silver. And I educated, and trained them to arms. And to alleviate their sufferings, I myself shared in their labors, and in their hardships." 161.

"I hazarded my person in the hour of danger." 163.

"I kept my soldiers suspended between hope and fear." 199.

"The chiefs and the commanders of my forces I admitted to my councils. And I raised them to exalted dignities. And I associated, and conversed familiarly with them." 207.

"I loved those intrepid warriors who had given repeated proofs of their courage and abilities.^c And I proposed questions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in situations of peril, and the methods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, and of skirmishing, and all the other operations of war. And I placed confidence in them. And I consulted their opinions in

proportion to their skill and experience." 207.

"The brave from among my soldiers I distinguished by gifts and honors." 209.

"I kept my troops in a state of readiness. And I advanced to them their wages, even before it was due." *ibid.*

"My soldiers of every rank I confined in such sort to their several stations, that they could not step beyond the limits prescribed to them." *ibid.*

"Relative to the various tribes who sought shelter under my government, Those who were soldiers I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank &c." 217.

"And the genuine descendant of a soldier resolute and brave, of whatever tribe, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces." 219.

N.B. Particular regulations for the army are here omitted. They are detailed, p. 229 &c.

"I commanded that if any one of my soldiers, exceeding the limits prescribed him, should injure, he should be delivered into the hands of the injured person, that he might retaliate." 251.

"By experience it is known to me, that he only is equal to stations of power, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating armies: who in

^a "Let slip the dogs of war."

^b A part of character essential to a war-chief.

^c Both these were necessary to make a soldier important with Timour. And a general, who makes *fit* persons important, will gain as much consequence as he gives.—The like is true in all governments as well as the military.

^d Fortes creantur fortibus.

the hour of battle giveth not his heart from his hand, nor permitteth apprehension to take possession of his soul: who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confusion can by his abilities restore them to order: who can rule armies with majesty and authority, and who hath the vigor to chastise those who rise in opposition to his commands." 269.

A superior officer should not be sent on a service which an inferior can do. 273.

"Every one of the Ameers who from a spirit of enterprise demanded employment, his request should be granted." *ibid.*

"An achievement from attention to personal safety in the moment of peril should not be regarded." 275.

"The right of the warrior should not be injured. The soldier grown in years should not be deprived of his station or wages. The actions of the soldier should not be suppressed. For those men who sell their *permanent happiness for perishable honor* are worthy of reward." ^b 277.

Every soldier to have the (extra) price of his services paid him. — Hostile soldiers, captive, not to be killed, have it offered to serve in the conqueror's army, or liberty. ^c — If a hostile soldier, brave and faithful to his own commander, from choice or necessity come under another authority, his good qualities and actions to be rated as if originally in the latter service. 279.

"I ordained, that whoever of my Ameers subdued and wrested a kingdom from the hands of the enemy, that for the space of 3 years the vice-gerency of that kingdom should be conferred on him." ^d 291.

The soldier who turns his face from the foe, must appear no more. — He who on the day of enterprise demandeth his dismissal, be in contempt &c. 315.

"If one fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the insinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice. Permit not his glory to be concealed. But let it be exhibited in ten-fold splendor." ^e 321.

^a If he failed, his own self-willed temerity was the cause. If he prospered, the fruit was the prince's.

^b What a sale! What a sentiment!

^c That should be on promise to cease hostility.

^d But care must be taken against his oppression and speculation.

^e For many good military directions, see p. 375. et seq.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

TIMOUR with 243 warriors subdued a castle fortified by 1200. P. 7.

He was once brought low. He had but 7 on horses, and 3 on foot. He carried his wife (whom he calls "honored"*) behind on his horse. He wandered in the desert, and one night alighted at a well. Three of his people ran away with 3 horses. So he had 7 men and 4 horses left. Yet he was strong of heart and did not lament. Then Aali Beg came upon him, carried him off and imprisoned him in a place full of vermin, with a guard over him. There he lay 62 days. Then he wrested a sword from his guards, attackt them and they fled. Upon which he presented his self before Aali Beg. Who being confounded made excuses, gave him his liberty, restored his arms and horses, adding as a present a lean horse, and a worn out camel: but kept back part of his property. 35.

"And I implored All-mighty God that He would deliver me from that wandering life. And I had not yet rested from my devotions when a number of people appeared afar off. And I mounted my horse and I came in behind them. And I asked of them, saying, "Warriors who are Ye?" And they answered unto me, "We are the servants of Ameer Timour, and we wander seeking him, and lo! we find him

not." And I said unto them, "I also am one of the servants of Ameer: how say ye if I be your guide and bring you unto Him?" And one of them put his horse to speed and went and carried news to the leaders, saying, "We have found a guide who can lead us to Ameer Timour." And the leaders gave orders that I should appear before them. And they were three troops. And when their eyes fell on me they were overwhelmed with joy. And they alighted from their horses, and they came and they kneeled, and they kissed my stirrup. And I also came down from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And they wept. And I wept. And we mounted our horses, and came to my dwelling. And I collected my people together and made a feast. And on the next day Share Behraum, who had separated from me, in the narrowness of his heart, arrived also. And he made excuses. And I took him into my arms. And I accepted his excuses. And I treated him with such kindness that he came forth from his confusion." 53.

"Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the son of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and strong spirits. And in the end the wine destroyed him, and he departed from the world. And I took possession of his lands." 89.

"When Ameer Hooffein sent

* Remarkable in the East.

unto me a Koraun by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendship and brotherly affection towards me, and sent a message unto me, saying, "If there be ought in my heart contrary to that which I say, and if I break my oath and do evil unto thee, may this book of God seize upon me."^a Seeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words. And he sent a person unto me, and a message, saying, "If it may be so that we may see each other in the pass of Chukchuk and renew our antient faith, truly it will be better." And this was his design: that by perfidy and treachery he might seize on me. And altho' I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word or on his oath, yet out of respect to the holy Koraun I resolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would first send a number of my resolute warriors and secrete them round about the pass of Chukchuk, and that I my self would go with another body of my people, and see Ameer Hooffein. And I sent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hooffein, that they should inform me of his designs. And Share Behraum, who was of my friends, ^b informed me

of the designs of Ameer Hooffein. And Ameer Hooffein slew him: ^c and set out with a thousand horsemen to come upon me. And at that time I had pitched my tents at the entrance of the pass, and this news came unto me. And I ordered my forces. And behold the Vanguard of Ameer Hooffein appeared in fight. And my Kurrauvulaun brought word, saying, "It is the army of Ameer Hooffein. And Ameer Hooffein cometh not with them. For he hath heard that Ameer ^d is come alone, and he hath sent an army to seize Thee." And behold I was prepared, and two hundred horsemen were all that were with me. ^e And I waited until the forces of Ameer Hooffein had entered the pass. And I sent a messenger to the people whom I had sent before me, and I commanded them to seize the way of retreat. And I my self opposed them face to face. And I enclosed my enemies in that pass, and took many of them prisoners. And Ameer Hooffein was confounded and made excuses. And I had faith in him no more. And I was no more deceived by his words." 101.

"When in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun my forces were thrown into confusion by the

^a Was this imprecation implied in the oath, and only repeated in another form according to the Eastern manner? Or is it somewhat more? The oath only assuring that the profession was as true as that by which it was sworn. And the (supposed or real) book of God, among it's believers, is esteemed the purest and most certain truth. Therefore to swear falsely by it is the greatest crime. It is to say that a wicked lye is as true as the divine word. If this be accomplished to incur the curses of the book, the oath implies an imprecation.

^b He had revolted from Timour and was reconciled. p. 55. Yea twice. 87.

^c A reconciled foe, even a faithless friend (as in this Instance) *reconciled*, may prove a friend faithful unto death. Who then would revenge? ^d Timour. ^e About his person. Not including those sent before, and secreted round the pass.

superior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen, noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head and stretched forth his arms in supplication; his prayer was not yet concluded when the effects of his mediation became apparent." 207.

"When one of my wives was afflicted with a deadly distemper, 12 holy Siuds celebrated for their piety assembled together. And each of them devoted a year of his own existence to her preservation. And she was restored to health: and enjoyed the full measure of their donation." ^a 207.

"Several of those in whom I confided, from envy and malice communicated fictitious tales to me; both in public and private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubbaus; who was one of my most powerful and most faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my resentment by their false reports. And in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death. And in the end I discovered the perfidy of his accusers. And I was ashamed and confounded at my own conduct." ^b 247.

"Mullick Shaah, Siljokee disgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk, who was adorned with every great and shining quality; and appointed an ignoble and worthless man in his place. By the ill conduct, viciousness and villainy of

that minister the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned." 255.

"Munguli Booghau advanced with an army against me. And before the engagement I sent proposals to him, and endeavored to draw him over to my side.^c But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun. And he formed his troops in order of battle. And he charged my forces with undaunted resolution. And he was defeated. And when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, I raised him to an exalted station. And such were the favors which I conferred upon him, that if any resentment remained in his heart, it was obliterated. And he signalized his self in my service, and conferred obligations on me. And when I encountered Kurrau Eusoof, in the moment that my troops were discouraged and thrown into confusion he placed on his spear the head of a hostile commander. And he named it the head of Kurrau Eusoof, and called to my forces, that Kurrau Eusoof was slain. And he gave courage to my soldiers. And he rushed on the centre of Kurrau Eusoof's line, and drove him from the fields." 281.

"When the Khaukaun advanced against Hurmuz, the son of Nousharevaun, with an army of 3 hundred thousand sanguinary Toorks, that prince sent forth Behraum

^a i. e. Lived 12 years longer. Could not he get a farther prolongation of her life? or was he tired of her?

^b What must be the feelings of an honest, humane mind, in such a case! From the horrible misery of such conduct how happily are those princes secured whose authority and it's acts the laws define! What then is he who would be absolute? knows he his own weakness? knows he the craft of others? or cares he not for mischief?

^c Timour knew it would be for his advantage to seduce Munguli Booghau. Had he yielded to the temptation, Timour would have despised, detested, perhaps punished him.

Joubeen, who had been the minister, and the counsellor, and the general^a of his father, with 320000 Persians to oppose him. And he engaged that prince. And for 3 days and for 3 nights the slaughter continued with great fury. At length he defeated the Khaukaun, and dispatcht intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz. And he also sent unto him the spoils which he had taken. And the envious and the slanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accusations against him, saying, "Behraum hath secreted the treasures of the enemy. And he hath seized to his self the sword and the crown, and the buskins of the Khaukaun, ornamented with jewels of price." And Hurmuz forgot the services of Beh-

raum. And he credited the accusations. And he pronounced him a traitor. And, in token of his anger and contempt, he sent a chain to him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.^b And Behraum Joubeen placed the collar on his neck, and on his feet he fastened the chain. And he clothed his self in the female attire. And he called the Ameer and the chiefs of his soldiers together. And thus habited he gave public audience to his people. And when they beheld Behraum they uttered revilings against their prince. And they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz. And under the banners of Behraum Joubeen they proceeded to the palace of the king. And they deprived him of his regal authority."^c 285.

^a In warring countries it may be often convenient to unite these characters. ^b How poor females are despised in the East! Yet no where more loved. So do esteem and love differ. ^c Contrast with this Chughtai Khaun's story. .p. 249.



**THEOLOGIC AND RELIGIOUS SENTENCES
OF TIMOUR.**

VICTORY procedeth not from the greatness of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers. For conquest is obtained by the divine favor [and skilful measures.] P. 7. et seq.

"If the canopy of heaven were a bow, and if the earth were the cord^a thereof, and if calamities were the arrows, if mankind were the mark for those arrows, and if Almighty GOD (the tremendous and

^a It appears hence that the convexity of the terraqueous globe was not thought of by the Caliph. He considered the flat, horizontal surface of the earth as like the cord.

the

the glorious) were the unerring archer — to whom could the sons of Adam flee for protection? The sons of Adam must flee unto the Lord.”^a 17.

Timour in all his actions sought an omen from the Koraun — his Bible.^b 19, 75, 89 &c.

“And I gave praise unto God, and I said unto my self, God doeth great things for me.” 49. *N.B.* So he says on all such occasions.

“And on that night, which was a holy night, I kept watch. And when the morning broke I was employd in prayer. And after repeating the prayers prescribed by the law I lifted up my hands in supplication. And in the midst of my supplication I wept. &c.” 51. *N.B.* He was then distress’d. Mark the good effect of this in “Remarkable Events.” *ibid.*

“And the hour of prayer was arrived. And we prayed together.”^c 55.

“I opened the holy book for an omen. And this sacred verse came forth as a sign. “How oft do the weak vanquish the powerful, by the permission of All-mighty God.” 75.

“The forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh spent that night in watching.

And I in that night, on the top of that hill, was employd in humiliations and supplications to the throne of All-mighty God. And between sleeping and waking I heard a voice as of some one speaking to me, saying, “Timour, victory and conquest, and triumph, are thine.” And when the morning broke I praid with my people.”^d 79.

“And at this time Baubau Aali Shaah came before me, and said, “Timour, God All-mighty hath declared, that if there were two Gods in the Heavens and in the earth, the order of the universe would end in horror and confusion.” And I took warning by his words.” 89.

“By the favor of All-mighty God I obtained possession of the castle.”^e 99.

Timour having received an insidious invitation, wherein he suspected treachery and danger, yet because it was accompanied with a Koraun, on which amity had been sworn, out of respect to the Koraun he resolv’d to go.”^f 101.

“And I rested on the favor of the All-mighty.”^g 127.

“I will turn to All-mighty God, that whatever be the will of God, that I may do.” 131.

“Having pitcht my tents to-

^a This is applied to shew, one must repair to a hostile superior, too strong to be resisted, in submission.

^b This has been (with our Bible) an immemorial practice among Christians. (And a similar among many people.) Anstun notes some that took *Sortes* from the gospels. (Ep. 119.) The same with the psalms or gospels, or any thing else, is condemned in Charles the Great’s Capitular. (Cap. 4.) Cedrenus relates that Heraclius ordered his army to live purely three days, then opening the gospels he construed the place presented as an order to winter in Albany. Peter Blefenis construed a vision of his from a passage opened on in the psalter. (Ep. 30.) & plura, &c. Beside the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, and the like.

^c Vid. Remarkable Events. *ibid.* ^d Immediately follows a signal victory. ^e This was after a most painful and perilous adventure. Yet he attributes the success to God alone.

^f And escap’d, having defeated those who attackt him. ^g And prospered.

ward Hindostaun I repeted the prayer of victory." 133.

"Praise is due to the God of the universe, that He hath brought under my authority many of the kingdoms of the world." 147.

"May God be merciful to that servant^a who knoweth his own limits: and who placeth not the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds." *ibid.*

"And among the rules which I establisht for the support of my empire, the first was, That I promoted the worship of Almighty God: and at all times, and in all places, supported the true faith."^b 159.

"It is known to me by experience that every empire, which is not establisht in morality and religion, shall pass away." 175.

"I appointed a man of holiness and illustrious dignity to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times,^c and appoint superiors in holy offices: and establisht in every city and in every town a doctor learned in the sacred law:^d and ordain salaries for superior eccle-

siastics and for holy men, and for men of knowledge."^e 177.

"I commanded that they should build places of worship in every city." 179.

"He put an end to those divisions. And by so doing gave strength to our holy law."^f 183.

"Encrease thou thy good actions that thy benevolent Creator may encrease his mercies to thee." 197.

"The different offices in an earthly empire are symbols of those in the empire of the Creator. In which are laborers, agents &c. And they are all busied in their proper departments. And they seek not to overleap the bounds allotted them. And they wait in perpetual obedience to the will of the Lord." 201.

"We cannot be profuse^g in our offerings to Almighty God." 203.

"I granted admission to Theologians, and to holy men. And they resorted at all times to my palace. And they adorned my imperial assembly by their presence." 205.

"I revered devout and pious men. And I implored their prayers

^a This was address to Bajazet. Would all princes consider and conduct their selves as the *servants* of God!

^b Thus far is right. But whatsoever is more cometh of evil. Support the true faith. Promote it. It cannot be enforced. To attempt that is the effort of a zeal not according to knowledge, set on fire of hell. The faith of force is not that which worketh by love. Therefore not that which fulfils the law. Much the same may be said of punishing heresy. The civil power should punish civil crimes. What hurts the state is a civil crime. Nothing else comes under the magistrate's vindictive power.

^c That was great authority. Timour (not to derogate from the purity of his intention) found his account in favoring the religious. They are important. And he gained their favor. 179 &c.

^d The appointer was an arch-bishop, as it were. Here we see some regal power in the church. Indeed if a prince must support religion, he must have some ecclesiastic authority.

^e "The priest shall preserve knowledge." — Beside all this power, this man had the appointment of judges and supervisors of the markets.

^f Is this unworthy the attention of Christians? Would not our strength be strengthened by union? Yet can we hope it? Scarcely while any among us, like those divided ones, "fulminate curses and denounce execrations" one at another. Much less, while, like them, any "proceede to hostilities."

^g Taking that word in a bad sense.

in the hour of retirement. And I supplicated their blessings on my actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and in my deliberations, I reaped the greatest advantages from their mediation." ^a 207.

"I united my self with holy and pious men: with those to whom the All-mighty had given wisdom. And I associated with them. And I heard from them the word of GOD. And I acquired knowledge of the blessings of a future state. And I saw them perform miracles and wonderful things. And I reaped delight from their conversation." 215.

[*Annotation* on the NOTE, P. 215.

Timour is often tautologic and indistinct. But I am willing to allow that the first, third, and tenth Orders were really different. (I mean that whether different or not in their selves, essentially, they were some how distinguished then and there.) Yet I assent not to the distinction in this Note. None of these classes is said by Timour to live in

seclusion. ^b And perhaps both the third and tenth might live so. The Eastern hermits are not more alike than the Western. Timour's variety appears to me thus. The first were regular, authoritative divines. The third were good men: whose merits and intercessions have generally been believed to avail. The tenth were such as moreover had extraordinary communications with heaven: receiving thence miraculous revelations, gifts and powers. These are really distinct in their selves.]

"Relative to the various tribes who fought shelter under my government, I commanded that those who were Theologians should be received with reverence: and that all their desires should be fulfilled: and that they should be supported in affluence." 217.






"Thy good actions, and the blessings which the people of the All-mighty receive from thy hands, are equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and sanctity." ^c 263.

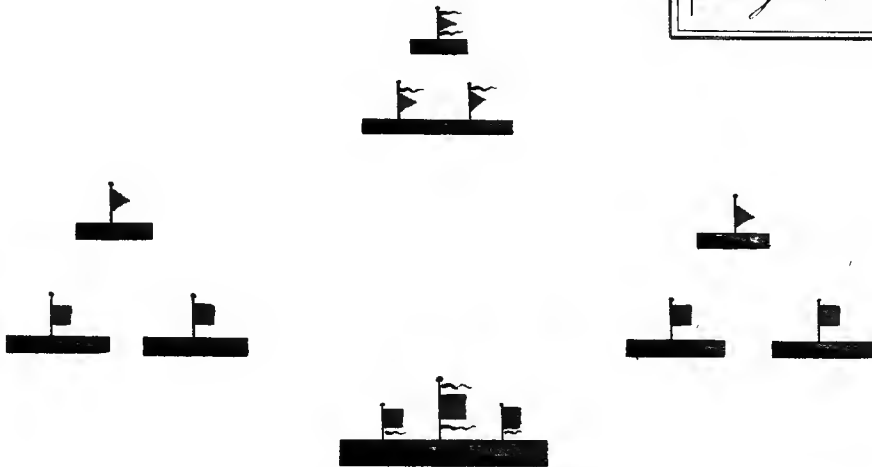
"In every nation He that feareth GOD, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with Him."

^a The notion that good persons are so acceptable to GOD, that for their sakes he confers favors on the less deserving, is not peculiar to the Christian or Mosaic œconomy. — The blood of JESUS is said to speak better than that of Abel. Not that the latter, as some construe it, cried for vengeance. But the former was a better mediator. Abel was considered as a mediator, and petitions offered to GOD in his name. His blood was especially sacred.

^b Solitude no more proves sanctity than sanity. Many a spiritual as well as carnal pest-house stands alone. — This is borrowed from Fuller's "holy state." ^c Let this be set against superstition.

Plate 1

-  Main Body headed by the Commander in chief.
-  Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.
-  Grand advanced Guard.
-  Advanced Guards of the right and the left Wings.
-  Right and left Wings.










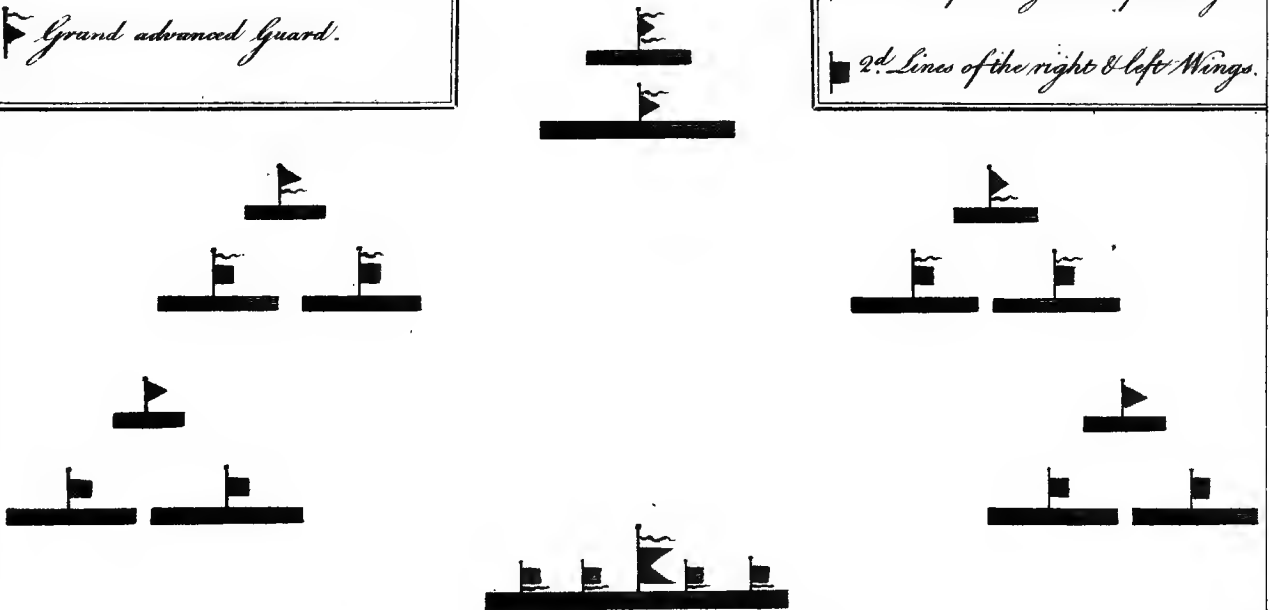
-  Main Body headed by one of the Emperours Sons.
-  Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.
-  Grand advanced Guard.

Plate 2

-  Advanced Guards of the front Lines of the right & left Wings.
-  Front Lines of the right and left Wings.
-  Advanced Guards of the second Lines of the right & left Wings.
-  2^d Lines of the right & left Wings.



تذوڪات تيمور
مقالا اول
في تدبيرات وكنكاشها

THE INSTITUTES OF
TIMOUR.

BOOK THE FIRST.

DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES.



مقاله اول

في تدبيرات وكنكاشها

وكنكاش * امور ملكييري و جهانداري
ولشكرشكني و دشمن را بدم آوردن
ودوست ساختن مخالفان و در آمدن و بر
آمدن ببيان دوستان و دشمنان چنين كردم

* In order to account for the abruptness of this Exordium, it is necessary to inform the Reader, that this part of the Work in the Original followed the *INSTITUTES*, and by the Royal author was undoubtedly considered as a part of them, under the Denomination of *DESIGNS* and *ENTERPRISES*; which he appears to have given as Models of Conduct to others in similar situations. But as it is presumed that little more than the Name of *TIMOUR* is known to the generality of Europeans, and as this part of the Work contains an abridged account of his most



BOOK THE FIRST.

DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES.

* **T**HUS I formed measures and designs for the reduction of kingdoms, and for the obtainment of empire, and for defeating armies, and for circumventing enemies, and for making friends of foes, and for going out, and for coming in, amongst friends and enemies.

most important Schemes and Enterprises, which consequently lead to a knowledge of the genius, abilities, and extraordinary actions of the man; it has been deemed a proper introduction to that part of the Work, which may with propriety be stiled his *INSTITUTES*. Another reason for prefixing this part of the Work to the other, is, that from the simplicity of the Narrative, it will (in the beginning) be better adapted to the use of those who are inclined to study the *Perſian Language*.

که پیر من بهن نوشت که ابو المنصور تیهور در امور سلطنت چهار امر را بدست بکیرد یعنی کنکاش و مشورت و حزم و احتیاط که هر سلطنتی که از کنکاش و مشورت خالی باشد چون شخصی است جاهل که آنچه کند و کوید همه غلط باشد و گفتار و کردارش سر بسر پیشبانی و ندامت بار آورد پس بهتر است که در تهشیت امور سلطنت خود را به مشورت و تدبیر عمل نهایی تا آخر نادم و پیشبان نکردي و بدان که در امور سلطنت یک حصه صبر و تحمل است و یک حصه تغافل و تجاهل بعد از تعارف و از کار کردن بعزیت و صبر و استقامت و حزم و احتیاط و شجاعت جمیع امور میسر میشود والسلام

و کویا این مکتوب هادی بود که مرا ز راه نبود و ظاهر ساخت که در امور سلطنت نه

† Kootub ul Aktaub Sheikh Zine u deen Aboo Bukkur : a devout and learned man descended from the Mahummudan Lawgiver, who foretold to TIMOUR the power and greatness to which he would arrive. It appears that this prince considered him in the light of a ghostly father, consulted him

FOR my PEER † wrote unto me, saying, Book I.
 “ Let ABU’L MUNSOUR TIMOUR, in conducting the
 “ important concerns of government, take by the hand
 “ four assistants ; to wit, Deliberation, and Counsel, and
 “ Vigilance, and Circumspection.

“ FOR every government which shall be
 “ void of deliberation and counsel, is like unto a foolish
 “ man, who erreth in all which he sayeth and doeth ;
 “ and whose actions and words bring forth no fruit but
 “ shame and repentance. It is therefore good that in
 “ conducting the affairs of thy government, thou act
 “ with deliberation and with counsel ; that thou mayest
 “ not in the end be ashamed and confounded.

“ AND know, that the requisites for con-
 “ ducting the concerns of empire are one portion pa-
 “ tience and forbearance, and one portion pretended neg-
 “ ligence and feigning to know not that which thou
 “ knowest—and that by acting with resolution, and with
 “ uprightness, and with patience, and with vigilance, and
 “ with caution, and with bravery, every undertaking
 “ will become easy and successful. Farewell.”

AND behold this letter was a guide which
 pointed out to me the way ; and shewed unto me, that

him on all occasions, and paid the most implicit attention to his counsels.
Peer in the Persian language signifies *old* or *aged* ; hence a *Father* : which is
 the appellation by which TIMOUR distinguishes him throughout this work.

of

حصه مشاورت و تدبیر و کنکاش است و یک حصه

شیشیر

که گفته اند به تدبیری ملکهها توان

کنشاد و فوجها توان شکست که بشیشیرهای لشکرها

میسر نشود

و بتجربه من رسید که یک مرد کار دیده

شجاع مردانه صاحب عزم و تدبیر و حزم بهتر از هزار

مرد بی تدبیر و حزم است چه یک مرد کار دیده هزار

هزار مرد را کار فرماید

و بتجربه من رسید که غالب شدن بر

مخالفان نه از بسیاری لشکر است و مغلوب شدن

نه از کمی سپاه بلکه غالب شدن بتایید و تدبیر

است

چنانچه من با دو صد و چهل و سه کس

از روی کنکاش و تدبیر بر سر قلعه قرشی که امیر

موسی و ملک بهادر با دوازده هزار سوار در قلعه

و حوالی قلعه نشسته بودند آمدم و بتایید تنگری

تعالی و تدبیر درست قلعه قرشی را مسخر کردانیدم

و با

of the requisites for conducting the affairs of dominion Book I.
 nine tenths are Deliberation, and Counsel, and provident
 Measures; and that the Sword is one portion only.

FOR the experienced have said, “By Po-
 “licy kingdoms may be conquered, and numerous hosts
 “may be defeated, which by the Swords of united ar-
 “mies cannot be overthrown.”

AND by experience it is known unto me,
 that one tried foldier, of magnanimity, and of bravery, and
 of resolution, and of skill, and of circumspection is
 more valuable than a thousand men who want discretion
 and knowledge. For one experienced and able foldier
 can direct the efforts of thousands of thousands.

AND by experience it is known unto me,
 that victory over the foe proceedeth not from the great-
 nefs of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers:
 for conquest is obtained by the Divine Favour, and by
 skilful and judicious measures.

T H U S, aided by deliberation and fore-
 fight, with two hundred and forty three warriors only, I
 came down on the castle of Kurshee. † And in the castle
 and the neighbourhood thereof, Ameer Mooſi and Mul-
 lik Bahaudur had sat down with twelve thousand horse-
 men; and by the aid of Almighty God and by skilful
 measures I subdued the castle of Kurshee.

† A city of Mauwur u Nuhur, or Transoxiana, Long. 99. Lat. 39.

و با دوازده هزار سوار امیر موسی و ملک
 بهادر آمده مرا در قلعه قرشی محاصره نمودند و من
 اعتماد بر تایید ایزدی کردم و از روی تدبیر و احتیاط
 از قلعه بر آمدم و مرتبه به مرتبه جنک کردم و باین
 دو صد و چهل و سه کس دوازده هزار سوار را شکست
 دادم و چند فرسنگ راه تعاقب ایشان نمودم

و بتجربه من رسید که رای و تدبیر
 و کنکاش با مردی دانا دل هوشیار می آید اگرچه
 تشبیهت کارها در پرده تقدیر مستور است لیکن بر
 سنت سنیه محمدی صلی الله علیه و سلم هر کاری
 که کردم به مشاورت کردم

و چون ارباب رای و کنکاش جمع می
 آمدند از خیر و شر و نفع و ضرر کردن و ناکردن کارها
 که در پیش بود پرسش مینمودم و چون سخنان
 ایشان را می شنیدم هر دو طرف آنرا ملاحظه می کردم
 و نفع و ضرر آنرا بخاطر می آوردم و مخاطرات آن
 کار

AND Ameer Moofi and Mullik Bahaudur, ^{Book I.} with their twelve thousand horsemen, came and surrounded me in the castle of Khurshée. And I rested on the favour of the Almighty, and I sallied forth with skill and with circumspection from the castle, and I assaulted them repeatedly. And with those two hundred and forty and three people I defeated twelve thousand horsemen, and pursued them for many Fursungs.*

AND by experience it is known unto me, that counsel, and deliberation, and skilful measures are only to be found with the wise and the sagacious. Therefore, notwithstanding the conclusion of every worldly event, is covered by the curtain of Fate, yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud (on whom be the Blessing of the Almighty) in every enterprize which I undertook, I acted from counsel and deliberation.

AND when my counsellors and my advisers were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the disadvantages of undertaking, or relinquishing, the enterprize before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of their opinions. And I duly weighed the advantages and the dis-

* Fursung is a league of about six thousand yards.

کار را بنظر اعتبار میدیدم و هر کاری که در آن
 دو خطر میدیدم طرح میکردم و کاری که یک
 خطر داشت اختیار می نمودم

چنانچه من به تغلقتهپور خان صلاح
 دارم در وقتی که امرای وی در دشت جته علم
 مخالفت برافراختند از من کنکاش خواست و بوی
 گفتم که اگر فوج بدفع و رفع ایشان بفرستی دو خطر
 متصور است و اگر خود متوجه شوی یک خطر ووی
 به کنکاش من عمل کرد و متوجه دشت شد و چنان
 شد که بوی گفته بودم

و در جمیع کارها مشاورت بکار بردم و در
 انصرام آن کار تدبیر درست میکردم و راه بر آمدن
 آن کار را ملاحظه نموده شروع در آن کار میکردم
 و از روی تدبیر و عزم درست و حزم و احتیاط و پیش بینی
 و دور اندیشی باتمام میرسانیدم

و بجزیه

advantages ; and I considered the perils thereof with the Book I.
 eye of attention. And every plan, in which I discovered
 a two-fold hazard, I rejected ; and I chose that in which
 the peril was single.

THUS I advised Tughulluk Timour Khaun, when his Ameers exalted the standard of rebellion in the Dusht of Jitteh. Behold he demanded counsel from me ; and thus I said unto him — “ If thou send an army
 “ to disperse and expel them ; a two-fold danger may be
 “ apprehended therefrom : * but if thou thyself advance
 “ against them, one peril only.” And he acted according to my counsel, and turned towards the Dusht of Jitteh : and that which I had fore-told unto him, came to pass.

AND I entered on every measure with counsel and advice ; and in the execution of that measure I acted on a plan which was uniform and good. And after examining the avenue of retreat, I entered on the execution thereof. And by skill, and by resolution, and by caution, and by circumspection, and by fore-sight, and by penetration I brought that enterprise to a fortunate conclusion.

* i. e. If he sent Forces, and went not himself, they might be defeated ; or they might be prevailed upon to join the rebels : but the latter, if he went himself, was not to be apprehended.

و بتجربه من رسید که صاحب کنکاش
 جمعی توانند بود که از روی اتفاق بر گفتار و کردار
 خود عازم باشند و از آن کار هیچ وجه
 نگذرند و اگر گویند نکنیم پیرامون آن کار
 نگردند

و بتجربه من رسید که کنکاش دو
 قسم است زبانی و ته دلی آنچه زبانی می شنیدم
 کوش میگردم و آنچه ته دلی می شنیدم در کوش
 دل جای میدادم

و در هنگام لشکر کشیها از صلح و جنگ
 پرسش مینمودم و دل‌های امرای خود را می جستم
 که جنگ جویند یا صلح و اگر از صلح سخن میکردند
 منافع صلح را با ضرر جنگ مقابله می نمودم و اگر
 از جنگ حرف میزدند نفع و فایده آنرا با ضرر صلح
 ملاحظه میکردم هر کدام غالب در نفع بود همان را
 اختیار مینمودم

و هر

AND by experience it is known unto me, Book I.
 that those are worthy to be counsellors, who steadfastly
 adhere to that which they say, and to that which they
 do; and who on no account relinquish the measures on
 which they have resolved; and who, if they say, "We
 will not do this," keep far from the action which they
 have condemned.

AND by experience it is known unto me,
 that there are two kinds of counsel — that which pro-
 ceedeth from the tongue, and that which proceedeth from
 the recess of the heart. I turned my ear to that which
 proceeded from the tongue; but to the counsel of the
 heart, which I heard, I gave a place in the treasury of
 my soul.

AND in times of hostility I sought counsel
 relative to peace and to war; and I studied the hearts of
 my chiefs, whether they were desirous of war or of peace.
 And if they advised peace, I compared the advantages of
 peace with the perils of war. And if they proposed war,
 I opposed the profits and advantages thereof to the in-
 conveniences and dangers that might follow from peace:
 and which ever appeared most profitable, that I preferred
 and approved.

AND

وهر کنکاشي که سپاه را دو دل می
 ساخت از استماع آن احتراز میکردم وهر صاحب
 کنکاش که مضطربانه کنکاش میگفت آنرا کوش
 میکردم و مردی که عاقلانه و مردانه سخن میکرد
 آنرا می شنیدم

و کنکاش از همه گس می پرسیدم
 لیکن خیر و شر هر سخن را ملاحظه می نمودم
 و طرف صلاح و صواب آنرا اختیار میکردم
 چنانچه در وقتی که تعلقتیپور خان
 نبیره چنکیز خان بعزم تسخیر ماورالنهر از آب خجند
 گذشت ویرلیغ طلب بنام من و امیر حاجی برلاس
 و امیر بایزید جلایر صادر ساخت و ایشان از من کنکاش
 خواستند که با اهل والوس خود بجانب خراسان
 برویم یا رفته تعلقتیپور خان را به بینم من بایشان
 کنکاش کردم که در دیدن تعلقتیپور خان
 دو نفع است و یک ضرر و در رفتن خراسان دو ضرر

* i. e. Such as occasioned a difusion of sentiments among them, or rendered them doubtful or apprehensive.

† i. e. To Timour &c. commanding them to submit and come in to him.

‡ *Amee* signifies a *Prince*, or *Leader*; and is a title given to all the nobility

AND I hearkened not to those counsels Book I.
 which divided the hearts of my soldiers.* And every
 counsellor who gave his opinion under the dominion of
 fear, I turned my ear unto him: but to the man who
 spoke with judgment and with firmness, I listened with
 attention.

AND I asked counsel from all: but I con-
 sidered the good and the evil of every opinion; and from
 each I selected those things which were just and expe-
 dient.

THUS when Tughulluk Timour Khaun,
 of the line of Chungaze, crossed the waters of Khujjund
 with a determination to reduce the kingdom of Mauwur
 u Nuhur, and issued mandates of summons in my name,†
 and in the names of Ameer Haujee Burlaus ‡, and Ameer
 Bauezzeed Jullair; those chiefs asked counsel of me,
 saying, “ Shall we flee into Khorausaun, with our fa-
 milies and with our hords, or shall we go and see Tu-
 ghulluk Timour Khaun?” I counselled them, say-
 ing, “ There are two advantages and one peril in seeing
 Tughulluk Timour; and in fleeing to Khorausaun

bility of the first rank in the Mogul empire; also to the commanders of
 bodies of troops. Ameer Haujee Burlaus was the uncle of Timour. He
 and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullair were both chiefs of tribes in the kingdom
 of Mauwur u Nuhur,

“ there

است و یک نفع ایشان کنکاش مرا قبول نکردند
 و متوجه خراسان شدند و من در رفتن خراسان و دیدن
 تغلقتیپور خان دو دله شدم

و درین امر از پیر خود کنکاش خواستم
 ایشان در جواب من نوشتند که از خلیفه چهارم
 کرم الله وجهه سوال کردند که هرگاه اسپانها
 کبانهها کردند و زمینها زه آن کبانهها شوند و حوادث
 تیرها شوند و آدمیان هدف آن تیرها کردند
 و تیرانداز خدای باشد جل جلاله آدمیان بکجا
 بگریزند خلیفه در جواب فرمود که آدمیان را است
 که در خدا گریزند پس تراست که درینوقت در
 تغلقتیپور خان گریزی و تیر و کبانهرا از دست وی
 بگیری و از رسیدن این جواب قوی دل گشتم
 و رفته تغلقتیپور خانرا دیدم

* i. e. By obeying the summons of Tughulluk Timour it was possible that they might preserve their country from depredation, and ensure the safety of their families and effects, at the risque perhaps of their own lives. Whereas by disobeying the summons, and retiring into Khorasfaun, they would

لیکن

“ there are two perils, and but one advantage.”* And Book I.
 they approved not of my counsel, and they turned towards
 Khoraufaun: and I also was divided within myself, whe-
 ther I should retire into Khoraufaun, or whether I should
 see Tughulluk Timour.

AND on this occasion I asked counsel of
 my PEER; who in his answer wrote unto me, saying,
 “ It was once demanded of the fourth Khulleefeh † (on
 “ whom be the mercy of the creator), If the canopy of
 “ heaven were a bow; and if the earth were the cord
 “ thereof; and if calamities were the arrows; if man-
 “ kind were the mark for those arrows; and if Almighty
 “ God (the tremendous and the glorious) were the uner-
 “ ring Archer; to whom could the sons of Adam flee
 “ for protection?” The Khulleefeh answered, saying,
 “ The sons of Adam must flee unto the Lord? Thus, it
 “ is thy duty at this time to flee unto Tughulluk Timour;
 “ and to take from his hand the bow and the arrows of
 “ wrath.” And when I received this Answer, I became
 strong of heart, and I went, and I saw Tughulluk Timour
 Khaun.

would be banished from their country, and deprived of their Principalities;
 with no other advantage, but that of having secured for a time their own
 personal safety.

† The Caliph Aali.

لیکن در ہر امری از امور کہ کنکاش
بر آن قرار می یافت بقران فال می کشادم و بحکم
قران عمل می نمودم

و چون در دیدن تعلقتیپور خان
بہ صحنی فال کشودم سوره یوسف علیہ السلام بر
آمد و بحکم قران مجید عمل کردم

کنکاش اول کہ در دیدن تعلقتیپور
خان از مشرق دلم سر بر زد این بود
کہ چون بہ سامع من رسید کہ
تعلقتیپور خان بیگچک و حاجی بیک ارکنت و الغ
تقتیپور کریت را با دیگر امرای جتہ سہ فوج ساخته
بتاخت و غارت مہلکت ماورالنہر تعیین نموده بودند و
افواج امرای سہ گانہ در منزل خزار نزول نموده اند
چون کنکاش دیدم کہ اول رفته امرا را بہ مال
فریفته تطہیع نہایم کہ از تاخت و قتل و غارت ولایت
ماورالنہر عنان بکشند تا آنکہ من رفته تعلقتیپور
خان را بہ بینم

و چون

BUT in every action of the actions of my Book I.
 life, on which I had deliberated, I drew an omen from
 the sacred KORAUN, and I acted according to the direc-
 tion thereof.

AND when I sought a preface in the Ko-
 RAUN concerning the seeing of Tughulluk Timour, the
 Chapter of Eufoof* (peace be with him) came forth:
 and I followed the direction of the sacred book.

THE FIRST MEASURE which my heart DESIGN I.
 dictated unto me concerning the seeing of Tughulluk
 Timour, was this.

HAVING heard that Tughulluk Timour A. D.
 Khaun had appointed Begchuk, and Haujee Beg of the 1369.
 Tribe of Arkunut, and Allugh Tuktimour of the Tribe A. TIM.
 of Kurrect, and other Ameer of Jitche, with three 25.
 armies, to ravage and lay waste the kingdom of Mauwur u
 Nuhur; and that those three armies under those Ameer
 were arrived at Khuzzaur, behold, I deemed it necessary
 that I should first go unto them, and deceive them by pre-
 sents, and excite their avarice by temptations, that they
 might withdraw their hands from desolating and ravaging
 the kingdom of Mauwar u Nuhur, and from slaughter-
 ing the inhabitants thereof; until I should go and see
 Tughulluk Timour Khaun.

* i. e. Joseph. Alluding to the protection which that patriarch afforded
 to his family, when in Egypt. See Sale's *Al Koran*. Chap. 12.

و چون امرای مذکور را دیدم سطوت
 من در ایشان اثر کرد و از راه تعظیم و تکریم پیش
 آمدند و چون دل‌های ایشان مانند چشبه‌های تنک
 بود و ساوری که بدیشان رادم در نظر ایشان بسیار
 نبود و دست از تاخت و تاراج ماورالنهر باز داشتند
 و من رفته تغلق‌تیبور خان را دیدم و وی دیدن مرا
 شکون گرفت و از من کنکاش خواست و آنچه از
 من شنید همه را پسندیده داشت

و درین حال به‌سامع تغلق‌تیبور خان
 رسید که امرای افواج سه‌گانه مبلغ‌های و ساوری
 از اهالی ماورالنهر گرفته اند و در ساعت آن مبلغ را
 بر ایشان اطلاق کرد و تحصیلدار تعیین نمود
 و ایشان را از رفتن ماورالنهر منع کرد و ایشانرا معزول
 ساخت و حاجی محمود شاه یسوری را بجای ایشان
 نصب کرد

و چون این خبر به‌سامع امرا رسید
 علم مخالفت بر افراخته مراجعت نمودند
 و در این حال به‌اعلان خواجه که دیوانبیک
 و امیر

AND when I came unto those Ameers, my power * made an impresson upon them, and they received me with honour and respect. And behold their hearts, like unto their eyes, were blind and contracted, and the presents which I gave unto them, seemed great in their sight: and they withdrew their hands from ravaging and destroying the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And I went, and saw Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he took my coming for a happy omen: and he asked counsel of me, and all that which he heard me say, he approved.

AND at this time news came to the ears of Tughulluk Timour Khaun that the Ameers of the three armies had taken monies and gifts from the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur: and he instantly commanded those sums to be delivered up, and he appointed collectors thereof. And he forbad them to enter into Mauwur u Nuhur; and he turned them out from their commands; and he appointed Haujee Muhmood Shaah Yeffoori to supply their place.

AND when intelligence of these things reached the ears of the chiefs, they elevated the ensign of enmity, and they retired towards their homes. And at this time they were met on their way by Aghlaun

* Having taken all his own tribe, and all the principal people of Mauwur u Nuhur along with him. Vide Fragm. Hist. p. 327 et 328. MS. HUNTER.

وامیر کنگاج خان بود برخوردارند واورا هم از خود
کرده بجانب جته روان شدند

وهی درین وقت خبر رسید که امرای
تغلقتیپور خان در دشت قیچاق علم مخالفت بر
افراشته اند خان مضطرب شد واز من کنکاش خواسته
روی بطرف دشت جته باز نهاد

وماورالنهر را بمن گذاشت ودرین باب
برلیغ وعهد نوشت وتومان امیر تراچار نویان را از
ماورالنهر بمن باز گذاشت ومن بر ولایت ماورالنهر تا
کنار آب جبجون فرمان فرما گشتم واین کنکاش
در ابتدای دولت وسلطنت من بود وبتجربه من
رسید که یک تدبیر درست کار صد هزار سوار
میکند

* The president of his council.

† This circumstance is erroneously related in Aali Yezudi ; who says that the Toumaun of Kurrauchaur Nooyaun only was conferred upon him, and that not by Taghulluk Timour Khaun himself, but by the *Leaders of his advanced guard*. Vide Petis de la Croix's *Histoire de Timour Bek*. Tom. I. p. 30.

‡ A Toumaun is a military fief capable of sending forth ten thousand fighting men : it also signifies that number of men collected together.

Nooyaun, in the Mogul language signifies a prince, or the descendant of a prince. Kurrauchaur Nooyaun was the fifth ancestor of Timour, and

Khajeh, who was the Deewaunbeghee,* and the chief counsellor of the Khaun, and they drew him also over to their side: and they proceeded on their way to Jitteh. Book I.

AND at this time also news arrived that the Ameers of Tughulluk Timour had exalted the standard of rebellion in the Dusht of Kipchak: and the Khaun was disturbed in heart, and he asked counsel of me; and he turned back his face to the Dusht of Jitteh.

AND he gave unto me the government of Mauwur u Nuhur,† and in this matter he wrote a commission and an agreement; and he restored unto me the Toumaun‡ of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun in that kingdom: and I became the ruler of all the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, even to the waters of Jihoon.§ And this action came to pass in the beginning of my fortune and power. And I found by experience that one skilful plan can perform the service of a hundred thousand warriors.

and the Vizzier of Chughtai Khaun, one of the sons of Chungkaze Khaun. (Ghenghis Can.)

§ Thus it appears that Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who had advanced no farther than Khojjund on the river Sihoon, and was unable to prosecute the reduction of Mauwur u Nuhur on account of the dissensions which Timour had sown betwixt him and the chiefs of his army, and also on account of the rebellion of his Ameers in the Dusht of Kipchak, took advantage of the submission of Timour to obtain a nominal dominion over Mauwur u Nuhur, by conferring upon him the title of Viceroy in that kingdom.

THE

کنکاش دویم کہ در عنوان سلطنت
 خود کردم این بود
 کہ چون تغلق تیمور خان مرتبه دیگر بر
 مملکت ماورالنہر لشکر کشید و نقص عہد کرد
 و حکومت ماورالنہر را از من گرفت و بالیاس خواجہ
 پتسر خود سپورد و مرا سپہ سالار و مشیر وی ساخت
 و عہد نامہ قاجولی بہادر و قبل خانرا ظاہر ساخت
 من ہم بنا بر قول و عہد بزرگان سپہ سالاری را
 قبول کردم

* Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur were twin brothers, and the sons of Toumuneh Khaun. Kubbul Khaun was the great grandfather of Chungaze Khaun [Ghenghis Can], and Kaujooli Bahaudur was the eighth ancestor of Timour, and the great grandfather of Kurrauchaut Nooyaun, mentioned before.

Thus it appears, that Chungaze Khaun and Timour both sprang from the same stock, i.e. from Toumuneh Khaun; who was the fourth ancestor of Chungaze Khaun, and the ninth ancestor of Timour. Toumuneh Khaun was succeeded by his son Kubbul Khaun, and Kubbul Khaun was succeeded by Burtun Khaun in the sovereignty of the Moguls.

And it appears that an agreement had taken place between Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur (at the desire perhaps of their father Toumuneh Khaun) that the former (who was the elder brother) and his posterity should succeed to the dignity of Khaun, and that the latter (who was the younger brother) and his posterity should always fill the post of chief minister and leader of the forces; and that the descendants of both should, by this agreement between their fathers, be bound to live in constant friendship and amity with each other. And this is the agreement shewn by Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who was descended in a right line from Chungaze and Kubbul Khaun,

THE SECOND DESIGN which I formed in the beginning of my fortune and power, was this.

Book I.
DESIGN
II.

WHEN Tughulluk Timour Khaun drew an army on the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur a second time, and broke his engagements, and took from me the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, and delivered it over to Ouleaus Khaujeh his son, and offered me the post of counsellor and general to that prince, and shewed unto me the agreement between Kaujooli Bahaudur, and Kubbul Khaun ; * I also, on account of the engagements and agreements of my ancestors, consented to lead his armies.

A.D.
1370.
A. TIM.
26.

Khaun, to Timour, descended in a right line from Kaujooli Bahaudur : who, on perusing the above-mentioned agreement, considered himself bound to accept the appointment offered him by Tughulluk Timour. Thus Timour, in *Fragm. of Hist.* p. 128. l. 3. MS. HUNTER, says,

در شهر سنه هفصد و ششت و دو که تعلقتیور خان
مرتبہ دویم بہ ماورالنہر لشکر کشید نامہ در باب
طلب بہن فرستاد و من ہم استقبال کردہ و برا دیدم
ووی نقص عہد کردہ ماورالنہر بہ پسر خود الیاس
خواجہ داد و مرا سپہ سالار ساخت و چون مرا تیرہ
یافت عہد نامہ قاجولی بہار جد من و قبل خان را
ظاہر ساخت چون من آن عہد نامہ را کہ بر صفحہ
فولاد نقش کردہ بودند کہ خانی بر اولاد قبل
خان متعلق باشد و سپہ سالاری بہ اولاد قاجولی بہار
و مخالفت

و چون ظلم و تعدی اوزبکیه در ماورالنهر
 بسیار شد چنانچه هفتاد سید و سیدزاده را اسیر
 ساخته بودند و الیاس خواجه از سلطنت بهره نداشت
 و در منع ظلم و تعدی ایشان عاجز بود من از روی
 سطوت بر اوزبکان غلبه کردم و مظلومان را از دست
 ظالمان خلاص ساختم و این معنی سبب عناد امرای
 الیاس خواجه و اوزبکان شد

و به تغلق تیمور خان نوشتند که تیمور
 علم مخالفت بر انراخته است و خان این اقترا را
 راست دانسته یرلیغ بکشتن من صادر کرد و آن
 یرلیغ بدست من افتاد

و مخالفت یکدیگر نکنند مطالع کردم بنابر وفای
 عهد مخالفت نه نمودم و سپه سالاری را قبول کردم

i. e. "In the beginning of the year of the Hejra 762 [A. D. 1360] when
 "Tughulluk Timour Khaun drew an army a second time into Mauwur u
 "Nuhur, he sent unto me a mandate, ordering me before him; and I
 "went to meet him, and I saw him. And he broke his engagements, and
 "delivered over Mauwur u Nuhur to his son Ouleaus Khaueh, and ap-
 "pointed me the leader of his forces. And when he saw that I was dissa-
 "tisfied with his proceedings, he shewed unto me the agreement between
 "my ancestor Kaujooli Bahaudur and Kubbul Khaun. And when I read
 "that agreement (which they had engraved on a tablet of steel) setting
 "forth,

و کشته

AND when the cruelties and the oppressions of the Ouzbuds became great in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, (for behold they had carried into slavery seventy Siuds, and sons of Siuds) and the power of Ouleaus Khaujeh availed him nought, and he was no longer able to restrain their cruelties and oppressions; in the spirit of authority I rushed upon the Ouzbuds, and I delivered the oppressed from the hand of the oppressors. And this circumstance was the cause of disobedience in the Ameers of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and in the soldiers under them.

AND they wrote unto Tughulluk Timour Khaun, saying, "Timour hath exalted the standard of "rebellion." And the Khaun thought that the accusation was true: and he issued an order to put me to death: and that order fell into my hands.

"forth, that the dignity of Khaun should appertain to the posterity of "Kubbul Khaun, and that the post of minister and general should belong "to the posterity of Kaujooli Bahaudur, and that they should live in amity "with each other: I also to fulfil the engagement of my ancestors, refrained from enmity, and consented to lead his armies."

This note is formed from authorities found in Abulghazi Khan's genealogical history of the Tartars, in D'Herbelot, and in the Fragment of the history of Timour, p. 153. l. 9. — And the passages illustrated here and in the notes on page 23. will to the oriental scholar serve to refute the falsehoods of the Arabian author Ibn Arabshaah, and to prove the superior accuracy and authenticity of the life of Timour written by himself over that composed by Alli Yezzudi; who has hitherto been considered by the learned of Europe as the most perfect and faithful narrator of the actions of Timour.

و کشته شدن خود را معاینه کردم و در
 علاج آن چنین تدبیر کردم که جوانان بهادر
 الوس برلاس را بر سر خود جمع آورم و ایشان را بخود
 متفق سازم و اول کسی که دست متابعت بمن داد
 ایگو تیبور بود و دویم امیر جاکو برلاس و دیگر
 بهادران از جان و دل اختیار متابعت من نمودند

چون اهالی ماورالنهر از داعیه من آگاه
 شدند که اراده کرده ام که بر اوزبکان خروج
 نمایم چون دلهای ایشان از طایفه ظالم اوزبکان
 منحرف شده بود اکابر و اصاغر اهالی ماورالنهر
 بمن متفق شدند و علما و مشائخ فتوی بدفع و رفع
 طایفه اوزبکیه نوشتند و بعضی امرا الوسات و قشونات
 نیز برین معنی اتفاق نمودند
 و صورت فتوی و عهدی که کرده
 بودند و بر کاغذی ثبت نمودند اینست

* *Alous*, of which *Alousaut* is the plural, signifies a *tribe*, or *bord*. A true explanation of the Tartar word *Kushoon* has not been met with. Mr. Petis de la Croix calls it a *body of a hundred soldiers*: but this interpretation is undoubtedly erroneous. The words *Kubbeeleb*, *Fauzeleh*, *Ouemauk*, *Alous* and *Kushoon*, (some of which are Arabic) all appear to signify a *tribe* or *bord*; but there must be some distinction between them unknown to Europeans.

AND I reflected upon my danger : and to remedy the evil, this was the design which I formed—
 that I should gather round me the valiant youth of the tribe of Burlaus, and attach them unto me. And the first man who gave unto me the hand of obedience, was Eekou Timour ; and the second was Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus : and after him other warriors, from their hearts and from their souls, consented to receive my commands.

Book I.

WHEN the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur obtained knowledge of my purpose, that I had resolved to rise in opposition to the tribe of Ouzbuk ; as their hearts were turned aside from that oppressive people, both the rich and the poor of the people of Mauwur u Nuhur united themselves unto me. And the religious, and the holy men issued forth a decree, authorizing the expulsion and the extirpation of the Ouzbuks. And in this undertaking certain of the Ameers of Alousaut and of Kushoonaut joined also. *

AND the decree and the engagement to which they had agreed, and which they caused to be written, is this. “ According to the conduct and the ex-

Europeans. The *Kushoonaut* (which is the plural of *Kushoon*) may here mean *bodies of military men drawn from tribes or hords*, as the word *Toumaun* sometimes signifies. The number of the *Toumaun* is known to be ten thousand ; that of the *Kushoon* may perhaps be somewhat less : but it can hardly signify so insignificant a number as a hundred men. Several particulars in this work tend to confirm this opinion.

“ example

که مطابق سیرت و صورت خلفای راشدین رضوان
 الله تعالی علیهم واجبعین اهل اسلام سپاه و رعیت
 و علیا و مشایخ ویرا کرام دیده ملقب بر سلطنت قطب
 السلطنه امیر تیپور را ایده الله نهوده اند که بهال
 و جان در رفع و دفع و قلع و قمع طایفه اوزبکیه که دست
 ظلم و تعدی به عرض و ناموس و مال و اسباب مسلمانان
 دراز کرده اند کوشش نمایند
 و ما در عهد و بیعت خود درست
 پیمان باشیم و اگر خلاف پیمان و عهد نبایم از
 حول و قوت آلهی برآمده داخل حول و قوت شیطان
 باشیم

و چون فتوی را بهین نهودار ساختند
 خواستم که علم قتال و جدال بر افزایم و بر سر
 اوزبکان لشکر بکشم و داد مظلومون از طالبان
 بسکسیرم لیکن بعضی مردم ارازل این را ازرا فاش
 کردند

و دیگر باره خود بخود کنکاش کردم
 که اگر در سیرتند بهقابله و مقاتله اوزبکان اشتغال
 نبایم

“ ample of the orthodox Khulleefehs, † (on whom be
 “ the favour of Almighty God) the followers of Islaum,
 “ the doctors, and the holy men, and the soldiers, and the
 “ subjects, seeing Him noble and worthy thereof, HAVE
 “ NOMINATED AMEER TIMOUR (the Polar star of do-
 “ minion, on whom be the favour of God) to the em-
 “ pire: and with their wealth, and with their lives they
 “ will exert themselves in expelling and in driving out,
 “ and in extirpating and in destroying the tribe of Ouzbuk,
 “ who have stretched forth the hand of cruelty and ra-
 “ pine over the families and over the wealth, and over
 “ the property and over the effects of the faithful.”

“ AND we will be firm in our engagements;
 “ and if we deviate from our agreement and from our
 “ compact, may we be deprived of the grace and of
 “ the protection of Almighty God; and be delivered
 “ over to the power and the dominion of the devil!”

AND when they shewed unto me the de-
 cree, I was eager to exalt the standard of war and of
 slaughter, and to draw down an army on the people of
 Jitteh, and to revenge the oppressed on the heads of the
 oppressors: but certain of the worthless revealed my in-
 tentions.

AGAIN, I deliberated with myself, that
 if I made war upon them in the city of Sumturkund,
 it might come to pass that the people of Mauwur u Nu-

† The Caliphs Abaubukkur, Omur, Osmaun and Aali.

فبايم مبادا اهل ماورالنهر کوتاهي کنند پس
چنين کنکاش ديدم که از سهرقند برآمده در کوه
مقام کنم تا هر کس که بين متفق باشد نزد من
آيد انگاه جهيبت کرده بقتال وجدال اوزبکان
مبادرت فبايم

چون از سهرقند بر آمدم زياده
از ششست سوار ديگر کسي با من بر نيامد ودانستم
که در کنکاش خود غلط نکرده ام

وچون يکهيفته در آن کوه توقف نمودم وکسي
بين در نيامد خود بخود کنکاش کردم که بجانب
بدخشان رفته شاهان بدخشان را بخود متفق سازم

وسوار شدم وبخدمت امير کلال رستم
ايشان مرا ارشاد نمودند که بجانب خوارزم عنان
عزيمت معطوف دارم ومن مال يکساله سهرقند را نذر
ايشان کردم که اگر بر اوزبکان ظفر يابم با ايشان
بگذرانم وايشان فاتحه فتح خوانده مرا رخصت دادند

وچون از خدمت ايشان بر آمدم هيکي
ششست سوار با من بود وچون خبر نهضت من در
خوارزم

hur might shrink back from their engagements: therefore I resolved to come forth from Summurkund, and to fix my habitation in the hills, that every one who was united with me might come in unto me; and that having gathered together an army, I might advance and make war upon the Ouzbuds.

AND when I came forth from Summurkund, sixty warriors only came forth with me; and I saw that I had not erred in my deliberations.

AND when I had remained seven days in those hills, and no one had come in unto me, I determined with myself that I would proceed to Buddukhshau, and draw unto my standard the princes thereof.

AND I set out, and I went into the presence of Ameer Goolaul.* And he directed me that I should turn the reins of my intention towards Khauruzm. And I promised unto him the revenue of Summurkund for one year—that I would lay it before him, if I proved victorious over the Ouzbuds. And he repeated over me the prayer of victory, and permitted me to depart.

AND when I came forth from the presence of Ameer Goolaul, sixty horsemen were all that were with me. And when the news of my arrival in Khauruzm reached the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh, he wrote

* A religious man, celebrated for his piety.

خوارزم بالیاس خواجه رسید به تکل بهادر حاکم
 خیوق نوشت که بر سر من آمده مرا ضایع سازد
 و تکل بهادر با هزار سوار بر سر من آمد و من با
 ششت سوار خود و با امیر حسین که در راه آمده بین
 ملحق شده بود رو برو شدم و جنگ در آمدم و تا
 بجای جنگ و کوشش نبودم که از هزار کس وی
 پنجاه کس ماند و از ششت سوار من ده کس ماند
 تا آنکه در معنی فتح از جانب من شد

و چون خبر فتح من بیسامع الیاس
 خواجه و امرا جته رسید باهم گفتند که تیهور عجب
 مردی و صاحب اقبال و تاییدات است و این فتح را بر
 خود شکون * کرتم و چشم اوزیکان از من تیره شد

کنکاش سیوم که در اصلاح سلطنت
 خود کردم این بود

که در آن وقت که احوال دولت من
 مختل شد و اساس سلطنت من از هم گسیخته شد
 چنانچه زیاده از ده کس همراه من نبود که هفت
 کس سوار بودند و سه پیاده و جز آنها کسی دیگر
 با من نماند و همشیره امیر حسین که حرم متحرم

* An asterisk placed after a word (in the Persian text) signifies that it is of Mogul origin.

unto Tukkul Bahaudur the governor of Khiok, that he Book I.
 should fall upon me and destroy me. And Tukkul Bahau-
 dur came upon me with a thousand horsemen: and I op-
 posed him with my sixty warriors, and with Ameer
 Hooffein who had come and joined me in the way; and
 I entered into battle. And I fought with such obstinacy
 and resolution, that of the one thousand horsemen of
 Tukkul Bahaudur fifty remained, and of my sixty war-
 riors ten remained; and the victory in effect was mine.

AND when the news of my success reach-
 ed the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh and the Ameers of
 Jitteh, they said among themselves, "Timour is a won-
 derful man: fortune and the Divine favour are with
 him." And I called this victory a favour from heaven
 conferred upon me: and the eyes of the tribe of Jitteh
 were darkened by my success.

THE THIRD DESIGN which I formed for DESIGN
III.
 the restoration of my power, was this.

AT the time when the state of my fortune
 was reduced low, and when the foundation of my power
 was broken asunder, so that my associates were ten only
 (and seven of them were on horses, and three of them
 were foot-men) and none other remained with me; in
 those days the sister of Ameer Hooffein, who was my
 honoured wife, I placed behind me on my horse, and I

من بود ویرا با خود بر اسپ خود سوار ساخته بوم
 و در صحرائی خوارزم سرگردان می گفتم تا آنکه شبی
 بسر چاهی فرود آمدم و همان شب آن سه نفر خراسانی
 بیوفای سه اسپ را گرفته و سوار شده کربختند و در میان
 هفت کس چهار اسپ ماند و احوال من بسیار مختل
 شد لیکن قوی دل بودم و افشای خطا نکردم

و از سر آن چاه روان شدم و در این وقت
 علی بیک چون غربانی بر سر من آمد و مرا برده
 در خانه پر از کیک محبوس ساخت و نگاهبانان بر
 من تعیین نمود و نششت و دو روز مرا در قید نگاهداشت
 و خود بخود کنکاش کردم و بتایید آلهی
 موید شده بقوت بازوی جلالت شمشیری از
 نگاهبانان کشیده بر ایشان حمله آوردم و نگاهبانان
 روی بگریز نهادند و من پیش علی بیک رفته ایستادم
 و وی از عمل نا شایسته خود که مرا مقید ساخته
 بود شرمنده و متذلل شد و عذر خواست
 و اسپان و یراق مرا حاضر آورد و یک اسپ
 لاغر و یک اشتر نا توان آورده بهمین پیشکش نمود
 و ارمغان که برادرش محمد بیک بهم فرستاده بود
 در آن طبع نمود و پاره نگاهداشت و مرا رخصت نمود
 و بجانب

wandered to and fro in the defart of Khauruzm, until on a certain night I alighted at a well. And even in that night the three faithlefs Khoraufauni* feized on three horfes, and mounted them and fled: and four horfes only remained for feven people, and my diftreffes were very great: but I was ftrong of heart, and I lamented not over my misfortunes.

Book I.
}

AND I departed from the well; and at this time Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni came upon me, and he carried me away, and confined me in a habitation filled with vermin, and placed a guard over me, and kept me imprifoned for fixty and two days.

AND I deliberated with myfelf, and aided by the affiftance of Almighty God, with the ftrength of the arm of vigour I wrested a fword from my guards and I rufhed upon them: and the guards turned their faces to flight, and I went and ftood before Aali Beg. And he was afhamed and confounded at his evil conduct, that he had thrown me into prifon; and he made excufes.

AND he ordered my horfes and my arms to be brought forth; and he gave me a horfe that was lean, and a camel that was paff fervice as a prefent. But he thirfted after the gifts which his brother Mahumud Beg had fent unto me, and he kept back a part thereof; and he fuffered me to depart.

* Natives of Khoraufaun.

AND

و بجانب بیابان خوارزم روان شدم
 و دوازده سوار بر سر من جمع آمدند و بعد از دو روز
 بموضعی رسیدم و در خانه نزول نمودم و جمعی از
 ترکمانان که در آن موضع می بودند اغری* گفته
 بر من حمله آوردند و من ههشیره امیر حسین را در
 خانه مضبوط ساختم و بذات خود بر آن جباعه حمله
 کردم و در این وقت شخصی حاجی محمد نام که
 در میان ترکمانان بود مرا بشناخت و فریاد بر آورد
 که امیر تیبور است و مردم را از جنگ منع کرده زانوزد
 و من ویرا تسلی کردم و مندیله خود را بر سر وی
 نهادم و وی آمده با برادران خود ملازم من شد

کنکاش چهارم که در اوایل سلطنت

خود کردم این بود

که چون ششست سوار نزد من جمع

آمدند بخود کنکاش کردم که اگر در موضعی که

رسیده بودم اقامت نمایم مبادا اهل آن موضع دست

* The word thus translated is in the original *Aghuri*, and evidently of Mogul origin. The Mogul language is, in this work and in most other oriental authors, called *Toori Zubaun* and *Zubaun a Toorki*, or the language of the Toorks. But notwithstanding the language, known in Europe by the name of Turkish, must have been derived from the same origin, this and several other Mogul words retained by the Persian translator

AND I fet out toward the defart of Khau- Book I.
 ruzm, and twelve horfemen united themfelves unto me. }
 And after two days I came to an inhabited place, and I
 alighted at one of the dwellings thereof. And certain of
 the Toorkummauns, who were in that place, gave a loud
 fhout,* and rushed upon me. And I fécured the fifter of
 Ameer Hooffein in the houfe, and I affaulted thofe people
 in my own perfon. And at this time a man among the
 Toorkummauns, whofe name was Haujee Mahummud,
 knew me again; and he exclaimed aloud, “ It is Ameer
 “ Timour.” And he ordered the people to defift, and he
 kneeled before me. And I received him kindly, and I
 placed my turban on his head; and he came with his
 brethren, and was my fervant.

THE FOURTH DESIGN which I formed in DESIGN
IV.
 the early days of my power, was this.

WHEN fixty horfemen were gathered
 round me, I reflected with myfelf, that if I continued
 in the place where I then fojourned, perhaps the inhabi-
 tants thereof might extend the hand of treachery over
 me, and fend news of my condition to the tribe of Jitteh,

in this work, are not to be found in any Lexicon, and are confequently un-
 known. Where the probable fenfe is discoverable from the context, as in
 the prefent cafe, an interpretation is given in the tranflation; and where-
 ever the meaning is beyond the reach of conjecture, the Mogul word is
 retained in the verfion; its origin in both cafes being marked for the bene-
 fit of the Perfian fcholar. See note on pag. 34.

And.

تطاول بر من دراز کنند و خبر مرا در اوزبکان
فرستند و صلاح حال خود در این دیدم که از آن موضع
بر آیم و در صحرائی که از معبوره دور باشد نزول نمایم
تا آنکه لشکر که بازوی سلطنت است نزد من جمع آید

و از آن موضع بجانب خراسان متوجه شدم
و در راه مبارک شاه سنجری حاکم ماخان با یکصد
سوار نزد من آمد و اسپان خوب پیشکش کرد و جعی
از سادات و اهالی نیز بین ملحق گشتند و قریب دو
صد نفر سوار و پیاده در آن صحرا با من همراه گشت

و درینوقت مبارک شاه وسید حسن وسید
ضیاء الدین بهن عرض کردند که توفی نبودن درین
صحرا باعث پریشانی است بطرفی باید رفت و ولایتی
جهت بودن مسخر باید ساخت و من خود بخود
کنکاش کردم و با ایشان گفتم که بخاطرم این کنکاش
رسیده که متوجه طرف سمرقند شویم و شبایانرا در موضع
مضافات بخارا متفرق سازم و خود بحوالی سمرقند رفته
و به بیان اهل والوسات در آمده ایشانرا بخود متفق سازم
و لشکری جمع ساخته و شبایانرا طلب داشته با لشکر حته
و الیاس خواجه در اقامت و مهلتک ماورالنهر را مسخر سازم
ایشان

And I saw that my safety consisted in this — that I should come forth from that place, and that I should sojourn in the desert, far from the habitations of men; until an army, which is the sinews of Empire, should be gathered around me.

AND I journeyed from that place toward Khorausaun; and Mubauruk Shaah Sunjuri, the governor of Maukhaun, came to me on the way with an hundred foldiers, and presented some chosen horses to me: and certain of the descendants of the prophet and of the inhabitants also came in unto me; and near two hundred men, horse-men and foot-men, joined me in the desert.

AND at this time Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hoofun, and Siud Zeau u deen said unto me, “ Our tarrying in this desert is the cause of our distress; “ we must go from hence, and we must seize on some “ Province for an habitation.” And I deliberated with myself, and I said unto them, “ This measure occurreth “ to my mind — that we advance towards Summurkund, “ and that I disperse you in the secure places of Bokh- “ aara; and that I myself go into the parts adjacent to “ Summurkund, and enter among the people and the “ tribes, and unite them with me: and having collected “ an army, and called you unto me, that I encounter “ Onleaus Khaujeh and the forces of Jitteh; and subdue “ the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur.”

F

THEY

ایشان همگی این کنکاش و تدبیر مرا
پسندیدند و درین عزیمت فاتح خوانده روان شدم
و این دو صد کس را در حوالی بخارا متفرق ساختم
و الجای ترکان آغا همشیره امیر حسین را پنهانی در
آن موضع گذاشتم و متوجه سهرقند شدم

و تیرگیه قوچین با پانزده سوار آمده در
راه بین ملحق شد و راز خود را بوی گفته و برا نزد
مبارک شاه فرستادم و خود میان الوسات در آمده قریب
دو هزار کس را با خود متفق ساختم که هرگاه در
سهرقند علم سلطنت برافرازم ایشان خود را برسانند

و شب پنهانی داخل شهر سهرقند شدم
و بخانه قتلغ ترکان آغای خواهر کلان خود رفته
نزول نمودم و شب و روز در فکر و تدبیر بودم و چهل
و هشت روز پنهانی گذرانیدم تا آنکه بعضی از اهالی
شهر بر آمدن من اطلاع نمودند و نزدیک بود که
سر من فاش شود ناچار با پنجاه سوار که در شهر
یا من بودند شب از سهرقند بر آمده بطرف خوارزم
مستوجه شدم و جمعی از پیادگان هم با من رفاقت
کردند

THEY all approved of my counsel and my design; and having repeated the prayer of success on our attempt, I proceeded forward. And I dispersed those two hundred people in the environs of Bokhaura, and I secreted Aljaié Turkaun Aughau, the sister of Ameer Hooffein, in that place; and I advanced toward Summurkund. Book I.

AND Tumookeh Kouchein met me on the way with fifteen horsemen, and joined me. And I communicated my secret unto him, and sent him to Mubauruk Shaah. And entering myself among the tribes, I confederated with me near two thousand of the people: and whenever I exalted the standard of empire in Summurkund, they were to join me.

And I entered the city of Summurkund under the cover of the night; and going to the dwelling of my eldest sister Kuttulugh Turkaun Aughau, I sojourned therein. And I was buried in thought and reflection night and day. And I passed forty eight days undiscovered; until at length certain of the inhabitants gave information of my arrival, and my situation was near to be revealed. I was without remedy; and with fifty horsemen, who were with me in the city, I came forth from Summurkund by night, and I proceeded toward Khauruzm: and certain of the foot-soldiers also came with

کردند و در اثنای راه چند اسپ از کله ترکبانان
بدست آوردند و پیادگان خود را سوار ساختند

و آمده در موضع اچیغی در کنار آب
آسویه در زمین پست و بلند نزول نمودند و در همین
جای اهل حرم و مبارک شاه و سید حسن و جباعه را
که در حوالی بخارا گذاشته بودند آمده بین ملحق
شدند و تیمور خواجه اغلان و بهرام جلایر با افواج خود
آمده ملازمت نمودند و قریب هزار سوار نزد من جمع
آمدند و از اینجا خود با خود کنکاش کرده روانه باختر
زمین و قندهار شدم و آن ملک را مسخر گردانیدم

کنکاش پنجم که در ایام خروج خود
کردم این بود

که چون بجانب باختر زمین و قندهار
روان شدم بکنار آب هیرمن رسیدم و نزول نمودم
و بورتی بجهت خود ساختم و چند روز بتیبارداری سپاه
در کنار آن آب توقف نمودم

و در این وقت سپاه و رعیت ولایت کره مسیر

* It may be proper to observe, for the credit of Timour, that before he took those horses, he enquired out the owners and sent for them, and gave them a written order for their value. This happened in the principality of Kufh.

me. And on the road I took horses from among the droves of the Toorkummaun; * and I mounted my foot-
Book I.
 soldiers thereon.

AND I came and I encamped at Atcheghi in the hilly grounds on the banks of the waters of Amuveah: in this place my family, and Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hooffun, and all those whom I had left in the environs of Bokhaura, came and joined themselves unto me. And Timour Khaueh Aghlaun and Behraum Jul-laur, with their forces, came and served me; and near a thousand horsemen were gathered round me. And I deliberated with myself, and I set out from thence towards Baukhtur Zemeen and Kundahaur, and I subdued those countries.

THE FIFTH DESIGN which I formed DESIGN V.
 in the days of enterprise, was this.

WHEN I departed towards Kundahaur and Baukhtur Zemeen, I came to the border of the river of Hiremun, and I sojourned there, and I made for myself an habitation; and I tarried some days on the border of that river to refresh my people.

AND at this time the soldiers and the inhabitants of Kurrumteer came in unto me; and near a

Kufh. Vide Timour's full account of this transaction in the Fragment of his History. pag. 355. l. 5. MS. HUNTER.

thousand

رجوع آوردند و قریب بهزار سوار از ترک و تاجک نیز بر
 من جمع شد و ولایت گرمسیر مسخر من گشت
 و در این وقت کنکاش گرم که بر

ولایت سیستان ترکناز آورم و چون خبر بوالی سیستان
 رسید ارمغان و ساوری* فرستاد و طلب مدد کرد که
 جمعی از دشمنان بر من ظلم کرده و ملک مرا با هفت
 قلعه متصرف شده اند اگر دست دشمنان از ملک
 من کوتاه شود شش ماهیه علوفه سپاه را برسانم

و کنکاش درین دیدم که عنان عزیمت
 بجانب سیستان معطوف دارم و از هفت قلعه که
 دشمنان وی متصرف شده بودند پنج قلعه را جبراً
 و قهراً گرفتم در دل والی سیستان هراس راه یافت
 و دشمنان خود را با خون دوست کرد و با خود کنکاش
 کردند که اگر امیر تیبور درین ملک اقامت کند ملک
 سیستان از دست ما بدر خواهد رفت و سپاه و رعیت
 تمامی مملکت سیستان حشر کردند و بر سر من آمدند
 و چون دیدم که والی سیستان بعهد
 خود وفا ننهد ناچار شدم و سر راه بر ایشان گرفته
 قتال وجدال نمودم و تیری آمد و بر بازوی من خورد
 و نیز یک تیر دیگر بر پای من رسید آخر بر ایشان
 ظفر یافتم

و چون

thousand horsemen also, Toork and Tauchek, were gathered round me; and the country of Kurrumfeer submitted to my authority. Book I.

AND at this time I resolved that I would invade the province of Seistaun. And when the ruler of Seistaun received accounts thereof, he sent offerings and rich gifts unto me, and he demanded succour, saying, "Certain of my enemies have oppressed me, and they have seized upon my lands, and upon seven castles.— If the hands of my enemies be withdrawn from my dominions, I will advance six months wages to the soldiers."

AND I saw it was good that I should turn the reins of my intentions toward Seistaun. And of the seven castles which were in the hands of his enemies, I subdued five castles by force and by assault.— And fear found admission into the heart of the ruler of Seistaun, and he made his enemies his friends; and they said among themselves, "If Ameer Timour tarry in this country, the province of Seistaun will pass out from our hands." And they gathered together the soldiers and the people of all the country of Seistaun, and they came upon me.

AND when I saw that the ruler of Seistaun fulfilled not his engagement, I was without remedy; and I advanced toward them, and gave them battle. And an arrow came and pierced my arm, and another arrow also came upon my foot, but in the end I obtained the victory over them.

AND

و چون آب و هوای آن ملک را بهزاج خود
موافق ندیدم برخاسته به کرمسیر آمدم و در آن ولایت
دو ماه اقامت نمودم تا آنکه زخبهای من به شد

کنکاش ششم که در وقت خروج خود
کردم این بود

که چون کرمسیر مسخر من گردید
و زخبهای من به شد کنکاش درین دیدم که رفته
در کوهستان سرحد بلخ اقامت نهیم و جمعیت کرده
بتسخیر ملک ماورالنهر متوجه شوم و چون برین کنکاش
عزیمت بستم سوار شدم و هیکلی چهل سوار با من بودند
اما همه اصیل و اصیل زاده و امیر زاده بودند و تنگری
تعالی را شکر گفتم که در چنین پریشانی همچنین
مردم بی زاری توشه آمده همراهی و اطاعت مرا قبول
کرده اند و با خون گفتم الله تعالی را بهین کار بسیار
است که این نوع مردم همسر مرا بهین مطیع ساخته

و بجانب کوهستان بلخ نهضت نمودم و در
اثنای راه صدیق برلاس از اولاد یلدرین تراچار نویان
که بطلب من سرگردان می گشت یا پانزده سوار آمده
بهین ملحق شد و من آمدن ویرا شکون * گفتم
و درین

AND when I saw that the air and the water of that country suited not with me, I departed from thence, and I came back to Kurrumfeer; and I sojourned in that land for two months, until my wounds were healed. Book I.

THE SIXTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterprife, was this. DESIGN VI.

WHEN Kurrumfeer had submitted to my authority, and my wounds were healed, I saw it was good that I should go and sojourn in the mountains on the borders of Bullukh; and having collected an army, that I should proceed to subdue the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And when I resolved on this measure, I departed from thence: and forty horsemen were all that were with me. But they were all resolute men, and the sons of resolute men, and the sons of Ameers. And I gave praise unto God, for that in such distress such men should come, without purse and without scrip, and follow me, and be obedient unto me. And I said unto myself, God Almighty doeth great things for me; seeing he hath made such men, even my equals, my servants.

AND I went on towards the mountains of Bullukh, and Suddeuk Burlaus (of the race of Yeldureen Kurrauchaur Nouyaun) who was wandering in search of me, met me in the way with fifteen horsemen, and joined me; and I took his coming for a happy omen.

G

AND

ودرین ایام بکوشش شکار اوقات می
 گذرانیدیم وپیش می رفتیم ودر اثناء راه دیدم که
 فوجی بر پشته ایستاده وساعت بساعت زیاده می شدند
 واستانده قراولان فرستادم تا خبر آورند وقراولان بان
 جهات رسیده خبر آوردند که قراچی بهادر نوگر
 قدیم امیر است که با صد سوار از لشکر جته جدا شده
 وبطلب امیر سرگردان می کرد من سجده شکر
 تنکری تعالی بجا آوردم وامر باخضار قراچی کردم ووی
 آمده زانوزل ودر پای مرا بوسه داد ومن ویرا تسلی
 نمودم ومنذیل خودرا بر سر وی نهادم ومتوجه دره
 ارضی شدم

ویدره ارضی رسیده نزول نمودم وروز
 دیگر سوار شدم ودر آن دره در آمدم ودر میان دره
 بلندی بود بغایت خوش هوا ومن رفته برآن بلندی
 جای گرفتم ولشکریان هریک در حوالی آن پشته
 فرود آمدند

ومن آن شب که جمع بود زنده
 داشتم وچون صبح بدمید بنیاز مشغول شدم وبعد از
 ادای نیاز دست برداشته بدعا مشغول شدم ودر
 اثنای

AND in those days we passed our time in Book I.
 hunting, and we proceeded forward. And on the way I
 beheld a body of men standing on a hill; and their num-
 bers increased from time to time: and I halted, and sent
 people to obtain intelligence. And they went in among
 those men, and brought back intelligence, saying, "It is
 " Kurraunchee Bahaudur, the old servant of Ameer,* who
 " with an hundred horsemen hath separated from the ar-
 " mies of Jitteh, and is wandering in search of thee." I
 bowed in gratitude to Almighty God, and I sent orders
 for Kurraunchee to approach. And he came, and he kneel-
 ed before me; and he kissed my feet. And I received
 him with affection, and I placed my own turban on his
 head. And I went on to the valley of Arsuff.

AND I came to the valley of Arsuff, and I
 pitched my tents. And on the next day I mounted my
 horse, and entered into the valley. And in the midst of
 that valley there was a hill; and the air thereof was very
 delightful. And I went and dwelt upon that hill; and
 my people, each of them, pitched their tents in the neigh-
 bourhood thereof.

AND on that night, which was a holy
 night,† I kept watch; and when the morning broke, I
 was employed in prayer. And after repeating the prayers

* i. e. Timour.

† Friday, the Mahummudan sabbath.

اثناي دعا مرا رقتي دست داد واز تنكري تعالي
درخواست كردم كه مرا از اين سرگرداني نجات دهد

وهنوز از دعا فارغ نكشته بودم كه فوجي
از دور نمودار شد كه از برابر بلندي ميگذرد ومن سوار
شده از عقب آن فوج در آمدم تا احوال ايشانرا معلوم
نبايم كه ايشان چه مردم اند وايشان هبكي هفتاد سوار
بودند از ايشان پرسيدم كه بهادران شما چه كسانيد
وايشان گفتند ما نوكران امير تيبوريم كه بطلب امير
ميگرديم واينك ويرا نهي ياييم ومن بديشان گفتم كه
من هم يكي از نوكران امير ام چونست كه شما را
راهبري كرده بامير برسانم ويكي از ايشان اسپ خود را
تاخته ورفته خبر بسرداران برد كه راهبري يافته ايم
كه ما را به امير تيبور رساند وايشان عنان اسپان خود را
كشيدند وحكم باحضار من نمودند وايشان سه فوج
بودند وسردار فوج اول تغلق خواجه يرلاس بود وسردار
فوج دويم امير سيف الدين بود وسردار فوج سيوم تويك
بهادر بود وچون نظر ايشان بر من افتاد بيخود شده از
اسپان خود پياده شدند وآنده زانو زنند وركاب مرا
بوسيدند من هم از اسپ فرود آمدم وهركدام را در
بغل

prescribed by the law, I lifted up my hands in supplication. Book I.
And in the midst of my supplication I wept: and I implored Almighty God, that he would deliver me from that wandering life.

AND I had not yet rested from my devotions, when a number of people appeared afar off: and they were passing along in a line with the hill. And I mounted my horse, and I came in behind them: that I might know their condition, and what men they were. And they were in all seventy horsemen; and I asked of them, saying, "Warriors, who are ye?" And they answered unto me, "We are the servants of Ameer Timour, "and we wander in search of him; and lo! we find him "not." And I said unto them, I also am one of the servants of Ameer: how say ye, if I be your guide, and conduct you unto him? And one of them put his horse to speed, and went and carried news to the leaders, saying, "We have found a guide, who can lead us to "Ameer Timour." And the leaders drew back the reins of their horses, and gave orders that I should appear before them. And they were three troops. And the leader of the first troop was Tughulluk Khaujeh Burlaus, and the leader of the second troop was Ameer Sife u deen, and the leader of the third troop was Toubuk Bahaudur. And when their eyes fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from their horses, and they came and they kneeled, and they kissed my stirrup. And
I also.

بغل گرفتیم و مندییل خود را بر سر تغلق خواجه نهادیم
 و کبر بند خود را که بسیار پر کار و زر یافت بود بر کمر
 امیر سینق الدین بستیم و جامه خود را بر توپک بهادر
 پوشانیدیم و ایشان رقت کردند و مرا هم رقت شد و وقت
 نماز در رسید و جمعیت نماز را ادا کردیم و سوار شده
 و آمده بیورت نزول نمودیم و مجلس ساخته طوی دادم
 و روز دیگر شیر بهرام هم که از روی
 خورری از من جدا شده بود و اراده زمین هندوستان
 در دل داشت رسید و مرا ملازمت نمود و عذر خواست
 و من ویرا در کنار گرفتیم و عذرش را پذیرفتم
 و آن قدر مهربانی کردم که از خجالت بر آمد

کنکاش هفتم که در ایام خروج خود

کردم این بود

که چون سان لشکر خود دیدم که
 همگی سه صد و سیزده سوار بودند بخود کنکاش
 کردم که یکی از قلاع را بدست آورده جای بودن
 قرار دهم و چنین کنکاش کردم که اول قلعه
 الاجورا که از جانب الیاس خواجه منکلی
 بوغا سلدوز در آن قلعه می بود مسخر سازم و جای
 نگاه

I also came down from my horse, and took each of them Book I.
in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of Tu-
ghulluk Khaujeh; and my girdle, which was very rich in
jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of
Ameer Sife u deen, and I cloathed Toubuk Bahaudur in
my coat. And they wept, and I wept also. And the
hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed together. And
we mounted our horses, and came and alighted at my
dwelling: and I collected my people together and made a
feast.

AND on the next day Share Behraun, who
had separated from me in the narrowness of his heart, and
had resolved to go into the land of Hind, arrived also.
And he came into my presence, and he made excuses.
And I took him into my arms, and I accepted his excuses;
and I treated him with such kindness, that he came forth
from his confusion.

THE SEVENTH DESIGN which I formed DESIGN
VII.
in the days of enterprize, was this.

WHEN I saw the number of my forces,
that they were in all three hundred and thirteen horse-
men; I determined with myself that I would seize on
one of the castles, and make to myself a residence. And
thus I resolved, that I would first reduce the castle of Au-
laujou; (and Munguli Booghau Suldoze, on the part of
Ouleaus Khaujeh, was in that castle,) and that I would
make

نگاه داشتن بار و پرتل خود گردانم و باین عزیزت
روانه قلعه الاجو شدم

و شیر بهرام با وی از قدیم اشنای
داشت و التباس کرد که من رفته منکلی بوغارا
ایل گردانم

و چون شیر بهرام بحولی قلعه رفت
مرا پیغام داد که منکلی بوغا اظهار میکند چون
این قلعه را الیاس خواجه بین سپرده از مردی و مروت
دور است که من بامیر تیپور ایل شده قلعه را
بسپارم و در دان قلعه اهیال نبود

لیکن این قدر شد که از خبر توجه
من و اهله در دل وی جای کرد و قلعه را گذاشته
رو بگریز نهاد و سه صد مرد از قوم دولان جاون که
در قلعه با وی بودند و از قدیم در سلک ملازمان من
انسلاک داشتند آمده بین ملحق گشتند

و بهوضع دره صوف رسیدم و درین وقت
املس پسر تومن بهادر که بحوالی بلخ بجهت تاخت
آمده بود خبر رسیدن مرا شنید و با دو صد سوار آمده
ملازمت نمود و من ویرا تسلی داده مستمال ساختم
واز

make it a place wherein to keep my baggage and my effects. And with this intention I set out toward the castle of Aulaujou. Book I.

AND Share Behraum had long acquaintance with the governor of that castle: and he spoke unto me, saying, "I will go and I will bring Munguli Booghau over to our side."

AND when Share Behraum went near to the castle, he sent word unto me, saying, Munguli Booghau sayeth, "Since Ouleaus Khaueh gave this castle in charge unto me, it is far from manhood and from fidelity that I should come over to Ameer Timour, and give up the castle:" and he refused to deliver it up.

BUT thus much came to pass, that on receiving information of my approach, terror took possession of his heart, and he left the castle, and he turned his face to flight. And three hundred men of the tribe of Doulaun Jauwun, who were with him in the castle, and who from old times were included in the train of my servants, came and united themselves unto me.

AND I arrived at the defile of Souf, and in those days Umlis, the son of Toumün Bakatür, who had come down into the neighbourhood of Bullukh to plunder, received news of my coming; and he came with two hundred horsemen and joined me: and I received him kindly, and I encouraged him.

H

AND

واز همین جا تپوکه بهادر را با سه
 سوار فرستادم که از آب ترمذ گذشته خبر لشکر جته
 بیاورد و از اراده و کنکاش ایشان خود را آگاه سازد
 تپوکه بعد چهار روز آمده خبر رسانید
 که لشکر جته بولایت ترمذ رسیده و یقتل و غارت مشغول
 اند چون این خبر بهن رسید عنان عزیمت بجانب
 دره گز معطوف داشتم و کنکاش دزین دیدم که
 رفته در دره گز اقامت نمایم و قابو یافته بر سر لشکر
 جته ترکتاز آورم

و چون بدره گز در آمدم و در میدان
 ایلچی بوغا کنار آب جیحون نزول نمودم خبر من
 بالیاس خواجه رسید که بدره گز رسیده ام و افواج
 خود را بر سر من تعیین نمود

و درین وقت خبر رسید که امیر سلیمان
 برلاس و امیر موسی و امیر جاگو برلاس و امیر جلال
 الدین و امیر هندو که برلاس که در لشکر جته بودند
 از امرای جته رو گردان شده و با لشکر خود جدا
 گردیده بترمذ گهنه رسیده اند و تولاں بوغارا که نزد
 من

AND even from this place I sent Tummookeh Bahaudur with three horsemen, that having passed over the waters of Turmuz, he should bring intelligence of the army of Jitteh, and inform himself of their counsels and designs.

AND Tummookeh returned after four days, and brought intelligence, saying, "The army of Jitteh is arrived in the land of Turmuz, and they are employed in rapine and in slaughter." When I received this intelligence, I turned the reins of my intention towards the streights of Guz. And I saw it was good that I should go into the streights of Guz, and sojourn there: and seizing an opportunity, that I should go down on the army of Jitteh.

AND when I came into the streights of Guz, I pitched my tents in the plain of Ilchee Booghau, on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And Ouleaus Khaujeh received news of me, that I was arrived in the streights of Guz; and he sent his forces upon me.

AND in those days intelligence came, that Ameer Soolamaun Burlaus and Ameer Jullaul u deen and Ameer Hindookeh (who were in the army of Jitteh) having turned their faces from the leaders of that tribe, and separated from them with their forces, were arrived at old Turmuz: and Toulaun Booghau, whom they had

من فرستاده بودند رسیده ملازمت نمود و خبر رسیدن ایشان را بعرض رسانید که با هزار سوار بهلازمت میرسند و آمدن ایشان را بر خود شکون * گرفتم و بر من کنکاش گفتند که شب بر لشکر جته شبخون باید بر چون سوار شدم خبر رسید که لشکر جته رسیده می آید من افواج خود را تروک کرده در مقابل ایشان ایستاده شدم و آب در میان لشکر ایشان و لشکر من حایل بود

و کنکاش درین دیدم که مخالفان را بحرف و حکایت نگاهدارم و آتش سوزش ایشانرا به آب تدبیر فرو نشانم و ایشان را بخود رام سازم و بیسردار لشکر جته که امیر ابو سعید بود سخن کردم و آنچه بوی گفتم قبول کرد لیکن امرای دیگر مخالفت وی کرده بر جنگ قرار دادند و آتش غیرت من هم بشعله کشید و افواج خود را ترک کردم

کنکاش هشتم که در شکست دادن لشکر جته کردم این بود

که با خود گفتم اگر با لشکر جته جنگ کنم چون ایشان بسیارند مبادا چشم زخمی بلشکر

sent unto me, arrived and saw me, and informed me of their approach, that they were coming to serve me with a thousand horsemen. Book I.

AND I took their coming for a good omen: and they counselled me, saying, "Thou must fall upon the army of Jitteh by surprise in the night." And when I mounted my horse, news was brought that the army of Jitteh was arrived and coming down upon me. And I put my forces in order, and I stood over against them; and the water was between their army and my army.

AND I saw it was good, that I should amuse the enemy with words and with persuasions, and extinguish the fire of their animosity with the water of policy, and bring them over unto me.

AND I spake to the leader of the army of Jitteh (who was Ameer Aboo Saeed), and that which I said unto him, he took well. But the other leaders opposed him and resolved on war. And the fire of my spirit also flashed forth, and I formed my forces in order of battle.

THE EIGHTH DESIGN which I formed DESIGN VIII.
(in defeating the army of Jitteh) was this:

I SAID unto myself, "If I fight with the army of Jitteh, seeing they are very many, perhaps evil may come unto my people." And at this time the spirit of

DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES

بلشکر من برسد درین حال غیرت کریبان کیر من شد
وگفت که چون بدعوی سلطنت خروج کرده لایق
شان ومرتبه سلطنت همین است که بر جنگ عازم
کردی یا مظفر و منصور شوی یا کشته کردی

چون برین عزیمت عازم شدم دیدم که
غنیم سه فوج شده راه جنگ می طلبند و من لشکر
خود را هفت فوج ساختم وکنکاش کردم که رفع بدفع
افواج هفتگانه خود را بر ایشان کشان دهم و چون نایره
قتال و جدال بلند شد امر نمودم که افواج هراول بخانه
کبان در آمده تیر باران نمایند

و افواج شقاو و چپاول را * امر کردم
بچپقولش * در آیند و خود با افواج جرانغار و برانغار *
بحرکت در آمدند و در حمله اول و دوم فوج
امیر ابو سعید که امیر الامرای لشکر جته بود
برداشتیم

درین حال حیدر اندخوری و منکلی
بوغا ببازیت پیش آمدند من خود بایشان رو برو
شدم و در حمله اول ایشانرا نیز متفرق ساختم و تهاپی
لشکر جته از هم فرو ریخته متفرق و پراکنده شدند
کنکاش

of glory assaulted me and said, Since thou hast advanced Book I.
forth with pretensions to empire, even this is becoming
the dignity and the rank of a king, that thou resolve on
war; and that thou be either victorious and triumphant,
or be slain in battle.

AND when I had resolved on this measure, I saw that the enemy were divided into three bodies; and that they were eager to engage. And I divided my forces into seven squadrons; and I determined that I would send down my seven squadrons upon them, one after the other. And when the flames of war and of slaughter ascended high, I commanded the advanced guards to take to their bows, and to rain arrows upon the enemy.

AND I commanded the squadrons of the front lines of the left and the right wings to go into battle. And I myself advanced with the troops of the second lines of the left and the right wings. And in the first and the second charge I drove back the squadrons of Ameer Aboo Saeed, who was the chief leader of the army of Jitteh.

AND it came to pass at this time, that Hydur Andookhodee and Munguli Booghau advanced to the fight. And I myself opposed them face to face; and in the first charge I defeated them also. And all the forces of Jitteh dissolved away, and were scattered and dispersed abroad.

کنکاش نهم که در قوام سلطنت
 خود کردم این بود
 که چون بر امرای لشکر جنه ظفر یاقتم و خیر خروج
 من بدعوی سلطنت در توران زمین منتشر شد
 عزیت بستم که بداد و دهش فرمان فرما کردم
 کنکاش استقامت سلطنت خود را درین یاقتم که خزانه
 که فراهم آورده بودم از نقد و جنس بر سپاه قسمت
 نهایم و اول قلعه قهلقه را مسخر گردانم

چون لشکر خود را تغار داده تزوک
 کردم و بکنار آب جیحون رسیدم و از گذر ترمذ
 عبور کردم و قزاولان بطرف قهلقه فرستادم و در کنار
 آب جیحون چند روز مقام نمودم و منتظر خبر قزاولان
 می بودم

چون خبر من بالیاس خواجه رسید
 چون بهادر بیادر بیکچک را با افواج کران بر سر
 من تعیین کرد و قزاولان غافل شده بخواب رفته
 بودند و از ایشان گذشته و شب بشب آمده بر سر من
 شبخون آورد
 و زمینی

THE NINTH DESIGN which I formed in Book I.
 establishing my regal power, was this.

WHEN I had obtained the victory over the leaders of the army of Jitteh, and the news of my advancing forth, and aspiring to the throne, was made public throughout the land of Tobraun; I resolved that I would become a king by generosity and by liberality. And I saw the duration of my power in this, that I should divide among my soldiers the treasures which I had gathered together, both the money and the effects: and that I should first subdue the castle of Kehulkeh.

AND when I had given subsistence to my army, I put them in order; and I arrived on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And I crossed at the passage of Turmuz; and I sent out my Kurrauvul* towards the castle of Kehulkeh; and I halted some days on the border of the waters of Jihoon, expecting intelligence from my Kurrauvul.

AND when Ouleaus Khaujeh heard where I was, he sent Alchoun Bahaudur, the brother of Begchuck, with a mighty army upon me. And my Kurrauvulaun were negligent, and went to sleep: and the enemy passed by them, and advanced night after night, and came upon me by surprize.

* Scouts, light troops.

و زمینی که در آن نزول نهوده بودم جزیره
 بود و از سه طرف آب داشت چند خیمه که بیرون
 جزیره بودند بتاراج لشکر جته رفتند و مردم بیرون
 آمده داخل جزیره شدند

و من استعداد جنگ کرده آمده در کنار
 جزیره ایستادم چون چشم غنیم ترسیده بود و جنگ
 مبارت نبودند

و من تا ده روز در آن جزیره اقامت
 نمودم و بعد از آن از جزیره بر آمده در کنار آب
 الجوتها* زده تا مدت یکماه در برابر لشکر جته نشستم
 تا آنکه غنیم هراس یافته مراجعت کرد و من از آب
 گذشته در منزل ایشان فرود آمدم و فوجی را بتعاقب
 ایشان فرستادم

کنکاش دهم که در استقامت سلطنت
 خود کردم این بود

کینه چون لشکر جته را شکست دادم
 صلاح کار خود درین دیدم که رفته ولایت بدخشان را
 مسخر سازم و امور سلطنت خود را رواج دهم و از کنار
 آب کوچ کرده در موضع خلم نزول نمودم

و امیر حسین نبیره امیر قرغن که
 هپشیره

AND the land in which I had pitched my tents was a peninsula: and it had water on three sides. Some tents, which were without the peninsula, were plundered by the forces of Jitteh: and the people that were without, came and entered into the peninsula. Book I.

AND I formed my troops in order, and went and stood on the neck of the peninsula: but the enemy were fearful, and they did not advance to the attack.

AND I tarried ten days in that peninsula; and I afterwards came forth from thence, and pitched my tents † on the border of the river. And I sat down opposite to the army of Jitteh for the space of one month; even till they were seized with fear, and returned back. And I crossed the river, and came down in their camp, and sent forces to pursue them.

THE TENTH DESIGN which I formed for the advancement of my power, was this. DESIGN X.

WHEN I had broken the forces of Jitteh, I saw it was good that I should go and subdue the country of Buddukhshaun, and extend my dominions. And I marched from the border of the river, and encamped at the place called Khullum.

AND Ameer Hoossein, the grandson of Ameer Kurghun, whose sister was in my house, came;

† Literally, temporary huts or cantonements.

همشیره وی در خانه من بود آمده باهم ملاقات
 نمودیم و طویلهای دادیم و کنکاش درین یافتیم که
 روانه بلاد خشان بشوم چون بقندرز رسیدم در آن موضع
 اقامت نمودم تا آنکه سرداران ایل یوردای جمع آمده
 بمن پیوستند و بهریک خلعتی داده تسلی نمودم

چون خبر ارستکی فوج من بشاهان
 بدخشان رسید مستعد جنگ شدند کنکاش درین
 دیدم که پیش دستی کرده تا ایشان لشکرهای خود را
 جمع سازند ایشانرا در هم شکنم و ایلغار کرده خود را
 بطالخان رسانیدم

چون خبر رسیدن من بطالخان بهمسامع
 شاهان رسید از راه مصالحه در آمده ملازمت کردند
 من از کنکاش خود راضی شدم و دیدم که غلط نکرده
 بودم و سلطنت من در ولایت بدخشان رواج یافت
 و اکثری از سپاه بدخشان آمده ملازمت اختیار کردند
 کنکاش بازو هم که در رواج سلطنت خود
 کردم این بود

که چون شاهان بدخشان با طاعت من
 در آمدند متوجه تختان شدم چون بهسنگتختان
 در آمدم بولاد بوغا و شیر بهرام از بد سلوکی امیر
 حسین جدا شده بالوس خون رفتند

و من

and we saw each other, and we made a feast. And I found it was right, that I should go on towards Buddukhsaun. And when I came to Kunduz, I halted in that place until the chiefs of the people of Yeurldaice came together and joined me. And I gave to each of them a robe of honour, and I encouraged them. Book I.

AND when the news of the order and the strength of my forces arrived to the princes of Buddukhsaun, they prepared for war. And I saw it was good that I should be quick, and break their power, before they could gather their army together. And I marched with expedition, and I came to Taulkhaun.

AND when the news of my arrival at Taulkhaun reached the ears of the princes, they came in at the avenue of peace and saw me. I was satisfied with my own deliberations, and saw that I had not done wrong. And my power was established in the country of Buddukhsaun; and many of the soldiers of Buddukhsaun came unto me and chose my service.

THE ELEVENTH DESIGN which I formed for extending my power, was this. DESIGN XI.

WHEN the princes of Buddukhsaun came and submitted to my authority, I turned towards Khuttulaun. And when I came into the kingdom of Khuttulaun, Boulaud Booghau and Share Behraun, on account of the ill conduct of Ameer Hoeffein, separated and returned to their tribes.

AND

ومن رفته در جلگای دشت کولک
 اقامت نمودم و جاسوسان تعیین کردم که رفته از لشکر
 جته والیاس خواجه خبر آورند

و جاسوسان بعد از ده روز خبر آوردند
 که امرای جته اول ایشان کوچ تیهور پسر بیگچک
 است و دوم ایشان تیهور نویکان است و ساریق بهادر
 و شنکوم و تغلق خواجه برادر حاجی بیک با بیست هزار
 سوار از موضع خلایق تا پل سنکین نزول نموده اند

و ایلیچی نزد من فرستادند که احوال مرا
 و لشکر مرا بخاطر آورند من لشکر خود را دو باره بنظر
 ایلیچی در آوردم و ایلیچی را رخصت دادم
 و کنکاش خود را درین یافتم که متعاقب
 ایلیچی روان شوم لیکن لشکر خود را بخود منتفق ندیدم
 و در منتفق ساختن لشکر خود کنکاش چنین دیدم
 که به بعضی مروت نباید و به بعضی مدارا کنم
 و گروهی را بهال فریفته سازم و جمعی را بسخن و قول
 و عهد تسلی دهم

درین حال خبر رسید که تغلق
 سلدوز و کی خسرو که از نوکران من
 بودند

AND I went and sojourned in the pasture-lands of the Dusht of Koulauk. And I appointed spies, that they should go and bring news of the armies of Jitteh and of Ouleaus Khaujeh. Book I.

AND after ten days the spies brought back intelligence, saying; "The Ameers of Jitteh (and the first of them is Kooch Timour, the son of Begchuck; and the second of them is Timour Noubukaun; and the others are Saureek Bahaudur, and Shungoom, and Tughulluk Khaujeh, the brother of Khaujee Beg) with twenty thousand horsemen, have pitched their tents from the town of Khillautee even to the bridge of Sungheen."

AND they sent an ambassador unto me, that they might know my situation and the strength of my army. And I drew out my army twice in the fight of the ambassador, and dismissed him.

AND I saw my advantage in this, that I should set out after the ambassador: but I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous, I saw it was good that I should shew kindness to some, and that with some I should dissemble; and that I should tempt some by riches, and soothe some by persuasions, and promises, and engagements.

AND at this time news arrived, that Tughulluk Suldoze, and Ki Khiffero (who were of my servants)

بودند شش هزار سوار جته سر گرده بر سر من می
 آورند چون این خبر بهسامع لشکر من رسید تفرقه
 خاطر ایشان بیشتر شد و اندیشناک گشتند لیکن
 امیر جاکو و ایکو تیبور و امیر سلیمان و امیر جلال
 الدین را بخود یافتیم

کنکاش دوازدهم که در باب اتفاق
 لشکر خود کردم این بود
 که امیر جاکو و ایکو تیبور و امیر سلیمان
 و امیر جلال الدین را بخلوت طلب داشته خواستم
 ایشانرا بخود متفق گردانم چون بایشان خلوت
 کردم سخن بدیشان این بود که ایشانرا شریک
 دولت خود ساختم تا بر عزیمت خود راسخ شدند

وطایفه که در مقام بی اتفاق بودند
 یک یک را بخلوت طلب داشته جداگانه صحبت
 داشته آنهایی که حریص و طماع بودند ببال و منال
 فریفته ساختم و گروهی را که نظر بر جاه و منصب
 و مملکت داشتند آنچه از ملک و ولایت مسخر من
 شده بود بدیشان نامزد کردم و همه را در میانه امید

* This expression occurs in several places, and is very obscure. Perhaps it means, that if he succeeded in his views on the kingdom of Mauwur

vants) had taken the command of six thousand horsemen of Jitteh, and were bringing them down upon me. And when this news reached the ears of my people, the terror of their hearts was increased, and they were sore afraid. But I found that Ameer Jaukoo, and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen were with me.

Book

THE TWELFTH DESIGN which I formed (in uniting the hearts of my people) was this.

DESIGN
XII

I CALLED unto me in private Ameer Jaukoo and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen ; and I sought to confederate them with me. And when I retired with them in private, my words with them were these — “ That I had made them “ the partners of my fortune.” * And they united firmly in my designs.

AND of those who were dissatisfied, I called each of them unto me in private, and spoke to them separately. And those who were covetous and avaricious, I tempted by wealth and by riches ; and those who fixed their eyes on dignities, and commands, and governments, among them I shared out the countries and the provinces which I had subdued : and I kept them all suspended

wur u Nuhur, certain principalities should be given to them, and rendered independent of the crown.

K

between

بیم نگاهداشتم و از برای هر یکی کوتلی * تعیین کردم
 و سایر سپاه را به لقمه و خرقة امیدوار
 گردانیدم و بشرین زبانی و کشاده روی ایشانرا فریفته
 خود ساختم و خدمات ایشانرا یکی بده باز نبوده
 خوشدل گردانیدم تا آنکه موافق و منافع همگی
 بن متفق گشتند و عهد بستند که با من در
 موافقت و جانسپاری بتقصیر راضی نشوند

چون خاطر من از لشکر جمع شد مستعد
 جنگ الیاس خواجه شدم و در دفع ایشان و روش جنگ
 چنین کنکاش کردم که پیش دستی بکار برم و تا
 ایشانرا خبر شود بر ایشان ترکناز آورم
 درین باب بقران مجید فال کشادم
 این آیه کریمه بفال آمد کم من فیه قلیلة غلبت
 نیه کثیرة باذن الله

و چون این بشارت یاقم لشکر خود را
 نزوک کرده و هفت فوج مرتب ساخته روان شدم بر
 وقت صبح بر سر تغلق سلدوز و کی خسرو که

* *Kotul* is a Mogul word, and signifies one appointed to succeed to the government on the death or dismissal of the governor. By this artful policy he not only secured his authority over the provinces which he divided among

between hope and fear, and I appointed a Kotul * to Book I.
each.

AND I raised the hopes of all my soldiers by gifts and by presents : and I drew them over unto me by kind words, and by an open countenance. And the services which they had done, I extolled ten-fold, and made them joyful : even until those who were with me, and those who were against me, all joined with me firmly. And they took an oath, that in supporting me, and in devoting their lives unto me, they would not be wanting.

AND when my heart was at rest concerning my army, I prepared for the war of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And in defeating him, and in planning the order of battle, thus I determined — that I would use speed, and that I would go down upon them before they were aware.

AND concerning this I opened the holy book for an omen ; and this sacred verse came forth as a sign, “ How oft do the weak vanquish the powerful by “ the permission of Almighty God ! ”

AND when I had obtained this token, I formed my soldiers in order, and I divided them into seven squadrons, and I set out. And I came in the morning upon Tughulluk Suldoze and Ki-Khiffero, (who,

among his Ameers, by placing a spy (for such was the Kotul) over the conduct of each of them, but made every province answer the purpose of satisfying *two* instead of *one* of his Ameers.

هراول شده می آمدند رسیدم و در حبله دوم ایشانرا
مقهور ساختم و تا کنار پل سنکین که منزل الیاس
خواجه بود هزیمت دادم

چون شب در آمد بسر زمینی که رسیده
بودم نزول نمودم با خود کنکاش کردم که میدان جنگ
افسرده نکردانم و کرم کرم بسر لشکر الیاس خواجه
که قریب به سی هزار آند ترکتاز آورم

و کنکاش کردم که اگر توفی نبایم
مبادا امری روی دهد که در علاج آن محتاج کومک
کردم با آنکه امیر حسین در عقب منزل داشت لیکن
من خودرا بیداد وی محتاج نکردانیدم و به کنکاش
درست لشکر الیاس خواجه را شکست دادم

کنکاش سپردهم که در شکست دادن
لشکر جته و الیاس خواجه نبودم این بود
که اول لشکر الیاس خواجه را بجبعی
از افواج قاهره متعید و معطل نگاهدارم بدین جهت امیر
موید ارلات و اوج قرا بهادر و امیر موسی را با دو هزار
سوار بسر سر پل رو بروی الیاس خواجه
نگاهداشتم

ومن

being the Hurrauvul, * were advancing) and I overpowered them at the second charge, and I drove them back to the head of the bridge of Sungheen, which was the station of Ouleaus Khaujeh. Book I.

AND as the night was come, I pitched my tents on the ground where I was, and I counselled with myself, that I would not let the plain of battle cool; but that I would charge quick and hot on the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh: and they were near thirty thousand.

AND I considered, that if I was guilty of delay, something might come to pass, which might cause me to stand in need of assistance. And although Ameer Hooffein was encamped behind me, I did not cause myself to stand in need of his support; but by skilful measures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and the men of Jitteh.

THE THIRTEENTH DESIGN which I formed, (in defeating the army of Jitteh and Ouleaus Khaujeh) was this. DESIGN XIII.

FIRST, I saw it was good, that by a body of my victorious army, I should confine and make useless the people of Jitteh: and for this purpose I stationed Ameer Muviud Arlaut, and Ouj Kurraa Bahaudur, and Ameer Moofi, with two thousand horsemen, at the head of the bridge of Sungheen, opposite to Ouleaus Khaujeh.

* Advanced guard.

AND

ومن خود با پنج هزار سوار از آب گذشته
بر کوهی که مشرف بر لشکر الیاس خواجه بود برآمدم
و فرمودم که شب آتش بسیاری برافروزند

و چون آتشها بنظر لشکر جته در آمد و فوج
کلانی در سر پیل سنگین دیدند مضطرب شدند و آن
شب را لشکر الیاس خواجه محاضر باش بگذرانیدند

ومن در آن شب ببالای کوه بعجز و نیاز
بدرگاه تنگری تعالی مشغول بوم و صلوات بر محمد
صلي الله عليه وآله واصحابه وسلم میفرستادم
و در میان خواب و بیداری اوازی بهسامع
من رسید که شخصی میگوید که تیهور فتح و فیروزی
وظفر تراست چون صبح صادق طلوع کرد نیاز
بجاعت ادا کردم

و درینوقت دیدم که الیاس خواجه با امراء
خود سوار شده فوج فوج روان شدند و امرا و سپاه من
در تعاقب نبودن حکم خواستند و من بخود کنکاش
کردم که در تعاقب نبودن ایشان تاخیر باید کرد
تا مقصد ایشان معلوم شود

چون چهار فرسنگ راه رفتند فرود آمدند

من

AND I myself passed over the river with five thousand horsemen, and came forth on a hill, which was higher than the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I commanded that in the night they should make many fires.

AND when the people of Jitteh beheld the fires, and when they saw a strong army at the head of the bridge of Sungheen, they were afraid: and the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh passed that night in watching.

AND I in that night, on the top of that hill, was employed in humiliations and supplications to the throne of Almighty God; and I sent forth prayers on Mahummud (may the blessing of God be upon him, and upon his descendants, and upon his companions).

AND between sleeping and waking I heard a voice, as of some one speaking to me, saying, "TIMOUR, victory and conquest and triumph are thine." And when the morning broke, I prayed with my people.

AND I saw at this time that Ouleaus Khaujeh and his Ameers were mounted on their horses, and going troop after troop: and my Ameers and my soldiers called for orders to pursue them. And I said unto myself, I must delay to pursue them until their intentions be known.

AND after they had travelled four furlongs, they halted: and I discovered their design. Behold, their intention

من کنکاش ایشانرا در یافتم که مطلب ایشان اینست
که مرا از کوه جدا ببیدان در آورند و جنگ اندازند

وامرای هراول را که شکست داده بودم

ایشان بالیاس خواجه پناه برده بودند ووی ایشان را
سرزنش کرده بود

درین وقت دیدند که من از کنکاش

ایشان واقف شده ام واز کوه بیرون نمی آیم بالضرورة
برگشته بر سر من تاخت آوردند

ومن کنکاش چنین یافتم که در دامن

کوه افواج خود را تزوک سازم و بچنگ در آیم چون

لشکر جته آمده بدامن کوه در آمدند و معطل شدند

بهدارنرا امر نمودم که مخالفان را بشیبه تیر گرفتند

و بسیاری از مخالفان را زخمدار ساختند و چون شب

شد و دیدند که کاری نتوانستند ساخت در دامن کوه

فروغ آمدند که کوه را محاصره نمایند من در آن

شب چنین کنکاش یافتم که لشکر خود را چهار فوج

ساخته بذات خود بر ایشان شبخون آورم چون این

کنکاش دل نشین امرای من شد قریب بصبح سوار

شدم و از چهار طرف بر مخالفان شبخون آوردم

و تا

intention was this — that they might bring me down from the mountain apart, and assault me. Book I.

AND the chiefs of the advanced guard, whom I had defeated, had fled unto Ouleaus Khaujeh for shelter; and he had reproved them.

AND they saw at this time, that I had discovered their intentions; and that I came not down from the hill: and from necessity they turned back, and came upon me.

AND I found it was good, that I should draw up my forces on the declivity of the hill, and enter into battle. And when the army of Jitteh advanced, and came up on the slope of the hill, and were unable to act, I gave orders to my warriors, that they should annoy the enemy with flights of arrows. And they wounded numbers of the foe. And as the night was come, the forces of Jitteh saw that they could effect nothing: and they encamped on the skirts of the hill, that they might surround it. And in that night I resolved thus — that forming my army into four squadrons, I myself would assault them by surprise. And when this resolution was impressed on the hearts of my Amceers, I mounted my horse, and I assaulted the enemy in four different places unawares, toward the morning.

L

AND

DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES

وتا لشکر جتہ خود را جمع سازند بہادران
من ایشان را متفرق ساختند و در چپقولش* کہ شد مردم
جنکی از طرفین کشته شدند و لشکر جتہ الفرار گفتند
و کریزان شدند و من خود را بالیاس خواجہ رسانیدہ یول
بولشن* گفتم و چون آواز من بیسامع الیاس خواجہ
رسید وی از روی غضب لشکر خود را نہیب داد
و لشکریان وی بر کشتند

وتا طلوع آفتاب میانہ لشکر من و لشکر
وی جنگ چپقولش* بود و ترکشہا خالی شد و غنیم
جنگ در کریز میگردند تا آنکہ در چہار فرسنگی کہ
یورت ایشان بود شکستہ حال رفتہ نزل نمودند و من
ہم از تعاقب ایشان عنان باز کشیدم و در ہیان سر
زمین فرود آمدم

چون لشکر جتہ خود را مغلوب و مقہور
دیدند دیگر بجنگ میارزت نبودند و من سپاہ خود را
بر دور اردوی الیاس خواجہ متفرق ساختم و محاربات
و مجادلات مینبوم تا آنکہ الیاس خواجہ از روی اضطرار
از آب خجند گذشت و من ہم تعاقب ایشان را
کذاشتہ مظفر و منصور بہاورالنہر مراجعت نمودم

و در استقلال سلطنت خود کنکاشہا کردم
و آن

AND before the forces of Jitteh could gather themselves together, my foldiers difperfed them; and in the skirmifh many warriors of both fides were flain. And the forces of Jitteh cried out, "Let us flee;" and they fled. And I came up to Ouleaus Khaujeh and faid, Yole Bolifhun. † And when he heard my voice, he rallied his forces in wrath; and they returned.

Book I.

AND there was skirmifhing between my army and his army until the rifing of the fun. And the quivers were emptied, and the enemy fought flying. And they fled even to the diftance of four fursung, where their tents were pitched; and they halted there in a broken condition. And I alfo drew in the reins from purfuing them, and came down ‡ in the place where I was.

WHEN the forces of Jitteh faw that they were broken and defeated, they ventured not to renew the fight. And I fpread my foldiers round the camp of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and I fought with them continually: even until Ouleaus Khaujeh, from extreme neceffity, crossed the waters of Khujjund. And I alfo left off purfuing them, and I returned victorious and triumphant to Mauwur u Nuhur.

AND I deliberated concerning the eftablifhment of my power; and my deliberations were thefe —

† A Mogul expreffion of falutation, the precise meaning of which is not known.

‡ i. e. encamped on the fpot where he had arrived.

وآن کنکاشها این بود که امرای که هر یک خود را
 امیر عظیم الشان میدانستند و هر یک خود را از دیگری
 بزرگتر میکردند مطیع و منقاد خود گردانم اول
 امیر حسین نبیره امیر قرغن که در ماورالنهر علم
 سلطنت پرافراخته بود و پرا شریک دولت خود خواندم
 و بوی مدارا کردم و وی اگرچه ظاهر بین اظهار دوستی
 میکرد اما همیشه در مقام نفاق و حسد با من می بود
 و میخواست که خود بر تخت سلطنت

ماورالنهر متمکن شود و چون بوی اعتماد نداشتم و پرا
 بهزار خواجه شمس الدین برده بر دوستی خود قسم
 دادم و بین عهد و قول کرد که خلاف دوستی نکند
 و سه مرتبه دیگر قسم به صحنه مسجد در
 باب دوستی من خورد و چون آخر نقض عهد کرد
 نقض عهد و پرا بین گرفتار ساخت

و شیخ محمد پسر امیر بیان سلدوز خود را
 امیر کلانی میدانست و پرا استمالت دادم و با هفت
 قشون ایل و مطیع خود گردانیدم و ملازم خود ساختم
 و پهریک از امرای قشونات مذکور ولایتی ارزانی داشتم

و شیر

that I should render the Ameers obedient and submissive unto me. For each of them thought himself a chief of exalted dignity; and each of them deemed himself greater than the rest. And first, I named Ameer Hoossein (the grandson of Ameer Kurghun) who had exalted the standard of power in Mauwur u Nuhur, the partner of my fortune; and I treated him with attention. And although he outwardly shewed friendship toward me, yet did he always envy and oppose me. Book I.

AND he wanted that he himself should be established on the royal throne of Mauwur u Nuhur. And I had no faith in him, and I carried him to the sepulchre of Khaujeh shums u deen, and made him swear friendship unto me. And he promised and swore that he would not swerve from his engagement.

AND concerning his friendship with me, he took an oath three times on the holy book. And when at last he broke his oaths, his breach of faith delivered him into my hands.

AND Sheikh Mahummud, the son of Ameer Biaun Suldoze, thought himself a mighty chief. And I gained his affections by soothing; and I brought him with seven Kushoons to submit unto me, and I made him my servant. And to each of the Ameers of those Kushoons I gave the command of a province.

AND

و شبر بهرام که جدا شده بالوس خود
 رفته بود و در مقام تهر می بود ویرا استیالت راره
 طلب نمود و وی بالوس خود آمده اطاعت مرا قبول
 کرد و ملازم خود ساخته ولایتی بوی ارزانی داشتم
 و چون میانہ من و امیر حسین خویشی
 بود من هر چند مروت و مدارا کردم دوست من نشد
 تا آنکه ولایت بلخ و حصار شادمان را از من گرفت
 و من هم بخاطر هبشیره وی که در خانه من بود
 مضایقه نکردم و چندان بوی مدارا کردم که امرای
 که با من در مقام مخالفت بودند مطیع من گشتند
 لیکن امیر حسین همیشه در مقام شکست من و مکر
 و فریب با من می بود تا آنکه کنکاش کار وی چنین
 کردم که بضرب شمشیر ویرا مطیع فرمایم

و چون بر ولایت توران مستولی گشتم
 و ولایت ماورالنهر از خس و خاشاک وجود اوزبکان پاک
 ساختم بعضی از امرای اولوسات سر باطاعت من فروز
 نیآوردند و هر یک با قبایل خود نازش میکردند و بعضی
 از امرای من سفارش ایشان میکردند که چون همه
 شریک دولت اند ایشانرا نیز شریک دولت باید دانست
 لیکن سخنان ایشان در غیرت سلطنت اثر نمی کرد
 بخور

AND Share Behraum, who had separated from me and returned to his tribe, and remained in a state of disobedience; to him I gave encouragement, and called him unto me. And he came with his tribe, and submitted to my authority. And I made him my servant, and I conferred a province upon him.

AND there was relationship between me and Ameer Hooffein: and although I treated him with affection and with kindness, he was not my friend; and he even took from me the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun. And I also, for the sake of his sister who was in my house, regarded it not. And I shewed such kindness unto him, that the Ameers who were in a state of enmity with me, submitted to my authority. But Ameer Hooffein still acted towards me with treachery and fraud, and sought to overthrow me: even until I resolved that I would force him to submission by the edge of the sword.

AND when I became the lord of the land of Tooraun, and had made clean the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur from the abominations † of the Ouzbuks; certain of the Ameers of Auloofaut submitted not to my government. And they, with their tribes, dissembled with me. And certain of my Ameers spoke in their behalf, saying, “ Since we are all partners of the same fortune, they must be considered as the partners of thy fortune also.” But their words made no impression upon me.

† Literally, the weeds and the briars.

بخود کنکاش کردم که چون خدا
 یک است ولا شریک له است پس گدخدای ملک
 وی تعالی و تقدس هم باید که یکی باشد
 درین وقت بابا علی شاه نزد من آمده
 گفت تیپور تنگروی تعالی فرموده که اگر در زمین
 و آسمان دو خدا باشد کار عالم بفساد انجامد و من
 بسخن وی هدایت یافتم

و بقرآن مجید فال کشادم این آیه
 کریمه بفرموده که انا جعلناک خلیفه فی الارض
 و این فال را شکون* گرفتیم و در مطیع ساختن امرای
 که خود را شریک دولت و سلطنت میدانستند
 کنکاشها کردم

و اول بهنزل ویورت امیر حاجی برلاس
 رفته و برا بخود متفق ساختم
 و امیر شیخ محمد پسر بیان سلدوز
 چون همیشه بشراب و خمر مشغول بود آخر شراب
 و برا کلو کیر ساخت و عالم را وداع نمود ولایت او را
 بتصرف در آوردم

وامیر

AND I deliberated with myself, saying, Since God is one and hath no partner, therefore the vicegerent over the land of the Lord (the Almighty and the Holy) must be one only.

AND at this time Baubau Aali Shaah † came before me and said, "T I M O U R, God Almighty hath declared, that if there were two Gods in the heavens and in the earth, the order of the universe would end in horror and confusion." And I took warning by his words.

AND I opened the holy book for an omen, and this sacred verse came forth as a sign, "TRULY WE HAVE APPOINTED THEE VICEGERENT UPON EARTH." And I took this omen as a favour from heaven; and I formed measures for reducing to submission those Ameers who thought themselves the partners of my fortune and dominion.

AND I first went to the station, and to the dwelling, of Ameer Haujee Burlaus, and I united him with me.

AND Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the son of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and strong spirits; and in the end the wine destroyed him, and he departed from the world, and I took possession of his lands.

† One of those Dervishes who professed idiotism. The East is full of this kind of Santons, who are held in great veneration by the Mahummudans.

و امیر بایزید جلایر که ولایت خجند را
 متصرف بود بوی نصیحت کردم اما دروي اثر نکرد تا
 آنکه مردم الوس وي بروي خروج کرده و گرفتار ساخته
 نزد من آوردند و من ویرا بنواختم و شرمنده ساختم
 و ایلیچی بوغا سالدوز در بلخ علم سلطنت
 برافراخته بود و امیر حسین که طلب تختگاه جد
 خود را امیر ترغن مینمود بوی در انداختم
 و محمد خواجه ایردي که از اویهاق
 تاین بود ولایت شیرغانا را متصرف شده علم
 مخالفت من برافراخته بود و دیگر ولایت بوی دادم
 و وی را نوکر خود ساختم
 و شهان بدخشان که ولایت بدخشان را
 متصرف شده راایت مخالفت من برافراخته بودند با
 هر یک از ایشان سازگاری کردم تا بیکدیگر در
 افتادند و بهین رجوع آوردند
 و کی خسرو و الجایتو بردي ولایت
 ختلان و ارهنسک را متصرف شده بودند و به کی
 خسرو مدد فرستادم تا رفته ولایت الجایتو بردي را
 متصرف شد و الجایتو بهین پناه آورد

+ i. e. By the extraordinary favours, which he conferred upon him, he made him ashamed of his former conduct.

AND to Ameer Bauezeed Jullaur, who was ruler over the province of Khojjund, I gave advice: but it made not an impression upon him, until the people of his tribe rose up against him, and seized him, and brought him unto me. And I exalted him and caused him to blush. †

AND to Ameer Ilchee Booghau Suldoze, who had exalted the standard of power in the city of Bullukh, I opposed Ameer Hoosein; who laid claim to the imperial city ‡ of his grandfather, Ameer Kurghun.

AND Mahummud Khaujeh Erudec (who was of the herd of Tauemun) having seized on the country of Shereghaunaut, had exalted the standard of enmity against me: and I gave him another province, and made him my servant.

AND the princes of Buddukhshaun, who ruled over the countries of Buddukhshaun, had elevated the ensigns of hostility against me. And I dealt artfully with each of them, || until they disputed among themselves, and returned back unto me.

AND Ki Khiffero, and Aljauitoo Burdi had seized on the countries of Khuttulaun, and Arhung. And I sent assistance to Ki Khiffero, until he went and took possession of the lands of Aljauitoo Burdi: and Aljauitoo Burdi came to me for shelter.

† i. e. The city of Bullukh.

|| i. e. Sowed animosities among them, and by that means obliged them to submit.

وامیر خضر یسوری ولایت تاشکنت را
 باتفاق احشام یسوری متصرف شده بود و الجایتو یردی
 وکی خسرو را بیکدیگر آشتی دادم و جماعه را همراه
 ایشان کردم تا رفته احشام یسوری را تاحت وتالان
 کردند و امیر خضر عاجز شده پناه بمن آورد

چون ولایت ماورالنهر را از هرج و مرج پاک
 ساختم افواج قاهره من قوت تمام یافت والوس برلاس
 نامدار شد و قشونات وتومانات چغتای از هیت
 من بلند آوازه گردید

و بر جمیع ایل و قشونات وتومانات
 واحشام فرمان فرما گشتم لیکن بعضی قلعهاء
 ماورالنهر در تصرف امیر حسین بود حکم من در
 آنجا جاری نبود

وامیر حسین چون عظمت وشوکت مرا
 مشاهده نمود عرق حسدش بحرکت در آمد و علم
 مخالفت پرافراخت ونقض عهد نمود من بجانب وی
 بسیار رفتم و او هیچ بطرف من نیامد و بلطایف
 الحیل قلعه قرشی را از من گرفت و امیر موسی را
 با هفت هزار سوار بقلعه قرشی تعیین
 کرد

AND Ameer Khizzur Yeffooree, assisted by Book I,
the tribe of Yeffoor, had taken possession of the province
of Taufhkund. And I reconciled Aljauitoo Burdi and
Ki Khiffero to each other, and sent forces with them;
until they went, and over-run, and pillaged the tribe of
Yeffoor. And the power of Ameer Khizzur was reduced
low, and he fled to me for protection.

AND when I had cleared the kingdom of
Mauwur u Nuhur from discord and anarchy, my armies
acquired great strength; and the tribe of Burlaus ob-
tained renown; and the Kufhoonaut and the Toumau-
naut of Chughtauee became celebrated on account of my
exploits.

AND I became the ruler of all the tribes,
and of the Kufhoonaut, and of the Toumaunaut, and of
the people. But certain castles of Mauwur u Nuhur were
in the possession of Ameer Hooffein; and in them my
authority was not established.

AND when Ameer Hooffein beheld my
might and my power, his envy was excited against me.
And he exalted the standard of hostility, and he broke
his oaths. And I advanced a great way toward him, and
he came not at all toward me. † And he took from me
the castle of Kurhee by fraud. And he appointed Ameer
Moofi, with seven thousand horsemen, to guard the castle

† i. e. Endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, to which Ameer
Hooffein continued adverse.

of:

کرد و پنج هزار سوار دیگر هم فرستاد و در مقام
استیصال من در آمد

و ازین جهت غیرت سلطنت من طغیان
کرد که قلعه قرشی را از وی بگیرم بعضی امرای
من کنکاش دادند که رفته بچنگ قلعه را مسخر
گردانم من کنکاش گرفتن قلعه قرشی را
چنین کردم که اگر خواهم که بچنگ مسخر
گردانم مبادا چشم زحبی بلشکر من برسد و در جنگ
چند خطر بخاطر من خطور کرد جنگ را طرح کردم
و کنکاش درین دیدم که بجانب خراسان
مستوجه شوم تا خاطر قلعه داران جمع بشود و آنکه
برگشته اینغاز کنم و شبخون بقلعه برده مسخر گردانم
و کوچ نبوده مستوجه خراسان شدم

چون از آب امویہ عبور نمودم کاروانی
از جانب خراسان آمده بود و مستوجه قرشی میرفت
و قافله سالار آن کاروان اروغانی بهن آوردن من از احوال
امرای خراسان از وی پرسش کردم و رفتن خود را
بولايت خراسان بوی اظهار نمودم و ایشانرا رخصت دادم
و جاسوسی هبراه کاروانیان کردم
و خود در کنسار آب مقام نمودم تا آنکه
جاسوس

of Kurfhee : and he afterwards sent five thousand horsemen more. And he took measures for my destruction. Book I.

AND on this account the honour of my station urged me on, that I should take from him the castle of Kurfhee. And certain of my Ameers counselled me, that I should go and seize it by force. But concerning the reduction of the castle of Kurfhee I deliberated thus — If I attempt to reduce it by a siege, perhaps my forces may be repulsed. And in a siege several dangers occurred to my mind ; and I rejected that measure.

AND I saw it was good that I should turn my face toward Khoraufaun, until the hearts of the keepers of the castle should be at rest ; and that then I should return and march with speed, and assault the castle by surprize, and reduce it. And I marched, and went toward Khoraufaun.

WHEN I crossed the waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khoraufaun ; and they were journeying toward Kurfhee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts unto me, and I asked of him the state of the Ameers of Khoraufaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khoraufaun ; and I dismissed him.

AND I sent a spy with the people of the Kauruvvaun, and I tarried on the border of the waters of Amuveah

جاسوسین خبر آورد که کاروانیان خبر بامیر موسی رسانیدند که امیر تیهور را در کنار آب امویه دیدیم که بطرف خراسان میرفت

چون این خبر بامیر موسی و لشکر امیر حسین رسید خوشدل شدند و رحل اقامت انداخته بساط عیش و عشرت بگسترانیدند

چون این خبر بهسامع من رسید از لشکر خود دو صد و چهل و سه جوان بهادر مردانه کار کرده آزموده را جدا ساختم و از آب گذشته ایلغار کردم و در موضع شیرکنت رسیدم و یک شب و یک روز مقام کردم و از آنجا ایلغار کرده در یک فرسنگی قلعه قرشی نزول نمودم

و فرمودم که چند نردبان برپسپهانها باهم بسته طیار سازند درین وقت امیر جاکو زانو زده بعرض رسانید که جماعه از بهادران در عقب مانده اند تا رسیدن ایشان توقف ضرور است درین وقت بخاطرم رسید که تا رسیدن بهادران خود تنها رفته قلعه را ملاحظه نمایم

و چهل سوار بهادر را همراه گرفته رو بطرف قلعه قرشی آوردم چون سینهایی حصار بنظر

Amuveah until the spy brought word, that the people of the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Moofi, saying; "We saw Ameer Timour on the border of the waters of Amuveah; and he was going toward Kho-rausaun." Book I.

AND when Ameer Moofi and the forces of Ameer Hooffein heard this news, they were glad of heart; and they pitched their tents, and spread abroad the carpet of riot and dissipation.

AND when I received intelligence thereof, I selected two hundred and forty three brave, and resolute, and tried, and experienced warriors from among my forces; and I re-crossed the waters of Amuveah. And I marched quick; and I arrived at Sharekund. And I halted for one night and for one day. And I marched from thence with great speed; and I alighted at the distance of a furlong from the castle of Kurshee.

AND I commanded that they should make ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And at this time Ameer Yaukoo kneeled before me, and said, "Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they shall arrive, delay is necessary." And at this time it came into my mind that I would go alone and examine the castle.

AND I took forty warriors with me, and I turned my face toward the castle of Kurshee. And when the blackness of the castle appeared in sight, I commanded

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در آمدن بهادران را امر نمودم که توقف نمایند
 و پیشتر و عبد الله که خانه زاد بچکان من بودند همراه
 گرفته و چون بکنار خندق رسیدم دیدم که خندق
 پر از آب است و نظر بر اطراف کردم و ترناوی که آب از
 آن بقعه میرفت و بر روی خندق انداخته بودند بنظر
 در آمد

و اسب را به پیشتر سپرده و از بالا ترناو از
 خندق گذشته بخاک ریز قلعه رسیدم و خود را بدروازه
 رسانیدم و دستی بر در زدم و یافتم که دروازه‌بانان در
 خوابند

و دروازه را پیشتر در بخاک و گل انباشته
 اند و اطراف دیوار قلعه را ملاحظه نمودم و جای که
 زینه و نردبان توان گذاشت دیدم و مراجعت نمودم
 و سوار شده خود را به بهادران رسانیدم

و فوجی که در عقب مانده بود با نردبانها
 رسیدند و هرکس مسلح شده و نردبانها را برداشتند و رو
 بقلعه آوردند و از خندق بر روی ترناو گذاشتند و زینه‌ها
 گذاشته بدیوار قلعه بر آمدند چون چهل مرد
 مردانه داخل قلعه شدند من هم قدم بر نردبان
 گذاشته بقلعه در آمدم و کرنا و برغو* کشیدند و بتوفیق
 تنگری تعالی قلعه را مسخر گردانیدم

چون این خبر به سامع امیر حسین
 رسید در مقام مکر و فریب در آمد و میخواست که در
 لباس اشنای و دوستی مرا در قید خود را آورد
 کنکاش

my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mubbusfur Book I.
 and Abdullah, who had been born in my house. And
 when I came to the border of the ditch, I saw that the
 ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and
 I beheld a waterpipe; † and water ran through that pipe
 to the castle, and they had laid it across the ditch.

AND I delivered my horse to Mubbusfur,
 and I crossed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the
 foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and
 struck on the door with my hand; and I discovered that
 the guards of the portal were asleep.

AND they had filled up the portal behind
 the door with clay and with earth. And I looked round
 the walls of the castle, and saw the place where the steps
 of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I
 mounted my horse, and went back to my warriors.

AND the troops who had remained behind
 came with the ladders, and they were all armed; and they
 took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the
 castle. And they crossed the ditch on the pipe; and having
 fixed their ladders, they entered on the walls of the castle.
 And when forty resolute men had entered the castle, I
 also placed my foot on the ladder, and went in unto them.
 And they sounded their trumpets; and by the favour of
 Almighty God I obtained possession of the castle.

AND when this news reached the ears of
 Ameer Hoossein, he entered into the road of deceit and
 dissimulation; and, under the cloak of friendship and inti-
 macy, he sought to bring me into his power.

† A trunk of a tree hollowed into a pipe.

کنکاش خلاص خود از مکر و خدعه امیر حسین که میخواست مرا دستگیر سازد چنین کردم که چون امیر حسین مصحفی که بآن قسم خورده بود که مرا بجز دوستی و مراعات خویشی چیزی دیگر بخاطر نیست نزد من فرستاد و گفته فرستاد که اگر خلاف آنچه میگویم امری دیگر بخاطرم باشد و اگر نقض عهد نهوده ترا بدی بکنم این مصحفی خدا مرا بگیرد و چون ویرا مسلمان میدانستم بر قول وی اعتماد کردم تا آنکه کس نزد من فرستاد و پیغام داد که اگر چنان شود که در تنک چکچک با یکدیگر ملاقات نهاییم و تجدید عهد سابق کنیم حقا که بهتر خواهد بود

و مقصدش این بود که بگر و فریب مرا دستگیر نماید و من میدانستم که بر عهد و قول وی چندان اعتیادی نیست اما بنابر تعظیم مصحفی قرار دارم که بیلاقات وی نهضت نمایم و کنکاش کردم که اول جمعی از بهادران مردانه را فرستاده در حوالی و حواشی دره چکچک پنهان سازم و خود با جمعی رفته با امیر حسین ملاقات نمایم

و بدوستان خود که در خدمت امیر حسین بودند

THUS I acted for my deliverance from the treachery and perfidy of Ameer Hooffein, who sought to make me his prisoner. Book I.

WHEN Ameer Hooffein sent unto me a KORAUN, by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendship and brotherly affection towards me ; and sent a message unto me, saying, “ If there be ought in my heart contrary to that which I say ; and if I break my oath, and do evil unto thee, may this book of God seize upon me ; ” — seeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words : even until he sent a person unto me, and a message, saying, “ If it may be so that we may see each other in the pass of Chukchuk, and renew our antient faith, truly it will be better.”

AND this was his design, that by perfidy and treachery he might seize upon me. And although I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word, or on his oath ; yet, out of respect to the holy KORAUN, I resolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would first send a number of my resolute warriors, and secrete them round about the pass of Chukchuk, and that I myself would go with another body of my people and see Ameer Hooffein.

AND I sent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hooffein, that they should inform

DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES

بودند پیغام دادم که از اراده امیر حسین مرا آگاه
گردانند و شیر بهرام که از دوستان من بود مرا بر اراده
امیر حسین آگاه ساخت و امیر حسین او را بقتل آورد
و با هزار سوار بر سر من روان شد
در آن وقت من در سر دره فرو آمده
بودم که این خبر بمن رسید و تروک فوج خود کردم
و درین حال طلائی لشکر امیر حسین نمودار شد
و قراولان خبر آوردند که فوج امیر حسین است
و اینک امیر حسین خود نمی آید چون شنیده که
امیر تنها آمده است فوج بگرفتن شها تعیین نهاده
و من مستعد شدم و همگی با من دو صد
سوار بودند و صبر کردم تا آنکه فوج امیر حسین بدره
در آمد و بهر همی که پیش از خود فرستاده بودم امر
کردم که راه برگشتن ایشانرا بگیرند و من خود
بایشان رو برو شدم و مخالفانرا در آن دره در میان
گرفتم و اکثر را دستگیر کردم و مردم خود را جمع
ساخته و تروک نهاده روانه قرشی شدم و بتجربه من
رسید که دوست در همه جا بکار می آید

و با امیر حسین مضمون این بیت ترکی

صبا

نوشتم

inform me of his designs. And Share Behraum, who was Book I.
of my friends, informed me of the designs of Ameer
Hooßein. And Ameer Hooßein flew him; and set out
with a thousand horsemen to come upon me.

AND at that time I had pitched my tents
at the entrance of the pass, and this news came unto me.
And I ordered my forces: and, behold, the vanguard of
Ameer Hooßein appeared in sight. And my Kurrau-
laun brought word, saying, "It is the army of Ameer
" Hooßein; and, lo! Ameer Hooßein himself cometh
" not with them: for he hath heard that Ameer † is come
" alone, and he hath sent an army to seize thee."

AND, behold, I was prepared; and two
hundred horsemen were all that were with me. And I
waited until the forces of Ameer Hooßein had entered the
pass: and I sent a messenger to the people whom I had
sent before me, and I commanded them to seize the way
of their retreat. And I myself opposed them face to face.
And I enclosed my enemies in that pass, and I took many
prisoners. And I gathered my people together, and I
ordered them, and set out towards Kurshee. And by ex-
perience it was known unto me, that a friend in all places
cometh to use. ‡

AND I wrote to Ameer Hooßein the sense
of this verse, in the Toorki || language;

† i. e. Timour.

‡ Alluding to the intelligence which he had received from Share Behraum.

|| i. e. the Mogul.

صبا بکوي بان يار دام مکر نهنده
که مکر باز نکرد مکر بکر کننده

چون پیغام من بامیر حسین رسید خجل و منفعل
شد و عذر خواست و من دیگر بروی اعتبار نکردم
و بسخنان وی فریفته نشدم

کنکاش در پاک ساختن توران زمین
از بقیه السینی طایفه اوزبک چنین کردم
که چون لشکر جته والیاس خواجه را
از ماورالنهر بر آوردم و از آب خجند گذرانیدم بعضی
افواج اوزبکان در قلعه‌های ماورالنهر مستحکم بودند
و چون خواستم که افواج بر ایشان تعیین کنم و بخاطرم
خطور کرد که مبادا کار بدور و دراز بکشد

در آن وقت خبر بمن رسید که اوزبکان
در قلعه‌ها تایم شده اند و صلاح در آن ندیدم که افواج
خود را بر ایشان تعیین نمایم و یرلیغی از جانب الیاس
خواجه نوشتم و به اوزبکی دادم و فوجی همراه وی کردم
و امر نمودم که خود را نبودار سازند و گرد و غبار برانگیرند
و چون یرلیغ طلب الیاس خواجه بایشان
رسید

“ Say, O Zephyr, to that friend, the layer of the snares
 “ of treachery, Book I.

“ Doth not the treachery return back to the doer of
 “ treachery ? ”

And when Ameer Hooffein received my message, he was ashamed and confounded ; and he made excuses. And I had faith in him no more, and I was no more deceived by his words.

IN making clean the land of Tooraun from those of the tribe of Ouzbuk who had escaped the sword, thus I acted.

WHEN I drove forth from Mauwur u Nuhur the armies of Jitteh, and of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and forced them to cross the waters of Khujjund, certain of the troops of Ouzbuk were enclosed in the castles of Mauwur u Nuhur ; and when I sought to send forces upon them, it came into my mind that perhaps the war might be tedious and of long duration.

AND at that time news came unto me, that the Ouzbuks continued in the castles ; and I saw it was not good that I should send my armies against them. And I wrote a summons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh, and I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I sent forces along with him. And I commanded them to shew themselves, and to raise a great dust.

AND when the Ouzbuks received the summons of Ouleaus Khaujeh, calling them unto him,

رسید و کرد و غبار افواج را دیدند شب بشب قلعه‌ها را
 خالی ساخته پدر رفتند و ساحت ماورالنهر از وجود
 آن ظالمان که قصد کشتن من کرده بودند پاک
 شد و آن میلکت مسخر من گشت

و من صلوه رحم نگاهداشته ولایت بلخ
 و حصار شانمانرا بامیر حسین ارزانی داشتم و وی قدر
 احسان و مروت مرا ندانست و قصد استیصال من کرد
 و من کنکاش در استیصال امیر حسین چنین کردم
 که چون وی آثار فتح و نصرت مرا دید
 عرق حسدش بحرکت درآمد و آزارها بین و همیشیره اش
 که در خانه من بود رسانید و قصد کرد که ماورالنهر از
 من بگیرد و یکشتن من کمر بست و بارها بهصاف
 من برآمد و هر مرتبه شکست یافت

چون بی اعتدالی و بی انصافی وی
 بعد افراط رسید و نزدیک شد که بر من غالب آید
 و مرا مستاصل گرداند در آن وقت امرای وی از ید
 سلوکی که بایشان میکرد از وی برگشتند و برادر امیر
 کی خسرو حاکم ختلان را همچو بی بقتل آورد و امیر
 کی خسرو در ختلان باغی شد
 چون امرای وی در مقام نفاق بودند و وی
 ایشانرا

and saw the dust raised by my people; they quitted the castles, night after night, and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from those oppressors who had fought to slay me: and that kingdom submitted to my government. Book I.

AND I regarded the ties of kindred, and gave to Ameer Hoossein the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun. And he perceived not the degree of my kindness and regard; and he fought to destroy me. And in reducing Ameer Hoossein thus I determined.

WHEN he saw the signs of my victories and conquests, his envy was excited; and he molested me, and he molested his sister who was in my house; and he fought to take Mauwur u Nuhur from me. And he girded up his loins to slay me. And he came forth many times to fight with me: and he was defeated every time.

WHEN his iniquity and injustice had reached the limits of excess, and it was near that he should become conqueror over me, and expel me; in those days his Ameers, because of the evils which he had done unto them, turned back from him. And he slew Humoochee, the brother of Ameer Ki Khiffero, the ruler of Khuttulaun. And Ameer Ki Khiffero rebelled in Khuttulaun.

AND his Ameers were in a state of enmity; and he thought that they were his friends. And he

ایشانرا از اهل وفاق میدانست و بقصد دفع و رفع من از
 خطه بلخ پیشخانه بیرون کشید و این خبر بین آوردند
 وقابوی خود را درین دیدم که تا امیر حسین بحرکت
 در آید خود را بر سر وی برسانم

و با جباعه که حاضر بودند متوجه بلخ
 شدم و در راه افواج قاهره از اطراف و جوانب آمده جمع
 شدند و بحوالی خطه بلخ رسیده نزول نمودم و امیر
 حسین بهدافعه و مقاتله بر آمد و صرفه نبرد و بقلعه در
 آمده متحصن شد و آمد بر سرش آنچه آمد

در باب ایل ساختن آنها که با من بدیها
 کرده از من متوهم بودند و نظر بر بدیهای خود نیوده در
 خاطر داشتند که من آنها را خواهم کشت چنین کنکاش
 کردم

که چون امیر حسین بدست من گرفتار
 شد نوکران و امرای وی بر من کبان کردند که ایشانرا
 خواهم کشت اگرچه من در مقام کشتن ایشان بودم
 اما چون سپاهی بودند کنکاش درین دیدم که ایشانرا
 مستبال ساخته بکارهای سپاهگری تعیین نمایم

† He was obliged to deliver up the castle to Timour, from whom he received a promise of personal safety; but was slain nevertheless some days after by certain of that prince's officers whom he had formerly injured. Vid. *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 191.

brought forth his tents from the land of Bullukh, with a resolution to drive me out and destroy me. And they brought unto me this news, and I saw my advantage in this, that even before Ameer Hooffein could put himself in motion, I should go down upon him. Book I.

AND I turned toward Bullukh, with the people that were with me : and my victorious forces came from all parts, and from all sides, and were gathered together. And having arrived on the borders of the land of Bullukh, I pitched my tents. And Ameer Hooffein came forth to fight with, and expel, me ; and it availed him not. And he entered into the castle, and was enclosed therein. And that befel him which did befall him. †

CONCERNING those who had done evil unto me, and who, reflecting on their evil doings, thought in their hearts that I should slay them, thus I acted.

WHEN Ameer Hooffein fell into my hands, and his Servants and his Ameers were suspicious of me, that I would slay them ; although I had determined to put them to death, yet, as they were warriors, I saw it was good that I should dispel their fears, and employ them in war. †

† The principal Ameers of Bullukh having revolted from Timour, and submitted to their former prince Sooltaun Abmaud Iullair.

وامیر الامراء وي که در بدخشانات حاکم
 بود و بارها بین رو برو شده و شمشیرها زده بود و چون
 شنید که امیر حسین بقتل رسید از سیاست من
 ترسید و خونرا جمع ساخت و اگر من لشکر بگرفتن
 وي تعیین میکردم لایق نمی بود

و در کار وي تغافل کردم و گنگاش
 درین دیدم که در مجالس و محافل ذکر خیر و تعریف
 شجاعت و مردانگی وي کردم تا آنکه دوستان وي
 بوي نوشتند که امیر با تو در مقام مرحمت و عنایت
 است و وي بین عرضه داشت کرده تکیه بر عنایت
 و مروت من نمود و پناه بین آورد

کنکاشي که در تسخیر دارالبلک خراسان
 کردم این بود که چون ولایت بلخ و حصار شادمان
 و بدخشانات مسخر من شد و امیر حسین مقتول
 گردید خبر آن بیلک غیاث الدین حاکم خراسان
 رسید و بر خود بلرزید و در مقام جمعیت سپاه و لشکر
 در آمد و میخواست که خودرا استحکام دهد

کنکاش خودرا درین دیدم که اهل
 خراسان را در خواب غفلت اندازم و ازین جهت عنان
 عزیزیت

AND the Ameer ul Omurau of Ameer Book I.
 Hoossein was the governor of Buddukhshaun; and he had met me face to face many times, and had fought against me. And when he heard that Ameer Hoossein was slain, he feared my justice, and he collected himself together. And if I had appointed an army to seize him, it would not have been proper.

AND I feigned negligence toward him, and I saw it was good that I should speak well of his conduct, and praise his courage and his magnanimity in the assemblies, and among the people: until his friends wrote unto him, saying, "Ameer Timour is inclined to shew favour and mercy unto thee." And he supplicated me submissively, and he rested on my clemency and favour; and he came to me for protection.

THE DESIGN which I formed for subduing the capital city of Khorausaun, was this. When the kingdom of Bullukh, and the castle of Shaudumaun, and the countries of Buddukhshaun were subdued; and when Ameer Hoossein was slain; the news thereof came to Mullik Gheaus u deen the ruler of Khorausaun, and he trembled for himself. And he began to gather together his soldiers and his army; and he sought to secure himself.

AND I saw my success in this, that I should throw the people of Khorausaun into the sleep of negligence: and for this reason I turned back the reins of

عزیمت بطرف سمرقند معطوف داشتیم و بعد از آن نامه پیر من بهمن رسید که ملک غیاث الدین بظلم و جور مشغول است

و چون از خبر مراجعت من بطرف سمرقند ملک غیاث الدین بخاطر جمع نشسته بود کنکاش کردم که الحال خاطر خراسانیان از طرف من جمع کشت باید که بر ایشان ترکناز آورم و از حوالی بلخ برگشته با لشکری که در بلخ گذاشته بودم ایلتار کردم و خود را بهرات رسانیده ملک غیاث الدین را در خواب غفلت گرفتیم و وی ناچار از شهر هرات بر آمد و خزاین و دفاین و مهلکت خود را بهمن پیشکش کرد و ملک خراسان مسخر من گردید و امرای خراسان همگی اطاعت من کردند

و کنکاش دیگر که در تسخیر ممالک سیستان و قندهار و افغانستان کردم اینست که چون مهلکت خراسان بتسخیر در آمد امرای من کنکاش گفتند که افواج به تسخیر این سه ملک تعیین باید کرد من گفتیم که اگر با افواج کار میسر نشود ناچار مرا عنان عزیمت بدان صوب معطوف باید

of my intention toward Summurkund. And after that a letter from my PEER came unto me, saying; "Mullik Gheaus u deen is employed in tyranny and oppression." Book I.

AND when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had sat down quiet and secure, I resolved thus — "Now the hearts of the people of Khorausaun are no longer afraid of me, I must fall upon them."

AND I turned back from the neighbourhood of Bullukh; and with the army which I had left in Bullukh, I marched with speed: and, coming to Hurraut, I took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the sleep of security. And he was helpless, and he came forth from the city of Hurraut, and he presented unto me his treasures, and his wealth, and his kingdom. And the kingdom of Khorausaun was subdued; and the Ameers of Khorausaun, every one of them, submitted unto me.

THE DESIGNS which I formed for conquering the countries of Seiftaun, and Kundahaur, and the land of the Afghauns, were these. When the kingdom of Khorausaun was reduced to obedience, my Ameers counselled me, saying, "Thou must send armies to subdue these three countries." I answered them, saying, If the matter be not brought to pass by the armies, without remedy, I myself must turn the reins of

باید داشت و اینک مرا کار بسیاری در پیش است
کنکاش درین دیدم که یرلیغهای استبالت
به حکام آن دیار بنویسم با این مضمون که اگر بین
در آید بر آید و اگر در افتید بر افتید و آنچه بینید
و تدبیر موافق تقدیر بود و به مجرد رسیدن یرلیغها ایشان
سر اطاعت بر جاره فرمان برداری نهادند

کنکاشی که در استیصال اروس خان
و تسخیر دشت قبیچاق کردم این بود که چون
تغتمش بداخان از اروس خان شکست یافته پناه بمن
آورد بخود کنکاش کردم که بهراهی تغتمش
بداخان قوج بفرستم یا خود بروم

در بنوقت ایلیچی اروس خان رسید
کنکاش را چنین یافتم که ایلیچی ویرا تسلی نهیم
ورخصت دهم و راه دشت را ببرندم و متعاقب ایلیچی
لشکری تعیین کنم که در روزی که ایلیچی
بخاطر جمع به مجلس اروس خان در آید و وی
غافل شود روز دیگر افواج من بر سر وی
ترکتاز آورم

چون

my intention that way : and, behold, I have very much Book I.
business before me. }

AND I saw it was good, that I should write mandates of encouragement to the rulers of those countries, to this purport — “ If ye come in unto me, “ come ; and if ye refuse, refuse : and do that which ye “ see best.” And, behold, the measure was good : and as soon as my mandates arrived, they placed the forehead of submission on the path of obedience.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquishing Auroos Khaun, and for subduing the Dusht of Kipchak, was this. When Touktummish Buddau Khaun was defeated by Auroos Khaun, and fled to me for shelter, I counselled with myself whether I should send an army with Touktummish Khaun, or whether I should go myself.

AND at this time the ambassador of Auroos Khaun arrived. And I saw my advantage in this — that I should speak fair to his ambassador, and dismiss him, and shut up the road to the Dusht, and appoint an army to set out after the ambassador ; — and that on the day after that on which the ambassador should enter the presence of Auroos Khaun, without suspicion ; whilst Auroos Khaun should be unprepared, my forces should assault him.

چون چنین کردم تدبیر موافق تقدیر
 آمد که چون ایلیچی اروس خان رسید و حکایت
 میکرد که افواج قاهره من چون بلای ناکهانی بر
 سر اروس خان ریختند و اروس خان تاب مقاومت
 نیاورد و قرار بر فرار داد و مملکت دشت قیچاق مسخر
 من شد

کنکاش که در تسخیر ممالک کیلان
 و جرجان و مازندران و ازربایجان و شروان و فارس و عراق
 کردم این بود که در ایامی که عرایض اهل
 عراق از تعدی آل مظفر و ملوک طوایف بین رسید
 اراده یساق عراق کردم

و درین حال بخاطرم رسید که ملوک
 آن ممالک اگر بیک اتفاق در مقابل من در آیند
 جنگ را آماده باید بود و امرای من همچنین کنکاش
 گفتند که باستعداد جنگ باید رفت و من با
 خود چنین کنکاش دیدم که یک یک از ایشان را
 بخود رام کردانم و هرکس رام نشود ویرا بسزا رسانم

اول کسی که بهم پناه آورد امیر
 علی حاکم مازندران بود که بین پیشکش
 فرستاد

AND when I did so, the measure proved successful. For when the ambassador arrived, even whilst he related his story, my victorious armies, like unto an unforeseen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun. And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppose them; and he resolved on flight. And the Dush of Kipchawk was subdued. †

Book I.
}

THE DESIGNS which I formed for subduing the countries of Kilaun, and Jurjaun, and Mauzinduraun, and Azzurbauejaun, and Shurwaun, and Fauris, and Erauk, were these. In those days, when the petitions of the people of Erauk, on account of the oppressions of the race of Muzzuffur, and of the rulers of the nations, came unto me, I resolved to go down upon Erauk.

AND at this time it came into my mind, that if the rulers of those countries should join together to oppose me, I must be well prepared for war: and my Ameers gave this counsel, saying, "We must go prepared for war." And I resolved with myself, that I would make them obedient unto me, one by one; and that I would chastise those who refused to submit.

AND the first person, who sought my protection, was Ameer Aali the ruler of Mauzinduraun,

† Upon the death of Auroos Khaun, which happened soon after his defeat, Touktummish Khaun was established on the throne of the Dush of Kipchawk, by the assistance of Timour.

who

فرستاد و در مکتوبی که نوشته بود قید کرده بود که
 ما جمعی که از آل علی ایچ قناعت باین سر زمین کرده
 ایچ ان تاخذوا قدرتکم اقوی وان تعفوا اقرب للتقوی
 یعنی اگر بگیری قدرت شما قویتر است و اگر عفو
 کنید نزدیک به پرهیزکاری است

من رجوع حاکم مازندران را شکون*
 گرفتیم و متوجه مملکت کیلان و جرجان شدم و چون
 حکام آنجا بین رجوع نیآوردند و افواج قاهره بر سر
 ایشان تعیین نمودم و خود بعراق لشکر کشیدم
 و اصفهان را مسخر ساختم و بر اهل اصفهان
 اعتماد کرده قلعه را بدست ایشان سپردم و ایشان
 باغی نشده داروغه را که بر ایشان تعیین کرده بودم
 با سه هزار کس از سپاه بقتل آوردند من هم
 حکم بقتل عام اهالی اصفهان کردم

کنکاشی که در تسخیر دارالملک
 فارس و تنبه عراق کردم اینست
 که چون شیراز را به آل مظفر
 گذاشتم و در اصفهان سه هزار کس
 تعیین

who sent gifts unto me; and in the letter which he wrote unto me, he inserted this — “ We, who are of the posterity of Aali, have rested satisfied with this land. ان تاخذوا قدرتكم اقوي وان تعفوا اقرب † That is to say; *If thou wilt take it from us, thy power is greater than ours; but if thou wilt spare us, it will come nearer to clemency.*”

I CONSIDERED the submission of the ruler of Mauzinduraun as a happy omen; and I turned toward the countries of Kilau and Jurjan. And when the princes of those countries submitted not unto me, I appointed troops to go down upon them; and I myself drew my army into Erauk.

AND I conquered the city of Isfahaun. And I trusted in the people of Isfahaun; and I delivered the castle into their hands. And they rebelled; and the Durogheh, whom I had placed over them, they slew with three thousand of the soldiers. And I also commanded that a general slaughter should be made of the people of Isfahaun.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of the chief city of Fauris, and the rest of Erauk, is this.

WHEN I left Sharauze in the hands of the descendants of Muzzuffur, and stationed three thousand

† Arabic.

تعیین نمودم و بجهت رفع و رفع تقهش خان بجانب
دشت قیچاق لشکر کشیدم اهل اصفهان داروغه را
بقتل رسانیده بودند و اهالی شیراز نیز قدم اطاعت
بیرون گذاشته بودند

لهذا تجدید یساق مہلکت عراق نمودم
و ہشتاد ہزار سوار موجود ساختم و کنکاش کردم اگر
بیک مرتبہ با این لشکر کران بعراق در آیم گنجایش
نخواهد بود و افواج را مقرر ساختم کہ فوج فوج
بمہلکت عراق ترکتاز آورند

چون چنین کنکاش کردم لشکر خود را
سہ فوج ساختم و پیش از خود تعیین نمودم و لشکرہای
متفرقہ کہ در عراق جمع آمدہ بودند ہبہ پراکنده
شدند و بر شیراز لشکر کشیدم و شاہ منصور بہن رو
برو شد و بسزای خود رسید

کنکاشی کہ در شکست دادن تقہش
خان کردم این بود
کہ در دشت قیچاق لشکریان من
بواسطہ آنکہ پنج ماہ در تعاقب تقہش خان
معطل شدند قحطی و تنگی در لشکر من بسیار شد
چنانچہ

men in Isfahaun, and drew my armies towards the Dusht of Kipchauk, to reduce and drive out Touktummish Khaun, † the people of Isfahaun put my Daurogheh to death : and the inhabitants of Sharauze also turned aside from their obedience.

AND on these accounts I went down upon the kingdom of Erauk a second time, and I collected together eighty thousand horsemen. And I reflected, that if I entered into Erauk at one time with this mighty army, that they could not be supported. And I commanded my armies, that they should invade the kingdom of Erauk, one after the other.

AND when I had resolved thus, I divided my forces into three armies, and sent them down before me. And the divided troops who had come together in the kingdom of Erauk, were all dispersed abroad. And I drew an army on Sharauze : and Shaah Munsoor opposed me face to face. And he met with his reward. ‡

THE DESIGN which I formed in defeating Touktummish Khaun was this.

WHEN my armies were weakened by a pursuit of five months after Touktummish Khaun in the Dusht of Kipchauk, famine and scarcity were very great in my army, even so that for many days my people lived

† Who, forgetting the repeated services and assistances which he had received from Timour, had during his absence in Persia &c. made incursions into Mauwur u Nuhur.

‡ i. e. was slain in the action.

چنانچه چند روز باش یلباق* وکوشت شکار و تخم
مرغان صحرای، اوقات میگذرانیدند تا آنکه تقشش
خان احوال لشکر مرا شنیده فرصت یافت و با لشکری
پیشتر از مور و ملخ آمده بهن رو برو شد

ولشکریان من بسیار کرسنه بودند و لشکر
تقشش خان آسوده و سرداران و امرای من دل نهاده
جنگ نمی شدند تا آنکه فرزندان و بنابر آمده زانو
زدند و اختیار جانسپاری نهبوند

و درین وقت علمدار تقشش خان بهن
سازش کرد و کنکاش چنین یافتم که جنگ بیندازم
و در هنگام مقابله هر دو صفی علمدار وی علم ویرا
تکونساز ساز

+ To render the importance of this design intelligible, it may be proper to observe, that in asiatic encounters the disappearance or retreat of the grand standard of the prince has ever been, and still is, attended with the loss of the battle. This standard is conspicuous for its size, and accompanies that body of troops immediately headed by the prince himself. The eyes of the whole army are fixed upon it. While it continues displayed and advancing, the troops are satisfied that their prince is with them; but the moment it disappears, or retreats, they conclude that he is either slain or flying from the field: and the dispersion of his forces immediately follows.

Aali Yezzudi appears to be totally ignorant of the good understanding which had taken place between Timour and the standard-bearer of Touk-tummish Khaun. Unacquainted with this circumstance, he is at a loss to account for certain of the emperor's actions prior to the battle. In relating the movements of the army a short time before the action, he says, "Tocat-

" mich.

چون

on the flesh of the beasts of the forests, and on the eggs of the birds of the desert. And Touktummish Khaun heard of the state of my people, and found his advantage; and, with an army more numerous than the ants and the locusts, came upon me, and opposed me face to face.

AND my people were an hungered, and the army of Touktummish Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameer, set not their hearts upon battle, until my sons and my grandsons came, and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me.

AND at this time the standard-bearer of Touktummish plotted secretly with me. And I found it was good that I should assault the foe; and that, when the two armies were engaged, the standard-bearer of Touktummish Khaun should invert his standard. †

“ mich s'étoit imaginé que lorsque Timur arriveroit au fleuve de Tic, il le traverseroit par les passages ordinaires, c'est pourquoy il s'étoit mis en embuscade pour le surprendre dans ce passage : mais l'Empereur s'étoit précautionné contre les desseins de Tocatmich ; il avoit passé le fleuve à la nage par un autre endroit, et il étoit arrivé près de lui sans peril. Quoi- qu'il en soit, ce Prince ayant compris la maniere d'agir de Tocatmich Can, il s'arrêta dans ce lieu là, jusqu'à ce que toutes les Troupes s'y fussent rendues, &c.” Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 98.

This is another proof of the superiority of the history of Timour, written by himself, over that written by Aali Yezzudi; who, though a tolerably accurate narrator of the exploits of Timour, appears to be, in most cases, an absolute stranger to the secret springs and motives which influenced his conduct.

Q 2

AND

چون خبر زانو زدن فرزندان به سامع امر
 ونونیان رسیده همگی قوی دل کشته دل نهاد جنگ
 شدند و امیرزاده ایام بکر با هشت هزار سوار هراول
 ساختم و چون آتش قتال وجدال بلند شد امر کردم
 که خیمه‌ها را بر پا سازند و بطبخ طعام مشغول شوند
 و درین وقت علم تقشیش خان سر نکون
 شد و تقشیش خان شکسته رکاب و کسسته عنان
 الوس جوجی را بیار غارت داده پشت بپس کرد
 و فرار نمود

کنکاشی که در تسخیر دار الاسلام
 بغداد و عراق عرب کردم این بود
 که بعد از آنکه عراق عجم و فارس را
 مسخر ساختم درین وقت مکتوب قطب الاقطاب پیر
 من رسید که قهرمان عراق عرب و عجم عراق را
 بتوارزانی داشته

در تسخیر بغداد چنین کنکاش کردم
 که اول ایلچی نزد سلطان احمد جلایر فرستادم تا

+ i.e. At the time that the advanced guard was engaged, Timour, assured of success from his intrigue with the standard-bearer of Touktum-mith,

AND when it reached the ears of the Ameers and the Leaders, that my children had kneeled before me, and had offered to devote their lives unto me, they became strong of heart, and they resolved on battle.

AND I appointed the prince Abau Bukkur, with eight thousand horsemen, the advanced guard. And when the flames of war and of slaughter ascended high, I commanded that the tents should be pitched, and that they should prepare victuals.

AND at this time the standard of Touktummish Khaun was inverted: and Touktummish, dismayed and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of desolation; and turned his back on the field of slaughter, and fled.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Bughdaud (the city of Maum) and Erauk a Arrub, was this.

AFTER I had subdued Erauk a Ajjum and Fauris, in those days a letter from Koottub ul Aktaub, my PEER, came unto me, saying, "The lord of Erauk a Ajjum and Arrub hath given Erauk unto thee."

AND thus I acted in the reduction of Bughdaud. I first sent an ambassador to Sooltaun Ahmad Jullaur, that he might inform himself of the prowess

mish, ordered in contempt the cavalry of his main body to dismount and prepare their victuals. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 114.

and

احوال شجاعت و معاش سلطان احمد والي بغداد
 و لشکر و برا معلوم نباید
 و ایلچی به بغداد رفته بهین عرضه داشت
 نمود که سلطان احمد پارچه کوشتی است و دو
 چشم دارد
 من تکیه بر تائید ایزدی نموده ایلغار
 کردم و خود را با استعجال به بغداد رسانیدم و سلطان
 احمد جلیبر قرار بر فرار داده و بطرف کرناک گریخت
 و دار الاسلام بغداد مسخر من گشت

کنکاشی که در استیصال تقتمش خان
 کردم این بود
 که چون الوس جوجی خان را بغارت
 داده و هزیمت یافته بود در وقت فرصت لشکرهای
 کران از راه دربند و شیروان بر ولایت اذربایجان
 فرستاد و آغاز فتنه و فساد کرد و من چون عراقین را
 مسخر ساخته بودم در استیصال وی چنین کنکاش
 کردم که با لشکرهای فراوان از راه دربند
 بدشت قیچاق در آیم
 و عرض لشکر خود را ملاحظه نمودم
 لشکرهای من تا چهار فرسنگ راه بیسار بسته ایستاده
 بودند شکر آلهی بجای آوردم
 واز

and the conduct of Sooltaun Ahmud the ruler of Bughdaud, and of the strength of his forces. Book I.

AND the ambassador went to Bughdaud, and wrote word unto me, saying, "Behold, Suldaun Ahmud is a piece of animated flesh: and lo, he hath "two eyes." †

AND I rested on the favour of the Almighty; and I marched with speed, and I came to Bughdaud suddenly. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullaur resolved on flight, and he fled toward Kurbullau: and Bughdaud, (the house of Islaum) was conquered.

THE DESIGN which I formed for extirpating Touktummish Khaun was this.

AFTER he had given up the tribe of Jouji to the wind of desolation, and had been put to flight; he, in the hour of advantage, sent down a mighty army on the kingdom of Azzurbauejan by the way of Durbund and Sharevaun, and began to raise commotions therein. And when I had conquered the two Erauks, thus I resolved to destroy him — that I would go into the Dusht of Kipchawk with a mighty army by the way of Durband.

AND I reviewed my armies, and behold, they stood on four furlongs of ground † in battle array: and I gave thanks to God.

† A mode of speech used by the ambassador to express his contempt of the abilities of Sooltaun Ahmud.

† About 13 English miles.

واز آب تپهور عبور نهوده بایل والوس
دشت برلیغها نوشتنم که هر کس بهن در آید بر آید
وهر کس در افتد بر افتد

و در سنه ۷۹۷ بدشت قپچاق در آمدن
وتا اقصای زمین شبال رفتن وایل والوس، جوجی را
که راه مخالفت من می پیبوندند خراب و مستاصل
ساختن ولایت والوسات و قلعههای اقلیم پنجم و ششم را
مسخر ساختن و مظفر و منصور معاودت نمودن

کنکاشی که در تسخیر هندوستان
کردم این بود که اول بسبیل مزاج دانی از
فرزندان و امرا کنکاش خواستم

امیر زاده پیر محمد جهانگیر
گفت که چون مملکت هند را بگیرییم از زر هند
عالم گیر شویم

وامیر زاده محمد سلطان گفت هند را
میگیرییم لیکن هندوستان را حصارها است اول دریاها
دوم جنگها و بیبشها سیوم سپاه سلاح دار و فیلان
آدم شکار

امیر

AND I crossed the waters of Timour †. Book I.
 And I wrote mandates to the people, and the tribes of the
 Dusht of Kipchauk, saying; Whoever cometh in unto
 me, let him come; and whoever refuseth, let him refuse.

AND in the year seven hundred and ninety A.D.
1394
 seven I entered the Dusht of Kipchauk. And I went to
 the boundaries of the land of the north; and the people,
 and the tribes of Jouji, who opposed me, I destroyed.
 And I subdued the countries and the castles of the fifth
 and of the sixth region. ‡ And I returned victorious and
 triumphant.

MY DESIGN, for reducing the empire of
 Hindostaun, was this. First, to discover the thoughts
 of my Sons and of my Ameers, I demanded counsel of
 them.

THE prince Peer Mahum mud Jehaungheer
 said; “Behold, when we shall subdue the empire of
 Hind, with the gold of Hind, we shall become the
 “conquerors of the world.”

AND the prince Mahum mud Sooltaun
 spoke, saying; “We may subdue Hind: yet Hindo-
 “staun hath many ramparts. First, the rivers; and se-
 “condly, the wilderneffes and the forests; and thirdly,
 “the foldiers clad in armour; and fourthly, the ele-
 “phants, destroyers of men.”

† The word *Timour* is probably an error.

‡ He penetrated to Moscow, at that time the capital of Russia, which
 he pillaged. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 363. See also note on p. 131.

امیر زاده سلطان حسین گفت که
 چون هند را بگیری بر چهار اقلیم حاکم و فرمان فرما
 کردیم امیر زاده شاه رخ گفت که در قوانین
 ترک خوانده ام که پنج پادشاه عظیم الشان اند که
 از ترکی ایشانرا بنام میخوانند پادشاه هند را دارا
 میگویند و پادشاه روم را قیصر میخوانند و پادشاه خطا
 و چین و ماچین را فغور مینامند و پادشاه ترکستان را
 خاقان میگویند و پادشاه ایران و توران را شهنشاه
 میخوانند و حکم شهنشاه همیشه بر ممالک هندوستان
 جاری بوده و چون ایران و توران زمین بتصرف ما
 است لازم است که هندوستان را هم مسخر
 گردانیم و امرا گفتند که اگرچه هند را میگیریم
 لیکن اگر اقامت نهاییم نسل ما ضایع شود و اولاد
 و احفاد ما از ترکیب بدر آیند و هندی زبان گردند
 چون بر عزیت تسخیر هند کبر همت
 بسته بودیم نخواستیم که ترک عزیت خود نمایم و در
 جواب ایشان گفتم که به تنگری تعالی متوجه میشوم
 و از قران فال جنک می بینم تا آنچه امر تنگری
 تعالی

THE prince Sooltaun Hooffein spoke, and Book I.
 said; "When we shall have conquered Hindostaun, we
 "shall become the lords and the rulers of four re-
 "gions." †

THE prince Shaahrokh said; "I have read
 "in the Toorki annals, that there are five mighty
 "kings, whom, because of their greatness, they mention
 "not by their names. For, behold, they call the king
 "of Hind, Daurau; and the king of Room they call
 "Keefur; and the king of Khuttun, and Cheen, and
 "Maucheen, they stile Fughfoor; and they call the king
 "of Toorkistaun, Khaukaun; and they call the lord of
 "Eraun, and of Tooraun, King of kings. And, lo!
 "the power of the King of kings hath, in all times, been
 "over the empire of Hindostaun: and since the land of
 "Eraun, and the land of Tooraun are in our hands, it
 "behoveth us to conquer Hindostaun also."

THE Ameers spoke, and said; "Although
 "we may subdue Hind, yet if we tarry in that land, our
 "posterity will be lost; and our children, and our grand
 "children, will degenerate from the vigour of their fore-
 "fathers, and become speakers of the language of Hind."

AND I had resolved on the conquest of
 Hindostaun, and I was loth to desist from my resolution:
 and I answered them, saying; "I will turn to Almighty
 "God, and I will seek the sign of war in the KORAUN,

† i. e. Four sevenths of the known world. For the Arabians and Per-
 sians, following the antient Greek writers, distribute what they imagine the
 habitable parts of the earth, into seven regions or climates.

تعالی باشد بدان عمل نمایم و ایشان همه قبول
 کردند. چون از مصحف مجید فال کشادم این
 آیه کریمه بر آمد یا ایها النبی جاهد الکفار والمنافقین †
 و چون علما مضمون آیه را با ما را خاطر نشان کردند
 سرها در زیر انداخته خاموش شدند و مرا دل از
 خاموشی ایشان افسرده شد.

بخود کنکاش کردم که امرای که به
 تسخیر هندوستان راضی میشوند ایشانرا از مرتبه امارت
 بیندازم. و اخسواج و قشونات ایشانرا بکوتل* ارزانی دارم
 لیکن چون تربیت کرده من بودند نخواستم که
 ایشانرا خراب سازم و بدیشان ملایمت کردم اگرچه
 ایشان خون در دل من انداختند لیکن چون آخر
 متفق شدند چیزی در خاطر نیآوردم
 و مرتبه دیگر کنکاش کردم و پیشخانه اقبال
 بجانب هندوستان بر آورده فاتحه فتح خواندم

و کنکاش تعیین نبودن لشکرها بر دار
 الملک هندوستان چنین کردم که امیر زاده پیر محمد
 جهانگیر را با سی هزار سوار لشکر جرانغار* که در کابل
 بود امر نمودم که از راه کوه سلیمانی رفته و از آب سند
 گذشته بر ولایت ملتان ترکناز آورد و مسخر گرداند
 و سلطان

† Arabic.

“that whatever be the will of God, that I may do.” Book I.
And they all consented thereto.

AND when I sought an omen in the holy book, this sacred verse came forth — “O PROPHET FIGHT WITH THE INFIDELS AND THE UNBELIEVERS.” And when the doctors of the law explained the meaning of the verse to the Ameer, they hung down their heads, and they were silent. And my heart was grieved by their silence.

AND I deliberated with myself concerning the Ameer who opposed the reduction of Hindostaun, whether I should throw them down from their commands, and give their troops, and their Kushoons to their Kotuls: but since I myself had exalted them, I sought not to pull them down. And I treated them with kindness: and although they had angered me, yet, as they were unanimous at last, I regarded it not.

AND I called a council a second time; and having pitched my tents toward Hindostaun, I repeated the prayer of victory.

THUS I resolved to send down armies on the chief city of Hindostaun. I commanded the prince Peer Mahummud Jeaungheer, who was at Kaubul with thirty thousand horsemen of the left wing of the army, that, going by the way of the mountain of Soolamaun, and crossing the Sind, he should go down upon Mooltaun and subdue it.

AND

وسلطان محمد خان وامیرزاده رستم را
 ودیگر امرا را با سی هزار سوار برانغار* امر نمودم که از
 آب سند گذشته از راه دامن کوه کشمیر بر ولایت
 لاهور ترکنناز آورند و من خود با سی و دو هزار سوار
 قول* شدم
 و چون مجموع لشکر من نود و دو هزار
 سوار بودند موافق و مطابق عدد اسم محمد رسول الله
 صلی الله علیه وآله وسلم این عدد را بغال نیکو
 و مبارک گرفتم
 و سوار شدم و در موضع اندر آب سرحد
 بدخشان فرود آمدم و تنبیه کفار کوه کنور نهوده متوجه
 غزای دار الحرب هندوستان شدم

وکنکاش پاک ساختن راه هندوستان از
 اوغانیان چنین کردم
 که چون بعرض من رسید که بعضی از
 اوغانیان متعرض راه هندوستان شده رهزنی مینمایند
 خصوصاً موسی اوغان که کلانتر قبیله کرکس است
 و بر لشکر شاه اوغان که از چاکران و دولتمخواهان

† According to D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orientale*, p. 603.) the Mahumudans have given 99 names or attributes to their prophet, the same number by which they distinguish the Creator. By this account the names of the prophet

AND I ordered Sooltaun Mahummud Khaun, and the prince Roofum, and other Ameeris with thirty thousand horsemen of the right wing, that, crossing the waters of Sind, they should go down on the country of Lahore, by the way of the skirts of the mountains of Kushmeer. And I myself with thirty and two thousand horsemen, was the main body.

AND behold the whole of my army was ninety and two thousand horsemen, corresponding and according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of God, † (be the blessing of the Almighty on him and on his posterity) and I took this number as a fortunate and an happy omen.

AND I set out, and I came and pitched my tents at Anduraub on the border of Budukhsaun : and having punished the infidels of the mountains of Kuttoor, I went on to the holy war of Hindostaun.

THE DESIGN which I formed for clearing the road to Hindostaun, from the Oughauns, ‡ was this.

IT was reported unto me that certain of the Oughauns infested the road to Hindostaun, and robbed and plundered therein : and especially Moofi the Oughaun, who was the head of the tribe of Gurkus. And he came down on Lushkur Shaah the Oughaun, who was

phet appear to be only ninety two in number, which seems most probable.

‡ Or Afghauns. The word is written sometimes *Oughaun* and sometimes *Afghaun* in the MS.

من بود و ویرا امیر زاده پیر محمد به محافظت قلعه
ایرآب گذاشته بود ترکتاز آورد و ویرا بقتل رسانید
و هرچه داشتند و نداشتند بغارت زاده و همدرین وقت
ملک محمد برادر لشکر شاه آمده زان فریاد کرده
حقیقت کشته شدن برادر خورد را از تعدی موسی
بعرض رسانید

ومن بحبس وی فرمان دادم و گفتیم که
موسی دولتخواهی من است و امرای من سخن بر ظلم
من کردند

اما چون خبر حبس ملک محمد و حرف
من بکوشن موسی رسید قوی دل کشت و چون برلیغ
طلب که نوشته بودم بوی رسید بی دهشت آمد
و قلعه را پیشکش کرد

چون من بنهاشای آن قلعه رفتم یکی
از سپاهیان وی تیری بقصد من انداخت و موسی بسزا
و جزای خود رسید و راه هندوستان مفتوح شد

کنکاشی که در شکست دادن سلطان
محمد حاکم دهلی و ملو خان کردم این بود

† When Moofi submitted, Timour found it prudent to continue him for a time in his government, and supplied him with people and necessaries to put the castle of Ireaub in a proper state of defence. The emperor, on

one of my servants and well-wishers (and the prince Peer Mahummud had left him to defend the castle of Ireaub) and he slew him, and plundered all that he had. And at this time Mullik Mahummud, the brother of Lushkur Shaah, came and demanded justice; and he set forth unto me the murder of his brother by the cruelty of Moofi.

AND I gave orders that Mullik Mahummud should be thrown into prison; and I said that Moofi was my well-wisher; and my Ameers spoke of my injustice.

BUT when the news of the confinement of Mullik Mahummud, and of that which I had said, reached the ears of Moofi, he became strong of heart. And when the mandate which I had written unto him arrived, he came without fear and he delivered up the castle.

AND when I went to view the castle, one of his soldiers shot an arrow with an intention to slay me: and Moofi met with his reward. † And the road to Hindostaun was open.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquishing Sooltaun Muhmood the ruler of Dehli, and Mulloo Khaun, was this.

his arrival in that neighbourhood, went to view the castle; when one of the people of Moofi let fly an arrow at him. As he had all along determined to chastise Moofi, he immediately caused him to be seized and put to death. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. III. p. 39.

S

AND

که سلطان محمود و ملو خان با پنجاه
هزار سوار و پیاده و یک صد و بیست زنجیر فیل قلعه
دهلی را استحکام داده بقصد جنگ من در آمد
و بخاطرم خطور کرد که اگر بگرفتن قلعه
دهلی مقید شوم میدان کار بدور و دراز بکشد
با خود کنکاش کردم که خود را زبون
نبودار گردانم تا آنکه غنیم دلیر شود بچنگ صف
مبادرت نماید

و از این جهت در دور لشکر خندق کندم
و میان خندق خود را استوار ساختم و فوجی را باستقبال
ایشان فرستادم و امر کردم که خود را زبون و ترسان
نبودار ساخته غنیم را دلیر سازند

و چون غنیم خود را غالب یافت خیره
شده در میدان آمده با افواج قاهره رو برو شدند
و سلطان محمود حاکم دهلی بچنگ مبادرت نمود
و شکست یافت و بطرف کوهستان بگریخت و غنایم و اموال
بی قیاس از نقود و اجناس نصیب سپاهیان من شد

و در میان یک سال دار الملک هند را مسخر
ساختم و در اواخر سنه مذکور بدار السلطنت سپردند
معاودت نمودم

کنکاشی

SOOLTAUN Muhmood and Mulloo Khaun, ^{Boo} with fifty thousand men, horsemen and footmen, and one hundred and twenty elephants, made strong the castle of Dehli, and prepared to oppose me.

AND it came into my mind, that if I should resolve on subduing the castle of Dehli, perhaps the war might be long and tedious.

AND I counselled with myself, that I would make myself appear weak in their fight; that the enemy might gain courage, and come, and fight with me on the plain.

AND on this account I dug a ditch round my army, and I strengthened myself within that ditch: and I sent a force to meet them. And I commanded the soldiers that they should show themselves weak and fearful, that they might give courage to the enemy.

AND when the enemy found themselves powerful, they exulted: and they came into the plain, and they opposed my victorious armies face to face. And Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle, and he was defeated, and he fled toward the mountains. And spoils and wealth above measure, in money and in effects, fell to the lot of my soldiers.

AND in the space of one year I conquered the chief city of Hind: and at the end of the same year I returned toward the imperial city of Summurkund.

کنکاشی که در تسخیر مهالک کرجستان
کردم این بود
که چون از هندوستان مظفر و منصور
معاودت نمودم هنوز از رنج سفر هند نیآشوده بودم
که عرایض حکام عراقین رسید که کفار کرجستان قدم
از جاره حد خود بیرون گذاشته اند
و همیشه در فکر می بودم که پادشاهانرا
بهتر از غزا و جهاد با کفار و ملک کبری و جهان
ستانی چیزی دیگر نیست
و درین وقت که خبر طغیان کرجستانیان
بی ایمن رسید کنکاش کردم که اگر دفع و رفع ایشان
اهمال نهیم مبدا مفسدان آن دیار بطغیان در آیند
و در دفع ایشان سرعت بکار بردم
و سپاهیان را که از یساق هند آمده
بودند مختار ساختم که هرکس خواهد بجای خویش
باشد و هرکس خواهد همراهی نماید
و بلدشکریهای خراسان و قندهار و سیستان
و کرمان و طبرستان و کیلان و مازندران و فارس و یلیغها
صادر کردم که تهیه یساق نمایند و در حوالی اصفهان
آیند و بلدشکر ظفر اثر ملحق شوند
و کنکاش

THE DESIGN which I formed for subduing Book I.
the countries of Goorjistaun, was this.

WHEN I returned victorious and triumphant from Hindostaun, I had not yet rested from the fatigues of the war of Hind, when the petitions of the governors of the two Erauks arrived, saying; “The infidels of Goorjistaun have advanced beyond their boundaries.”

AND, behold, I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the valour of princes than the conquering of kingdoms and empires, and the waging holy wars with infidels and unbelievers.

AND, in those days, when the news of the irruption of the infidel inhabitants of Goorjistaun arrived, I reflected, that if I delayed to chastise them, perhaps the seditious of that country might rise into open rebellion: and in chastising them I used expedition.

AND I gave liberty to the soldiers, who had returned from the war of Hind, that every one of them who chose to stay at home, might stay; and that every one who chose to go with me, might go.

AND I sent forth orders to the armies of Khoraufaun and Kundahaur, and Seistaun and Kurmaun, and Tubburistaun, and Kilaun, and Mauzinduraun, and Fauris; that they should make ready for war, and come down into the neighbourhood of Isfahaun, and be united to my victorious forces. †

† i. e. To the army which he commanded in person.

AND

وکنکاش کردم که کردن کشان هر
ملک را متفرق سازم چنانچه بعضی کردن کشان
خراسان و فارس را بتوران زمین فرستادم وساحت آن
ممالک را از مخالفت ایشان پاک ساختم و به تسخیر
قلاع ولایت کرجستان عنان عزیمت مصروف نمودم

و به کنکاشی که پسندیده سپاهیان بود
عمل مینمودم و خود فولادی بر سر نهادم وزره داودی
در بر کردم و شبشیر مصری حمایل نمودم و بر سر
مبارزت نشستم

و دلیران توران و بهادران خراسان و مردان
مازندران و کیلان را نهیب دادم و قلعه سیواس و قلاع
کرجستان را تسخیر ساختم و جماعه که در قلعه ها
بودند همگی را مستاصل گردانیدم و غنائم آن قلعه ها
را بر عساکر منصوره قسمت نمودم و مفسدان و اوباش
از ربایجان را تنبیه کردم

و بعد از آن متوجه بتسخیر قلاع ملطیه
و آن حوالی شدم و چون خاطر از تسخیر ونسق قلاع

† Viz. To set forward in great martial pomp, as afterwards described.

‡ Timour, in his first incursion into Georgia, reduced Tiflis the capital, and took prisoner Iprocates the christian king of that country, who afterwards

AND I resolved that I would disperse and scatter abroad the rebellious and seditious of every country. Thus I sent into the land of Tooraun certain of the seditious of Khorausaun and of Fauris, and delivered those countries from their machinations. And I turned the reins of my intention to the reduction of the castles of Goorjistaun.

AND I determined on that measure which was agreeable to my foldiers. † And I placed a helmet of steel on my head, and I cloathed myself in the armour of Dauood, ‡ and I hung a scymetar of Miffur by my side, and I sat on the throne of war.

AND I let loose the brave men of Tooraun, and the valiant men of Khorausaun, and the mighty men of Mauzinduraun, and of Kilaun; and I subdued the castle of Seewaun, and the castles of Goorjistaun; and I destroyed all the people who were in those castles: and the spoils of those castles I divided among my victorious forces. And I chastised the seditious and the plunderers of Azzurbauejaun.

AND after this I went to reduce the castles of Mulluteah and the neighbourhood thereof. And when I had subdued the castles, and had taken possession of them,

wards turned Mahummudan, and became a great favourite with Timour; to whom he gave a suit of Armour, which he pretended Dauood (i. e. David) the king of Israel had forged with his own hands in a smith's shop. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 400.

This is the armour which Timour put on, on the present occasion.

I resolved:

جمع شد بر تسخیر حلب و حمصا هیت بستم و باندک
توجهی آن مهلکت را مفتوح ساختم و کبر عزیمت
بر تسخیر ممالک مصر و شام بستم

و کنکاشی که در مفتوح ساختن مصر
و شام کردم این بود

که چون خبر شوکت و قدرت من
به سامع قیصر رسید که قلاع سیواس و ملطیه و توابع
آنرا مسخر کردم و لشکرهای ویرا که در قلاع بودند
هیکلی متفرق و پراکنده گردانیدم عرق غیرت وی
بحرکت در آمد و باغوای قرا یوسفی ترکبان که
از صدمه لشکر من کربخته بود و پناه بقیصر برده بود
بچنگ قرار داد

و نکبت و زوال قیصر نزدیک رسیده بود
و قرا یوسفی ویرا ترغیب نمود که بر من لشکر کشد
و قیصر باغوای قرا یوسفی با لشکر گران بحرکت در
آمد و افواج مصر و شام را هم بیدد خواسته بود

و من کنکاش کردم که اگر من هم
لشکر خود را سه فوج سازم بهتر است اما فتح و هزیمت
در پرده تقدیر محجوب اند و از امرا کنکاش خواستم
و سپاهیان کنکاش گفتند که بچنگ مبادرت باید نمود
و چون

I resolved to conquer Hullub and Humsau : † and I subdued that country with little labour. And I girded up the loins of my resolution to subdue the countries of Missur and of Shaum. ‡

Book I.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Missur and of Shaum, was this.

WHEN the news of my power and my strength reached the ears of Keefur, || that I had conquered the castles of Seewaus and Mulluteah, and the dependencies thereof, and that I had dispersed and defeated all his foldiers, who were in those castles, he was very wroth. And at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorkumaun (who had fled from the shock of my army, and had sought shelter with Keefur) he resolved on war.

AND, behold, the ruin and overthrow of Keefur was at hand ; and Kurrau Eusoof urged him that he should draw an army upon me. And Keefur, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, came down with a mighty army ; and he called the forces of Missur and of Shaum to his aid.

AND I reflected, that if I also divided my people into three armies, it would be better. But, behold, victory and defeat are hidden by the curtain of fate : and I demanded counsel of my Ameers. And they gave soldier-like counsel, saying, "Thou must go down to battle with speed."

† Aleppo and Emessa.

‡ Egypt and Syria.

|| Cæsar : the title given by the Asiatic nations to the Turkish emperors.

و چون بخود فکر کردم چنین کنکاش
 یافتم که آتش قیصر را بگرمی و سردی اطفا نیام
 و مکتوبی بقیصر نوشتم و خلاصه مضمونش آنکه

شکر است خداوند زومین و آسمان را که
 اکثری از مهالک هفت اقلیم را در زیر فرمان من در
 آورده و سلاطین و حکام عالم حلقه اطاعت مرا در کوش
 جان کشیده اند خدای رحمت کند بر آن بنده که
 حد خود را بشناسد و با جسارت از حد خویش فراتر نهد
 و بر عالمیان ظاهر است که نسب و نسبت
 تو بکجا منتهی میشوند پس مناسب حال تو آنست
 که قدم جسارت پیش تکذاری و خود را در ورطه رنج و بلا
 نیندازی و باغواء جمعی از دولت راندگان که بواسطه
 اغراض خود پناه بتو برده اند و فتنه خوابیده را بیدار
 ساخته اند در فتنه و آشوب را بر روی دولت خود و
 نکنی لیکن که قرا یوسف را نزد من فرستی والا آنچه
 در برده تقدیر است بعد از مقابله صفین بر تو ظاهر
 نخواهد شد

و چون این نامه را مصحوب ایلیچیان
 گاردان نزد قیصر فرستادم کنکاش خود را
 درین

AND when I reflected by myself, thus I found it was good, that I should extinguish the fire of Keefur by policy. And I wrote a letter to Keefur; and the substance of it was this.

“ PRAISE is due to the God of the universe, that he hath brought under my authority many of the kingdoms of the seven regions of the world; and that the princes and rulers of the earth have submitted unto me. May God be merciful to that servant who knoweth his own limits, and who placeth not the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds.

“ WHERE thy race and lineage endeth, is known to all men. † It is therefore worthy of thy condition, that thou advance not forward the foot of presumption, and that thou throw not thyself into the abyss of affliction and calamity; and that thou open not the door of discord and desolation on thy empire at the instigation of the evil-minded, who have fled unto thee for their own ends, and have awakened the sleeping destruction; but that thou send bound unto me Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorkumaun: otherwise, that which is concealed by the curtain of fate, after our armies meet, will be known unto thee.”

WHEN I had sent the letter to Keefur by the hands of experienced ambassadors, I found my advan-

† Alluding to the descent of Bajazet, which was supposed to have been from a Toorkumaun sailor.

درین یافتیم که بجانب دار ملک شام نهضت نمایم
 و از راه حبص و حلب روان شدم و چون بحلب رسیدم
 شنیدم که ملک فرج پسر ملک برقوق از شنیدن خبر
 رسیدن من از مصر متوجه دمشق شد

ومن ابلغار کردم که افواج مصر و شام را
 نگذارم که بیکدیگر ملحق شوند و ملک فرج پیش
 دستی کرده خود را بدمشق رسانید و من در عقب
 وی رسیده دمشق را مسخر ساختم

کنکاشی که در تسخیر بلاد روم و شکست
 دادن قیصر کردم این بود
 که چون بلاد شام را مسخر گردانیدم
 و ملک فرج پادشاه مصر و شام از جنگ من بگریخت
 و ایلیچی من از روم با جواب نا صواب ایلدرم بایزید
 مراجعت نمود و عرض کرد که چون خبر شکست عساکر
 مصر و شام بقیصر رسید متفکر و اشفته گردید و تهیه
 ینساق نمود

من تسخیر دمشق و بلاد الشام نموده
 از راه موصل به بغداد نهضت نمودم و کنکاش کردم
 که بجانب ازربایجان متوجه شوم تا قیصر اگر بر
 عزیمت خود مصمم باشد ظاهر شود

و چون

tage in this, that I should go toward the chief city of Shaum. And I set out by the way of Hums and Hullub. And when I came to Hullub, I heard that Mullik Furruij, the son of Mullik Burkook, on hearing the news of my coming from Missur, had gone to Dummishk. † Book I.

AND I marched with speed, that I might not permit the forces of Missur and the armies of Shaum to join themselves together : but Mullik Furruij was quicker than I, and got to Dummishk. And I arrived after him at Dummishk, and reduced that city.

THE DESIGN which I formed for subduing the cities of Room, and for defeating the armies of Keefur, was this.

WHEN I had conquered the cities of Shaum, and Mullik Furruij (the king of Missur and Shaum) had fled from my battle ; my ambassador returned from Room, and brought the defiance of Yeldurum Bauezzed, † and set forth — that when the news of the defeat of the armies of Missur and of Shaum came to Keefur, that he was amazed and confounded, and prepared for war.

HAVING conquered Dummishk and the cities of Shaum, I went towards Bughdaud by the way of Mooful. And I resolved that I would turn toward Azzurbaejaun, that if Keefur should persist in his intentions, it might be known.

† Damascus.

† Bajazet.

AND

و چون بجانب تبریز روانه شدم بعضی از
 امیر زادگان را با افواج کران بر سر بغداد فرستادم
 و سلطان احمد جلایر فرغ نامی را از نوکران خود
 با سباب قلعه داری و جمیعت بسیار بمحافظه شهر
 و قلعه بغداد گذاشته بود

و امیر زادگان به بغداد رسیدند و شهر را
 محاصره کردند و کار جنگ انجامید و حقیقت را
 بهین عرضه داشت کردند

و من کنکاش درین یافتم که خود رفته
 شهر و قلعه بغداد را مستخلص گردانم و از راه تبریز
 مراجعت نمودم و ایلغار کردم و خود را به بغداد رسانیدم
 و بتدبیر و احتیاط سپاهکری و لوازم قلعه گیری پرداختم
 و بعد از آنکه مدت محاصره بدو ماه و چند روز
 کشید قلعه و شهر مسخر و مفتوح گردید

و فرخ قلعه دار در آب رجه غرق شد و من
 بشهر در آمدم و امر نمودم که جمیع مقصدان و اوباش
 شهر را بقتل رسانند و قلعه و عمارت شهر را انداخته
 بساک برابری سازند

و از بغداد بطرف از ریالجان عنان عزیمت
 معطوفی داشتم و چندگاه در آن مملکت طرح اقامت
 انداختم

و چون

AND when I set out toward Tubburaze, I sent down certain of the princes, with a mighty army upon Bughdaud. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullauir had left one of his servants, whose name was Furrukh, with numerous forces, and the necessaries and the implements of defence, to guard the city and the castle of Bughdaud.

Book I.

AND the princes arrived at Bughdaud, and they surrounded the city; and the people in the city opposed them: and they informed me thereof.

AND I found it was good that I myself should go and reduce the city and the castle of Bughdaud. And I turned back by the way of Tubburaze, and I marched with speed, and came to Bughdaud. And I besieged Bughdaud; and when the siege had continued for two months and some days, the castle and the city of Bughdaud were conquered and subdued.

AND Furrukh, the governor, was drowned in the waters of the Tigris. And I entered into Bughdaud, and I commanded that they should slay the seditious inhabitants of that city; and that they should throw down the castle and the buildings thereof, and make them level with the earth.

AND from Bughdaud I turned the reins of my intention toward Azzurbauejaub, and I sojourned in that kingdom for some time.

AND

و چون بیسامع من رسید که قیصر افواج
 بر بلاد حلب و حص و دیار بکر تعیین نهوده و قرا یوسف
 ترکمان که از من کربخته بود و پناه بقیصر برده
 براهزنی و آزار قافله که بحرمین شریفین آمد و شد می
 نمایند مشغول است و درین وقت جباعه آمدند و از
 تعدی و ستم وی داد خواه شدند و بر من لازم شد
 که سزای قرا یوسف را در کنارش نهم و قیصر را از
 خواب غفلت بیدار سازم

درین باب گفتگاش چنین یافتیم که از
 هر شهری و قبیله لشکر طلب دارم و حشر کرده بر سر
 قیصر روان شوم و چون لشکرها جمع آمده بودند در
 ماه رجب سنه هشتصد و چهار هجری از اذربایجان
 بعزم رزم قیصر روانه شدم

و بیشتر از خود افواج تعیین نمودم که
 بر مهلکت روم ترکتاز آورند و فوج دیگر تعیین کردم
 که منازل و آب و علف را ملاحظه کنند و از راه انکوریه
 متوجه شدم و قیصر با چهار صد هزار کس از سوار
 و پیاده بیقابله و مدافعه من شتافت و جنگ انداختم
 و فتح کردم و قیصر را لشکریان من دست گیر کرده
 بحضور آوردند و بعد یورش هفت ساله مظفر و منصور
 بسپرقتند مراجعت نمودم

AND when it reached my ears that Keefur had sent down armies on Hullub and on Hums, and on Daur-a-bukkur; and that Kurrau Eusoof, the Toerkumaun (who had fled from before me and sought protection with Keefur) was employed in assaulting and molesting the Kauruvvaun which went to the sacred cities; (and at this time people came and demanded protection from his cruelty and oppression) it became my duty that I should chastise Kurrau Eusoof, and awaken Keefur from the sleep of forgetfulness.

AND in this matter I found it was good, that I should call out the forces of every city and of every tribe, and collect them together and go down upon Keefur. And when my forces were collected together, in the month of Rujjub, in the year of the Hijreh 804, I set out from Azzurbauejaun to wage war with Keefur.

April,
1402.

AND I sent an army before me to ravage the kingdom of Room; and I sent another army to examine the stages, and the water, and the forage; and I went by the way of Angooreah. And Keefur with four hundred thousand men, horse-men and foot-men, advanced with speed to oppose and to expel me. And I assaulted him and obtained the victory; and my soldiers seized upon Keefur, and brought him into my presence. And after a war of seven years, I returned victorious and triumphant to Summurkund.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE INSTITUTES OF
TIMOUR.

تزوگات تیپور

مقاله دوم

BOOK

ملک کبیر کامکار و نابیر زوی القدر
 فرزندان جهاندارا معلوم باد که چون از درگاه
 تنکری تعالی امید دارم که بسیاری
 از فرزندان و اولاد و اخفاد من بر مسند سلطنت
 و مملکت داری خواهند نشست بنا برین بر امور سلطنت
 خود تزوگات بر بسته دستور العمل آنرا انشا نمودم
 که هر یک از فرزندان و اولاد و احفاد من بدان موجب
 عملنموده دولت و سلطنت مرا که برنجها و مکننها
 و قزاقبها و جنگها بتاییدات ربانی و میامن نیروی ملت
 محمّدی صلی الله علیه وسلم و دوستی آل عظام
 و اصحاب کرام آنحضرت بچنگ آورده ام نگاهبانی
 نمایند

واین

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

BE it known to my fortunate sons, the conquerors of ^{Book II.} kingdoms; to my mighty descendants, the lords of the earth; that since I have hope in Almighty God that many of my children, descendants, and posterity, shall sit upon the throne of power and regal authority; upon this account, having established laws and regulations for the well-governing of my dominions, I have collected together those regulations and laws as a model for others: to the end, that every one of my children, descendants, and posterity, acting agreeably thereto, my power and empire, which I acquired through hardships, and difficulties, and perils, and bloodshed, (by the divine Favour, and by the influence of the holy religion of Mahummud, (God's peace be upon him) and with the assistance of the powerful descendants and illustrious followers of that prophet) may be by them preserved.

AND

واین تزوکات را در امور سلطنت خویش
دستور العمل سازند تا دولت و سلطنتی که از من
بایشان برسد از خلل و زوال ایمن باشد

اکنون سبیل فرزندان کامیاب نامدار
و نبایر ممالک ستان ذوی الاقنندار آنکه همچنانچه
من به دوازده امر که شعار خود ساختم و بترتبه سلطنت
رسیدم و بدین دوازده امر مملکت کبری و ملک
داری کردم و اورنگ سلطنت خود را زیب و زینت دادم
ایشان نیز بهین تزوک عمل نمایند و دولت سلطنت
مرا و خود را نگاهبانی کنند

و از جمله تزوکاتی که بر دولت و سلطنت
خود بر بستم اول این بود که دین خدا و شریعت
محبوب مصطفی را در دنیا رواج دادم و همیشه و همه
جاء تقویت دین اسلام نمودم

دویم آنکه با جماعه دوازده طبقه و طایفه
ملک کبری و جهانداری کردم و ارکان دولت سلطنت
خود را بدیشان استوار نمودم و مجلس خود را از ایشان

† The maxims here mentioned are not the twelve following rules, but those given at length in the 18th, 19th, and 20th pages of the MS.

AND let them make these regulations the Book II.
 rule of their conduct in the affairs of their empire, that
 the fortune, and the power, which shall descend from me
 to them, may be safe from discord and dissolution.

Now therefore be it known to my sons, the fortunate and the illustrious, to my descendants, the mighty subduers of kingdoms; that, in like manner as I by twelve maxims, † which I established as the rules of my conduct, attained to regal dignity; and with the assistance of these maxims conquered and governed kingdoms, and decorated and adorned the throne of my empire; let them also act according to these regulations, and preserve the splendor of mine and their dominions.

AND among the rules which I established for the support of my glory and empire, the FIRST was this — That I promoted the worship of Almighty God, and propagated the religion of the sacred Mahummud throughout the world; and at all times, and in all places, supported the true faith.

SECONDLY, with the people of the twelve classes and tribes I conquered and governed kingdoms; and with them I strengthened the pillars of my fortune, and from them I formed my assembly. ‡

† The twelve classes of men, here alluded to, are fully described in a subsequent part of the institutes.

THIRDLY.

آراسته ساختم

سیوم آنکه بهشاورت و کنکاش و تدبیرات
 و حزم و احتیاط فوجها را شکستم و ملکها را مسخر خود
 ساختم و امور سلطنت خود را بهدارا و مهرت و تحیل
 و تغافل از پیش بردم و بدوستان و بدشمنان مدارا نمودم

چهارم به توره و به تزوک کارخانه سلطنت
 خود را بند و بست نمودم و به توره و به تزوک خود را
 بهرتبه قائم نگاهداشتم که امرا و وزرا و سپاه و رعیت از
 مرتبه خود تجاوز نتوانستند نمود و هر یک حافظ مرتبه
 خود می بودند

پنجم امرا و سپاه خود را باولی * دادم
 و ایشان را بزر و زبیر خوشدل ساختم و در بزرها اورن
 دادم و در رزها جانفشانی کردند و درم و دینار را از
 ایشان دریغ نداشتم و بجهت آسانی کارهای ایشان
 مکت و مشقت ایشان را خود بر میداشتم و تربیت
 ایشان مینمودم تا آنکه بیازوی مردی و مردانگی

† The word which I have rendered *policy*, cannot be translated into the English language with any degree of force or energy. It signifies *political inattention*

و اتقاق

THIRDLY, by consultation, and delibera- Book II.
tion, and provident measures; by caution, and by vi-
gillance I vanquished armies, and I reduced kingdoms to
my authority. And I carried on the business of my em-
pire by complying with times and occasions, and by ge-
nerosity, and by patience, and by policy; † and I acted
with courteousness towards my friends and towards my
enemies.

FOURTHLY, by order and by discipline I
regulated the concerns of my government; and by dis-
cipline and by order I so firmly established my authority,
that the Ameers, and the Vizeers, and the soldiers, and
the subjects, could not aspire beyond their respective de-
grees; and every one of them was the keeper of his own
station.

FIFTHLY, I gave encouragement to my
Ameers and to my soldiers, and with money and with
jewels I made them glad of heart; and I permitted them
to come into the banquet; and in the field of blood they
hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my
gold nor my silver. And I educated and trained them to
arms; and to alleviate their sufferings, I myself shared in
their labours, and in their hardships; until, with the arm
of fortitude and resolution, and with the unanimity of my

*inattention or negligence; or pretending not to see or discover such things as it
would be improper, or impolitical, to take notice of.*

واتفاق امرا و سپهسالاران و بهادران بضر ب شهشیر
 تختگاه بیست و هفت پادشاه را مسخر ساختم و در
 ممالک ایوان و توران و روم و مغرب و شام و مصر و عراق
 عرب و عجم و مازندران و کیلانات و شروانات و ازرباجان
 و فارس و خراسان و دشت جته و دشت قیچاق و خوارزم
 و ختن و کابلستان و باختر زمین و هندوستان پادشاه
 شدم و فرمان فرما گشتم

و چون جامهء سلطنت در پوشیدم از
 عافیت و غنودن بر بستر راحت چشم پوشیدم و از
 دوازده سالگی قترها زدم و محنتها کشیدم و تدبیرها
 کردم و فوجها شکستم و از امرا و سپاه نقاتها دیدم
 و سخنان تلخ شنیدم و بتحمل و تغافل گذرانیدم و بذات
 خود شهشیرها زدم تا آنکه بر ولایات و ممالک مسلط
 شدم و نامور گشتم

ششم به عدالت و انصاف خلق خدا را
 از خود راضی داشتیم و بر گناه کارویی گناه رحم
 کردم

chiefs, and my generals, and my warriors, by the edge of the sword I obtained possession of the thrones of seven and twenty kings; and became the king and the ruler of the kingdoms of Eraun and of Tooraun; and of Room, and of Mughrib, and of Shaum; and of Missur, and of Erauk-a-Arrub, and of Ajjum; and of Mauzinduraun, and of Kylaunaut; and of Shurvaunaut, and of Azzurbauejaun; and of Fauris, and of Khoraufaun; and of the Dusht of Jitteb, and the Dusht of Kipchawk; and of Khauruzm, and of Khuttun, and of Kauboolistaun; and of Hindostaun, and of Bankbitur Zemeen.

AND when I cloathed myself in the robe of empire, I shut my eyes to safety, and to the repose which is found on the bed of ease. And from the twelfth year of my age I travelled over countries, and combated difficulties, and formed enterprises, and vanquished armies; and experienced mutinies amongst my officers and my soldiers, and was familiarized to the language of disobedience; (and I opposed them with policy and with fortitude) and I hazarded my person in the hour of danger; until in the end I vanquished kingdoms and empires, and established the glory of my name.

SIXTHLY, by justice and equity I gained the affections of the people of God; and I extended my clemency to the guilty as well as to the innocent; and I

کردم و حکم بر حق کردم و باحسان در دلهای خلق
 مقام نبودم و بیسیاست و انصاف سپاه و رعیت مرا در
 میانه امید و بیم نگاهداشتیم و بر رعایا وزیر دستان
 ترحم کردم و بیسپاه انعام دادم
 و در آن مظلوم از ظالم گرفتیم و بعد از
 اثبات ظلم مالی و بدنی موافق شرع در میانه
 ایشان محاکمه نمودم و بگناه دیگری
 دیگری را نکرقتیم

و کسانی که بهین بدبها کرده بر من
 شمشیرها کشیده بودند و در کار من شکستها
 رسانیده بودند چون بهین التجا آوردند اعزاز ایشان
 نبوده بر مرتبه ایشان افزودم و بر کردارهای بد ایشان
 قلم نسیان کشیدم و بنوعی بایشان سلوک نمودم
 که اگر خدشه در خاطر ایشان بود بالکلیه
 محو شد
 هفتاد سال است و عبا و مشایخ و عقلا
 و محدثین اخبار را بر کزیده داشتیم و تعظیم و احترام
 ایشان نبودم و از سیب شجاعت را دوست داشتیم چه
 تنگری

passed that sentence which truth required: and by benevolence I gained a place in the hearts of men; and by rewards and punishments I kept both my troops and my subjects divided between hope and fear. And I compassionated the lower ranks of my people, and those who were distressed. And I gave gifts to the soldiers.

AND I delivered the oppressed from the hand of the oppressor; and after proof of the oppression, whether on the property or the person, the decision which I passed between them was agreeable to the sacred law. And I did not cause any one person to suffer for the guilt of another. †

THOSE who had done me injuries, who had attacked my person in battle, and had counteracted my schemes and enterprises, when they threw themselves on my mercy, I received them with kindness; I conferred on them additional honours, and I drew the pen of oblivion over their evil actions. And I treated them in such sort, that if suspicion remained in their hearts, it was plucked out entirely.

SEVENTHLY, I selected out, and treated with esteem and veneration, the posterity of the Prophet, and the Theologians, and the Teachers of the true Faith, and the Philosophers, and the Historians. And I loved

† In this observation he alludes to a too frequent custom of the East, of involving the whole family and connections of an accused person in the same punishment with the guilty subject.

تنگری تعالی شجاع را دوست میدارد و با علیا
 هجرت داشتیم و بر دلهای اصحاب قلوب رقتم و از ایشان
 در یوزه همت نبودم و از انعام متبرکه که ایشان التماس
 فاتحه کردم و در رویشان و فقر را دوست داشتیم
 و ایشان را آزردیم و محروم نساختیم و اشرار و بدگویان را
 در مجلس خود راه ندادیم و بسختن ایشان عمل نکردم
 و بدگوی ایشان را در حق هیچکس نشنیدیم
 هشتم بغزیت عمل کردم و بر هر کاری
 که عازم می شدم همان کار پیش نهاد همت خود
 میساختیم و تا یانجام نپرسانیدیم دست از آن کار باز
 نمیداشتیم و بر گفتار خود عامل می بودم و بر
 هیچکس سخت نکردم و هیچ کاری را به تنگی
 نسکردم تا تنگری تعالی بر من سخت نکیرد و کار
 من بر من تنگ نسازد

وقوانین و سیرت سلطین گذشته را از
 آدم تا خاتم و از اخلاص تا این دم از دانایان پرسش
 نمودم و سلوک و معاش و افعال و اقوال یکان یکان را
 بخاطر آوردم و از اخلاق حسنه و صفات پسندیده ایشان
 نسخه برداشتم و سهیل نوال دولتهای ایشان پرسش
 نمودم

men of courage and valour; for God Almighty loveth the brave. And I associated with good and learned men; and I gained their affections, and I entreated their support, and I sought success from their holy Prayers. And I loved the Dervishes, and the poor; and I oppressed them not, neither did I exclude them from my favour. And I permitted not the evil and the malevolent to enter into my council; and I acted not by their advice: and I listened not to their insinuations to the prejudice of others.

EIGHTHLY, I acted with resolution; and on whatever undertaking I resolved, I made that undertaking the only object of my attention: and I withdrew not my hand from that enterprise, until I had brought it to a conclusion. And I acted according to that which I said. And I dealt not with severity towards any one, and I was not oppressive in any of my actions; that God Almighty might not deal severely towards me, nor render my own actions oppressive unto me.

AND I enquired of learned men into the laws and regulations of antient princes, from the days of Adam to those of the prophet, and from the days of the Prophet down to this time. And I weighed their institutions, and their actions, and their opinions, one by one. And from their approved manners, and their good qualities, I selected models. And I enquired into the causes of the subversion of their power, and I shunned those

actions

نہودم وانچه موجب زوال وانتقال دولت بود از آن
اجتناب کردم و از ظلم و فسق که انقطاع نسل میکنند
و قحط و وبا می آرد احتراز لازم دانستم

نهم از احوال رعیت آگاہ شدم و کلانان
ایشان را بہنزلہ برادر و خوردان ایشان را بجای فرزند
دانستم و بر مزاج و طبایع ہر ملک و ہر شہر خود را
وافق ساختم و بہ اہالی و اکابر و اشراف اشنای
کردم و موافق مزاج و طبیعت و خواہش ایشان بر
ایشان حاکم تعیین نمودم

و از احوال اہالی ہر دیار آگاہ می نمودم
و اخبار نویسان راست قلم با دیانت در ہر مہلکت
تعیین کردم کہ کیفیت اطوار و اوضاع و اعمال
و افعال سپاہ و رعیت را و مواعی کہ در میان ایشان
بوقوع آید بہن نویسند و اگر خلاف آنچه نوشتہ
بودند بر من ظاہر می شد اخبار نویسان را
سیاست می نمودم و انچه از ظلم و جور حاکم و سپاہ
و رعیت می شنیدم تدارک آنرا بانصاف و عدالت
می کردم

دہم

actions which tend to the destruction and overthrow of Book II.
regal authority. And from cruelty and from oppression, which are the destroyers of posterity, and the bringers of famine and of plagues, I found it was good to abstain.

NINTHLY, the situation of my people was known unto me. And those who were great among them, I considered as my brethren; and I regarded the poor as my children. And I made myself acquainted with the tempers and the dispositions of the people of every country and of every city. And I contracted intimacies with the citizens, and the chiefs, and the nobles; and I appointed over them governors adapted to their manners, and their dispositions, and their wishes.

AND, I knew the circumstances of the inhabitants of every province. And in every kingdom I appointed writers of intelligence, men of truth and integrity, that they might send me information of the conduct, and the behaviour, and the actions, and the manners, of the troops and of the inhabitants, and of every occurrence that might come to pass amongst them. And if I discovered ought contrary to their information, I inflicted punishment on the intelligencer; and every circumstance of cruelty and oppression in the governors, and in the troops, and in the inhabitants, which reached my ear, I chastised agreeably to justice and equity.

دهم هر طایفه و هر قبیله از ترک و تاجک
 و عرب و عجم که بدولتخانه من در آمدند بزرگان
 ایشان را کرامی داشتم و سایر ایشانرا فراخور احوال
 نوازش نمودم و به نیکان ایشان نیکی کردم و بدان
 ایشانرا به بدی ایشان سپردم

و هر کس بین دوستی کرد و قدر دوستی
 ویرا فراموش نکردم و بوی مروت و احسان نمودم و هر کس
 خدمت من کرد حق خدمت ویرا ادا کردم و هر
 کس بین دشمنی کرد و پشیمان شده بین التجا
 آورد و زانوزن دشمنی ویرا فراموش کردم و بدوستی
 و مروت خریدار وی شدم

چنانچه شیر بهرام امیر الواس بین همراه
 بود و در وقت کار مرا گذاشت و بغنیم ملحق شد
 و بر من شبشیر کشید و آخر نمک من ویرا گرفت
 و باز بین التجا آورد و زانوزن چون مردی بود اصیل
 و مردانه و کار کرده از کردارها بدوی چشم پوشیدم
 و ویرا بنواختم و بر مرتبه وی افزودم و ویرا بپردانگی
 وی بخشیدم

یازدهم

TENTHLY, whatever tribe, and whatever Book II.
 hord, whether Toork or Tauchek, or Arrub or Ajjum, came in unto me, I received their chiefs with distinction and respect, and their followers I honoured according to their degrees and their stations. And to the good among them I did good, and the evil I delivered over to their evil actions.

AND whoever attached himself unto me, I forgot not the merit of his attachment, and I acted towards him with kindness and generosity: and whoever had rendered me services, I repaid the value of those services unto him. And whoever had been my enemy, and was ashamed thereof, and flying to me for protection, humbled himself before me, I forgot his enmity; and I purchased him with liberality and kindness.

IN such manner Share Behraum, the chief of a tribe, was along with me. And he left me in the hour of action, and he united with the enemy, and he drew forth his sword against me. And at length my salt, which he had eaten, seized upon him; and he again fled to me for refuge, and humbled himself before me. As he was a man of illustrious descent, and of bravery, and of experience, I covered my eyes from his evil actions; and I magnified him, and I exalted him to a superior rank; and I pardoned his disloyalty in consideration of his valour.

یازدهم فرزندان و خویشان و آشنایان
 و همسایگان و کسانی که با من آشنایی داشتند ایشانرا
 در وقت دولت و نعمت بنواختم و حق ایشان را ادا
 کردم و با فرزندان و خویشان قطع صلۀ رحم ننمودم
 و بکشتن و بستن ایشان امر نکردم

و هر کس را بهر طرزى شناخته بودم فراخور
 شناخت خود بسوی سلوک نمودم چون کرم و سرد
 روزگار بسیار دیدم و تجربها برداشتم با دوست و دشمن
 سازگارها کردم

دوازدهم سپاه دوست و دشمن را عزیز
 داشتم که متاع باقی خود را بیال فانی میفروشند
 و در معارک و مهالک خود را می اندازند و جان
 فشانى مینمایند

و مردی که از جانب دشمن با من
 خصمی گرد و شبشیر کشید و نسبت با ولی نعمت
 خود را نسخ الاعتقاد بود و پرا بنسیار دوست داشتم و چون
 نزد من آمد قدر و پرا دانسته معتهد خود ساختم
 و بویا و حقیقت و پرا شناختم

† Timour appears to allude to those persons whom he knew in the days of his obscurity.

ELEVENTHLY, my children, and my relations, and my associates, and my neighbours, and such as had been connected with me, † all these I distinguished in the days of my fortune and prosperity, and I paid unto them their due. And with respect to my family, I rent not asunder the bands of consanguinity and mercy; and I issued not commands to slay them, or to bind them with chains. ‡

AND I dealt with every man, whatever the judgment I had formed of him, according to my own opinion of his worth. As I had seen much of prosperity and adversity, and had acquired knowledge and experience, I conducted myself with caution, and with policy, towards my friends and towards my enemies.

TWELFTHLY, soldiers, whether associates or adversaries, I held in esteem; those who sell their permanent happiness to perishable honour, and throw themselves into the field of slaughter and battle, and hazard their lives in the hour of danger.

AND the man, who drew his sword on the side of my enemy, and committed hostilities against me, and preserved his fidelity to his master, him I greatly honoured; and when such a man came unto me, knowing his worth, I classed him with my faithful associates; and I respected and valued his fidelity and his attachment.

† This observation is strictly consistent with his conduct: for though several of his relations, and some of his children, at different times rebelled against him, he ever substituted *pardon* in the place of *punishment*.

و آن سپاهی که حق نمک و وفا داری را
 فراموش کرد و وقت کار از صاحب خود رو گردان
 شد و نزد من آمد ویرا دشمنترین مردم دانستم
 و در جنگ توفتش خان امرای وی
 بین پیغامها کردند و عرایض نوشتند و حق نمک
 توفتش خان را که صاحب ایشان و دشمن من بود
 فراموش کردند بر ایشان نگرین کردم که حق ولی
 نعمت خود را فراموش کرده حقیقت و وفارا بر گوشه
 نهاده اند و نزد من آمدند با خود گفتیم که با مریبی
 خود چه وفا کردند که با من خواهند کرد

و چون بتجربه من رسید که هر دولتی
 که به دینی و آیینی قائم نباشد و بتوره و تزوک استوار
 نبود شکوه و سطوت و بند و بست از آن سلطنت برخیزد
 و آن سلطنت مثل مری برهنه باشد که هرکس ویرا
 به بیند چشم بپوشد و چون خانه باشد که سقفی
 و در و در بند نداشته باشد و کس ناکس در آن داخل
 توانند شد
 بدین جهت بنای سلطنت خود را به
 دین و آیین اسلام و به توره و تزوک استحکام دادیم
 و واقعات و اموری که مرا در سلطنت پیش می
 آمد

AND the soldier, who forgot his duty and his honour, and in the hour of action turned his face from his master, and came in unto me, I considered as the most detestable of men. Book II.

AND in the war with Touktummish Khaun, his Ameers forgot their duty to Touktummish, who was their master and my foe, and sent proposals and wrote letters unto me. And I uttered execrations upon them; because unmindful of that which they owed to their lord, they had thrown aside their honour and their duty, and come in unto me. I said unto myself, What fidelity have they observed to their liege lord? What fidelity will they shew unto me?

AND, behold, it was known unto me by experience, that every empire, which is not established in morality and religion, nor strengthened by regulations and laws, from that empire all order, grandeur and power shall pass away. And that empire may be likened unto a naked man, who, when exposed to view, commandeth the eye of modesty to be covered: and it is like unto a house, which hath neither roof, nor gates, nor defences; into which, whoever willeth, may enter unmolested.

THEREFORE, I established the foundation of my empire on the morality and the religion of Islam; and by regulations, and laws I gave it stability. And by laws and by regulations, I executed every business and every

آمد بتوره و تزوک آن کاررا انجام میدادم

و اول تزوک که از مشرق دلم سرزد
 رواج دین و تقویت شریعت محمدی بود صلی الله
 علیه و سلم و در مهالک و اقطار و امصار عالم دین اسلام
 و شریعت خیر الانام را رواج دادم و سلطنت خود را
 بشریعت آراسته ساختم

تزوک رواج دین مبین چنین کردم که
 یکی از سادات ذی قدر را بصدارت اهل اسلام مقرر
 کردم که ضبط اوقات نماید و متولیان تعیین کند
 و بهر شهری و بلدی اقصی القضاة و مفتی و محتسب
 معین سازد و سیورغال و وظایف از برای سادات و علما
 و مشایخ و ارباب استحقاق مقرر گرداند

و قاضی از برای عسکر و قاضی
 از برای رعیت نصب نمودم و بهر مملکتی

† The man appointed to fill the station mentioned in the original, is called *Sedr*. He is a person of great authority in the empire, who has the absolute

every transaction that came before me in the course of my government. Book II.

AND the first regulation which my heart dictated unto me, was the promulgation of the true faith, and the support of the sacred tenets of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him). And I encouraged the progress of the holy laws and the religion of Islaum through all the cities, and the provinces, and the kingdoms of the earth; and I adorned my empire by the sacred laws.

THUS I regulated the promulgation of the true faith. I appointed a man of holiness, † and of illustrious dignity, to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times, and appoint superiors in holy offices; and establish in every city and in every town a judge of penetration, and a doctor learned in the sacred law, and a supervisor of the markets, of the weights and of the measures: and that he might ordain pensions and salaries for the descendants of the prophet, and for superior ecclesiastics, and for holy men, and for men of knowledge.

AND I established a judge for the army and a judge for the subjects: and I sent into every province

absolute management of church lands, and what revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public schools, salaries to learned men, and other pious uses.

Z

and

شیخ الاسلامی فرستادم که اهل اسلام از معاصی باز
دارد و امر معروف نباید

و امر کرم که در هر شهری مساجد
و خانقاهها تعبیر نمایند و بر سر راهها رباطات بنا کنند
و بر نهزها پل بر بندند
و علما و مدرسان بهر شهری تعیین کردم
که اهل اسلام را مسایل دینی و عقاید شرعی تعلیم
دهند و علم دین از تفسیر و حدیث و فقه بیسلیانان
درین کویند

و امر نمودم که صدر و قاضی مهبات
شرعی مهالک محروسه را بعرض من میرسانیده
باشند و امیر عدل تعیین نمودم که مرافعات عرفی
سپاه و رعیت را بعرض رسانند

چون تزوک دین نمودم و در بلاد اسلام
شریعت را رواج دادم و چون اوازه رواج دین و اسلام
بیسامع صغار و کبار اهل اسلام رسید علماي اسلام
فتوی نوشتند — که چون الله تعالی در هر
صد سال مروجی و مجددی از برای رواج
و تجدید

and kingdom an instructor in the law, to deter the faithful from those things which are forbidden, and to lead them in the truth. Book II.

AND I commanded that they should build places of worship and monasteries in every city; and that they should erect structures for the reception of travellers on the high roads, and that they should make bridges across the rivers.

AND I appointed ecclesiastics and religious teachers in every city, to instruct the followers of Islaum in the abstruse and fundamental principles of our holy law; and to preach to them the doctrines of religion, with the holy traditions, and the sacred commentaries upon them.

AND I ordered that the suddur † and the judge, from time to time, should lay before me all the ecclesiastical affairs of my empire; and I appointed a judge in equity, that he might transmit unto me all civil matters of litigation, that came to pass amongst my troops and my subjects.

WHEN I had regulated all religious concerns, and had promoted the progress of the sacred tenets throughout the cities of Islaum; and when the rumour of the promulgation of the true faith had reached the ears of all ranks of the faithful; the doctors of our holy faith published a decree — That as Almighty God in each century had sent a promoter and propagator of the faith,

† Or *Sedr*: see note on p. 177.

و تجدید دین محمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم بر
 می انگیزد و درین صد هشتم تجدید دین را
 امیر صاحب قرآن نبوده پس مجدداً دین محمدی
 ایشان باشند

ومیر سید شریف که از فحول علمای
 زمان بود درین باب مکتوبی بمن نوشت — که
 اتفاق علمای خلف و سلف برین رفته که در سر
 هر صد سال از حضرت رسالت پناه الله تعالی از برای
 رواج دین محمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم مجدداً
 می انگیزد و چون درین سر صد هشتم امیر
 صاحب قرآن دین متین را رواج داده اند و در اقطار
 و امصار عالم دین و اسلام رواج یافته بتحقیق رسید که
 موج دین امیر صاحب قرآن است و صورت مکتوب
 اینست

که اللهم انصره من نصر دین محمد
 واخذل من خذل دین محمد
 چون از زمان هجرت حضرت رسالت
 پناه الی یومنا هذا هشت صد سال گذشته و در سر
 هر

for the promulgation and restoration of the religion of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him); and as in the eighth century AMEER SAUHI^BA KURRAUN† hath restored the purity of the holy laws, he therefore must be THE RESTORER OF THE RELIGION OF MAHUMMUD. Book II.

AND Meer Siud Shurreef, the most respectable of the doctors of the age, wrote unto me on this subject, saying, 'The holy men of all ages have agreed, ' that in every century from the days of the prophet, ' Almighty God hath sent forth a propagator of the faith, ' for the purpose of promulgating the religion of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him): and since in the ' beginning of this the eighth century, Ameer Sauhib^a ' Kurraun, hath propagated the laws of the holy prophet, and the true religion hath been diffused throughout the different cities and kingdoms of the earth; ' it is apparent that Ameer Sauhib^a Kurraun is the true ' promoter and supporter of the faith.' And the Letter is this.

“ O God assist thou the promoter of the religion of thy prophet, and abandon thou the deserter of the faith of Mahummud.

“ SINCE from the time of the Hijrut of the great and holy apostle down to the present period 800 years have elapsed, and since the pure and omnipotent

† *Sauhib^a Kurraun* is a royal title first assumed by Timour. It literally signifies *Lord of the Conjunction*; it being said, that there was a fortunate conjunction of planets at his birth.

هر صد سال الله تعالی و تقدس از برای رواج دین رسول و حبیب خود مروجی و مجددی بر انگیخته که تجدید دین و ملت آنحضرت نماید الحمد لله که در سر صد هشتم الله تعالی امیر صاحب قران را مجدد و مروج دین اسلام بر انگیخته که دین محبدي را در بلاد و ممالک رواج داده اند

و از آنچه علیای سلفی از احوال مجددان دین تتبع نموده در تصانیف خود نوشته اند این اثر از آنست که در سر مایه اول از هجرت مجدد دین عمر عبد العزیز است که چون دین اسلام بواسطه طعن و لعن که خوارج بر منابر بر حضرت علی می گفتند ضعیف شده بود بر طرف ساخت و بغض و عداوتی که میان اهل اسلام بوقوع آمده بود چنانچه گروهی خلفاء راشدین را لعن و طعن مخصوص میداشتند و جمعی دیگر بر امیر المومنین علی و حسین و عباس لعن میکردند و با یکدیگر در مقام تعصب و بغضت می بودند رفع نمود و تجدید دین کرد

و در

Creator hath in each century inspired and sent forth a promoter and restorer of religion, for the advancement of the faith of his messenger and friend, and the re-establishment of his sacred doctrines; praise be to the most high! that in the beginning of this the eighth century Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun, who hath encouraged and established the holy religion of Mahummud in various nations and regions of the earth, is by the Almighty evidently appointed the restorer and promoter of the faith of Islaum.

“FROM all that former Theologians have discovered and inserted in their works concerning the promoters of our holy faith, the following are selections.

“IN the FIRST CENTURY from the Hijrut Omur Abdul Azeez stood forth the supporter of the faith. For when the holy religion of Islaum was weakened by the revilings of the schismatics, who dared to execrate from their pulpits the most excellent Aali, he abolished that profane practice.

“AND whereas divisions and hatred had sprung up amongst the followers of Islaum, so that one faction fulminated curses on the three orthodox Khalifs, whilst their opponents denounced execrations on Aali (the commander of the faithful) on Hoossein and on Ubbaus; and at length proceeded to open dissentions and hostilities; he put an end to those divisions, and by so doing gave strength to our holy law.

AND

و در سر مایه دوم مجدد دین مامون
 الرشید است که هفتاد دو مذهب باطله را بر طرف
 و منسوخ ساخته مذهب بر حق سنت و جماعت را رواج
 داد و علی ابن موسی جعفر را رضی الله عنهم از
 خراسان طلب نمود و ویرا ولی عهد گردانید و بازن
 وی در مملکت تصرف می نمود

و در سر مایه سیوم مروج دین محمدی
 صلی الله علیه و سلم مقتدر بالله عباسی است که
 چون قوم قرامطه که ریس ایشان ابو طاهر بود بر مکه
 معظمه مستولی شد و سی هزار محرم را در روز عرفه
 قتل نموده بدرجه شهادت رسانید و حجر الاسود را
 از ارکان خانه کعبه برکنند و بلاد اسلام خراب کرده
 قتل و غارت مینمود و بدین جهت دین اسلام ضعیف
 شد مقتدر بالله بر آن قوم لشکر کشید و ایشانرا
 برانداخت و دین اسلام و شریعت را رواج داد

و در سر مایه چهارم از مروجان دین محمدی
 صلی الله علیه و سلم عهد الدوله دیلمی است که
 چون

“AND the supporter of the faith in the SECOND CENTURY was Maumoon ul Rusheed. For he abrogated and annulled seventy two pernicious and unorthodox tenets, and established the true rites and ceremonies on the faith of the Sunna, and on the sacred traditions. And he called Aali, the son of Moosi Jaufir (on whom be the blessing of God) from Khorausaun; and appointed him successor to the Immaumut, and with his consent took possession of the government.

“AND in the THIRD CENTURY Mocktaudir Billau Ubbaufi was the promoter of the faith. For when the sect of the Kuraumuteh, headed by Abou Tauhir, seized the holy city of Mecca, and martyred 30,000 pilgrims on mount Auruffaut; when that impious chief caused the Black Stone to be torn from the corner of the sacred Caaba, defolated the cities of Islaum, and plundered and slaughtered the inhabitants (by which a mighty blow was given to our holy religion) Mocktaudir Billau drew forth his armies against that abandoned sect, and extirpated them from the face of the earth: and thus supported and defended the laws and the faith of Islaum.

“AND in the FOURTH CENTURY Azzud u Dowla Delumi was the supporter of the religion of Mahummud, on whom be God's peace and blessing. For when, on

چون بواسطه فسق و فجور مطيع لامر الله عباسي
 و ظلم توابع و لواحق وي دين اسلام ضعيف شده بود
 و در بلاد اسلام انواع فسق و منهيات شيوع يافته بود
 عضد الدوله ويرا از خلافت عزل نمود و پسر وي طالع
 بالله ولي عهد ساخت

و عضد الدوله خود منتصدي زواج دين
 شد و رفع و دفع بدعت و ناسخات و مشروعات و ظلم و جور نموده
 شريعت محمدي را رواج داد

و در سر مايه پنجم مروج دين و شريعت
 سلطان سنجر ابن سلطان ملكشاه است كه شيخ
 احمد جامي و حكيم سنائي معاصر وي بوده و او
 بدیشان مريد بود درين ايام ملاحظه و جهال دين
 اسلام را ضعيف ساخته بودند و بي بقتل و قبح ملاحظه
 مبادرت نمود و بهرتبه در اطاعت و متابعت دين محمدي
 صلي الله عليه وسلم مبالغه مينمود كه خلاف
 شريعت از وي امري سر نپزد

و در سر مايه ششم مجدد دين غازان
 خان بن ارغون خان بن هلاكو خانست كه چون
 دين اسلام بواسطه استيلاي كفرة تركستان ضعيف
 شد

account of the wickedness and corruption of Muttei la- Book II.
 umurilla Ubbausi, and the oppressions and persecutions
 exercised by his servants and dependants, our holy religion
 was neglected, and corruption and impiety became noto-
 rious in the cities of Islaum; Azzud u Dowla deposed
 him from the Khillaufut, placed his son Taulaa Billau on
 the vacant throne, and by his exertions re-established the
 true faith.

AND Azzud u Dowla abolished innovations
 and things unlawful, stopped the current of injustice and
 oppression, and thus supported the holy laws of Ma-
 hummud.

AND Sooltaun Sunjur, the son of Sooltaun
 Mullik Shaah, and the contemporary and disciple of Sheikh
 Ahmud Jaumi and Hukkeem Sunai, was the promoter
 of the faith and the laws in the FIFTH CENTURY. For
 he extirpated the heretics who in those days had weakened
 the faith of Islaum; and paid such pious obedience to the
 holy doctrines of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him)
 that in the period of his life he was not guilty of one
 action prohibited by the sacred laws.

IN the SIXTH CENTURY the supporter of the
 faith was Ghauzaun Khaun the son of Arghoon Khaun,
 the son of Hullaukoo Khaun. For when the holy re-
 ligion was almost annihilated by the conquests of the in-
 fidels of Toorkistaun, Ghauzaun Khaun with one hun-

شد الله تعالی غازان خائرا با صد هزار ترک
بر انکینت که هیک مرتبه در صحرای لار
بهست شیخ ابراهیم حبوی ایپان آورده مسلمان
شدند و زبان بکله لا اله الا الله و محمد رسول الله
گویا ساختند

و آثار کفر و بدعت بر انداختند و شریعت را
در بلاد و امصار رواج دادند

و در سر مایه هفتم الجایتو سلطان بن
ارغون خان است که ملقب بسطان محمد خدا بنده
شد که در سنه مذکور بعد از برادرش غازان خان
بر تخت سلطنت نشست و چون بیسامع وی رسید
که دین محمدی بمرتبه ضعیف شده که در نیاز
بعد از تشهد صلوات بر محمد و بر آل محمد نیفرستند
خود برخاسته به مسجد جامع سلطانیه حاضر آمد و حکم
با حضار علیهای اسلام نمود

از فضایل در باب صلوات فرستادن
بر پیغمبر و آل پیغمبر سوال نمود علیا باتفاق گفتند
که بحکم خدای تعالی صلوات بر محمد و بر آل
محمد باید فرستاد

و درین

dred thousand Toorks (such was the will of the Almighty) were at one time converted to the Mahummudan faith by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee in the plain of Laur; and joined in the sacred exclamation, "There is no God but God, and Mahummud is the Apostle of God." Book II.

"AND Ghauzaun Khaun rooted out idolatry and heresy; and established the holy laws amongst the surrounding nations.

"THE supporter of the faith in the SEVENTH CENTURY was Aljauetoo Sooltaun, the son of Arghoon Khaun, who was also named Sultaun Mahummud Khodau Bundeh. For when he succeeded his brother Ghauzaun Khaun at the above period, and was informed that the duties of our holy religion were neglected to such a degree, that the people, after the profession of their faith, did not include the posterity of Mahummud in their blessings and benedictions on that holy prophet; he himself arose and went forth to the imperial Musjid, and commanded the Theologians to be assembled before him.

"AND he demanded of the doctors of the law the cause of this omission; and ordered them to deliver their sentiments concerning the propriety or impropriety of including the sacred posterity of the prophet in their prayers. They replied with one accord, that by the express command of Almighty God the prayers of the faithful were due not only to the holy messenger, but to his descendants also.

SEVERAL

ودرین وقت جمعی از علما گفتند که
 امام شافعی نماز را بدون صلوات بر محمد و آل محمد
 فاسد شمرده و جمعی گفتند که امام اعظم فرمود
 که نمازی که بصلوات بر محمد و آل محمد مقرون
 نباشد مکروه است

آنکه از علما سوال کرد که چرا
 بر هر یک از آل و بی در صلوات ذکر نمیکنند و در
 صلوات بر خاتم انبیا ذکر میکنند چون علما در
 جواب فرمودند سلطان گفت

ما در جواب این سوال دو دلیل بخاطر
 میبرند اول آنکه چون دشمنان و پرا ابر خوانند
 ایزد تعالی ابتری را بر ایشان انداخت که نسل
 ایشان منقطع شده و اگر باشد هم ایشانرا کسی
 نشناسد و نام نبرد و زریب آل پیغمبر آن قدر بهم رسیدند
 که تعداد ایشان را جز خدای تعالی دیگری نداند
 و در صلوات بقتابت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم بر
 ایشان درود میفرستند

دیگر آنکه ادیان جمیع انبیا و رسل
 و عمل ایشان در معرض نسخ و تبدل بود و امضای
 احکام

“ SEVERAL of the doctors said, that Immaum Book II.
 Shaufei had declared, that the sacred service unattended by
 the usual benedictions on Mahummud and his posterity,
 were impious. Others acknowledged, that Immaum a
 Aazum had pronounced the prayers, in which the usual
 petitions in behalf of Mahummud and his posterity were
 omitted, to be void and of no effect.

“ HE then demanded of them, why, when
 they mentioned the prophet in their prayers, they inclu-
 ded not his immediate descendants. The doctors of the
 law were unable to reply, and the Sooltaun proceeded.

“ IN proof of the necessity of including the
 successors and posterity of the prophet in our prayers two
 arguments occur to me. First, that as the wicked ex-
 cluded the descendants and successors of our holy lawgiver
 from the benefit of their benedictions, so Almighty God
 hath excluded them from the benefit of his protection, and
 hath cut off their posterity from the face of the earth :
 for if any of their descendants remain, none know them,
 none regard them : whereas the posterity of the prophet
 are increased to such a degree, that no one except the Al-
 mighty knoweth their numbers, and those in respect and
 obedience to the holy apostle (on whom be the blessing of
 God) still offer up their prayers for his immediate descen-
 dants.

“ SECONDL Y, the religious rites and insti-
 tutions of all former prophets and messengers have been
 either altered or annulled ; for the rules prescribed by the
 religions,

احکام دین ایشان علی السدوام لازم نبود
 بخلاف دین محمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم که تا
 قیامت تغییر و تبدیل در آن راه نخواهد یافت

پس بر متابعان آنحضرت لازم باشد که
 در صلوات بهتبعیت نام مبارک آنحضرت را ذکر میکنند
 اولادرا نیز ذکر کنند تا بر امت معلوم شود که
 حامیان دین محمدی و مفسران وحی الهی و حافظان
 شریعت احمدی ایشانند و وراث علوم انبیا و مرسلین
 اند و علوم دین و فرایض اسلام از ایشان فرا گیرند
 و متابعت و حرمت ایشانرا از لوازم شمارند

چون سلطان این کلمات را بر زبان راند
 خلیفگی که در مسجد جمع آمده بودند بیک مرتبه
 زبان بصلوات پیغمبر و آل پیغمبر کشانند

آنکاه سلطان گفت که چون اول آل
 محمد علی و آخر ایشان محمد محمدی موعود است
 پس ما را است که در ملک محمد بدون اذن
 اولادش تصرف ننماییم و اگر نمایم غاصب
 باشم

چون

religions which they established were not adapted to all ^{Book II.} times and to all situations. On the contrary, the religion of Mahummud (the peace of God be upon him) will continue, without change or abolition, to the end of time.

“IT is the duty therefore of the followers of our holy prophet, who in their prayers respectfully mention his name, to include his descendants also: that it may be known to the people that they are the supporters of the religion of Mahummud, the expounders of the divine revelations, the guardians of the holy law, and the heirs of the prophets and apostles: that the knowledge of the true religion and the divine ordinances of Islam may be perpetuated by them, and that obedience and respect to the descendants of the prophet may be considered as an indisputable and important duty.

“WHEN the Sooltaun had concluded, the people who were collected together in the Musjid, instantly and with one voice, offered up their benedictions in favour of the prophet and his sacred descendants.

“THE Sooltaun proceeded thus. “Since Aali has been acknowledged to be the first, and Mahummud Mehdi the last, of the successors and immediate descendants of the prophet, it cannot be lawful for me to assume authority over the dominions of the holy Mahummud without the assent of his and their posterity; since by so doing I should be an usurper.”

چون کلیات سلطان به سامع خاص
 و عام رسید همه علیا از عان نبودند بعد از عان علیا
 سلطان امر نمود که چون حقیقت برین منوال است
 باید که خطبه تمام اهل بیت بخوانند و سکه بنام
 ایشان بر زنند

و آنچه علیا درین وقت قنوی نوشته از عان
 نموده اند این است که الجایتو سلطان مروج دین
 و شریعت اند

در سر مایه هشتم امیر صاحب قران است
 که در امصار و اقطار عالم شریعت را رواج داده و سادات
 و علیها را اعزاز و احترام نموده و بازن ذریت آل رسول الله
 در ملک او تصرف کرده اند

چون مکتوب میر سید شریف بهین
 رسید تنکری تعالی را شکر گفتیم و به محمد و آل
 محمد التجا بر دم که مرا توفیق تجدید دین
 و شریعت حاصل آید

و مکتوب را

“WHEN this declaration of the Sooltaun reached the ears of the people, those of the posterity of the prophet immediately granted their consent. Having thus obtained their approbation of his authority, the Sooltaun ordained that agreeably to this regulation, the Khutbeh should be pronounced from the pulpits in the names of each of the successors of the prophet, and that their names also should be impressed on the coins of the empire. Book II.

“THE ecclesiastical decree which the theologians promulgated on this occasion, and to which they subscribed their assent, is as follows, “Aljauetoo Sooltaun “is the supporter of the faith, and the restorer of the “laws.”

“IN this the eighth century AMEER SAUHIBA KURRAUN IS THE SUPPORTER OF OUR SACRED RELIGION; since he hath revived and encouraged obedience to the holy laws in the different cities and nations of the earth, hath protected and revered the posterity of the prophet of God, and with their assent and approbation hath assumed dominion over the empire of Mahummud.”

WHEN the letter of Meer Siud Shureef came unto me, I offered up thanks to Almighty God, and I invoked the holy Mahummud and the descendants of Mahummud, that I might obtain their guidance and support in promoting our holy faith and in establishing the laws.

و مکتوب را بجنس نزد پیر خود فرستادم
 ایشان بر حاشیه همان مکتوب نوشتند که مروج
 الدین والشریعت تیمور صاحب قران ایده الله تعالی
 معلوم نباید که این موهبتی است عظمی و تاییدی
 است کبری که آن قطب السلطنت را الله تعالی
 توفیق تجدید دین و رواج شریعت ارزانی داشته
 بیغزا تا بیغزایند

چون مکتوب موشح بخط پیر من بمن
 رسید تعظیم و احترام سادات و علمای اسلام بجا آوردم
 و در رواج شریعت بیشتر از پیشتر سعی کردم و امر
 کردم که صورت این مکتوب را در دفتر وقایع من
 ثبت نمایند

چون تزوک دین و شریعت کردم شروع
 در تزک کارخانه سلطنت خود نمودم و به توره و تزوک
 مراتب سلطنت خود نگاهداشتم تزک نگاهداشت
 مراتب سلطنت خود را برین نهج کردم
 اول قواعد سلطنت خود را بدین اسلام
 و شریعت خیر الانام و محبت آل و اصحاب واجب الاحترام
 آنحضرت

AND the Letter itself I sent unto my PEER, Book II.
 who wrote thus on the border of that Letter. “ Be it
 “ known to Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun, the promoter of
 “ the faith, the establisher of the laws (with whom be
 “ the protection of Almighty God) that this is a blessing
 “ extraordinary, and a mercy inconceivable, which the
 “ omnipotent creator hath vouchsafed to thee, the axis of
 “ empire, in appointing thee the re-establisher of the
 “ faith, and the supporter of the sacred laws. Encrease
 “ thou the number of thy good actions, that thy benevo-
 “ lent creator may encrease his mercies unto thee !”

WHEN the epistle, bearing the subscription of my PEER, was returned unto me, I revered and respected the posterity of the prophet, and the teachers of the doctrine of Islaum; and in enforcing the sacred laws I exerted myself more than before. And I commanded that the substance of the letter should be inserted in the register of my transactions.

WHEN I re-established the faith and the holy laws, I then began to form my civil regulations; and by law and by order I strengthened my government. And the regulations for giving stability to my government, I formed in this manner.

FIRST, I kept firm the foundation of my power by the true religion, and by the laws of the prophet, and by the love of the descendants and venerable
 compa-

آنحضرت استوار داشتیم و حفظ مرتبه سلطنت خود بتوره
و تزوک چنان کردم که احدی را یارای نبود که در
سلطنت من دخل تواند کرد

دوم سپاه و رعیت را در مرتبه امید و بیم
نگاهداشتیم و دوست و دشمن را در مرتبه مروت و مدارا
داشته کردار و گفتار ایشانرا به تحمل و تغافل در
گذرانیدم

و هرکس از دوست و دشمن که التجا
بین آوردند دوستان را در مرتبه نگاهداشتیم که بر
دوستی خود افزودند و با دشمنان بهر تبه سلوک نمودم
که دشمنی را بدوستی مبدل ساختند

و هرکس را بر من حقی بود حق ویرا
ضایع نساختیم و هرکس را بر وی شناختم ویرا از نظر
نپنداختیم

و هرکس از اوان طلوع دولت و سلطنت
من بین التجا آورده بودند از نیکو کار و بد کردار
خواه بین نیکی کرده بودند خواه بدی چون بر
نخت سلطنت نشستیم ایشانرا شرمنده احسان خود
ساختیم و بدیهای که بین کرده بودند نا کرده
انکاشتیم و قلم عفو بر جریده اعمال ایشان کشیدم

سیوم

companions of that holy legislator; and by regulations and by order I so secured my regal authority, that no one had the power to interpose in my government. Book II.

SECONDLY, I kept my soldiers and my subjects suspended between hope and fear; and conducting myself towards my friends and my enemies with gentleness and with humanity, I either over-looked or patiently bore with their words and their actions.

WHOEVER, whether friends or enemies, fled unto me for protection; if they were friends, I treated them in such sort as tended to increase their friendship; and if they were enemies, I so conducted myself towards them that their enmity was speedily converted into affection.

WHOEVER had a demand upon me, I attempted not to diminish the value thereof: and those whom I personally knew, I threw not forth from my presence.

AND whoever, from the first shining forth of my fortune and power, had sought my protection, whether worthy or unworthy, whether their conduct towards me had been good or evil, when I ascended the throne of empire, I caused them to blush by my bounty and kindness; and I considered as undone the evil which they had done unto me, and I drew the pen of oblivion over the register of their actions.

THIRDLY,

سیوم در مقام انتقام هیچکس نشدم
و انتقام نکشیدم و بد کنندگان خود را به پروردگار
سپردم

اریاب شجاعت و مردان کارکرده، از موده
نکاهداشتم و سردم اصیل و سادات و علیای و فضالارا
بخود راه دادم و اشرار و بد نفسان و لیسان را از
مجلس خود راندم

چهارم بکشاده رویء و رحم و شفقت
خلق خدا را بخود رام کردم و بعدالت گرویدم
و از ظلم و جور دوری گزیدم

درین وقت پیر من بین نوشت که ابو
المنصور تیپور ایده الله تعالی را معلوم باد که کارخانه
سلطنت نمونه از کارخانه آلهی است که در آن
عمله و فعله و نایبان و حجاب اند و هر یک در مرتبه خود
بکار خود مشغول اند و از مرتبه خود تجاوز نمیکنند
و منتظر امر آلهی می باشند

پس ترا احتیاط باید که وزرا و لشکریان
و عمالان و کارکنان و سپهسالاران هر یک در حد
مرتبه

THIRDLY, I never gave way to the thirst Book II.
 of revenge, nor did I ever satiate my resentment on any
 one. Those who had injured me, I delivered over to the
 justice of the Almighty.

I retained in my service warriors of approved
 valour, and soldiers of tried experience. And I ad-
 mitted to my society men of exalted lineage, and the
 posterity of the prophet, and theologians, and doctors
 learned in the law. And the seditious, and the wicked,
 and the inglorious I drove far from my presence.

FOURTHLY, I drew to me the obedience
 of the people of God by complacency, and by mercy,
 and by indulgence. And I ever adhered to equity and
 justice; and I retired far from cruelty and oppression.

AT this time my PEER wrote unto me, say-
 ing, "Be it known to Abu'l Munfour Timour (on whom
 be the blessing of Almighty God) that the different
 offices in an earthly empire are symbols of those in the
 empire of thy creator; in which there are labourers,
 and agents, and deputies, and chamberlains; and they
 are all busied and occupied in their own proper depart-
 ments, and they seek not to over-leap the bounds allotted
 them; and they wait in perpetual obedience to the
 will of the Lord.

"THEREFORE, thou must be watchful,
 that thy vizzers, and thy soldiers, and thy labourers,
 and thy servants, and thy officers, being each of them

مرتبہ خود بودہ منتظر حکم تو باشند و هر
 طایفہ و هر قوم را در مرتبہ ایشان بدار تا مرتبہ سلطنت
 تو بنظام و انتظام در آید

واگر حفظ مراتب هرچیز و هرکس
 نکني بسې خلل و فساد در امور سلطنت راه یابد
 پس تراست که پایه قدیر و منزلہ هرچیز و هرکس
 نگاهداری

و مرتبہ آل و محبدر از جمیع مراتب برتر
 داری و تعظیم و احترام ایشان بجا آری و افراط را در
 محبت ایشان اسراف ندانی که هرچه از برای
 خدا باشد در آن اسراف نباشد به دوازده طایفہ
 سلطنت خود را آراسته و پراسته بدار و السلام

چون این نامه پیر من بمن رسید هرچه
 فرموده بودند بجا آوردم و مراتب سلطنت خود را نسق
 و انتظام دارم و مرتبہ سلطنت خود را به توره و تزوک
 زیب و زینت بخشیدم و بدوازده طایفہ سلطنت خود را

استوار

“restricted to their proper stations, attend with due submission thy commands. And restrain thou every people and every tribe under thy dominion within their proper limits: that thy empire may be established on the basis of regularity and good order.

“BUT if thou regardest not the due arrangement of thy concerns, and attendest not to the just subordination of thy people, corruption, and violence, and disorders shall find their way into every department of thy government. Be it therefore thy care to watch over and confine thy people, and thy concerns, within the limits of subordination and good order.

“AND thou shalt exalt the sacred posterity of the prophet above all other ranks of thy people; and thou shalt revere and honour them, and thou shalt not consider the greatest instances of liberality, which thy love for them shall call forth, as the effects of profusion. We cannot be profuse in our offerings to Almighty God. Regulate and govern thou thy empire by the TWELVE SELECT CLASSES; and farewell.”

WHEN I received this letter from my PEER, I acted in obedience to all which he had commanded, and I gave order and connexion to the different departments of empire; and I ornamented and beautified my power by regulations and laws: and I made my authority durable by the TWELVE CLASSES.

استوار ساختم تنزوک مرتبه
 سلطنت وقواعد سلطنت خود را بدوازده طایفه مربوط
 ومضبوط ساختم واین دوازده طایفه را بمنزله دوازده برج
 فلک ودوازده ماه کارخانه سلطنت خود قرار دادم

اول طایفه سارات وعلما مشائخ وفضلا را
 بخود راه دارم وهییشه ببارگاه من آمد شد
 می نمودند ومجلس مرا بزینت نگاه می داشتند
 ومسایل علوم دینی وحکمی وعقلی مذکور
 می ساختند ومسایل حلال وحرام از ایشان استفسار
 مینمودم

طایفه دویم عقلا واصحاب کنکاش
 واریاب حرم واحتیاط ومردم کهنه سال پیش بین را
 در مجلس خاص خود را راه دارم وبایشان صحبت
 داشتم ونفع یافته تجربها حاصل میکردم

طایفه سیوم ارباب دعا را کرامی داشتم
 ودر خلوت از ایشان دریوزه دعوات کرده مدعیان
 خود را استدعا مینمودم ودر مجالس ومحافل ونیم وزم
 از

REGULATIONS. By the TWELVE CLASSES I rendered strong and permanent the basis and superstructure of my government; and I considered those Classes as the twelve months, and as the twelve signs of the zodiac, predominating over the concerns of my empire. Book II.

THE FIRST CLASS. I granted admission to the descendants of the prophet, and to theologians, and to doctors learned in the laws, and to holy men. And they resorted at all times to my palace, and they beautified and adorned my imperial assembly by their presence. And they conversed on sacred knowledge, and on government, and on wisdom: and to them I proposed questions concerning those things which were lawful, and those which were forbidden.

THE SECOND CLASS. Persons of wisdom, and deliberation, and vigilance, and circumspection, and aged men endowed with knowledge and foresight, I admitted to my private councils: and I associated with them, and I reaped benefit, and acquired experience from their conversation.

THE THIRD CLASS. I revered devout and pious men; and I implored their prayers in the hour of retirement: and I supplicated their blessings on my actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and
in

از ایشان برگزینی تمام می یافتم و در روز جنگ از ایشان ظفرها میدیدم

چنانچه در وقتی که لشکر من

بواسطه کثرت لشکر توقنبش خان در جنگ مضطرب

شدند میر ضیا الدین سبزواری که صاحب الدعوت

بود سر خورد را برهنه ساخت و دست بدعا بر آورد

و هنوز دعای وی باتمام نرسیده بود که اثر دعای

وی ظاهر گردید

و چنانچه در وقتی که یکی از اهل

خرم سرای مرا بیماری صعب عارض شده بود دوازده

سپید دعاگویی جمع آمده هر یک یک سال از عمر

خود بوی بخشیدند و وی صحت یافت و دوازده سال

زندگانی کرد

چهارم طایفه امرا و سرهنگان

و سیپهسالاران را در مجلس خون اورن دارم و ببراتب

علیا سر بلند داشتم و با ایشان صحبت داشته سخنان

می پریدم

و از باب شجاعت را که بارها شبشیرها

زده بودند دوست داشتم و از رزم و در آمدن و بر آمدن

در معارک و مهالک و شکستن صنغها و حرب و ضرب

و چاقولشها

in my deliberations, I reaped the greatest advantage from their mediation. And by them I obtained victories in the day of battle. Book II.

THUS it came to pass, when in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun my forces were thrown into confusion by the superior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen (of Subzvaur) who was noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head, and stretched forth his arms in supplication: his prayer was not yet concluded, when the effects of his mediation became apparent.

AND so also it came to pass, at a time when one of the inhabitants of my Hoprrum Surrai † was afflicted with a deadly distemper. Twelve holy Siuds, celebrated for their piety, assembled together; and each of them devoted a year of his own existence to her preservation: and she was restored to health, and enjoyed the full measure of their donation.

THE FOURTH CLASS. The Amceers, and the chiefs, and the commanders of my forces, I admitted to my councils; and I raised them to exalted dignities; and I associated, and conversed familiarly, with them.

AND I loved those intrepid warriors who had given repeated proofs of their courage and abilities. And I proposed questions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in situations of peril, and the me-

وچیتولشها از ایشان سوالات مینمودم و در مرتبه
سپاهکری ایشانرا معتبد میداشتم وکنکاش از ایشان
میطلبیدم

پنجم طایفه سپاه ورعیت را بیک چشم
دیدم و اشجعان سپاه را از بهادران و دلاوران به اوتاغه*
کهر و ترکش خاصه سر بلند ساختم
وکلانتران و کدخدایان هر ملک
و مملکت را کرامی داشتم و بایشان جزا دادم و نفع
گرفتم

و سپاه را حاضر نگاهداشتم و علوفه
ایشان را پیش از طلب میدادم چنانچه در یساق
روم هفت ساله علوفه از گذشته و آینده به سپاه دادم
و سپاه ورعیت را بنوعی ضبط نمودم که از هیچ یک
بر دیگری تعدی و عنفی واقع نمی شد

و سایر سپاه را علی مراتب درجانه در
مراتب خود نگاه میداشتم که از حد خود قدم بیرون
نمی گذاشتند و مرتبه ایشان را نه بلند بلند ساختم و نه
پست پست و از هر کدام که خدمتی بوقوع می آمد
بجلد و وانعام امتیاز میدادم

و شجاعت

thods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, and of skirmishing, and all the other operations of war; and I placed confidence in them; and I consulted their opinions in proportion to their skill and experience. Book II.

THE FIFTH CLASS. The soldier and the subject I regarded with the same eye. And the brave and the resolute from amongst my warriors I distinguished by gifts and by honours.

AND I treated with dignity and attention the rulers and the chiefs of every province and kingdom; and I conferred rewards upon them, and I reaped benefit from their services.

AND I kept my troops in a state of readiness, and I advanced to them their wages even before it was due. Thus in my expedition against Room, I gave unto my soldiers seven years wages; part thereof due, and the remainder in advance. And such was the discipline which I established amongst my troops and my subjects, that the one was never injured or oppressed by the other.

AND my soldiers of every rank I confined in such sort to their several stations, that they could not step beyond the limits prescribed to them: and I neither exalted them above, nor depressed them below the rest of my subjects. And those of them who signalized themselves by eminent services, I rewarded with honours and donations.

وشجاعت وعقل هر کس از سایر
 سپاه را که بهیزان عیار می سنجیدم تربیت کرده
 بهرتبه امارت میرسانیدم و فراخور کار ایشان بر مراتب
 ایشان می افزودم

طایفه ششم از خردمندان معتبد
 راسخ الاعتقاد که سزاواران بودند که رازهای
 امور سلطنت بایشان سپارم و مشورهء امور سلطنت
 بایشان کنم طایفه را صاحب اسرار نهانی خود ساختم
 و امور مخفی و اسرار نهانی خود را بدیشان سپردم

هفتم طایفه از وزرا و کتاب و منشیان
 دیوان سلطنت خود را آراسته ساختم و ایشان را آینه
 دار مهالک خود ساختم که وقایع ملک و ممالک
 و سپاه و رعیت را بهین نمودار میساختند

و خزانه و رعیت و سپاه مرا معبور نگاه
 میداشتند و رخنه ملک را بتدبیر لایق بر میبستند
 و مداخل و مخارج کارخانه سلطنت مرا مضبوط نگاه
 میداشتند و در توفیر و معبوری ملک سعی می
 بودند

هشتم

AND those of my officers whose resolution and abilities I had weighed and proved in the balance of trial, I received into my especial favour, and I promoted them to the rank of commanders: and, in proportion to their conduct, I advanced them to superior stations. Book II.

THE SIXTH CLASS. From amongst the wise and the prudent, who merited trust and confidence, who were worthy of being consulted on the affairs of government, and to whose care I might submit the secret concerns of my empire, I selected a certain number, whom I constituted the repositories of my secrets. And my weighty and hidden transactions, and my secret thoughts and intentions I delivered over to them.

THE SEVENTH CLASS. By the vizzeers, and the secretaries, and the scribes I gave order and regularity to my public councils. I made them the keepers of the mirrour of my government; in which they shewed unto me the affairs of my dominions and my empire, and the concerns of my armies and my people.

AND they kept rich my treasury; and they secured plenty and prosperity to my soldiers and to my subjects. And by proper and skilful measures they repaired the disorders incident to empire; and they kept in order the revenues and the expences of government; and they exerted themselves in promoting plenty and population throughout my dominions.

هشتم طبقه حکما و اطبا و منجمان
و مهندسان که مصالح کارخانه سلطنت اند بر خود
جمع آوردم

و باتفاق حکما و اطبا معالجه بیماران
می کردم و از طبقه منجمان سعادت و نحوست ایام
کواکب و سیر ایشان و دور افلاک را مشخص مینمودم
و باتفاق مهندسان عبارات عالی بنا نهاده تعبیر کردم
و طرح باغات انداختم

نهم طایفه محدثین و ارباب اخبار
و قصص را بخود راه دادم و از قصص انبیا و اولیا و اخبار
سلطین روزگار و کیفیت رسیدن ایشان بمرتبه
سلطنت و زوال دولت ایشان ازین طایفه می
شنیدم

و از قصص و اخبار ایشان و گفتار و کردار
هر یک تجربها برمیداشتم و اخبار و آثار عالم از ایشان
می شنیدم و بر احوال عالم اطلاع حاصل می
نمودم

دهم طایفه پیشایخ و صوفیان و عارفان
خدا پیوستم و بایشان صحبتها داشتم و فواید
آخری

THE EIGHTH CLASS. Men learned Book II.
 in medicine, and those skilled in the art of healing, and
 astrologers, and geometricians, who are essential to the
 dignity of empire, I drew around me.

AND, by the aid of physicians and chirur-
 geons, I gave health to the sick. And, with the assistance
 of astrologers, I ascertained the benign or malignant aspect
 of the stars; their motions, and the revolutions of the
 heavens. And, with the aid of geometricians and archi-
 tects, I laid out gardens, and planned and constructed
 magnificent buildings.

THE NINTH CLASS. Historians, and
 such as were possessed of information and intelligence, I
 admitted to my presence. And from these men I heard
 the lives of the prophets and the patriarchs; and the
 histories of ancient princes, and the events by which they
 arrived at the dignity of empire, and the causes of the
 declension of their fortunes.

AND from the narratives and the histories
 of those princes, and from the manners and the conduct
 of each of them, I acquired experience and knowledge.
 And from those men I heard the descriptions and the tra-
 ditions of the various regions of the globe, and acquired
 knowledge of the situations of the kingdoms of the earth.

THE TENTH CLASS. I united myself
 with holy and pious men, with those to whom the Al-
 mighty

آخری اخذ نمودم و سخنان خدای می شنیدم
و کرامات و خوارق عادات از ایشان مشاهده می
نمودم و مرا از صحبت ایشان سرور و حضور تمام حاصل
می آمد

یازدهم طایفه ارباب صناعت را از هر
طایفه و هر صنفی بدولتخانه خود آوردم و در اردوی
خود ایشانرا اورن دارم که در سفر و حضر ما بحتاج
سپاه را حاضر داشته باشند

طایفه دوازدهم متروکین و مسافران هر
ملک و دیار را تسلی دارم که اخبار ممالک را بهم
پرسانند

و تجارانرا و قافله سالاران را تعیین نمودم
که بهر ملک و هر دیار رفته از ختا و ختن و چین

+ The first, the third, and this (the tenth) class, appear on a superficial view to be the same people, i.e. men devoted to the duties of religion; but, on a nearer examination, it is evident that they were classes distinct from each other. The first were undoubtedly the heads of the Mahummudan church, the posterity of Aali, the dignified prelates, and the eminent doctors of the law. The third class appears to be a selection (from the first) of such eminent men as had rendered themselves celebrated by their superior piety and religious attention to the laws. And by this (the tenth) class Timour evidently means such religious men, as had retired from the world
and

وماچین

mighty had given wisdom; † and I associated with them; and I heard from them the word of God; and I acquired knowledge of the blessings of a future state. And I saw them perform miracles and wonderful things; and I reaped delight and satisfaction from their conversation.

THE ELEVENTH CLASS. I brought into my palace artificers of every sort, and of every denomination; and I admitted them into my camp; that both at home and abroad they might supply, and keep in readiness, the necessaries requisite to my soldiers.

THE TWELFTH CLASS. To travellers, and to voyagers, of every country I gave encouragement; that they might communicate unto me the intelligence and transactions of the surrounding nations.

AND I appointed merchants and chiefs of Kauruvvauns to travel to every kingdom, and to every country; that they might bring unto me all sorts of valuable merchandize and rare curiosities, from Khuttau, and from Khut-

and devoted themselves to solitude, to the study of the Koraun, and the regular performance of the religious duties prescribed by their law-giver. These hermits, or monks, like their brethren of the western church, acquired in all times a large share of popular respect and veneration by their austerities and apparent sanctity. They too performed their miracles and wonderful things; and, if the eastern historians may be credited, with as much dexterity and address as any of those holy men and women on whom the honour of sainthood has been conferred by the infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs.

وماچین و هندوستان و بلاد عرب و مصر و شام و روم
 و جزایر فرنگ متاع نعیش و تحفهای لایق بجهت من
 بیاورند و احوال و اوضاع و اطوار متوطنان و سکنه آن
 دیار را بعرض من رسانند و سلوک حکام هر مملکتی را
 با رعایا بخاطر آورده نمودار سازند ترک طوایفی که
 از ترک و تاجیک و عرب و عجم بدرگاه من التجا
 آوردند چنین کردم

که اول امر نمودم که هر طایفه و هر
 طایفه را که سادات و علما باشند اعزاز و احترام نمایند
 و هر مطلبی که ایشانرا بپوره باشد
 بانجاح مقرون گردانند و رعایت احوال ایشان بواجبی
 نمایند

و اگر طایفه سپاه بپوره باشد ایشانرا اورن
 داده فراخور احوال پرداخت احوال ایشان نمایند
 و اگر از آریاب معرفت و صنعت باشد
 در کارخانجات سلطنت ایشانرا بکار دارند و سایر

+ i. e. Whether Tatars or Persians, Arabs or Syrians. Such are the confined meanings of the words *Tauchek* and *Ajjum*; but they frequently convey a more extensive idea: for the Tatars use the word *Tauchek*, and the

tun, and from Cheen, and from Maucheen, and from Hindostaun, and from the cities of Arabia, and from Missur, and from Shaum, and from Room, and from the islands of the Christians; that they might give me information of the situation, and of the manners, and of the customs of the natives and the inhabitants of those regions; and that they might observe, and communicate unto me, the conduct of the princes of every kingdom, and of every country, towards their subjects.

Book II.

RELATIVE to the various tribes, whether Toork or Tauchek, Arrub or Ajjum,† who sought shelter under my government; these were the REGULATIONS which I established.

FIRST, I commanded that those who were of the posterity of the prophet, or theologians learned in the laws, should be received with reverence and respect; and that all their wishes and desires should be fulfilled; and that they should be supported in affluence and honour.

AND those who were soldiers, I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank and their circumstances.

AND those who were skilled in mechanic arts, I directed to be employed in my service. And the

the Arabs the word *Ajjum* or *Ajjumi* to distinguish any person, or people, of a different nation from their own. Thus *Tauchek* and *Ajjum* answer to our word *foreigner*.

E e

body

را از فترا و مساکین که استطاعت داشته باشد
احوال و طبقه مرسوم قرار دهند

و حکم کردم که هر تاجری که راس
از دست داده باشد بوی آن قدر زر دهند که
من المال خویش سازد و هر مزارعی و رعیتی که
تبی و زراعت بی استطاعت شده باشد مصالح
و عیارت بوی مقرر دارند و هر طایفه و هر صنفی
بوی سپاهیگری اختیار کند و بی را سپاهی سازند

و سپاهی زاده شجاع اصل از هر طایفه
باشد او را اورن دهند و سراسور کار تربیت

وامر نمودم که هر کس از هر طایفه که
من در آید ویرا از خوان نعمت سلطنت من
انکر دانند

و هر کس را بنظر من در آورند و نظر من
اقتاد تشریفات فراخور احوال بوی ارزانی دارند
من از کنه کاران و بی کنه که بدیوان عدالت
در آید پروی به بخشایند و در کنه دوم و سیوم
در کنه بیجا دهند

تزوک

body of the people, the indigent and the poor, who had capacity and abilities, I commanded to be accommodated agreeably to their situations. Book II.

I ordered that the merchant who had lost his property, should have such sums of money given unto him as were sufficient to restore his capital to its original state; and that every husbandman and every peasant, who was not possessed of the implements of husbandry and cultivation, should be supplied therewith; and that those, of whatever class or rank, who chose the occupation of arms, should be received into military service.

AND the genuine descendant of a soldier, resolute and brave, of whatever tribe or herd he might be, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces, and to be promoted in proportion to his conduct and behaviour.

AND I ordained that no person, whatever his rank, who entered my palace, should be excluded from the table of my imperial bounty.

AND whoever was brought into my presence, and attracted my notice, I commanded that honours should be conferred upon him in proportion to his rank; and that every criminal who came for the first time before my tribunal, should be pardoned; but that for the second, and the third, crime he should meet with punishment adequate to his offences.

تزوک استقلال سلطنت خود چنین
 کردم
 که دوازده چیز را شعار خود ساختم تا
 باستقلال تمام بر تخت سلطنت نشستم و به تجربه من
 رسیده است که با هر پادشاهی که این دوازده امر
 نباشد از سلطنه بهره نداشته باشد

اول باید که کردار و گفتارش از خود
 باشد یعنی سپاه و رعیت بدانند که آنچه پادشاه
 میگوید و میکند خود میگوید و میکند و دیگری را
 در آن دخلی نیست

پس باید که پادشاه بگفتار و کردار
 دیگران بنوعی که شریک مرتبه سلطنت کردند
 عمل نکند اگرچه سخن خوب از همه کس باید
 شنید اما نه بمرتبه که از گفتار و کردار در امور
 سلطنت شریک و غالب کردند

دویم سلطانرا باید که در همه چیز
 عدالت بکار برد و وزرای عادل با انصاف در خدمت
 خود نگاهدارد و اگر پادشاه ظلم کند وزیر
 عادل

THUS I established rules for the security of my government. Book II.

I regulated my conduct by TWELVE CERTAIN MAXIMS: and by them I feated myself firmly on the throne of empire. And from experience it is known unto me, that every prince who adhereth not to these Twelve Maxims, shall reap little advantage from his dominion and regal station.

FIRST. It is necessary that his words and his actions be his own. That is to say, that his soldiers and his subjects may know that what the king sayeth and doeth, he sayeth and doeth from himself; and that no other person hath influence therein.

THEREFORE it is requisite that a king be not so guided by the conduct and the counsels of others, as to make them his associates in his regal authority. For although he be obliged to hear good advice from all, yet he must not to that degree attend unto them, as to enable them by their measures and their counsels to become his equals, and in the end his superiors, in the concerns of his government.

SECONDLY. It is necessary to a king that he adhere to justice in all his actions, and that he receive into his service ministers who are just and virtuous. For if a king be guilty of oppression, an upright minister may counteract the evil thereof. But if the minister be unjust

عادل تدارک آن نباید اما اگر وزیر ظالم باشد زود
باشد که خانه سلطنت خراب گردد

پنجاه امیر حسین وزیری داشت ظالم
که بحق وناحق جزیها از سپاه ورعیت می گرفت تا در
اندک زمانی از ظالم آن وزیری بی انصاف خانه
سلطنت امیر حسین خراب شد

سیوم در اوامر ونهی استقلال بکار برد
ویدات خود حکم کند که دیگری را زهره آن
نباشد که در آن حکم دخل کند و تغییر دهد

چهارم بر عزیمت خود راسخ باشد یعنی
بر هر کاری که عزیمت بندد فسخ آن نکند و تا
باقیام نرساند دست از آن کار باز ندارد

پنجم جریان حکم است چه حکمی
که بکند باید که آن حکم جاری گردد و که کسی را
پارای آن نباشد که در آن حکم تواند کرد اگرچه
در آن حکم ضررها متصور باشد

چنانچه

unjust and cruel, it shall speedily come to pass, that the edifice of his masters's power and dominion shall be levelled with the earth. Book II.

Thus Ameer Hoeffein had a cruel and a wicked minister, who levied oppressive fines on the soldiers and on the subjects; until in a short time by the oppressions of that unjust and cruel minister, the fabric of the dominion of Ameer Hoeffein was laid in the dust.

THIRDLY. In his injunctions and in his prohibitions he must act with resolution and with firmness. And he himself must issue his royal commands, that no one may have the temerity, or the power, to interpose, to alter, or to corrupt them.

FOURTHLY. He must be firm and constant in all his determinations. That is to say, on whatever plan or enterprise he shall resolve, he must not alter his resolution, nor withdraw his hand from that enterprise, until he hath brought it to a fortunate conclusion.

THE FIFTH is the spirit of command. For whatever command he giveth, it is necessary that that command should be obeyed; that no one should have the power to act in opposition thereto, even though inconvenience or mischief should be the expected consequence of that command.

چنانچه به سامع من رسید که سلطان
 محبوب غزنوی حکم کرد که سَنکي بر سر میدان
 غزنین بینداختند و از آن سَنک اسپان مردم رم
 میگردند هر چند بعضی رسانیدند که آن سَنک را از
 سر راه بر دارند گفت که حکمی کرده ام از حکم
 خود بر نیگردم و خلافی حکم نمیکنم

و اینست که در این کتاب مذکور است

ششم امور سلطنت خود را من حیث

الاستقلال بدیگری نسپارد و عنان اختیار خود بدست

- دیگری ندهد که دنیا غدار است و عاشق بسیار دارد

و زود باشد که آن صاحب اختیار میل بر سلطنت

نبوده متصرف مرتبه سلطنت گردد

چنانچه وزرای سلطان محبوب با وی

گردند و ویرا از مرتبه سلطنت خلع نموده و مهلکت

و سلطنت ویرا متصرف کشند پس باید که امور

سلطنت متابع گرداند بچند کس معتبر و معتد

که تا هر یکی بکار خود مشغول بوده طبع در مرتبه

سلطنت ننمایند

هفتم

So it hath been related unto me, that Sooltaun Muhmood, emperor of Ghizni, ordered on a certain occasion that a stone should be cast down at the entrance of the plain of Ghiznein : and the horses of the people started and sprang back from that stone. And although his servants solicited his permission that they might remove the stone from the entrance of the road, he refused his assent : he answered unto them, ‘ I have issued forth the order; and I will not turn back from, or contradict, my own commands.’

SIXTHLY ; (for from hence proceedeth security and power) he must not trust the concerns of his government to others, nor deliver over the reins of his authority into the hands of a servant : for the world is full of treachery, and hath many lovers ; and it may soon come to pass that the powerful servant shall aspire to regal dignity, and seat himself on the throne of his master.

SUCH was the conduct of the ministers of Sooltaun Muhmood towards their lord. They expelled him from the imperial throne, and they divided his dominions and his power amongst themselves. It is necessary therefore that the powers and important affairs of government be divided ; and that they be entrusted to the care of divers persons of approved fidelity, and of known loyalty ; so that being employed in their own proper departments, no one of them may aspire to the supreme authority.

هفتم در امور سلطنت از هر کس سخنی
 بشنود آنچه پسندیده باشد در خزانه خاطر خود
 نگاهدارد و در وقتش بکار برد

هشتم در امور سلطنت و سپاه و رعیت
 بقول و فعل هر کس عمل نکنند و از وزرا و امرا که در
 حق شخصی سخنی گویند بشنود خواه نیک و خواه
 بد لیکن در عمل نمودن بآن تأمل نماید تا آنکه
 حقیقت حال بروی ظاهر گردد

نهم باید که سطوت سلطنتش در دلها
 سپاه و رعیت بنوعی جای گیرد که هیچکس را یارای
 تخلف از امر و حکم وی نباشد و از اطاعت و متابعتش
 عصیان نوززند

دهم آنچه کند بذات خود کند و آنچه
 گوید بر سخنی خود راسخ باشد چه پادشاه را جز اعزاز
 حکم چیزی دیگر بهره نباشد که خزانه و لشکر و رعیت
 و سلاطین همین حکم ایشان باشد

یازدهم

SEVENTHLY. On the affairs of his government he must listen to the opinions of his servants : those which are good, he must lay up in the treasury of his heart, and call them forth into action at their proper seasons. Book II.

EIGHTHLY. In the concerns of dominion, and in those things which relate to his subjects and his soldiers, he must not act by the assistance and the advice of others. If his Vizzeers or his Amiers speak unto him concerning any one, whether that which they say be good, or whether it be evil, let him hearken to them ; but in forming his determination thereon let him be cautious and circumspect, until the truth be apparent unto him.

NINTHLY. It is necessary that the majesty of his dominion be so impressed on the hearts of his soldiers and his subjects, that none shall dare to disobey his orders and commands, or to revolt from their duty and obedience to his royal authority.

TENTHLY. What the king doeth he must do from himself ; and he must adhere to that which he sayeth : for unto a prince there is nothing so valuable as a just veneration for his royal word. This word is unto him a family of princes, and a rich treasury ; it maketh to him numerous subjects and powerful armies.

یازدهم در امور سلطنت و اجرای احکام خود را بی شریک داند و کسی را شریک سلطنت نکرده اند.

دوازدهم از حال اهل مجلس خود آگاه باشد و هوشیاری بکار برد که اکثر خواهش عیوب باشند و خبر به بیرون رسانند و از گفتار و کردار پادشاه خبر به امرا و وزرا بگویند چنانچه این قضیه بر من بوقوع آمده چون جمعی از اهل مجلس خاص من جاسوسان امرا و وزرا من بودند

تذکره نگاهداشت سپاه

امر نبودم که چون ده نفر سپاهی اصیل کار کرده جمع آیند یکی از ایشان که بجزو شجاعت و مردی مخصوص باشد بصلاح و رضاء آن ده نفر دیگر ویرا بر ایشان امیر گردانند ویرا اون باشی نام نهادند

و چون ده اون باشی جمع شوند یکی از ایشان که بکارگذاری و کاردانی آراسته باشد بر ایشان امیر گردانند و ویرا یوز باشی نام گردانند و چون

ELEVENTHLY. In the affairs of his government, and in the issuing forth his orders and commands, he must consider himself as single and alone; nor must he associate any one with him in the administration of his authority. Book II.

TWELFTHLY. He must be acquainted with the manners and the dispositions of his favourites and his confidants. And he must act with caution and circumspection: for many are lovers of slander and of calumny, who may carry reports abroad, and communicate to the Vizzeers and the Ameers the words and the actions of their prince. Thus, it once happened unto me at a time when several of those whom I admitted to my private council proved to be the spies of my Vizzeers and my Omraus.

REGULATIONS FOR THE FORMING OF MY ARMY.

I ordained, when ten select soldiers, men of proof, were collected together, that one of them, who was distinguished for valour and for bravery, should, with the advice and the consent of the remaining nine, be appointed commander over them; and that he should be called Ounbaushee:

AND when ten Ounbaushee were assembled together, that one of them who was qualified by service and abilities, should be appointed their leader; and that he should be stiled Euzbaushee:

AND

و چون ده یوز باشي جمع آیند امیر
 زاده عاقل اصیل بهادر مردانه را بریشان امیر گردانند
 و ویرا منک باشي و امیر هزاره خطاب دهند
 و اون باشیان را مختار ساختم که اگر
 یکی از تابینان ایشان فوت شود یا فرار نماید دیگری را
 بجای وي مقرر سازند و همچنین یوز باشي اون
 باشي را و منک باشي یوز باشي را تعیین نمایند
 و کیفیت فوت یا فرار او و نصب کردن دیگری را
 بعرض رسانند

و همچنین امر کردم که در چار پلچار*
 و امور سلطنت حکم منک باشي بر یوز باشي و حکم یوز
 باشي بر اون باشي و حکم اون باشي بر تابینان
 جاری باشد و اگر خلاف نمایند بسزا رسانند و اگر
 در چار پلچار* کوتاهی نمایند اخراج نموده عوض
 نگاه دارند

تسزوک قرار علوفه سپاه

امر کردم که علوفه سپاه از امرا و منک

باشیان

AND that, when ten Euzbaushee were collected together, an officer of exalted lineage, the son of a chief, of approved knowledge, and valour, and intrepidity, should be appointed commander over them; and that he should be called Mingbaushee, and Leader of a thousand. Book II.

AND I gave power to the Ounbaushees, that if any soldier under their command should die, or should desert, that they should appoint another soldier in his place. In the like manner I ordained, that the Euzbaushee should appoint the Ounbaushee, and the Mingbaushee the Euzbaushee; and that they should lay before me an account of the person who had died or deserted, and of the appointment of another in his stead.

AND I commanded in the like manner, that, on military service and in every concern that related to government, the authority of the Mingbaushee should be established over the Euzbaushee; and the authority of the Euzbaushee over the Ounbaushee; and the authority of the Ounbaushee over the common soldier; that they should chastise those that were disobedient; and that those who in the day of battle were deficient in performing their duty, should be expelled; and that others should be appointed in their place.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAY OF MY FORCES.

I commanded that the subsistence of my troops, of the Omraus, and the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees,

باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان وسایر سپاه برین
نهج مقرر گردانند

که علوفه سایر سپاه بشرط اصالت
وسپاهکری بهای اسپ وی مقرر باشد وعلوفه
بهارانیکه از بهاء دو اسپ تا چهار اسپ معین باشد
وعلوفه اون باشی ده برابر علوفه تابینان
وی باشد وعلوفه یوز باشی دو برابر علوفه اون باشی
وعلوفه منک باشی سه برابر علوفه یوز باشی
معین باشد

وحکم کردم که هر یک از سپاه که
در چار پلچار* کوتاهی نباید ده یک از علوفه وی
کم نمایند و امر نمودم که اون باشی به تصدیق
یوز باشی علوفه بکیرد ویوز باشی بتصدیق منک
باشی ومنک باشی به تصدیق امیر الامرا علوفه
بکیرد

+ This mode of fixing the pay of the foldier is still practiced in Hindo-
staun. Every foldier finds his own horse, and receives pay in proportion
to his value. Select men are still taken into service with two, and some-
times

Euzbaushees, and the Ounbaushees, and the common soldiers should be fixed and determined according to the following order. Book II.

I ordained that the subsistence of each of the private soldiers, if he were a sufficient and able man, should be fixed at the value of his horse; † and that the subsistence of my select and chosen warriors should be estimated at the value of from two to four horses each.

AND I ordered that the subsistence of the Ounbaushees should be ten times as much as the subsistence of the soldiers under them; and that the subsistence of the Euzbaushees should be twice as much as that of the Ounbaushees; and that the subsistence of the Mingbaushees should be three times as much as the subsistence of the Euzbaushees.

AND I ordained that the soldier who neglected his duty, ‡ should be fined in one tenth of his pay. And I commanded that the Ounbaushees should receive their subsistence under the controul of the Euzbaushees; and that the Euzbaushees should receive their subsistence under the controul of the Mingbaushees; and that the Mingbaushees should receive their subsistence under the controul of the Ameer ul Omrau. ||

times three, horses each; which are mounted by their servants, and they receive pay in proportion.

† The word thus translated is Mogul, and the sense doubtful.

|| i. e. The chief of the Ameer or Nobles.

وامر نمودم که علوفه امیر الامرا ده برابر علوفه تاینان ایشان بوره باشد و همچنان امر نمودم که علوفه دیوان بیکی ووزرا ده برابر امرا باشد وعلوفه یساوان و جساوان و قلقچیان* از هزار تا ده هزار مقرر باشد

وعلوفه مجلسیان از سادات وعلما وفضلا و حکما واطبا و منجیان واریاب قصص وروایات فراخور نسبت ایشان سیورغال* ووظیفه وعلوفه معین دارند وعلوفه پیدگان وخدم و فراشان از صد تا هزار مقرر نمایند

وامر کردم که امیر الامرا بتصدیق دیوان بیکی ووزرا علوفه بکیزد و عرض مراتب علوفه هر یک را دیوان بیکی ووزرا بعرض من رسانند و تمنخواه دهند

وامر نمودم که یرلیغ علوفه بهریک از سپاه نوشته بسپارند آنچه بوی رسانند در پست همان یرلیغ وصول آن مبلغ بنویسند

† This regulation is not understood by the the translator. The words *Yuffaurullaun*, *Juffaurullaun*, and *Kullyckcheaun* are Mogul.

AND I commanded that the pay of the Ameer ul Omrau should be ten times as much as the pay of the officer subordinate unto him. And, in like manner, I ordained that the stipends of the Dewaunbeghi and of the Vizzeers should be ten times as much as the subsistence of the Ameers; and that the subsistence of the Yuffauwullaun, the Juffauwullaun, and the Kulluckcheaun should be established at from one thousand to ten thousand. †

AND I ordained that pensions, and salaries, and subsistence should be conferred on the posterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the men of science, and the learned in medicine, and on the astrologers, and the historians, in proportion to their different ranks and stations: and that the subsistence of the foot-soldiers, and the domestics, and the Furraushaun ‡ should be fixed at from a hundred to a thousand.

AND I ordained also that the Ameer ul Omrau should receive his subsistence under the inspection of the Dewaunbeghi and the Vizzeers. And I commanded that the Vizzeers and the Dewaunbeghi should lay before me the statement of the salaries of each of my people, and pay them agreeably thereto.

AND I ordained that a written order for his subsistence should be delivered to each of my soldiers; and that the sums which from time to time were advanced unto him, should be written down on the back of that order.

‡ The *Furraushaun* are the people employed to erect the tents, &c.

تزوک تنجاه و رسانیدن علوفه بسپاه
 امر نمودم که یکساله علوفه پیادگان
 و قلقچیان و بساولان و جساوان را * بر آورد نبوده
 مبلغ ایشانرا در دیوانخانه آورده بدیشان
 برسانند
 و علوفه سایر سپاه و بهادرانیکه را امر نمودم
 که شش ماهه بر آورن نمایند و وجه علوفه ایشانرا از
 خزانه تنجاه دهند
 و امر نمودم که علوفه اون باشی و یوز
 باشی بر مال امانی شهری و ملکی نقد برات
 نویسند و منک باشیانرا در میان ولایت یتول * بدهند
 و امرا و امیر الامرا را در سرحداتها ولایت مقرر نمایند
 و امر نمودم که قسمت ولایات بدین
 طریق نمایند
 که جمع حاصل ولایات و ممالک را
 تقسیم نمایند و در یرلیغها کم و زیاده بنویسند و آن
 یرلیغها را در دیوانخانه آورده هریک از امرا و منک
 باشیان

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT AND PAY OF MY TROOPS. Book II.

I commanded that the accompt of twelve months subsistence for the infantry, and the Kulluckcheaun, and the Yuffauwullaun, and the Juffauwullaun should be made out at one time; and that the money which was their due should be brought forth into the hall of audience, and there delivered unto them.

I ordered that the accompts of the subsistence of my cavalry in general should be made out every six months; and that appointments to the amount of their pay should be delivered unto them from the treasury.

AND I ordained that for the subsistence of the Ounbaushees and the Euzbaushees written orders should be given on the Maulaumauni † of the cities and the country; and that the interior districts should be allotted for the payment of the Mingbaushees; and that the stipends of the Ameers and the Ameer ul Omrau should be granted on the revenues of the frontier provinces.

AND I COMMANDED THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROVINCES, AND THE DISTRICTS, SHOULD BE MADE IN THIS MANNER:

THAT the amount of the revenues of the various provinces and kingdoms should be divided into lots for more or for less, and that a royal assignment for the payment of each of those lots should be made out; and that those assignments should be brought into the hall

† Imposts, duties.

باشیان یرلیغی بردارند واکر از علوفه وی زیاده
باشد دیگری را بخود شریک سازد واکر کم باشد
یرلیغ دیگری را بردارند

وامر نبودم که امرا و منک باشیان در
تحصیل مال و جهات از رعیت چیزی زیاده از اصل المال
و ساوری و قتلغه و شبیلان* بها طلب ندارند

وهر مملکت را که یتول* بدهند دو وزیر
بدان مملکت تعیین نمایند یکی جمع ولایت بنویسد
و نسق رعیت نماید تا خرابی بحال رعیت راه نیابد
و جاکیردار ظلم و تعدی بر رعایا نتواند کرد و آنچه
از ولایت تحصیل شود در مداخل جمع نماید و وزیر
دیگر مخارج بنویسد و بر سپاه قسمت نماید

وهر امیری که یتول* بدهند تا سه
سال بحال نگاهدارند و بعد از سه سال ملاحظه

+ *Jaugbeer* is a royal grant of certain lands; or more properly an assign-
ment of the crown revenues of a certain district to any one, and revocable
at the pleasure of the prince. The holder of this grant is called *Jaugbeer*.

نمایند

of audience; and that the Ameers and the Mingbaushes Book II.
 should each of them take one of those assignments; and
 that if the amount thereof exceeded the sum of his sub-
 sistence, some one else should participate with him; and
 if it were less, that another should be given in exchange,
 or added unto it.

AND I commanded that the Ameers and
 the Mingbaushes, in collecting the revenues from the sub-
 jects, should not on any account demand more than the
 taxes and duties established.

AND to every province on which a royal
 assignment was granted, I ordained that two supervisors
 should be appointed to that province: that one of them
 should inspect the collections and watch over the concerns
 of the inhabitants, that they might not be impoverished,
 and that the Jaugheerdaur † might not ill-use or oppress
 them; and that he should take an account of all the sums
 which were collected in the province: and that the other
 supervisor should keep a register of the public expences,
 and distribute the revenues among the soldiers.

AND every Ameer who was appointed to a
 Jaugheer, † I ordained that for the space of three years it
 should remain unto him; and that after three years the
 state of the province should be inspected. If the inhabi-

† In the original *Yattoo*; which is Mogul, and has the same meaning
 with *Jaugheer*.

نهایند اگر ملک اباد و رعایا راضی باشند بحال
خود دارند و اگر بر خلاف این باشد آن ولایت را
بخالصه ضبط کنند و تا سه سال آن جاگیردار را
علوفه ندهند

وامر نبودم که مال از رعیت به بیم
و ترسانیدن تحصیل نهایند نه بچوب و شلاق چه حکم
حاکمی که از چوب و شلاق کمتر باشد آن حاکم
سزاوار حکومت نباشد

مراتب علوفه فرزندان و نبایر

امر نبودم که فرزند اولین که محمد
جهانگیر است و ولی عهد من باشد دوازده هزار سوار را
علوفه و ولایت بگیرد

و فرزند دویبین که عبر شیخ است ده
هزار سوار را علوفه و ولایت بگیرد

و فرزند سیومین که میران شاه است
نه هزار سوار را علوفه بگیرد و بر ولایت متصرف گردد

و فرزند چهارمین که شاهرخ است هفت
هزار سوار را علوفه و ولایت بگیرد

و نبیرگان

tants were satisfied, and if the country was flourishing and populous, that he should be continued therein: but if the contrary should appear, that the Jaugheer should return unto the crown; and that for the three following years, subsistence should not be granted to the holder thereof. Book II.

AND I ordained that the collection of the taxes from the subject might, when necessary, be enforced by menaces and by threats; but never by whips and by scourges. The governor whose authority is inferior to the power of the scourge, is unworthy to govern.

CONCERNING THE SUBSISTENCE OF MY CHILDREN AND DESCENDANTS.

I commanded that my eldest son, the heir to my throne, who is Mahummud Jehaungheer, should receive the subsistence of twelve thousand horsemen, and the assignment of territories sufficient to defray the same:

AND that my second son, who is Omur Sheikh, should receive the subsistence of ten thousand horsemen, and lands correspondent thereunto:

AND that my third son, who is Meeraun Shaah, should receive the subsistence of nine thousand horsemen, and the assignment of a province for the payment of the same:

AND that my fourth son, who is Shaah-rokh, should receive the subsistence of seven thousand horsemen, and the assignment of a Jaugheer equivalent thereto:

H h

AND

و نایب‌الزکات بقدر استعداد از سه هزار تا هفت هزار سوار را علوفه و ولایت بکینند و دیگر جماعت را که بهین قرابت داشتند فراخور حالت و استعداد و امارت و ایالت از مرتبه امیر اول تا امیر هفتم بدهند و هر یک در مرتبه حد خود بوره از حد خود تجاوز نه نمایند و چون خلافی ظاهر شود مخاطب گردند

در باب سیاست فرزندان و نایب‌الزکات و خویشان و امرایان و وزرا
 امر نمودم که اگر از فرزندان یکی مدعی مرتبه سلطنت شود در کشتن و بستن وی جرات نکنند و اعضای ایشان را ناقص نسازند لیکن در قید نگاهدارند تا از دعوی خود باز آیند تا در ملک خدا فشان نشود

و نایب‌الزکات و خویشان اگر مخالفت نمایند ایشانرا درویش سازند

وامرا

AND that my grandsons should receive subsistence and lands for from three to seven thousand horse, each according to his capacity and abilities.

To all others who were related unto me, I commanded that subsistence and appointments should be given, from the rank of first Ameer to the rank of seventh Ameer, according to the abilities, and the dignity, and the rank of each; and that every one of them should rest content with the station wherein he was placed, and presume not to exceed the limits prescribed unto him; and that if any one of them should disobey this order, he should be called to a strict account.

CONCERNING THE PUNISHMENTS
OF MY CHILDREN, AND MY GRANDCHILDREN, AND
MY RELATIONS, AND MY CHIEFS, AND MY MINI-
STERS.

I ordained, if either of my sons should aspire to the imperial throne, that they should not presume to put him to death, nor load him with chains; neither should they injure him in his limbs, or his organs; but that they should confine him in a prison, until he returned back from his evil ways: that civil wars and convulsions might not arise in the land of the Lord.

AND if any one of my grandchildren, or relations, rose in enmity against me, I ordered him to be reduced to the state of a Dervaiſh. †

† i. e. To be deprived of his honours and fortune; to be reduced to a state of beggary.

وامرا که حصار ملک اند اگر در وقت
کار نفاق کنند ایشانرا از امارت و ایالت معزول
گردانند و اگر از ایشان کاری بظهور رسد که از
آن کار فسادی در ملک ظاهر شود تا بین امرا
نمایند و اگر در امور سپاهکری کاهلی نمایند داخل
نویسندگان سازند و اگر بعد آن تقصیری و کوتاهی
از ایشان بظهور رسد بار ندهند

در باب وزرا که معتبدان و معتبران
سلسله دولت اند

امر نهوم اگر در امور سلطنت خیانتی
از ایشان ظاهر شود و زوال سلطنت اراده نموده باشند
در کشتن ایشان تعجیل نه نمایند

و تحقیق کنند که مدعی و تقریر
کنندگان ایشان چه کسان اند اول راستی و راست
کویء مدعیان بر محک امتحان تجربه نمایند چه
حاسدان و مفتریان بسیار باشند که از روی جسد
و طبع امر دروغی را بلباس راستی بیاریند تا کار
خود را ساخته گردانند

و بسیار از سفگان لیم باشند که
دشمنان دولت را تسلی نمایند و دولتخواهان جانسپار را
بجمله

AND if the Amceers, who are the bulwarks of empire, should disobey in the hour of action, I ordered that they should be degraded from their commands, and deprived of their powers and their dignities; and that if any of them should be guilty of actions, from whence disturbances might arise in my dominions, that they should be delivered over to the judgement of their peers; and that if they were guilty of neglect in the line of their military duty, they should be classed amongst the scribes; and, if in that station they were disobedient and refractory, that they should be expelled from the imperial service. Book II.

CONCERNING THE MINISTERS, WHO ARE THE MOST RESPECTABLE AND CONFIDENTIAL OF THE SERVANTS OF ROYALTY.

I ordained, if they should be guilty of treachery in the concerns of the empire, or form attempts for the subversion of the imperial authority, that their judges should not be precipitate in consigning them over to death:

AND that they should discover and ascertain who were their accusers, and first try the honesty and truth of the witnesses on the touchstone of examination and proof: for the invidious and the slanderers are many; who from envy and self-interest will cloath falsehood in the garment of truth, that they may accomplish their own designs.

AND many there are, worthless and wicked men, who will support and encourage the enemies of their prince: and who by fraud, and artifice and trea-

بحيله كړي و مكارې خراب سازند و به مكر و غدر در
حصار مهلكت رخنه اندازند

چنانچه امير حسين به يكي از وزراي
من در ساخت وويرا تطبيع كرد كه امير ايكو
تيهور و امير جاکو با آنكه بازويء دولت من بودند
با من در اندازد و من اين معني را بفراست در ياقتم
و سخناني كه در حق ايشان بين ميگفتند
نا شنیده مي انكاشتم

و همچنين جمعي از مقرران من از
روي حسد و نفاق سخنان غير واقعه از جانب امير
عباس كه از امرای كلان معتبر من بود در خلا
و ملا بعض رسايدند و آتش غضب مرا به باد سخنان
دروغ بر افروختند تا آنكه در حالت غضب تجربه
نا كرده امر بقتل وي نمودم و در آخر حال غدر
ايشانرا در حق امير عباس فهيدم و نادم و پشيمان
كشتم

و وزراي مالي كه خزانه دار مهلكت اند
اگر در ماليات تغلب و تصرف نبايند و اگر ببقدر
علوفه خود تصرف نبوده باشند بانعام وي مقرر دارند
اگر

chery will ruin and destroy his loyal and faithful subjects ; and by falsehood, and perfidy, and deceit shake and overturn the foundation of his empire. Book II.

THUS Ameer Hoossein entered into a treacherous correspondence with one of my Vizzeers. And he administered to his avarice, and he prevailed upon him to sow discord and enmity between me and Eekoo Timour and Ameer Jaukoo, who were the sinews of my power and fortune. And I penetrated into the designs of Ameer Hoossein and my Vizzeer, and I listened not to their accusations against them.

AND thus also several of those in whom I confided, from envy and from malice, communicated fictitious tales unto me, both in public and in private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubhaus, who was one of my most powerful and most faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my resentment by their false reports ; and in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death : and in the end I discovered the perfidy of his accusers, and I was ashamed and confounded at my own conduct.

IF the Vizzeers superintending the revenues, who hold the riches of the empire, were guilty of peculation therein ; and if the sums which they appropriated to their own use, exceeded not the amount of their salaries, I ordered that it should be conferred upon them ; that if they had taken sums to twice the amount
of

اگر دو مقدار علوفه متصرف شده باشند در علوفه
وي حساب نپايند اگر سه برابر علوفه خود گرفته
باشند پيشکش کويان از وي تحصيل نپايند
وامر نهورم که از روي اعتبار برنگيرند
واعتبار کرده خود را بي اعتبار نکنند تا آنکه غلط بر
سلطنت لازم نيآيد

وسخنان ارباب غرض و اشار و حاسدان
در حق وزرا نشنوند که اين طبقه را دشمنان بسيار
باشند چه اهل عالم همه دنيا طلب اند اگر وزرا
رعايت ايشان نپايند خيانت کرده باشند و اگر رعايت
نکنند که بر بدشني بر بندند

چغناء خان وزيری داشت که ارباب
تقریر چندين هزار درست زر بيروي نوشته بودند چون
آن نوشته را بنظر خان در آوردند وزير را مخاطب
ساخت و از روي عتاب گفت که تو مرد پست فطرتي
ظاهر شدي چه وزير مثل من پادشاي باشي و از
مملکت من همين قدر قليل تصرف نپاي وزير
خرده مند بهمين احسان مهنون شده هر چه داشت
آورده

of their subsistence, it should be deducted therefrom; and that, if they had defrauded the revenues to three times the amount of their salaries, the imperial collectors should levy it upon their fortunes. Book II.

AND I ordered that the collectors should not take more than was due; but that their conduct should be governed by equity and justice, that abuses might not creep into the ordinances of government.

I commanded that the tales of the wicked, the envious, and the malicious against my Vizzeers should not be attended to. For ministers are a class of men who have many enemies; and the inhabitants of this world are searchers after the things thereof. If a minister patronizes and supports them, they will deceive and betray him; and if he neglects those people, they will gird up their loins in opposition unto him.

CHUGHTAÏ Khaun had a minister whom the sons of calumny accused of peculation to the amount of many thousand pieces of money. When they presented the impeachment to the king, he commanded the Vizzeer into his presence, and thus reproached him, “It is evident that thou art a wretch of a most abject disposition, since being the minister of a prince rich and powerful as I am, thou canst be meanly content with defrauding thy master of such poor and contemptible sums as these.” The sagacious and good Vizzeer, thus

آورده پیشکش خان کرد و عزت و اعتبار خود را
نکاهداشت

وسایر سپاه اگر از حد خود تجاوز
نبوده بر زیر دستی ستمی کنند ویرا بدست آن
مظلوم بسپارند که داد خود را از وی بگیرد

وکلانتران و کدخدایان اگر بر ریزه
رعیت ظلمی کرده باشند فراخور ظلم و موافق
استطاعت از وی جریمه گیرند حاکم و داروغه اگر
از روی تعدی رعیت را خراب ساخته باشد ایشانرا
جزا دهند و امر نمودم که بعد از ثبوت گناه اگر از
کنه کار جریمه گیرند بشلاق سیاست نکنند و اگر
بشلاق سیاست کنند جریمه نکنند

دزد را امر نمودم در هر جا که باشد
و هر کس بیاید بیاسا رسانند

و هر کس مال کسی را بتعدی گرفته
باشد مال آن مظلوم را از ظالم گرفته بصاحب مال
رسانند

و باقی

honoured by the kindness of his prince, brought forth all that he had, and laid it at the feet of his lord; and thus preserved both his influence and his honour. Book II.

AND I commanded that if any one of my foldiers, exceeding the limits prescribed him, should injure or oppress the weak and the helpless, he should be delivered into the hands of the injured person, that he might retaliate upon him.

AND if the chiefs or the nobles of any tribe or people extorted from the industrious husbandman his small pittance, I commanded that a fine should be levied on the guilty person in proportion to the degree of extortion, and to his ability to make retribution: and if the governor or superintendant should cruelly destroy the property of a subject, that he should be brought to punishment: but I ordained that after conviction, if the guilty person was fined, in that case corporal punishment should not be inflicted; and if corporal punishment was inflicted, I ordered that he should not be fined.

ROBBERS and thieves, in whatever place they might be found, or by whomsoever detected, I commanded to be put to death.

AND I ordained, that, if any one seized by violence the property of another, the value of that property should be taken from the oppressor, and be restored to the oppressed.

وباقی امور از دندان شکستن و چشم
کور کردن و کوش بینی بریدن و شراب خوردن
وزنا کردن اگر از کسی بوقوع آید در دیوان
قاضی اسلام و قاضی احداث اجلاس نهوده آنچه
امور شرعی باشند قاضی اسلام در آنها حکم نماید
و آنچه عرفی باشد قاضی احداث تحقیق کرده
بعرض من رساند

تنوک نگاهداشت وزرا

امر نبودم در وزرا چهار صفت احتیاط
نمایند اول اصالت و نجابت دویم عقل و کیاست
سیوم سلوک و معاش با سپاه و رعیت چهارم بردباری
و مسالمت
هرکس باین چهار صفت موصوف باشد
ویرا قابل مرتبه وزارت دانند و وزیر و مشیر سازند
و عنان امور مملکت و سپاه و رعیت بوی سپارند آنکاه
ویرا بچهار چیز امتیاز بخشند اعتبار و اعتبار و اختیار
و اقتدار

کامل

CONCERNING other crimes, the breaking of teeth, and the putting out of eyes, and the flitting and cutting off the ears and nose, and wine-drinking and adultery, I ordained that whoever should be guilty of these, or other crimes, they should be brought into the court of the ecclesiastical and civil judges: that the ecclesiastical magistrate should decide on those causes, which are determinable by the sacred laws; and that those which did not fall under his cognizance, should be investigated, and laid before me by the civil judge.

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF
MINISTERS.

I ordained that in Vizzeers four qualities should be particularly attended to: First, firmness and generosity: Secondly, understanding and sagacity: Thirdly, the power of living in harmony with the soldiers and the subjects: Fourthly, patience under difficulties, and talents for the cultivation of peace and tranquillity:

THAT whoever was endowed with these four qualities should be considered as equal to the office of Vizzeer; should be made both minister and counsellor, and the reins of the concerns of the government, of the army, and the subjects be delivered over to his care; that preeminence should be conferred upon him by four things, confidence, and esteem, and discretionary power, and authority.

THAT

کامل الوزارت وزیري باشد که رتق
 وفتق معاملات وامور ملکي ومال را از روي نيکي
 ونيکذاتي وحسن سلوک صورت دهد واز جايي که
 نباید گرفت نکيرد و بجايي نباید داد ندهد ودر
 اوامر ونواهي اثار نجابت واصالت از وي ظاهر کردن
 ونفاق ودراندازي از وي ظاهر نشود ونام هبه کس از
 سپاه ورعبت به نيکي برد و بدني هيچکس نکويد
 ونشنود واکر از کسي بدني ديده باشد چنان
 سلوک نباید که آن شخص از بدني خود باز آيد
 ويد کننده خود را نيکي کند تا بسوي وي باز
 کشت نباید

وهر وزيری که بد کويد ويد شنود
 ودراندازي بکند ومردم نيک را خواهد بواسطه بدني
 که بوي داشته باشد خراب سازد وپرا از وزارت معزول
 نباید
 ويد ذاتان وحاسدان وکينه نازان واشرار را
 وزارت ندهند چه اثاري که از وزارت اشرار وسفلکان
 مترتب کردن همين است که دولت وسلطنت زود
 روي بتوال آورد

چنانچه ملکشاه سلجوقي نظام الملک وزير
 خدا

THAT minister shall be equal to his office, ordereth and conducteth the affairs and concerns of government, of land, and of property, with upright-
 and integrity, and moderation; who taketh not
 it should not be taken, and remitteth not where
 ld not be remitted; who in his ordinances and pro-
 as giveth proofs of lenity and of firmness; in whom
 ify and diffimulation shall not appear; who speak-
 ll of the foldier and of the subject; and who nei-
 areth nor sayeth evil of another; who, if he dis-
 h bad designs in any one, shall so conduct himself
 s him, that he shall turn back from his iniquitous
 ons; and who shall do good to the man who doeth
 to him, that he may return into the path of
 up.

LET the Vizzeer who heareth and sayeth
 others, who soweth contention, and who endea-
 1 to ruin a good and virtuous man, from the malice
 he beareth unto him, be expelled from his office.

THE office of the Vizzaurut must not be
 ed on the wicked, the envious, the revengeful, or
 itious: for the consequence that shall follow from
 ministrations of such men, is the speedy dissolution
 imperial fortune and empire.

THUS it happened to Mullick Shaah Sil-
 He disgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk,
 who

خود را که لجم صفتا حسنه آراسته بود معزول ساخته و سغله شيريزي را بجاي وي نصب کرد بشامت اعمال و شرارت و بد نفسي وي بناي سلطنتش روي بانهدام آورد

و همچنين معتصم بالله عباسي علقبي را که بصفه حسد و کينه موصوف بود وزيراً خود ساخت بواسطه کينه که از خليفه در خاطر داشت بسخنان منافقاني خليفه را بازي داد و هلاکو خان را ترغيب نموده بر سر خليفه آورد و ويرا گرفتار ساخت و رسيد بخليفه آنچه رسيد

پس وزيری را اختيار نباید که اصیل و نجیب و نیکذات و نیکو کار باشد که اصل خطا نکند و بد اصل وفا ننماید

و هر وزیري که از راه سلامتې نفس و راستي بامر وزارت قيام نباید و امور ملکي و مالي را از راه صواب و ديانت و امانت پرداخت کند ويرا ببراتب عاليه رسانند

و وزيری

who was adorned with every great and shining quality; and appointed an ignoble and worthless man in his place. By the ill conduct, viciousness, and villainy of that minister the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned.

Book II.

IN this manner Al Kummi, who was noted for his malevolent and revengeful disposition, was raised to the dignity of first minister by Maatuffim Billau Ubbausi. Influenced by the secret rancour which he harboured in his soul against the Khulleefeh, that wicked minister deceived his master with the language of treachery; and exciting the ambition of Hullaukoo Khaun, drew the powerful arms of that prince on the head of the unsuspecting Khalif: he caused his person to be seized; and that befell the Khalif which did befall him.

THEREFORE the Vizeer to be chosen is a man of illustrious descent, and of a noble heart, and of a virtuous disposition, and of prudent conduct. The truly illustrious swerve not from their duty; but in the base and ignoble fidelity and good faith are not to be found.

AND every Vizeer who conducteth himself in his high station with uprightnes and integrity; who directeth the various departments of government with rectitude, and with fidelity, and with respect to the sacred laws, let him be exalted to the highest dignities.

ووزیري که از شرارت و بد نفسی
معاملات را انجام دهد زود باشد که خیر و برکت از
آن سلطنت برخیزد

ووزیر دانا وزیري باشد که بدرشتي
و نرهي کار کند نه بسیار درشت باشد و نه بسیار
نرم اگر بسیار نرمي بکار برد دنیا طلبان و طماعان
و پرا فرو برند اگر بسیار درشتي نماید از وي بگریزند
و بوي رجوع ننمایند

پس وزیر دانا وزیري باشد که کارخانه
سلطنت به حسن سلوک و فہیدکي نظام و انتظام
دهد و در امور سلطنت تحمل و بردباري بکار
برد و معاملات را بدرشتي و نرمي فیصل دهد

و این قسم وزیري را شریک دولت دانند
چہ دولت سلطنت بیلک و خزانه و لشکر قائم باشد
و این هر سه بوزیر دانا اصلاح و انجام یابد

و وزیر جامع الاخلاق وزیري باشد که
بواسطه نا ملایبہ کہ بوي رسد کینہ و نفاق را در
دل

AND if the minister transacteth the important concerns of empire by villainy and artifice, it shall speedily happen that the power and prosperity of that empire shall pass away. Book II.

THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who in his conduct employeth both mildness and severity; who is neither immoderately severe, nor weakly compliant. For if he acteth with too much mildness and compliance, the avaricious and wordly-minded will oppress and bear him down: and if his severity be excessive, the people will fly from before him, and at all times avoid his presence.

THEREFORE THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who regulateth and giveth order to the edifice of royalty by a just knowledge of mankind, and by an uniform and prudent conduct; who in the execution of his office acteth with patience and forbearance, and conducteth the affairs of government with mildness and with severity.

LET such a Vizzeer be considered as a friend and companion in the imperial dignity. For the dignity of empire is supported by extensive territories, by a rich treasury, and by numerous armies: and these three things shall be obtained and secured by a WISE MINISTER.

A PERFECT MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who, in consequence of any harshness that shall be offered unto him, permitteth not revenge and enmity to take possession

دل خود راه ندهد اگر کینه دار و منافق باشد از
وي پر حذر بايد بود که مبارا بدشمنان دولت
سازکاري نباید و خزانه و لشکر را مختل کرداند

وزیر عاقل و زیري باشد که رعیت را
بيک دست گیرد و سپاه را بیک دست و از جايء که
نباید گرفت نکیرد و بجايء که نباید داد ندهد
و حزم و احتیاط را از دست ندهد و پراستي و درستي
معامله نباید و نظر بر عواقب امور کند و در هنگامه
رتق و فتق معاملات خصم را در مقابلهء خود نه
بیند

وزیر کاردان کارگذار و زیري باشد
که معهوري مهلکت و رفاقت رعیت و جمعیت سپاه
و توفیر خزانه را در نظر داشته باشد و اموري که به
دولت سلطنت نفع رساند در تمشیت آن سعی نباید
و اموري که بسطنت ضرر رساند در دفع آن بیال
و جان ساعي باشد و مهبات سپاه و رعیت را بر وجه
خیر و صلاح فیصل دهد

وزیر

of his soul. If he be malignant, and harbour revenge, he must be watched with care and with caution; lest he enter into confederacies with the enemies of the imperial power, and involve in confusion the revenues and the army of his prince.

AN INTELLIGENT AND SAGACIOUS MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who supporteth the subject with one hand, and with the other hand holdeth up the soldier; who receiveth not whence it should not be received; and who giveth not where it should not be given; who letteth not vigilance and circumspection forth from his hand; who acteth with uprightnes and integrity; who looketh forward to the conclusion and consequences of every transaction; and who in negotiating the affairs of the empire seeth not his enemy before him.

THAT MINISTER IS AN EXPERIENCED AND ACTIVE MINISTER, who keepeth in his eye the cultivation and population of the country, and the prosperity of the subjects, and the strength of the army, and the fulness of the treasury; who exerteth himself in promoting those measures which are profitable to government, and hazardeth his fortune and his life in counteracting those, from which evil may follow to the imperial dignity; and who directeth the concerns of the soldier and the subject with prudence and deliberation.

A vir-

ووزیر نیکو محضر وزیري باشد که اعمال
 خیرش غالب بر افعال شر وی بود
 چنین بهسامع من رسید که افعال
 ذمیه نظام الملک مغلوب اعمال خیرش بوده در آن
 وقتی که وی اراده حج کرد یکی از رجال الله
 بوی گفت همین عمل خیری که در دولت ملکشاه
 از تو صادر میشود که بندهای خدا از تو نفع می
 بینند برابر حج است

وبعرض من رسید که علی بن لقطی
 که وزیر هارون الرشید بود چون نفع وی بخلق
 خدا بسیار میرسید روزی که اراده ترک وزارت نمود
 یکی از ایبه دین بوی نوشت که ترا است که بر
 درگاه خلیفه ملازم امر وزارت باشی وجدایء اختیار
 نکنی که امداد ونفعی که به بندگان خدا میرسانی
 سر آمد جمیع اعمال و افعال حسنه تو باشد

وچنین شنیدم که چون از حضرت
 رسول صلی الله علیه وسلم سوال کردند که اگر
 شما به نبوت ورسالت مبعوث نمی شدید یکدام کار
 اشتغال

A VIRTUOUS MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, Book II.
 whose good qualities predominate over his failings.

THUS I have heard, that the failings of Nizzaum ul Moolluk were vanquished by his virtues. At that time when he resolved to perform the holy pilgrimage, one of the men of God said unto him; “Thy good actions which shine forth in the glory and the power of Mullick Shaah, and the blessings which the people of the Almighty receive from thy hands, are equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and of sanctity.”

AND it has also been related unto me, that on the day when Aali Ben Luckti, who was the minister of Hauron ul Rusheed, determined to retire from the Vizzaurat; as his administration had been favourable to the people of God, one of the holy priests wrote to him, saying; “Thou shalt continue to execute thy office in the palace of the Khalif; thou shalt not relinquish thy authority: for the comforts and the benefits which thou conferrest on the servants of the Almighty, are superior to all the good and glorious actions of thy life.”

AND so also I have heard, that when it was demanded of the holy prophet, (on whom be the protection of God) “If thou hadst not been sent forth the messenger and prophet of the Almighty, what occupation wouldest thou have chosen?” He answered, saying,

اشتغال میفرمودید فرمودند که خدمت سلاطین
اختیار میگردم تا بخلق خدا نفع رسانم

از این جهت بود که وزارت و سپهسالاری
الپاس خواجه پسر تغلق تیمور خان را قبول کرده بودم
که امداد خلق نمایم و از مددکاری خلق خدا بود
که الله تعالی مرا بهر تبه سلطنت رسانید

وزیري که بتدبير و شبشير ملكي را
مسخر سازد يا نگاهداري ملك نمايد آن وزير را عزيز
و محترم دارند و بر مراتبش بينفزایند و ويرا صاحب
السينف والقلم خطاب دهند

و وزیر خردمند و هوشمند وزیري باشد
یکه برای و تدبیر لشکر را متفرق سازد و بسازگاری
و خوش سلوک لشکر را متفق گرداند و افواج دشمن را
بخود رام کند و نگاهبان ولي نعت خود باشد و هر
فهمي و مشکلي که پادشاه را پيش آيد به رای
و تدبیر و دور بینی آن مشکل را آسان گرداند اگر
بسنگي

saying, "I would have fought the service of princes ; Book II.
 " that I might have been able to do good to the servants
 " of my Creator."

AND it was on this account that I consented to accept the employments of minister and general from Ouléaus Khaujeh, the son of Tughulluk Timour Khaun ; that I might succour and support the people. And from the assistance and protection which I afforded to his servants, it may have come to pass that Almighty God hath exalted me to the throne of empire.

AND if a minister by skilful measures, or by the sword, conquereth or saveth a kingdom, let him be held in honour and respect ; and let him be exalted and stiled, THE LORD OF THE SWORD AND THE PEN.

A SKILFUL AND ABLE MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who, when necessary, can by his counsels and abilities disperse and divide the power of armies ; and who, when occasion calleth, can by well-adapted and skilful measures unite them together ; who hath the capacity to sow divisions among the forces of the enemy, and to make them subservient to his views, and to be the conservator of his prince and master ; who can, by his sagacity, and wisdom, and foresight resolve and render easy the momentous concerns and difficulties which surround a king ; and who,

بستگی در امور سلطنت بهم رسد آنرا بسر انگشت
عقل و فکر بکشاید

چنانچه در وقتی که علی بیک چون
غربانی مرا در بند انداخت و در خانه پر از کیک
مقید ساخت عزیز الدین که از وزرای من بود از
ترمذ ایلغار کرده خود را بمن رسانید و علی بیک را
در خواب کرد و چشم ویرا از من پوشانید و مرا
قوت دار تا بسبازوی شجاعت و مردی بضر ب شبیر
از میان نگاهبانان بر آمده نجات یافتم چنانچه
نظام الملک سلطان ملکشاه را از بند قیصر خلاص
ساخت

پس این چنین وزیری را شریک دولت
دانند و عزیز دارند و از گفتار او تجاوز نمایند که
انچه گوید همه از روی عقل باشد

اگر پادشاه ظالم باشد و وزیرش عادل
بود تدارک ظالم پادشاه میشود لیکن اگر وزیر ظالم
باشد زود باشد که سلسله امور سلطنت بر هم
خورد

تذکر

if the affairs of empire be involved in confusion, can reduce them to order by the hand of understanding and reflection. Book II.

THUS at the time that Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni seized on my person, and confined me in a loathsome dungeon, filled with vermin; Aazeez u deen, who was one of my Vizzeers, came to me from Turmuz with speed; and lulling to sleep the attention of Aali Beg, and hiding his eyes from his prisoner, he gave such vigour to my hopes, that with the arm of fortitude and resolution, and by the edge of the sword, I extricated myself from the guards which were stationed over me, and recovered my freedom. In the like manner Nizzaum ul Moolluk delivered Mullick Shaah from the hands of Keefur.

LET therefore such a minister be accounted the companion of the imperial fortune; let him be treated with kindness and affection; and let not his counsels be disregarded: for that which he sayeth, proceedeth from wisdom and understanding.

If a king be oppressive, and his Vizzeer be just, the oppressions of the king are moderated and rectified by the justice of the Vizzeer; but if the Vizzeer be oppressive, the affairs of that government shall be speedily involved in confusion.

تزوک مرتبه امارت وایالت

امر نمودم که به سیصد و سیزده مرد که
 نوکران خاص الخاص من بودند امارت بدهند
 و این مردم بودند که باصالت و نجابت و عقل و کیاست
 و تهور و شجاعت و تدبیر و حزم و احتیاط و دور بینی و عاقبت
 اندیشی موصوف بودند

و از برای هر یک کوتل * تعیین کردم اگر
 یکی از ایشان را موت و فوت پیش آید آن کوتل
 جانشین وی باشد و آن کوتل را منتظر الامارت نام
 نهادم

و این سیصد و سیزده امیر من صاحبان
 عقل و هوش و بزم و رزم و صف آرای و لشکر شکنی
 بودند

و بتجربه من رسیده که لایق امارت
 وایالت مردی تواند بود که رموز جنگ و شبیه شکست
 دادن غنیم را در یابد و وقت جنگ دل از دست ندهد
 و دست و پا کم نکند و افواج را کار بفرماید و اگر
 در صفوی لشکر رخنه بظهور رسد آن رخنه را تواند
 پر بست

وامیر

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE AP- Book II.
POINTMENT OF SUPERIOR OFFICERS. }

I commanded that three hundred and thirteen persons from among my chosen and superior servants should be advanced to exalted dignities. And those were men who were renowned for their high lineage, and for nobleness of mind, and for understanding, and for penetration, and for resolution, and for intrepidity, and for skill, and for vigilance, and for caution, and for foresight, and for deep reflection.

AND to each of them I appointed another person, who on the death of the first should succeed to his rank and dignity; and him I entitled AN EXPECTER OF PREFERMENT.

AND these three hundred and thirteen Ameers were men of judgement and of knowledge; and they were learned in the arts of peace and of war; and they were skilled in the evolutions of armies, and in breaking the lines of the enemy.

FOR by experience it is known unto me, that he only is equal to stations of power and dignity, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating hostile armies; who in the hour of battle giveth not his heart forth from his hand, nor permitteth apprehension and terror to take possession of his soul; who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confusion, can by his abilities restore them to order.

He

وامیر الامرا او تواند بود که در بزم و رزم
 نایب و قائم مقام من باشد و بشوکت و مهابت تواند
 که لشکر را کار فرماید و هر کس را که مخالفت وی
 کند تواند که سیاست نباید

وامر نمودم که از جمله سپید و سبزه
 نفر چهار کس بیکلر بیکی باشند و یک نفر امیر
 الامراء مقرر باشد که حکم وی در یساقها و جنگها بر
 امرا و سایر سپاه جاری باشد و وی در حضور من نایب
 من باشد

دوازده مرد دیگر را که صاحب غیرت
 و ناموس بودند بدین ترتیب امارت دارم
 امیر اول را امارت هزار کس دارم بر
 ایشان امیر گردانیدم و امیر دوم را امارت دو هزار کس
 دادم و بر آن دو هزار کس امیر ساختم همچنین
 امیر سیوم و چهارم و پنجم را بر سه هزار چهار هزار پنج
 هزار کس امیر گردانیدم تا دوازده امیر بهین ترتیب
 بر شش هزار کس تا دوازده هزار کس امیر ساختم
 و هر یک را بترتیب امارت نایب دیگری مقرر نمودم
 چنانچه امیر اول نایب امیر دوم و امیر

HE is capable of filling the station of chief Book II.
of the Omraus, who is worthy of being my lieutenant
in peace and in war; who can rule the armies with ma-
jesty and with authority; and who hath the vigour to
chastize those who rise in opposition to his commands.

I commanded, that of the fore-going three
hundred and thirteen Ameer, four should be appointed
Beglerbegs; † and that one should be exalted to the dig-
nity of Ameer ul Omrau: whose authority should be
over the Ameer and the army, in the field and in action;
and who in my presence should act as my deputy.

TWELVE OTHER PERSONS, MEN OF RE-
PUTATION AND RENOWN, I EXALTED TO HIGH
COMMANDS, ACCORDING TO THIS ORDER.

To the first Ameer I gave in charge a
thousand men, and appointed him commander over them.
And to the second Ameer I gave the command of two
thousand men; and appointed him their chief. And, in
the same manner, to the third, and the fourth, and the
fifth Ameer I gave the command of three, and four,
and five thousand men: and thus from the sixth to the
twelfth Ameer, from six thousand up to twelve thousand.
And each, according to his rank, I appointed the deputy
and representative of his superior.

THUS I appointed the first Ameer the de-
puty of the second, and the second Ameer the deputy of

† i. e. Generals or commanders of the first rank.

دوم نایب سیوم همچنین امیر یازدهم را نایب امیر
دوازدهم ساختم و امیر دوازدهم نایب امیر الامرا باشد
و امیر الامرا نایب من باشد تا اگر قضیه پیش آید
نایب قائم مقام وی گردد

واز جمله سیصد و سیزده مرد امر نمودم
که صد مرد را اون باشی نهایت صد کس را یوز
باشی و صد کس را مینک باشی

و امر کردم که در وقت چار و پلچار* امیر
الامرا با مرا و مینک باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان
خبر رسانند و کار اون باشی را به یوز باشی نفرمایند
همچنین کار یوز باشی را به مینک باشی
و کار مینک باشی را با امیر و کار امیر را با امیر الامرا
نفرمایند

و مهبی که باون باشی بانجام رسد به
یوز باشی محتاج نشوند و همچنین کاری که از یوز
باشی بر آید به مینک باشی محتاج نگردانند
و هر یک از امرا که از روی رغبت کار
طلب باشد بوی بفرمایند

تذکر

the third; thus also the eleventh Ameer the deputy of the twelfth Ameer, and the twelfth Ameer the deputy of the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Ameer ul Omrau my deputy: that if an accident should happen, the one might supply the place of another. Book II.

I also commanded that from amongst these three hundred and thirteen Ameers, a hundred should be stiled Ounbaushees, that one other hundred should be called Euzbaushees, and that the third hundred should be stiled Mingbaushees.

AND I ordained that in times of service the Ameer ul Omrau should issue orders to the Ameers, and the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees, and the Ounbaushees: and that the duty of the Ounbaushee should not be imposed on the Euzbaushee; and in the like manner that the duty of the Euzbaushee should not be imposed on the Mingbaushee; nor the duty of the Mingbaushee on the Ameer; nor the duty of the Ameer on the Ameer ul Omrau:

AND that on such service as might be executed by an Ounbaushee, an Euzbaushee should not be ordered; and that a Mingbaushee should not be sent on a service which could be performed by an Euzbaushee:

AND that every one of the Ameers, who, from a spirit of enterprise, demanded employment, that his request should be granted.

تازک تربیت سپاه از مرتبهء اردنی تا
به مرتبهء اعلی.

امر نبودم که از بهار راتیکه که
شششیر نمایان زده باشد در شششیر اول اون باشی
نهایت و در شششیر دوم یوز باشی کنند و در شششیر
سیوم مینک باشی سازند و تابینان اون باشی را در
شششیر اول اون باشی گردانند

وامر نبودم که شششیر حفظ را منظور
ندارند که کاو هم شاخ میزنند پس نظر بر اصالت
و نجابت سپاهی هم باید کرد.

و مینک باشی چون بضر ب شششیر
فوجی را بشکنند امیر اول گردانند و امیر اول چون
صف شکنی نماید امیر دوم سازند و همچنین هر
امیری که کار نمایان کرده فوج شکنی کند از
مرتبه وی بالاتر ترقی فرمایند و سایر سپاه چون

شششیر بنزد علوفه ایشان بیفزایند
و هر

REGULATIONS OF PROMOTIONS AND REWARDS TO MY SOLDIERS FROM THE MEANEST TO THE MOST EXALTED. Book II.

I ordained, if any one of my select soldiers distinguished himself in battle, that in recompence for the first exploit he should be made an Ounbaushee, and for the second exploit an Euzbaushee, and for the third exploit a Mingbaushee; and that the Taubenaun† of the Ounbaushee should for the first exploit be raised to the rank of Ounbaushee.

I ordained also, that an atchievement which sprung from attention to personal safety in the moment of peril, should not be regarded: for the ox will sometimes strike with his horns, and turn upon his pursuers. Therefore the firmness and the spirit of the soldier must also be considered.

I commanded, when a Mingbaushee vanquished the forces of his antagonist by the edge of the sword, that he should be raised to the rank of first Ameer: and that the first Ameer, on defeating the army of his foe, should be appointed second Ameer: and thus, that every Ameer who signalized his valour and abilities, and overthrew the forces of his enemy, should be promoted from his own to a superior station: and that the private soldiers who distinguished themselves in battle, should be rewarded by an increase of pay.

† i. e. The inferior to the Ounbaushee.

وهر سپاهي که در وقت کار زوي
 کرداند ويرا کورنش ندهند واکر مضطر شده زوي
 کردان شده باشد معذورش دارند واکر واهبه بز
 وي غلبه کرده باشد ويرا باولي* بدهند وهر سپاهي
 که شمشير زند و زخم بردارد ويرا جلدو* بدهند واکر
 زخم برداشته رو کردان شده باشد ويرا تحسین
 نپایند و زخم خوردن ويرا اعتبار کنند که اگر وي به
 غنیمت رسیده باشد اما غنیمت بوي رسیده و زخم وي
 گواه حال وي باشد

و حق سپاهي را ضایع نسازند وهر سپاهي
 که به پيري رسد ويرا از علوفه و مرتبه محروم و معزول
 نکردانند و کار سپاه را پوشیده ندارند و مردم سپاهي
 که حیات باقی خود را بیال فانی میفروشند مستحق
 جلدو* باشند و لایق انعام و تربیت اگر ويرا از انعام
 محروم سازند و کارش را پوشیده دارند بی انصافی
 کرده باشند

وامر نبودم که هر امیري و وزیري و سپاهي
 که حق خدمت بر دولت من ثابت کرده باشد

† This word is Mogul, and the meaning unknown.

To every soldier who turned his back in the hour of action, I ordered that Koornish † should not be given; and that if he fled from absolute necessity, he should be pardoned; and that if he should be struck with a panic, and fly in consequence thereof, that he should be pardoned also; ‡ and that to every soldier, who should fight with resolution, and be wounded in action, a compensation should be given; and that if he should be wounded in battle, and then retire from the field, his conduct should be applauded. The wound which he had received should be considered as a proof, that if he reached not to the enemy, yet the arm of the enemy extended unto him: his wound should be a witness in his favour.

Book II.

I ordained that the right of the warrior should not be injured; and that the soldier who had grown in years should not be deprived of his station or his wages; and that the actions of the soldier should not be suppressed: for those men who sell their permanent happiness for perishable honour, merit compensation, and are worthy of reward and encouragement. If a soldier should be deprived of his reward, and his actions should be hidden from the light, it would be an act of injustice.

I ordained that every chief, minister, and soldier, who by his services had established a claim on my fortune; who had defeated an army, or reduced a

† The Mogul word is *Bauwulli*, and the sense is doubtful.

king-

ولشکری را شکست داده یا ملکی را مسخر نبوده
یا شهبیری زده باشد حق خدمت ویرا منظور دارند
و حق ویرا ازا نپایند

و پیران سپاهرا بعزت بدارند و سخنان از
ایشان بشنوند که آنچه ایشان بگویند از تجربه خواهد
بود و ایشانرا مصالح کارخانه سلطنت دانند بعد از
ایشان فرزندان ایشان را قائم مقام ایشان نپایند

و امر نبودم که هر سپاهی از جانب غنیم
گرفتار گردد ویرا نکشند و مختار گردانند اگر
نوکری قبول کند نوکر سازند والا آزاد گردانند
چنانچه من چهار هزار رومی را آزاد کردم

و هر سپاه که از جانب غنیم شهبیر زند
و حق نیک بجای آورد خواه از روی اختیار خواه از
روی اضطرار اگر التجا بدرگاه من آورد بروی
اعتناء نپایند و عزیز دارند که وفاداری بصاحب خود
کرده و حق نیک بجای آورده

چنانچه من به شیر بهرام کردم که وی
در جنگ امیر حسین بین در جنگ رو بر رو شد
و شهبیرها نمایان زد چون از روی اضطرار بین پناه
آورد ویرا احترام کردم
و منکی

kingdom, or distinguished his valour in the hour of battle; that his claims should be regarded, and that the price of his services should be paid unto him: Book II.

AND that the aged warriors should be treated with honour and attention; and that their counsel and opinion should be heard (for that which they say, must proceed from experience) and that they should be considered as the ornaments of my empire; and that on their demise, their sons should succeed to their stations and dignities.

I ordained that the hostile soldier taken in battle should not be put to death; and that military service and freedom should be offered to his choice; that if he consented to enter into my service, he should be received; if not, that he should be set at liberty. In this manner I once gave freedom to 4000 Roomi. †

I ordered that every soldier who had performed his duty, and fought with valour on the side of my enemy, if, from choice or necessity, he fought under my authority, that he should be received with confidence, and treated with honour and regard: since he had performed his duty, and acted with fidelity to his former master.

THUS I rewarded Share Behraum; who in an action with Ameer Hoossein opposed me face to face, and fought with astonishing valour: when through necessity he fled to me for protection, I received him with honour.

† Turks.

و منکلی بوغا در جنگ بلخ بر من لشکر کشید و من پیش از جنگ بوی پیغام داده خواستم بطرف خود بکشم و یی نهک تغلقتیبور خان را فراموش نکرد و لشکر آرایء کرده با من جنگ مردانی کرد و هزیهت یافت

وروزی که از روی اختیار بین التجا آورد و زانو زد پایه قدر و مرتبه ویرا بلند ساختم و مشهور عنایت خود گردانیدم و چندان عنایت کردم که آنچه در خاطر داشت فراموش کرد و ویرا در هر مجلس آفرین و رحمت باد میگفتم

چون مردی بود مردانه در دولت من گارهاء مردانه نمایان کرد و مارا مینون ساخت و در جنگ از ریایجان که با قرا یوسف مقابله اتفاق افتاد وقتی که سپاه من مضطرب شده بودند و یی سری از سرهای سران لشکر قرا یوسف را بر سر نیزه کرده بلند ساخت و سر قرا یوسف نام نهاد و در لشکر در داد که قرا یوسف کشته شده و لشکر را دل داد و بر قلب فوج قرا یوسف هجوم آورد و قرا یوسف را هزیهت داد و من فتح قرا یوسف را بنام و یی نوشتم و بر مراتبش افزودم
تزرک

THUS also Munguli Booghau, in the war of Bullukh, advanced with an army against me; and before the engagement commenced, I sent proposals unto him, and endeavoured to draw him over to my side. But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he formed his troops in order of battle, and he charged my forces with undaunted resolution, and he was defeated.

AND when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, and kneeled to my authority, I raised him to an exalted station, and I included him in the number of my most favoured servants; and on all occasions I praised and applauded his conduct. And such were the favours which I conferred upon him, that if any resentment remained in his heart, it was totally obliterated.

As he was a bold and intrepid warrior, he signalized himself in my service, and conferred obligations upon me. And in the war of Azzurbauejaun, when I encountered Kurrau Eufoof, in the moment that my troops were discouraged and thrown into confusion, he placed upon the point of his spear the head of an hostile commander; and he named it the head of Kurrau Eufoof, and called aloud to my forces, that Kurrau Eufoof was slain; and he gave courage to my soldiers. And he rushed on the centre of Kurrau Eufoof's line, and drove him from the field. And this victory over Kurrau Eufoof I imputed to Munguli Booghau; and I exalted him to a superior rank.

تزرک تربیت کردن امرا ووزرا و سپاه
ورعیت بانعام و جلدو*

امر کردم که هر امیری که ملکی را مسخر کرداند
یا لشکری را شکست دهد ویرا بسه چیز امتیاز دهند
خطاب و طوغ و نقاره و ویرا بهادر لقب کنند و شریک
دولت و سلطنت دانند و در مجلس کنکاش داخل
سازند و ولایت سرحد بوی حواله نمایند و امرا را تابع
وی کردانند و هر امیری که توره را بشکند یا امیر
زاده را شکست دهد یا خانی را منهزم اورا بهمان
روش بنوازند

چنانچه امیر ایکو تیپور را که بر
اروس خان تعیین نمودم و ویرا شکست داد بوی
تومان و طوغ و علم و نقاره دادم و ویرا شریک دولت
خود ساختم و وزیر و مشیر خود کردانیدم و در کنکاش
خود داخل کردانیده سرحد ازرانی داشتم و امرا را
بوی تابع کردانیدم

و حاسدان در حق وی سخنان گفتند
که اوس اوس خان را غارت کرده و اموال و اسباب را

* A kind of kettle-drum.

REGULATIONS FOR ENCOURAGING MY AMEERS, AND MY VIZZEERS, AND MY SOLDIERS, AND MY SUBJECTS, BY REWARDS AND BY HONOURS. Book II.

I ordained that every Ameer who should reduce a kingdom, or defeat an army, should be exalted by three things, by a title of honour, by the standard, and by the Niccaureh; † and that he should be dignified with the appellation of Bahaudur; ‡ and that he should be considered as the associate of the royal power and dignity; and that he should be admitted a member of my imperial council; and that the government of a frontier province should be conferred upon him; and that Ameers should be placed under his command. I also ordained that every Ameer who defeated a prince, or the son of a prince, or a Khaun, should be exalted after the same manner.

THUS I rewarded Ameer Eekoo Timour; whom I had appointed to reduce Auroos Khaun. He conquered that prince; and I conferred upon him a Toumaun, || the standard, the military ensign, and the Niccaureh; I made him the associate of my fortune; and I appointed him my Vizzeer and my adviser; and I gave him a place in my imperial council; and I conferred upon him the government of a frontier province; and I placed Ameers under his command.

AND the envious uttered insinuations against him, that he had plundered the hord of Auroos Khaun, and that he had taken the spoils to himself.

† The Brave.

|| The command of 10,000 men.

خود متصرف شده و ازین سخنان مزاج مرا از وی
منحرف ساختند لیکن قصه بهرام جوین که بی‌سامع
من رسیده بود بتجربه برداشته بودم

که چون خاقان سیصد هزار ترک

خونخوار بر هرمز بن نوشروان لشکر کشید و وی بهرام
جوین را که وزیر و مشیر و سپه سالار نوشروان بود با
سیصد بیست هزار مزد ایرانی رو بر رو خاقان فرستاد
و وی در مقابله خاقان در آمد و سه شبان روز در قتال
و جدال بود تا آنکه خاقانرا شکست داد و حقیقت را
بهرمز عرضه داشت نبود و غنایبی که بدست آورده
بود بخدمت هرمز فرستاد

و حاسدان و غبازان که در مجلس هرمز راه
سخن داشتند غبازی نبوده گفتند که بهرام مبلغهای
کلی در میان نگاهداشت و شبشیر و کلاه مرصع و موزه
مکمل به جواهر قیمتی خاقان را خود متصرف شده
و هرمز از خام طبعی کار و خدمت
بهرام را پوشیده داشت و سخن اهل غرض و ارباب
افترا را راست دانست و ویرا خاین و کینه کار ساخت
و از برای وی معجزی زنان و طوق و زنجیر فرستاد

و بهرام

And my affections were turned aside from Eekoo Timour by their insinuations : but I had heard the history of Behraum Joubeen, and from thence I had acquired experience. Book II.

FOR when the Khaukaun advanced against Hurmuz, the son of Nousharevaun, with an army of three hundred thousand sanguinary Toorks ; that prince sent forth Behraum Joubeen (who had been the minister, and the counsellor, and the general of his father) with three hundred and twenty thousand Persians to oppose him. And he engaged that prince ; and for three days, and for three nights, the slaughter continued with great fury ; till at length he defeated the Khaukaun, and dispatched intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz : and he also sent unto him the spoils which he had taken.

AND the envious and the slanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accusations against him, saying, “Behraum hath secreted the treasures of the enemy ; and he hath seized to himself the sword, and the crown, and the buskins of the Khaukaun (ornamented and adorned with jewels of price).”

AND Hurmuz, from a mean and contemptible avarice, forgot the services of Behraum ; and he credited the accusations of the slanderous and self-interested, and pronounced him a traitor and a criminal ; and, *in token of his anger and contempt*, sent a chain unto him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.

AND

وبهرام طوق در کردن و زنجیر در پاء کرده
لباس زنان پوشید و امرا و سران سپاه را طلب نهوده
در بار عام داد و چون سرداران و سایر سپاه این حال
مشاهده نمودند هرگز را مطعون داشته دل خودها را از
اخلاص هرگز برداشتند

و باتفاق بهرام جوین بدرگاه هرگز آمده
ویرا از سلطنت خلع نمودند و خسرو پرویز را بر تخت
سلطنت مملکت عجم نشانیدند

چون این تجربه برداشته بودم بجهت
این که مطعون سپاه نکردم امیر ایکو تیهورا طلب
داشته مجلس آراستم و بار عام دادم و اموال و اشیایی
که از الوس اروس خان غنیمت شده بود همه را جمع
آورده بامیر ایکو تیهور و دیگر بهادران و سپاهیان که
همراه وی شمشیرها زده بودند انعام فرمودم

وامر نمودم که هر امیری که در هنگام
جنگ خود را نگاهدارد و فوج مقابل خود را بشکند در
مرتبه اش بیفزایند

چنانچه

AND Behraum Joubeen placed the collar on his neck, and on his feet he fastened the chain, and he clothed himself in the female attire. And he called the Ameers and the chiefs of the soldiers together, and, thus habited, he gave public audience to his people. And when the chiefs and the forces beheld the situation of Behraum, they uttered revilings against their prince, and they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz. Book II.

AND under the banners of Behraum Joubeen, they proceeded to the palace of the King; and they deprived him of his regal authority; and they seated Khiffuro Purvaze upon the throne of the Persian empire.

HAVING acquired this experience, that I might not draw upon me the revilings of my people, I ordered Eekoo Timour to appear before me; and I seated myself on my throne in the midst of my chiefs; and I gave admission to the people at large. And I commanded the wealth and the effects which had been taken from the tribe of Auroos Khaun to be brought forth; and I conferred the whole of the spoils on Ameer Eekoo Timour, and on the warriors and the soldiers who had fought under his command.

AND I ordained that every Ameer who acted with firmness in the day of battle, and defeated the enemy opposed unto him, should be promoted to a superior station.

THUS,

چنانچه تابان بهادر خود را در جنگ
توقتمش خان بعلمدار رسانید و علم ویرا نکون ساخت
وزخها برداشت مدعیان وحاسدان وی خواستند که
کار ویرا بپوشند از انصاف من نکنچید که از
کار وی چشم پوشم و بوی امارت دادم و تربیت کردم
و علم بوی ارزانی داشتم

وامر نمودم که چون یکی از اون باشیان
ویوز باشیان ومینک باشیان فوج شکنی نباید در
جلدوی* اون باشی حکومت شهری بدهند و در جلدوی
یوز باشی حکومت مهلکتی ارزانی دارند

چنانچه برلاس بهادر که یوز باشی
بود در جنگ توقتمش خان به غنیم خود رو بر رو
شد و فوج غنیم را شکست داد حکومت مهلکت حصار
شادمان را بوی مقرر داشتم

وامر نمودم که چون مینک باشی
فوج غنیم خود را شکست دهد ویرا والی مهلکت
گردانند چنانچه محمد ازاد در جنگ کتور جباعه
سپاه پوشانرا که برهان اغلان را هزیمت داده بودند
شکست

THUS, in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun, Taubaun Bahaudur penetrated to the standard-bearer of that prince, and inverted the standard; and he was wounded in many places. And his enemies and the enviers of his renown sought to bury his valour in oblivion: but it was not consistent with my justice that I should shut my eyes to the merits of Taubaun. And I exalted him to a government; and I received him into my favour; and I conferred upon him the standard of honour.

AND I ordained, if an Ounbaushee, or an Euzbaushee, or a Mingbaushee Ameer should vanquish the forces of an enemy; that in reward to an Ounbaushee the government of a city should be given; and that the reward of an Euzbaushee should be the command of a province.

THUS, to Burlaus Bahaudur, who was an Euzbaushee, and who in the war with Touktummish Khaun engaged his enemy and defeated the army of the foe, I gave the command of the province of Hissaur Shaudumaun.

AND I ordained, when a Mingbaushee defeated the forces of his antagonist, that he should be appointed the lord of a principality. Thus, when Mahumud Auzaud, in the war of Kuttour, vanquished the Seah polhaun; † who had defeated Burhaun Aghlam, I

† *Wearers of black*; so named from the colour of their habits. They inhabited the mountains south of Buddukhshaun.

شکست داده بود و برا والي مهلت قندز و کولاب
گردانيدم
وامر نمودم که هریک از امرا که
مهلکتی را مسخر گردانیده از تصرف غنیمت بر آورد
آن مهلکت را تا سه سال بانعام وي مقرر دارند

وامر کردم که بهادری که شمشیر زند
کلنک* یا اتاقه* مرصع و کهر و شمشیر و اسپ بجلدوي
وي ارزاني دارند و بمرتبه اون باشي امتیاز دهند تا
آنکه در شمشیر دویم و سیوم بمرتبه یوز باشي و مینک
باشي برسد

تیزوک عطای طبل و علم

امر نمودم که بهریک از امرای دوازدهگانه
یک علم و نقاره بدهند و بامیر الامرا علم و نقاره
و تومان طوغ و چر طوغ ارزاني دارند
و مینک باشي را طوغي و نغیري بدهند
و یوز باشي و اون باشي را طبل بدهند و به امرای

* These words are Mogul, and their significations unknown.

† A belt, or girdle.

‡ The Toumaun Toghe and Cher Toghe are also a sort of standards or spears,

inted him to the dominion of the principality of Book II.
 duz and Goulaub.

AND I ordained, whoever of my Ameers
 ued and wrested a kingdom from the hands of the
 y, that for the space of three years the vicegerency
 at kingdom should be conferred upon him as a re-
 t.

AND I commanded that the select soldier
 distinguished himself in battle, should be rewarded
 a Kullung, † or embroidered Autaukeh, † with a
 ; and with a sword, and with a Kummur; ‡ and that
 ould be raised to the rank of an Ounbaushee : so
 for the second, and the third atchievement he might
 o the stations of Euzbaushee, and of Mingbaushee.

REGULATIONS FOR CONFERRING THE
 OURS OF THE NICCAUREH AND THE STANDARD.

I ordained that one standard, and one Nic-
 sh should be conferred on each of the twelve select
 ers ; and that the standard, and the Nccaureh,
 he Toumaun Toghe, and the Cher Toghe, || should
 anted to the Ameer ul Omrau :

AND that a Toghe, and a Nuffeer § should
 llowed to the Mingbaushee Ameer, and a drum to
 Euzbaushee and Ounbaushee Ameers ; and that to the

with certain figures on the summit, marking the rank and dignity
 se to whom they belong.

. sort of trumpet.

اویاتق یرغوی* ارزانی دارند و بچهار بیکدر بیکی
هریک علم و نقاره و چر طوغ و یرغوی بدهند.

وهریک از امرا که فوج شکنی نمایند
یا ملکی مسخر سازند اگر امیر اول باشد امیر دویم
سازند و اگر امیر دویم باشد بمرتبه امیر سیوم رسانند
و اگر امیر سیوم باشد بمرتبه امیر چهارم رسانند
همچنین تا یازدهم که اگر امیر یازدهم باشد
امیر دوازدهم گردانند و علم و طوغ و نقاره بدهند

چنانچه بامیر اول یک طوغ و بامیر
دوم دو و سیوم سه و بامیر چهارم چهار طوغ و نقاره
بدهند تا آنکه خود را بمرتبه تومان طوغ و چر طوغ
رسانند

تزوک سامان و سر انجام سپاه
امر نمودم که سایر سپاه در
یساقها هژده نفر یک خیمه بردارند وهریک نفر
دو

Ouyemauk Ameers † an Eurghee ‡ should be granted ; Book II.
 and that to each of the four Beglerbegs a standard, and
 a Niccaureh, and a Cher Toghe, and an Eurghee should
 be allowed.

AND I ordained that every Ameer who
 vanquished an army, or who conquered a country, if he
 were a first Ameer, that he should be exalted to the rank
 of second Ameer ; and if he were a second Ameer, that
 he should be raised to the rank of third Ameer ; and if
 he were a third Ameer, that he should be exalted to the
 dignity of fourth Ameer : and thus up to the eleventh
 Ameer. For if he were eleventh Ameer, I commanded
 that he should be appointed twelfth Ameer ; and that the
 standard, and the Toghe and the Niccaureh should be
 conferred upon him.

THUS I ordained that one Toghe should
 be allowed to the first Ameer, and two to the second, and
 three to the third, and to the fourth Ameer four Toghes,
 and the Niccaureh : that by their valour and their con-
 duct they might acquire to themselves the dignity of the
 Toumaun Toghe and the Cher Toghe.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ARMS.
 AND THE NECESSARIES OF THE SOLDIERS.

FOR the private soldiers I ordained, that
 on an expedition every eighteen men should take one

† Chiefs of tribes. ‡ *Eurghee* is Mogul, and the particular
 signification unknown ; but it evidently means some mark of distinction.
 tent ;

دو اسپ و کبانی و ترکشی و شیشیری واره و درفشی
وچوال وچوال دوزی و تبرتیشه وده سوزن ویک
چرم پست بکیرد

و بهادرانیکه هر پنج نفر یک خیمه
بردارند و هر یک نفر جوشنی و خودی و شیشیری
و ترکشی و کبانی و اسپان خود را موافق تروک همراه
بکیرند

واون باشیان هر یک خیمه و زرهی
و شیشیری و ترکشی و کبانی و پنج سر اسپ با خود
داشته باشد

و یوز باشیان هر یک خیمه و ده سر اسپ
و اسلحه از شیشیر و ترکش و کبان و کرز و کاسکن
وزره و بکتر متعدد بردارند

و مینک باشیان هر یک خیمه و سایبانی
و سلاح از زره و جوشن و خود و نیزه و شیشیر و ترکش
و تیر هر چه قدر تواند بردارند

امیر اول خیمه و اتاچی و یک جفت سایبان
بردارد و از اسلحه فراخور امارت خود آن مقدار برد که
تواند بدیکران مدد نماید

و همچنین

tent; and that each man should be supplied with two horses, and with a bow, and with a quiver of arrows, and with a sword, and with a saw, and with an axe, and with an awl, and with thread, and with ten needles, and with a leathern knapsack;

AND for the select warriors, that every five men should have one tent; and that each man should take with him a skull-cap, and a breast-plate, and a sword, and a bow, and a quiver of arrows, and his horses agreeably to the regulations;

AND that each of the Ounbaushees should have with him one tent, and a coat of mail, and a sword, and a bow, and a quiver, and five horses;

AND that every Euzbaushee should have one tent, and ten horses, and his arms; such as the sword, and the bow, and the quiver, and the mace, and the club, and the coat of mail, and the breast-plate;

AND that each of the Mingbaushees should have a tent, and a Sauehbaun; † and that of arms and of armour (the coat of mail, and the breast-plate, and the helmet, and lances, and the sword, and quivers, and arrows) he should carry with him as much as he were able;

AND that the first Ameer should carry with him a tent, an Autauk, and two Sauehbauns; and corresponding with his rank, such a quantity of arms and of armour, as might enable him to supply the deficiencies of others;

† A sort of upper roof for the tent, which being elevated two or three feet above it, and projecting on all sides beyond it, defends the owner from the heat of the sun.

و همچنین امیر دویم و سیوم و چهارم تا
 امیر الامرا فراخور مرتبه خود سامان خود را از خیمه
 و اتاق و سایبان و اسپان سر انجام نمایند
 امیر اول یکصد و ده اسپ و امیر دوم
 یکصد بیست اسپ و امیر سیوم یکصد و سی اسپ
 و چهارم صد و چهل سر اسپ تا امیر الامرا که از سه
 صد سر اسپ کمتر همراه نگیرند

و پیادگان هر یک ششیری و کبان و تیر
 دسته بردارند و آنچه توانند کم و زیاده همراه بگیرند
 اما در وقت جنگ کمتر از آنچه تنوک بسته شده
 با ایشان نباشد

تنوک پاتش حضور و مجالس بزم و رزم
 امر نبودم که در مجلس بزم سپاهان
 و امرا و مینک باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان بی
 کلاه و موزه و سر موزه و جامه کربان دار و بکده
 و شمشیر بدیوانخانه حاضر نیایند

و دوازده

AND thus also, that the second, and the third, and the fourth Ameer, and from him up to the Ameer ul Omrau, each according to his rank and his station, should supply and take with him his necessaries, his tent, and his Autauk, and his Sauehbauns, and his horses; Book II.

THE first Ameer a hundred and ten horses, and the second Ameer a hundred and twenty horses, and the third Ameer a hundred and thirty horses, and the fourth Ameer a hundred and forty horses; and thus up to the Ameer ul Omrau, who was not to take with him a less number than three hundred horses.

AND I ordained that every one of the foot-soldiers should take with him a sword, and a bow, and a bundle of arrows; and that he should carry with him as much as he was able, let it be more or let it be less; but that in times of war he should not have less than was established.

REGULATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUARDS, AND RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN THE PRESENCE, IN PEACE AND IN WAR.

I ordained that in times of peace the soldiers, the Ameers, the Mingbaushees, the Euzbaushees, and the Ounbaushees should not appear in the Imperial Deewaun without their Koollauh, † their Mozeh, ‡ and Surmozeh, || their Bukdeh, their Jaumeh § having the collar, and their swords.

† Cap. ‡ Boots. || A sort of leathern clog covering the foot of the boot.
§ Upper coat.

ودوازده هزار قلچي * شمشير بردهار با يراق
 وصلاح در بيمن ويسار ويس وپيش ديوانخانه در
 كشك * حاضر باشند بدین ترتيب كه هر شب هزار
 كس از ایشان در پاتش حاضر باشند و بر سر صد قلچي
 يوز باشي مقرر نهايند و بوقی * بوي بدهند

وامر نبودم كه در معارك رزم هريك
 از امراء دوازدهگانه ومينك باشيان ويوز باشيان
 واون باشيان در لشكر ويساقها با دوازده هزار سوار
 صلاح دار يك شب ويك روز در پاتش خانهاي خود
 حاضر باشند

واين دوازده هزار سوار را چهار فوج ساخته
 فوجي در برانغار وفوجي در جرانغار وفوجي در
 پيش اوردو وفوجي در عقب تعيين نهايند ونوبت
 بنوبت بمقدار نيم فرسنگ از اوردو بر آمده بنشينند
 وهريك از افواج چهارگانه هراولي از
 براي خود قرار دهد وهراول تراولي را تعيين نموده
 سر

AND I ordered that twelve thousand Kulchee, † men of the sword, compleatly armed, should be cantoned in the palace ; to the right and to the left, and in the front and in the rear of the Imperial Deewaun : thus, that one thousand of those twelve thousand should be every night upon guard ; and that over each hundred Kulchee an Euzbaushee should be appointed ; and that an Eokee ‡ should be given unto him.

AND I ordained that in times of war and in the field, each of the twelve select Ameers, also the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees and the Ounbaushees should, with twelve thousand horsemen compleatly armed, for the space of one day and one night, when marching, and when halting, be ready upon guard.

AND I commanded that those twelve thousand horse should be divided into four divisions, and that one division should be posted to the right of the camp, and one to the left thereof ; and one in the front, and one in the rear ; and that every watch they should march out to the distance of half a Fursung from the camp, and there lie upon their arms ;

AND that each of those four divisions should appoint an advanced guard ; and that each of the advanced guards should detach scouts in their front ; and

† A Mogul word, supposed to mean Guards.

‡ Mogul — A watch-word.

سر رشته احتیاط وهوشیاری از دست نداده خبرها
رسانند


وامر نبودم که هر طرف از اطراف لشکر
وارد و کوتوالی مقرر باشد که حراست ونکاهبانی
اردو بدیشان متعلق باشد ورسوم از اهالی بازار
میکرفته باشند واکر چیزی از اهل اردو بدزدی
رول جواب گویند

وامر نبودم که چهار فوج چیتونچی
تعیین نمایند که تا چهار فرسنگی لشکر را بقید
ضبط در آوردند واکر کسی را مقتول وهجروح به
بیند از عهده بر آیند واکر مال کسی بدزدی رود
جواب گویند

وامر نبودم که سیوم حصه لشکر خدمت
نکاهداشت سرحدات مقرر باشند ولو حصه در خدمت
رکاب خاص حاضر باشند

تسزوک خدمت وزرا

امر نبودم که چهار وزیر در دیوان حضور
مقرر باشند
اول

that they should perform their duty with care and circumspection, and communicate intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Book II. 

AND I ordained that to each of the four quarters of the camp a Kootwaul should be appointed; and that the police thereof should appertain unto him: that he should collect the customs from the traders in the markets; and that if any thing should be stolen from the camp, he should make it good.

AND I ordered also that four divisions of Chupkunchee should be appointed; that they should scour, and make themselves masters of, the circumjacent country to the distance of four Fursung from the camp; and, if any one was murdered or wounded within that distance, that they should be accountable; and that they also should be answerable for whatever was stolen.

AND I ordained that one third of the imperial forces should be appointed to guard the frontiers of my dominions; and that the remaining two thirds should attend my commands in the presence.

REGULATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF VIZZEERS.

I ordained that four Vizzers should be appointed to attend in the Imperial Deewaun.

FIRST.

اول وزیر مہلکت و رعیت این وزیر مہیات
 و معاملات مہلکت و احوال رعیت و حاصل و واصل و فاصل
 ولایات و مداخل و مخارج و آبادانی و معبوری و نسق
 ملک بعرض رسانند

ثوم وزیر سپاہ کہ علوفہ سپاہیان
 و تنخواہ ایشان را بعرض رسانند و از احوال ایشان
 آگاہ باشد کہ پریشان نشوند و عرض احوال سپاہ را
 معروض دارد

سیوم وزیر سایر و هوای کہ اموال غایبی
 و فوتی و فراری و زکوت و باج اموال آیندگان
 و روندگان و مواشی و مراعی و آنخور و علفچرا کہ
 آنچه ازین مداخل جمع آید ضبط نمودہ بطریق
 امانت نگاہدارد و آنچه اموال غایب و اموات باشد
 بوارثان ایشان برسانند

چهارم

FIRST. THE VIZZEER OF THE COUNTRY AND THE SUBJECT. It was the business of this Vizzateer to superintend, and communicate unto me, the concerns and the affairs of the country; and the state and the situation of the husbandman, of the produce, and of the duties received, and of the deficiencies in the various provinces, of the merchandize brought in and sent out of the land, of the cultivation, and the population, and the police of all my dominions. Book II.

SECONDLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE ARMIES. It was his duty to lay before me the accompts of the wages due, and the assignments granted to the troops; and to inform himself of the situations and circumstances of the foldiers (that they might not be distressed or oppressed) and to communicate unto me the state and the strength of my armies.

THIRDLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE SAUIR AND HUVAUEE. It was his duty to take possession of the effects of absentees, † and of the defunct, and of those who had fled their country; and to receive religious donations, and the duties on the merchandize of comers and of goers, and the taxes on the cattle, and on the pasture lands, and on the reservoirs of water. And having taken possession of the produce, he was to retain it as a deposit in his hands, and to restore the effects of the absentees and the defunct to their lawful heirs.

† i. e. Such people as had disappeared suddenly, and whose absence could not be accounted for.

FOURTHLY.

چهارم وزیر کارخانها سلطنت که از
مداخل و مخارج و جمیع خرج خزانه و دواب آگاه باشد

وامر نمودم که سه وزیر بر سر حدها
و مملکت خالصه تعیین نمایند که سر رشته معالجات
مالي و ولايات نگاهدارند

و این هفت وزیر تابع دیوان بیگی باشند
که مهیات و معاملات امور مالي را باتفاق دیوان بیگی
انجام داده بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که عرض بیگی مقرر باشد
که عرض احوال سپاه و رعیت و داد خواهان و خرابی
و معبوری ملک و آنچه از مهیات فیصل یابد و بانجام
رسد بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که صدر الصدور سپورغالات*
سنادات و ارباب و طایفی و اوقاف بعرض میرسانیده
باشد و قاضی اسلام امور شریعه و قاضی احداث امور
عرفی را معروض دارد

وامر

FOURTHLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD. It was his duty to superintend the receipts, and the disbursements, and the general expences. Book II.

AND I ordained that three Vizzers should be appointed over the frontiers and the domains appertaining unto the crown, and to regulate the concerns thereof.

AND I ordained that these seven Vizzers should be subject to the controul of the Deewaunbeghee : and that under his inspection they should regulate and determine the affairs and the concerns of the revenues, and lay them before me.

I commanded that an Erzbeghee † should be appointed ; and that he should communicate to me the state of the soldiers, and of the subjects, and the complaints of my people, and the increase or decrease of population and cultivation in my dominions, and the conclusion and determination of every momentous concern.

AND I ordained that the Suddur ul Suddoor should lay before me the Sawurghaul ‡ of the descendants of the prophet, of the stipendiaries, and pensioners ; and that the ecclesiastical judge should communicate unto me all ecclesiastical concerns ; and that the civil affairs should be laid before me by the civil judge.

† A presenter of petitions.

‡ *Sawurghaul* is a Mogul word, and signifies a grant from the crown of lands or revenues to be enjoyed for ever by the possessor and his heirs.

وامر نبودم که در محفل خاص امور
ملکی و بند و پست و مهلت و تغیر و تبدیل و تعیین سپاه
وامرا و مشاورت و تدبیرات بعرض رسانند
وامر نبودم که منشی محرم که صاحب
اسرار تواند بود حاضر باشد که بقلم راستی مخفیات
و مشورات را می نوشته باشد

وامر نبودم که مجلس نویسان تعیین
نمایند که نوبت بنوبت در دیوان مجلس حاضر بوره
و آنچه از مهبات و معاملات فیصل یابد و مشخص شود
صورت واقعه را نوشته نگاهدارند و آنچه بعرض رسد
و من حکم کنم و آنچه در مجلس مذکور شود از امور
کلی و جزئی، هر یکی را بقلم در آورده داخل وقایع
من نمایند

وامر نبودم که بهر کارخانه از کارخانهای
سلطنت نویسنده تعیین نمایند که اخراجات و مداخل
و مخارج یومیه را می نوشته باشد

تنزوک ایالت امرای الوسات و قشونات
و تومانات

امر

AND I commanded that all concerns ap- Book II.
 pertaining to the imperial dignity, the regulations of my
 dominions, and the dismissal, and the changing, and the
 appointing of armies and of officers, and all consultations
 and plans of operation should be communicated unto me
 in my select council.

AND I commanded that a confidential se-
 cretary (on whose secrecy dependence might be placed)
 should at all times attend, and minute down with the pen
 of integrity the secret transactions and deliberations.

AND I ordained that writers of the general
 council should be appointed, and that they should relieve
 each other in the hall of the council, and that they should
 write down and preserve full and exact accounts of every
 matter and of every business which should be settled and
 determined therein: and that all representations made
 unto me, and all orders issued by me, and every matter
 which was debated in council, should be written and in-
 serted in the narrative of my transactions.

AND I ordained that to every department
 of the departments of government an accomptant should
 be appointed; and that he should keep a journal of the
 daily expences, and of the receipts and disbursements.

REGULATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTS
 OF THE AMEERS OF AULOOSAUT, AND OF KUSH-
 OONAUT, AND OF TOUMAUNAUT.

امر نمودم که امیر هر الوسی و تومانی
 در هنگام یساق از هر خرکای* یک سوار و از دواله
 چوق* یک سوار و از سر خانه یک سوار مقرر گردانند که
 در سفر همراه بگیرند و آنخور و علق خور هر سر زمینی
 که در آن اقامت داشته باشد در وجه علوفه ایشان
 مقرر باشد بامرا الوسات یرغوی و یرتی* بدهند و ایشان
 فراخور الوسات و تومانان خودها سوار در یساقها حاضر
 آورند

وامر نمودم که از جمله چهل اویساق
 که بحیط ضبط در آمده دوازده اویساق را تبغا
 نمایند که از جمله نوکران خاصه باشند برلاس
 ترخان ارغون جالیر تولکچی دولدی مغول سلدوز
 طوغای قپچاق ارلات تاتار

واز الوس برلاس چهار کس را امیر
 الامرا ساختم امیر خداداد که بوی مملکت بدخشان
 ارزانی

I ordained that the Ameer of every Auloos, ^{Book II.} of every Kushoon, and of every Toumaun should, when called to fulfil his military service in times of war, select and bring with him to the field from each Khirgauh * one horseman, from each Duvvauleh Chouk † one horseman, and from each Khauneh ‡ one horseman; and that the water and the forage on the lands where they should be stationed should be allowed unto them for their subsistence; and that an Eurghee and a Biruck † should be granted to the Ameer of every Auloos; and that those Ameers should attend in the field with forces proportioned to the strength and the numbers of their Auloofaut and their Toumaunaut.

AND I ordained that to twelve of the forty Ouyemauk which had submitted to my government, Tumghau || should be given (that they might be classed amongst my select and superior servants :) to the Ouyemauks of Burlaus, Turkhaun, Aurghoon, Jul-laur, Toulkchee, Douldæe, Moghool, Suldoze, Toughauee, Kypchauk, Aurlaut, and Tautaur.

AND from among the tribe of Burlaus I selected four Ameer ul Omraus, Ameer Khodaudaud (unto whom I gave the kingdom of Buddukhshaun) and

* Khirgauh is Mogul, and signifies a Tatar tent or hut.

† Duvvauleh Chouk is Mogul, and the meaning unknown. Khauneh signifies a house. ‡ Mogul, a little flag. || i. e. Pay.

Ameer

ارزاني داشتند و امير جاکو و امير ايکو تيبور و امير
سليمان شاه که بايشان هم سرحد و مملکت ارزاني
داشتند و صد نفر ديگر را از الوس برلاس مينک باشي
ساختند و امير جلال الدين برلاس را امير دهم کردند
و امير ابو سعيد را امير نهم کردند

و از الوس ترخان امير بايزيد را امير
هفتم ساختند و بيست نفر از ايشان را يوز باشي
نمودند

و از الوس ارغون تاش خواجه را امير
هشتم کردند و بيست نفر را مينک باشي و يوز باشي
و اون باشي مقرر نمودند

و از الوس جلابر توک تيبور و شير بهرام را
امير هشتم و نهم ساختند و بيست نفر را يوز باشي و اون
باشي کردند
امارت دادند

و از الوس دولدي تابان بهادر و سان
بهادر را امارت دادند

و از الوس مغول تيبور خواجه اغلان را
به ترتيب امارت رسانيدند

و از الوس سندوز يلچي بهادر را امارت
دادند

و از

Ameer Jaukoo, and Ameer Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun Shaah; on whom I also conferred the governments of frontier kingdoms. And a hundred others of the tribe of Burlaus I appointed Mingbaushees. And I exalted Ameer Jullaul u deen Burlaus to the dignity of tenth Ameer; and Ameer Abou Saedd of the same tribe to the rank of ninth Ameer.

AND from amongst the tribe of Turkhaun I raised Ameer Bauezzeed to the station of seventh Ameer; and I appointed twenty persons of the same tribe Euzbaushees.

AND of the tribe of Aurghoon I raised Tausk Khaueh to the dignity of eighth Ameer; and I gave the appointments of Mingbaushees, and of Euzbaushees, and of Ounbaushees, to twenty people of that tribe.

AND of the tribe of Jullaur I exalted Touk Timour and Share Behraum to the ranks of eighth and of ninth Ameer; and twenty of the same tribe I appointed Euzbaushees and Ounbaushees.

AND of the tribe of Toulkchee I conferred the dignity of Ameer on Aljauyetoo Burdi.

AND of the tribe of Douldee, I raised Taubaun Bahaudur and Saun Bahaudur to the dignity of Ameers.

AND of the tribe of Moghool I exalted Khaueh Aghlaun to the rank of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Suldoze I appointed Elchee Bahaudur to the station of Ameer.

AND

واز الوس طوغاي علي درويشرا امارت
 دادم
 واز الوس قپچاق امير سار بوغارا امير
 ساختم
 واز الوس ارلات امير مويدرا كه خواهر
 من در حباله زوجيت وي بود امير الامرا ساختم
 وسلاچي بهادررا امير گردانيدم
 واز الوس تاتار كونك خان را امارت
 دادم وبيست وهشت اويياق ديكر كه به تبغا نرسيدند
 ايشانرا امير الوس ساختم كه در وقت يساق در چار
 وپلچار حاضر شوند وموافق تنوك سواران خودرا
 حاضر سازند

تنوك سلوك نوكر به صاحب ومعاش
 صاحب بنوكر
 كه نوكر راست بداند كه آنچه وي
 از نوكر خود چشم داشت دارد صاحب وي هم از وي
 همان چشم داشت دارن پس خودرا در خدمت صاحب
 معاف ندارد وبداند كه اكر صاحبش اول بوي بر
 سر عنايت بود وآخر بي عنايت شد تقصير ونقصان
 بر خود نهد نه بر صاحب خود
 ونوكر راست است كه با صاحب اخلاص
 ورزد وباخلاص كار كند

AND of the tribe of Toughauee I appointed Book II.
Aali Durvaish to the station of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Kipchauk I raised
Ameer Saur Booghau to the dignity of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Aurlaut I appointed
Ameer Muviud (unto whom one of my sisters had been
given in marriage) Ameer ul Omrau : and Sullauichee Ba-
haudur of the same tribe I made an Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Tautaur I raised Kow-
vung Khaun to the rank of Ameer ; and the remaining
twenty eight Ouyemauk, unto whom the Tumghau had
not been given, I appointed commanders over their own
tribes : that in times of war and of service they might
attend in the field, and bring with them their horsemen,
agreeably to the regulation.

RULES CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF
SERVANTS TOWARDS THEIR PRINCE, AND OF THE
PRINCE TOWARDS HIS SERVANTS.

BE it known to every good servant, that
that which he expecteth from his own dependant, his
prince also expecteth from him. Let him not therefore
be backward in his services ; but let him know, that if
his master be at first well-inclined unto him, and after-
wards be ill-inclined unto him, he must lay the fault and
the consequence to himself and not to his master.

HE is a good servant who attacheth him-
self unto his master, and doeth his duty through that
attachment.

وهر نوکري که بي اخلاص وکينه دار باشد از اثر بي اخلاص وکينه وي البته نکبت بوي روي آورد وليکن دولت و نعمت نوکر باخلاص روز بروز در ترايد باشد

راسخ الاعتقاد نوکري باشد که از اعراض و اعتراض صاحب نرنجد وکينه نورزد و تقصيري که از صاحبش بوقوع آيد آنرا بخود کيرد آن نوکر لایق تربيت باشد

ونوکري که نظرش بر لقبه و خرقه باشد البته در وقت کار سستي کند

نوکري که حق خدمت فراموش کند و در وقت کار روي گردان شود ديگر روپوش را نبايد ديد

ونوکري که در وقت کار بهانه جويد و هنگام يساق رخصت طلبد و نظر بر پشت پا داشته باشد و کار امروز بفرذا حواله نمايد چنانچه بولا و تيهور اغلان بين کردند و مرا بر سر کار گذاشتند نام اين قسم نوکران نبايد برد و ايشان را به پروردگار بايد سپرد

وسلاطين

ON the servant who is incapable of attachment, and who harboureth resentment, contempt and ignominy shall most certainly fall in consequence of his evil qualities: but the prosperity and the riches of the faithful and affectionate servant shall be daily increasing. Book II.

HE is a good and faithful servant who taketh not offence at the flights or the reprimands of his prince, who entertaineth not revenge in consequence thereof; but taketh the faults of his master upon himself: such a servant is worthy of the affection and the kindness of his prince.

THE servant whose eye is fixed on the morsels and the fragments † which fall from the table of his lord, will undoubtedly be negligent in the moment of trial.

THE servant who forgetteth his duty in the hour of action, and turneth his face from the foe of his prince; let the face of that servant be seen no more.

THE servant who in the hour of trial searcheth after excuses; and who on the day of enterprise demandeth his dismissal, and who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat, and who transfereth till to-morrow the business of to-day, (thus Boulau and Timour Aghlaun acted towards me, and deserted me in the hour of danger) let the names of such servants be held in contempt; and let them be delivered over to the Almighty.

† i. e. A self-interested and avaricious servant.

وسلاطین راست که هر نوکری را که عزت دهند زود بیعزت نکردانند و برداشته خود را نه اندازند و هر کس را دانسته و شناخته باشد فراموش نکنند

اگر احيانا بیعزت کنند در عزتش دو برابر افزوده تلافی نمایند و آن نوکرا باخلاص و اعتقاد وی حواله سازند که اگر کینه و نفاق ورزد باالخاصیه نکبت بوی روی خواهد آورد و هر نوکری که در دل صاحب به نیکی جا کند بروز به کرد

و هر نوکری که باختیار و غیر اختیار جدا شود و چون مراجعت نماید ویرا متحرم گردانند که از جدایء خود پشیمان شده و معاودت نموده

وامر نیوم که هر نوکری که از جانب غنیم شمشیر از نیام بر آورده و نیک حلال باشد اگر این چنین مردی در جنگ بدست افتد یا از طرف غنیم نا امید شده بیاید و ملازمت اختیار کند ویرا عزیز نمایند و بر مراتبش بیفزایند و ویرا وفادار دانند

چنانچه

IT behoveth the prince not speedily to degrade the servant whom he hath exalted, not to pull down him whom his own hand hath raised up. Let him not neglect those whom he knoweth or remembereth.

AND if it should chance that without cause he put a good servant to shame, let him make amends by conferring two-fold honour upon him : and let him refer that servant to his own affection and fidelity : for if he harboureth hatred and revenge, according to his evil qualities ignominy shall be his reward. But the servant who by good conduct acquireth a place in the heart of his prince, shall prosper in consequence thereof.

IF a servant spontaneously, or otherwise, separate himself from his master, and if he afterwards turn back unto him, let that servant be received with honour : since, ashamed of his desertion, he returneth again to his prince.

EVERY servant who was faithful to his prince, and who drew his sword on the side of my enemy ; if such a man became my prisoner in battle, or if, hopeless of reward from the foe, he came in unto me and offered his services, I ordained that he should be received with honour and esteem ; and that his fidelity should be acknowledged and relied on ; and that dignities superior to these, which he formerly possessed, should be conferred upon him.

THUS

چنانچه منکلی بوغا و حیدر اندوخودی
 ر ابو سعید با شش هزار سوار بز کنار آب بلخ
 رو برو شده جنگ کردند بعد از آن از تغلقتیپور
 نا امید گشته بهن پناه آوردند ایشانرا عزت
 احترام کردم ولایت حصار شادمان و اندجان
 کسنان بدیشان دادم

وامر نمودم که هر نوکری که در
 غنیم معتبر باشد و در وقت جنگ و کارزار سلسله
 منی بدشمن صاحب خود بچنباند و حق نیک
 جبی و نوکری و نعمت را فراموش کند و دشمن
 لب خود را خواهد که بر صاحب خود غالب
 اند این قسم شخصی را در خدمت راه ندهند روزگار
 بش را در کنارش خواهد نهاد

وهر نوکری که در وقت کار از صاحب
 جدا شده بهالزمت آید اعتماد را شایسته نباشد
 اگر بعد از خدمت بسیار وفاداری از وی ظاهر
 نکاهدارند و اگر در غیر وقت کار و پورش آمده
 زمت اختیار نباید ویرا کرامی دارند

واگر

THUS Munguli Booghau, and Hydur Andookhodee, and Ameer Aboo Saeed, on the part of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, opposed and attacked me with six thousand horsemen, on the banks of the water of Bulukh. Afterwards, taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour, they sought protection from me; and I received them with honour and esteem: and I conferred upon them the provinces of Andijaun, and Hyssaur Shaudumaun, and Toorkistaun.

AND I also ordained that the servant of the foe who was in the confidence of his master, and, who in times of war and of service, vibrated the chain of friendship with the enemy of his prince; and who forgot the sacred ties of lord and of servant, and the fidelity due for the salt and the bread which he had eaten; and who strove to make the enemy of his master the conqueror of his master; I ordained that such a wretch should never be admitted into my service. Time shall hereafter inflict upon him his reward.

THE servant who quitteth his master in times of trial, and offereth his services to another, is not worthy to be admitted: but when by many and long services his fidelity shall be proved, he may then be received into favour. If in times of peace and tranquillity he offereth his services, let him be received with kindness.

واگر وزیري ونوکري از روي راي
 وتدبير با دشمن رابطه آشنائي درست سازد و درین
 لباس خواهد که کار صاحب خود را ساخته کردند و پرا
 عاقلترین دوستان و چاکران باید دانست ولیکن نوکري
 که بدشمن بسازد و با صاحب خود نفاق ورزد این
 چنین نوکري را به دشمن ارزاني دارند

واگر نوکري شمشیر زند و غنیم را
 شکست دهد سخن ارباب غرض را در حق وي نشنوند
 و کار و پرا پوشیده ندارند و یک کار و پرا به ده باز
 نمایند و بر مرتبه اش بیفزایند تا دیگر نوکران را رغبت
 جان فشاني بهم رسد

وهر فوجي وهر اميري که روي از راه
 مراققت و موافقت برگرداند و به غنیم پیوند ایشانرا
 در یورت اورن ندهند چنانچه سرداران لشکر کش از
 من رو گردان شده بامیر حاجي برلاس پیوستند
 و من بعد بر ایشان اعتماد نکردم

وهر نوکري را که حاکم ملگي گرداند
 ووي از روي بیوفاي به غنیم سازش نبوده ملک را
 بدشمن بدهد و پرا از قید حیات بر آورند و نوکر
 ملگدار ببراتب ارجهند بلند مرتبه گردانند

وهر

IF a Vizeer, or other servant, through policy and design, form an intimacy with his masters foe; and endeavour, under the garb of that friendship, to promote the interest of his prince, let him be esteemed amongst the wisest and the best of servants and of friends. But if a servant oppose his masters's interest, and intrigue with the enemy, present such a servant as a gift to the foe.

IF a servant fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the insinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice; permit not his glory to be concealed, but let it be exhibited in ten-fold splendor; and let him be exalted to a superior station, that other servants may be inspired with a thirst for glory.

IF a body of troops, or an Ameer, desert their prince, and unite with the enemy, let them not again be admitted into his service. Thus the leaders of the forces of Kush turned from me their faces, and united themselves with Ameer Haujee Burlaus; and after that I confided not in them.

WHATEVER servant, unto whom the government of a kingdom shall be trusted, who treacherously leagueth with the enemy, and delivereth that kingdom into the hands of the foe; let him be put to death. But let the servant, who defendeth and preserveth a kingdom, be raised to a distinguished and exalted rank.

وهر اميري كه در وقت تنگ قدم
 اخلاص در ميدان مصاف استوار دارد و طريق مرافقت
 مجاي آورد ويرا بمنزله برادر شيارند چنانچه وقتي كه
 امرا و لشكر خط كش از من رو گردان شدند بغير
 از امير جاكوي برلاس هيچكس در نزد من نماند
 و همراهي نكرد من امير جاكورا برادر عزيز دانسته
 شريك دولت خون گردانيدم و امير الامرا ساخته
 مملكت بلخ و حصار بوي ارزاني داشتم

تروك سلوك و معاش با دوست و دشمن
 روزي كه مملكت توران را مسخر ساختم
 و در تختگاه سمرقند بر سير سلطنت جلوس نمودم
 بدوست و دشمن يكسان سلوك كردم امراي بدخشان
 و بعضي امراي قشونات از ترك و تاجيك كه بين
 بدبها كرده و حيلهها برانگيخته و بر من شمشيرها
 كشيده بودند و از كردار نا پسنديده خود متوهم
 مي بودند چون بين التجا آوردند چندان احسان
 كردم كه شرمنده عنايت و احسان من شدند

وهر كس را رنجانيده بودم با احسان و انعام
 تلافي

LET the Ameer, who in the hour of peril and distress adhereth to his prince, and standeth firm in the field of slaughter, be considered as a brother. Thus at the time when the forces of Kush deserted my standard, no one remained with me, or consented to share my fortunes, except Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus; and I afterwards esteemed Ameer Jaukoo as a beloved brother; and I admitted him to a participation in my fortunes; and I made him an Ameer ul Omrau; and I conferred upon him the kingdoms of Bullukh and of Hissaur.

REGULATIONS FOR MY CONDUCT AND
BEHAVIOUR BOTH TO FRIENDS AND TO ENEMIES.

ON the day on which I conquered the kingdom of Tooraun, and mounted the throne of empire in the capital city of Summurkund, I conducted myself in the same manner towards my enemies and my friends. The Ameers of Buddukhshaun, and other Ameers of Kushoonaut, both Toork and Tauchek, who had done me injuries; and who had practised deceits upon me; and who had drawn their swords in opposition unto me; and who were alarmed by the remembrance of their evil conduct; when they submitted to my authority, I received them with such kindness and courtesy, that they blushed at my generosity and goodness.

AND to every one, whom I had injured or distressed, I made compensation; and I balanced the dis-

تلافی رجش وی کردم و بهراتب لایق ایشانرا
امتیاز بخشیدم

لیکن بر امرای سلدوز و جتته نفرین
کردم که کابل شاه چنکیزی را که بامارت و خانی برداشته
بودند و بوی عهد و دوستی و بیبان اخلاص بر بستند
چون خبر جلوس من بر تخت سلطنت به سامع ایشان
رسید نقص عهد کرده ویرا بجهت خوش آمد من
بقتل رسانیدند

و کسانی را که در مقام شکست من
در آمده بر من حسد بردند آن قدر بایشان مروت
و احسان کردم که شرمنده احسان من شده غرق
غرق خجالت گشتند

و دوستان چون بهن التجا آوردند چون
همیشه برضای من کار کرده بودند ایشانرا بشریک
دولت دانسته در عطای مال و اسباب مضایقه نکردم

و بتجربه من رسیده که دوست صادق
آنست که از دوست نرنجد و دشمن دشمن دوست
باشد و اگر اقتد در دابن جان مضایقه نکند چنانچه
بعضی امرای من تا بجان همراهی من کردند و من
هم در هیچ چیز بایشان مضایقه نکردم

treffes which he had suffered, by kindness and by gratuities; and by proper marks of my favour I conferred honour upon him. Book II.

BUT on the Ameer's of the tribes of Suldoze and of Jitteh I uttered execrations: for, having exalted Kaubul Shaah of the line of Chungaze to the dignity of Khaun, and sworn fidelity and friendship unto him, when they heard of my exaltation to the throne, they broke their faith and their engagements, and, to flatter and to soothe me, put him to death.

AND to those who had envied my fortune, and who had endeavoured to subvert my power, I conducted myself with such kindness and generosity, that they were confounded at my goodness, and sunk under the sense of their own unworthiness.

AND my friends who presented themselves before me, those who had ever acted in submission to my will, I considered as the partners of my fortune: and I regarded not the riches and the wealth which I conferred upon them.

FOR by experience it is known unto me, that he is a firm associate, who taketh not offence at the conduct of his friend; and who is the enemy of the enemy of his friend; and who hesitateth not to hazard his life, when occasion shall require. THUS certain of my Ameer's followed my fortunes even to death; nor did I withhold from them aught which I had.

AND

و بتجربه من رسید که دشمن عاقل بهتر
 از دوست جاهل باشد چنانچه امیر حسین نبیره امیر
 قرغن از دوستان جاهل بود و آنچه در دوستی بین
 کرد هیچ دشمن در دشمنی نکند

امیر خداداد بهن گفت که دشمن را
 چون لعل و جواهر نگاهدار و چون بسنگ لاهی
 برسی چنانش بر سنگ زن که اثری از وی نماند
 و نیز گفت که چون دشمن پناه آورد
 وزانو زند بر وی رحم کن و مروت نها چنانچه من
 به توفتمش خان کردم چون بهن پناه آورد مروت
 کردم

اگر دشمن مروت و احسان دیده دیگر
 باره بر سر دشمنی رود ویرا پیروند کار بسیار
 و دوست آنست که از دوست نرنجد
 و اگر برنجد عذر یزیر باشد

تزوک اجلاس واورن

امر نمودم که فرزندان و نبایر و خوبشان
 موافق

AND by experience it was known unto me, that a wise enemy is preferable to a foolish friend. Thus Ameer Hooffein, the grandson of Ameer Kurgun, was one of those foolish friends: and the mischiefs which in his friendship he did unto me, were such as no enemy would do in the excess of his enmity.

AMEER Khodaudaud once said unto me, "Watch thou thy enemy, as thou wouldst guard a ruby of lustre, or a jewel of high price: but when thou meetest with a stone of Laukh, crush him thereon until not one particle of him remain."

HE also said, "When an enemy fleeth unto thee for protection, and kneeleth before thee, have compassion upon him, and receive him with kindness." Thus I acted towards Touktummish Khaun. When he fled to me for shelter, I treated him with tenderness and humanity.

IF an enemy, after tasting of thy generosity and bounty, return again to enmity, deliver him over to the justice of the Almighty.

HE is a true friend who taketh not offence at the conduct of his friend; or if he doth, is willing to receive his acknowledgements.

REGULATIONS OF PRECEDENCY AND OF ADMISSION TO THE IMPERIAL PRESENCE.

I ordained that my sons, and my grand-
 ould, according to their dif-
 ferent

موافق مراتب خود هاله وار صفی زده بر دور سریر
سلطنت بنشینند

وسادات و قضات و علما و فضلا و مشایخ

و اکابر و اشراف بر طرف دست راست جلوس
نمایند

و امیر الامرا و بیکلر بیکیان و امرا و نونیان

و سرداران و امیران الوس و تومانات و قشونات و مینک

باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان مطابق مراتب خودها

طرف دست چپ جلوس نمایند

و برای دیوان بیکی ووزرا در مقابل

تخت جای نشستن مقرر کردم و کلانتران و کدخدایان

ممالک در عقب وزرا صفی زده نشسته باشند

و بهادرانیکه که خطاب بهادری یافته

باشند و جوانان شبشیر زن در عقب سریر سلطنت

طرف دست راست بنشینند و قراول بیکیان را طرف

دست چپ عقب تخت حکم نشستن کردم

و امیر هراول در پیش روی اورن بگیرد

و محرم یساوول بر در خرگاه پیش پایه تخت ایستاده

باشد

ferent ranks encircle and sit round the throne in regular Book II.
order.

AND that the descendants of the prophet, and the judges, and the theologians, and the learned men, and the prelates, and the grandees, and the nobles should sit on the right hand of the throne.

AND that the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, and the Nouniaun, and the chiefs, and the leaders of tribes, and of Toumaunaut and of Kufhoonaut, and the Mingbaushee, and the Euzbaushee, and the Ounbaushee-Ameers should take their places suitably to their ranks and their stations, on the left hand of the throne.

AND I appointed a place opposite to the throne for the Deewaunbeghi and for the Vizzeers. And I ordered that the leading men and the magistrates of the empire, should form a line and seat themselves behind the Vizzeers ;

AND that the select soldiers, who had obtained the title of Bahaudur, and the mighty men of prowess should sit on the right hand in the rear of the throne. And the leaders of the light troops I ordered to be seated in the rear of the throne on the left hand.

AND I commanded that that the Ameer of the Hurrauwl should take his station in the front ; and that the chief of the Yussauwl † should stand at the door of the imperial pavilion, opposite the foot of the

† The chief of the messengers. *Mogul.*

یاشد و داد خواه در چپ و راست بایستند
 و سایر سپاه و خدم و حشم بهراتب خود
 حتی زده ایستاده شوند و جای خود را نگاهدارند
 و امر نبودم که چهار میز تنگ دست
 راست و دست چپ و پیش و پس مجلس را تنگ
 دهند

و حکم کردم که چون مجلس بر
 تنوک در آید هزار طبق آتش و هزار نان در مجلس
 عام شیلان بکشند و هزار طبق در محفل خاصش حاضر
 آورند از این جمله پانصد طبق به الوس امرا و سرداران
 نام بنام بفرستند

تنوک ملک گیری

در هر ملکی که ظلم و جور و فسق
 بسیار شود سلاطین را است که به نیت عدالت
 عزیت دفع و رفع فسق و ظلم بسته بر آن ملک ترکناز
 آورند که تنکری تعالی بهین نیت آن ملک را از ظالم
 بکیرد و به عادل بسیار چنانچه من ولایت ماورالنهر
 از

throne; and the receivers of petitions on the right and on the left; Book II.

AND that the soldiers in general, and the imperial domestics, should stand in lines according to their degrees, and be attentive to keep in their proper stations.

AND I commanded, that four Meer Tooz-zuk † should establish and preserve order in the imperial assembly; before, and behind, and on the right, and on the left of the throne.

AND I commanded, when the assembly was formed and regulated, that among the inferior people a thousand dishes of meat, and a thousand loaves, should be distributed; and that a thousand dishes of meat and a thousand loaves should be brought into the imperial assembly; and that five hundred of that thousand should be sent to the Ameers of tribes, and to the chiefs; to each by his name, and by his title.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE REDUCTION OF KINGDOMS.

IF in any kingdom tyranny, and oppression, and iniquity shall be predominant, it is the duty of a prince, from a regard to justice and the law, to resolve on the expulsion and extirpation of the authors of that oppression and iniquity; and to assault that kingdom. For Almighty God from the same motives will wrest that

† Regulators, masters of the ceremonies.

از دست ظالمان اوزبکيه بنيت عدالت انتزاع
نمودم

و در هر ملكي كه شريعت ضعيف باشد
و بزرگ کرده‌هاي خدا را عزيز ندارند و بندها خاص خدایي
تعالی را آزرده گردانند سلطان ملك كبر را است
كه نيت رواج دين و شريعت محمدي صلي الله
عليه وسلم کرده بدان ملك در آيد كه رسول
خدا و پرا تايبید خواهد نمود چنانچه من دار الملک
هندوستان را از سلطان محمود نبیره فروز شاه و ملو خان
وسارنگ انتزاع نمودم و دين و شريعت را رواج دادم
بتخانهاي آن ديار را خراب ساختم

و هر مملکتی كه متوطنان وساكنان
آن مملکت از حاكم و والي خود در آزار باشند
و دلهاي اهل آن ديار از والي خود منصرف گردن
ملك ستان را است كه آن ملك را بحيطه تصرف
در آورد و بمجرد توجه سلطان نيكو سير آن ملك
مسخر گردد

چنانچه من ممالک خراسان را از
سلاطین کرت انتزاع نمودم و بمجرد توجه من بعزيمت
تسخير

kingdom from the hand of the tyrant, and deliver it over to the upright assailant. **THUS**, from a regard to justice and the law, I delivered the country of Mauwur u Nuhur from the hands of the Ouzbuk tyrants. Book II.

AND in whatever country the holy laws are disregarded; where they neglect those to whom the Almighty hath given dignity; where they injure and oppress his chosen servants; it is the duty of a conqueror, with a firm determination to support the faith and the laws of Mahummud (on whom be the blessing of God) to invade that country: for the prophet of the Lord shall assist him in all his undertakings. **THUS** I wrested from Sooltaun Muhmoed (the grandson of Feeroze Shaah) from Mulloo Khaun, and from Saurung, the capital of the empire of Hindostaun; and I re-established the true faith; and I overturned the habitations of the idols in that country.

IT is the duty of a victorious king to bring under his authority every empire or kingdom, where the inhabitants thereof are oppressed by their prince and ruler, and where the hearts of the people are turned aside from their governor. No sooner shall the upright prince approach, than that kingdom shall fall into his hands.

THUS I delivered the kingdom of Khorau-faun from the princes of the house of Kurroot. As soon as I advanced, with the resolution to reduce the capital
of

دار الملک خراسان سلطان غیاث الدین آمده مهلکت
 خراسان را با خزاین ورفاین پیشکش کرد
 ودر هر ملکی که الحاد وزندگه بسیار
 شود واهل آن دیار از سپاه ورعیت بطوائف متنوعه
 متفرق شوند زوال آن مهلکت نزدیک رسیده باشد
 جهان ستان را است که بر آن مهلکت ترکناز آورد
 چنانچه من ممالک عراق عجم و فارس را از وجود
 ملاحین ملاحده پاک ساختم وملوک طوائف را بر
 انداختم وبندهای خدا را از ظلم ایشان که هر یک در
 ناحیه علم سلطنت بر افزاخته بودند نجات دادم

و در هر ملکی که عقاید اهلای آن ملک
 از عقاید خاندان حضرت سید المرسلین صلوات الله
 علیه تغیر یابد سلاطین را واجب است که آن
 ولایت را مسخر گردانند واهالی آن ملک را از اعتقاد
 بد ایشان باز آورند چنانچه من بهمهلکت شام در آمده
 جهالت که بد اعتقاد بودند ایشانرا بسزا رسانیدم

و چون شروع در ملک گیری کردم چهار
 امر را پیش نهاد خاطر خود ساختم
 اول در امور ملک گیری تدبیر
 وکنکاش درست بکار بردم
 دوم

of Khoraufaun, Sooltaun Gheeaus u deen came forth unto me, and he delivered the treasures, and the wealth, and the kingdom into my hands. Book II.

AND in every kingdom, where herefy and schism shall abound, and where the inhabitants of that country, both soldiers and subjects, shall be divided into different parties and factions, the destruction of that kingdom is at hand; and it is the duty of a victorious monarch to invade that country. THUS I purified the kingdoms of Fauris and Erauk a Ajjum from the existence of the accursed heretics; and I overturned the leaders of the factions, who had each of them elevated the standard of power, throughout those territories, and I delivered the servants of God from their tyranny and oppressions.

AND in every kingdom, where the articles of the faith of the inhabitants thereof shall be altered from those of the descendants of the prince of the prophets, (on whom be the blessing of Almighty God) it is the duty of an Emperor to reduce that Kingdom, and to bring back the inhabitants thereof from their evil tenets. THUS I entered the kingdom of Shaum, and punished all those who held pernicious doctrines.

WHEN I first entered upon the reduction of kingdoms, I firmly adhered to four certain maxims.

FIRST, in those things which appertain to the acquisition of dominions, I acted from deep deliberation, and from mature counsel.

SECONDLY,

دوم اندیشه وحزم و احتیاط بسیار نمودم
تا آنکه در کارها غلط نکردم و بتایید آلهی هر
تدبیری که کردم راست و درست افتاد و مزاج و طبایع
اهل هر ملکي را بخاطر آوردم و موافق طبیعت ایشان
سلوک کرده حاکم تعیین نمودم

سیوم سیصد و سیزده مردم مردانه اصیل
و شجاع و فرزانه بخور متفق ساختم و ایشان در اتفاق
بهرتبه بودند که گویا همگی ایشان یک تن بودند
و عزیمت و رای و گفتار و کردار ایشان همگی یک بود
چون میگفتند که این کار میکنم بر نمی کشند
و تا آن کار را باتهام نمی رسانیدند دست از آن باز
نمیداشتند

چهارم کار امروز را بفردا نینداختم و در
هنگام نریمی نریمی بکار بردم و در وقت درشتی درشتی
کردم و در زمان تانی شتاب نکردم و در کار شتاب درنگ
ننمودم و کاری که بتدبیر سر انجام یافتی بشهشیر
نهی کشادم

وروزها

SECONDLY, I used reflection, and caution, Book II. and circumspection, that I might not err in execution. And such was the favour of the Almighty, that every determination which I formed, proved in the end judicious and successful. I informed myself of the dispositions and genius of the natives of every country; and I accommodated myself to their prejudices in the appointment of their governors.

THIRDLY, I united unto myself three hundred and thirteen resolute men, of nobility, of bravery, and of wisdom; and so firmly were they united, that the whole, it might be said, were as one person: and their resolutions, and their actions, and their declarations were the same. When they said, "We will do thus," they did it: for until they had concluded the enterprise on which they had determined, they withdrew not their hands therefrom.

FOURTHLY, I postponed not till tomorrow the business of to-day. When lenity was necessary, I acted with lenity; and in the hour of severity I was severe. At the time when delay was policy, I acted not with precipitation; and when expedition was necessary, I was not guilty of delay: and the business which could be concluded by address and negotiation, I committed not to the sword.

وروزها با ارباب تجربه وهوشبندان
 شطرنج ملک کیري مي باختم وشبها که در خوابگاه
 تکیه میزدم در تہشیت امور مہلکت تفکر میکردم
 وصورت انجام آنرا بخور تصویر مینہودم

وطریق ملک کیري را خود بخود اندیش
 میکردم کہ از کدام راه در آیم وکدام طرف بدر
 آیم ودر معاملات سپاہ فکر میکردم کہ کدام یکی را
 تربیت نہایم وچہ کسرا کار فرمایم تا غلط نکنم وپیش
 بینی در ہر کار مینہودم وہر کس از اعیان سپاہ
 کہ بہن دوستي کردند بایشان احسان نہودم وہر
 کس بہن دشمني کرد بوي مدارا کردم

وکسانی کہ بآنها نیکی کردم وآنها
 بہن بدی کردند ایشانرا حرام زاہ دانستم کہ قول
 رسول رب العالمین است کہ ولد الزنا از دنیا بیرون
 نہوں تا بہحسن خود بدی نکنند

پیر من بین نوشت کہ ترا است
 کہ بحکم خدا ورسول خدا عمل نہایء وآل
 وزریات

THE day I past in examining the difficulties of conquest with wise and experienced men ; and in the night when I laid myself down in the chamber of repose, I deliberated on the execution of my resolutions, and I formed the plan on which they were to be conducted.

AND I myself reflected on the measures I should pursue in the reduction of kingdoms ; how I should advance, and which way I should retreat. And I also considered those things which concerned my soldiers, whom I should encourage and reward, and whom I should order upon service ; that I might not err in my resolves. And I exerted foresight and circumspection in every transaction. And the leaders of my soldiers who attached themselves unto me, I treated with kindness and distinction ; and I conducted myself with seeming attention towards those who were my enemies.

AND I considered as base-born those on whom I had conferred favours, and who, for the good which they had received, returned evil. For it is the proverb of the prophet of the Creator of men and angels, ' That the base-born will not depart from the world, ' until he hath deceived and injured his patron, and be- ' nefactor.'

MY venerable PEER wrote unto me, saying,
 " It is thy duty to act in obedience to the commands of
 " thy God and the prophet of thy God, and to protect

و ذریات آنحضرت را نصرت دهی

وسلاطین را که نعمتهای خدا میخورند
و بخدا و رسول وی باغی شده اند از ملک خدا
اخراج نهایی و در ملک خدا عدالت بکار بری
که گفته اند ملک بکفر باقی ماند و بظلم باقی
نماند

و ترا است که افعال تبیحه و اعبال
شنیعه از ملک خدا براندازی که افعال بد در عالم
آن اثر میکند که غذای بد در بدن و آثار ظلم را
محو نهایی

و طول بقای ظالم را در عالم حبل بر
نیکی ظالم نکنی و سبب طول بقای ظالمان و فاسقان
آنست که ظلم و فسقی که در نهاد ایشان نهاده
اند از قوت بفعل آورند آنکاه بسخط و غضب الهی
کرفتار کردند

گاه باشد که قدرت الهی ظلمه
و فسقه و فجره را به بند و زندان و تاراج و محط
و کرسنکی و وباء عام و موت فجاء بیک مرتبه کرفتار
کرداند

و گاه

“ and assist the descendants and posterity of that holy Book II.
 “ messenger. }

“ AND those princes who feed on the bound-
 “ ties of the Creator, and yet rebel against their God and
 “ his prophet, thou shalt drive out from the kingdoms of
 “ the Lord. And thou shalt act with justice in the land
 “ of thy Creator : for it is said, That dominion may be
 “ continued to the infidel ; but that to the tyrant it shall
 “ not be continued.

“ AND it is thy duty to root out from the
 “ country of God all pollutions and abominations ; for
 “ evil practices have that effect on the world, which per-
 “ nicious aliment hath on the human body. Obliterate
 “ every vestige of cruelty and oppression.

“ AND ascribe not the continued prosper-
 “ rity of the tyrant in this world to the merits of the
 “ tyrant : for the cause of the long duration of the power
 “ of the wicked and the oppressors is this, that they may
 “ bring forth into action all the wickedness and all the
 “ crimes which they have treasured up in their hearts,
 “ and then be overtaken by the wrath and indignation of
 “ Almighty God.

“ IT shall sometimes come to pass, that
 “ the omnipotence of the Creator shall at once chastize
 “ the cruel, and the wicked, and the impious, with a
 “ variety of punishments ; by chains, and by prisons ;
 “ and by desolation, and by famine, and by hunger ; by
 “ an universal pestilence, and by sudden death ; and by
 “ unforeseen destruction.

AND

وگاہ باشد کہ صلحا و اتقیا و نیکو
 گاران و بیکنانہاں بشامت افعال و افعال بدان در
 بلا افتند و گرفتار شوند چه آنش کہ در نیستان
 افتد تر و خشک آنرا بسوزد

واز ترقیات و استدرجات کفار و فجار
 و طلبہ و فساق تعجب نکنی و بغلط نروی و با خود
 نکویء کہ ظالمان و فاسقان و فاجران ہرچند ظلم
 و فسق و فجور بیشتر میکنند نعت ایشان بیشتر
 میشود

پس سبب بسیاری نعت ایشان را باید
 دانست چه سببش اینست کہ شاید نظر پر عنایت
 منعم حقیقی کردہ از ظلم و فسق باز آیند و شکر
 نعت بجای آورند

چون از آدای شکر آلہی غافل شوند
 و بدرگاہ سچانی باز کشت ننمایند و نعت خدا
 و رسول خدا فراموش کنند در آخر بغضب و سخط
 اینزدی گرفتار گردند

چون نامہ پیر من بہن رسید ملک
 خدا را از چنگ ظالمان و کافران و ملاحدان و منافقان
 و فاسقان

“ AND it shall sometimes come to pass,
 “ that the just, and the religious, and the virtuous, and
 “ the innocent shall be overtaken and involved in the ca-
 “ lamities of the evil doers. For the fire, which falleth
 “ in the wilderness of reeds, consumeth both the green
 “ and the dry.

“ AND be not surprized at the prosperity
 “ and the success of the impious, and the wicked, and
 “ the infidel, and the tyrant. And err not in thy conclu-
 “ sions, and say not unto thyself, The good things of
 “ the wicked, and of the impious men, and of the tyrant
 “ are increased unto them; although in wickedness, and
 “ in tyranny, and in impiety they daily increase.

“ THOU oughtest first to understand the
 “ cause of their increasing prosperity. For the cause is,
 “ that perhaps (reflecting on the bounties of their true
 “ benefactor) they may turn back from their wickedness
 “ and oppressions, and be grateful for the favours which
 “ they receive.

“ BUT if they neglect to pay the tribute
 “ of gratitude to their God, and return not back to the
 “ holy gate, and if they forget the bounties of their
 “ Creator, and the prophet of their Creator, they shall in
 “ the end be overtaken by the anger and the vengeance of
 “ the omnipotent chastiser.”

WHEN the letter of my venerable PEER
 came to my hands, I wrested from the grasp of the op-
 pressors

وفاستقان. وفاجران بر آوردم و در دفع و رفع ایشان کمر
هبت بر بستم

تزوک ملک داری

هر ملک را که مسخر ساختم عزیزان آن
ملک را عزیز داشتم و سادات و علما و فضلا و مشایخ را
تعظیم و احترام نمودم و سیورغال و وظیفه و مرسوم بایشان
مقرر ساختم و کلانتران آن ولایت را بمنزله برادر
و خوردان و اطفال را بجای فرزند دانستم

و سپاه آن ملک را بدرگاه خود راه
دام و رعایا را مستمال گردانیدم و همه را در میانه
امید و بیم نگاهداشتم و به نیکان هر ملک نیکی
کردم و بدان و اشرار و بد نفسان را از مملکت اخراج
نمودم

و ادانی و اراذل را در مرتبه ایشان
نگاهداشتم و نگذاشتم که قدم از حد خود فراتر
گذارند و اکابر و اشراف را بمراتب عالیه امتیاز دام
و ابواب عدالت در هر ملک مفتوح داشتم و طریق ظلم
و ستم را مسدود گردانیدم

و حاکم

pressors and the infidels, and from the seditious, and the wicked, and the impious, the lands of the Lord: and I girded up my loins to extirpate and destroy them. Book II.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF CONQUERED KINGDOMS.

IN every kingdom which I conquered, I respected those who were worthy of respect, and I venerated and honoured the posterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the learned, and the holy men; and I conferred upon them estates, and pensions, and appointments. And I considered the powerful and the opulent of that country as my brethren; and as my children, the poor and the helpless infants thereof.

AND the soldiers of that kingdom I admitted to my presence; and I soothed and encouraged the subjects; and I kept both the one and the other suspended between hope and fear. And to the good of every country I did good; and I expelled from my kingdoms the vicious, and the wicked, and the seditious.

THE base and the abject I confined within their proper bounds; and I permitted them not to exceed the limits prescribed them. And on the nobles and the grandees I conferred preeminence by exalted dignities; and I threw open the portals of equity and justice in every country; and I closed up the avenues to cruelty and oppression.

وحاکم هر ملکی را که مسخر من شد
حکومت آن ولایت را باز بوی ارزانی داشتم و ویرا بقید
احسان در آورده مطیع و منقاد خود ساختم و هر که
میهن در نیامد ویرا بکردار وی گرفتار گردانیدم و حاکم
عادل و عاقل و عامل بر ایشان تعیین نمودم

وامر کردم که دزدان و قطاع الطریق
هر ملک را بیاسا رسانند و مفسدان و اشرار و بد نفسان را
از ملک اخراج نمایند و هرزه کاران را در شهر و ملک
نکدازند

و کوتوالی بهر شهر و قصبه تعیین کنند
که نگاهبان رعیت و سپاه باشد و آنچه از هر کس
بدزدی رود در عهده کوتوال باشد

وامر نمودم که بر سر راهها ضابطان
تعیین نمایند که حارث و پاسبان راهها بوده اموال
و اسباب و امتعه متردین تجار و مسافران را منزل بینزل
برسانند و اگر فوتی و فرو گذاشتی در آن بشود از
عهده جواب آن بر آیند

وامر

AND every kingdom which I reduced, I gave back the government of that kingdom to the prince thereof; and I bound him in the chains of kindness and generosity; and I drew unto me his obedience and submission. The refractory I overcame by their own devices; and I appointed over them a vigorous, and sagacious, and upright governor. Book II.

AND I commanded that the thieves and the high-way robbers of every country should be put to death; and that the seditious, and the vicious, and the profligate should be banished from the realm; and that vagrants and buffoons should not be permitted to reside in the cities or in the country;

AND that a magistrate should be appointed in every city and in every town, who should watch over the conduct of the soldier and the subject; and that he should be accountable for every thing that was stolen.

AND I ordered that guards should be stationed at the entrance of the roads; and that they should watch and defend the roads and the stages; and conduct in safety from stage to stage the merchandize, and the effects, and the property of the merchant and the traveller; and that if any loss or deficiency should be found therein, that they should be answerable for the value thereof.

وامر نبودم که حکام به تهمت و سخنان
 ارباب غرض و بد کویان و بد نفسان بر هیچ فردی از
 افراد متوطنان و ساکنان بلاد و امصار جریت نکنند
 بعد از ثبوت گناه از احداث اربعه جریت فراخور گناه
 از محرم یکیرند

وامر نبودم که سر شہاری و خانہ شہاری
 از هیچ شہری و قصبہ نکیرند و هیچکس از سپاہ در
 خانہ رعیت بنور نزول نکند و چہاریایان و اولاغ * رعایا
 نکیرند

و در جمع امور رعایا ہر میلکتی
 در سلوک و معاش حد اعتدال نگاہدارند و امر نبودم
 کہ کدایان ہر ملک را وظیفہ مقرر گردانند تا رسم
 کدای بر افتد

تزوگ خبر داری و آگاہی از احوال
 ملک و میلکت و رعیت و سپاہ

امر نبودم کہ در ہر سرحدی و ولایتی
 و شہری و لشکری خبر نویسی تعیین نمایند کہ از
 اعمال

AND I commanded that the governors Book II.
 should not presume to punish or oppress any one of the
 inhabitants of the towns or the cities under their jurisdic-
 tion, on the accusation (or information) of the malevo-
 lent, and the profligate and the self-interested; but that
 after conviction, according to the FOUR INSTITUTIONS,
 a fine should be levied on the guilty person in propor-
 tion to the misdemeanour.

AND I ordained that the poll-tax and the
 house-tax should not be levied on any town, or on any
 city whatever; and that no one of the soldiers should
 presume to enter by force the dwelling of a civil inhabi-
 tant, or to seize on the cattle, or the property, of the
 subject;

AND that in every concern of the inhabi-
 tants of every country, the governors thereof should in
 their conduct keep within the limits of equity and justice.
 And I ordained that subsistence should be allowed to the
 mendicants of every kingdom, that the practice of beg-
 ging might be abolished.

REGULATIONS FOR THE OBTAINING
 INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION OF THE STATE
 OF THE EMPIRE, AND OF THE PROVINCES, AND OF
 THE SOLDIERS, AND OF THE SUBJECTS.

I ordained that on every frontier, and in
 every country, and in every city, and in every camp a
 writer of intelligence should be established; and that
 each

اعمال و افعال حکام و رعیت و سپاه و لشکر خود و لشکر
 بیگانه و مداخل و مخارج مال و منال و در آمدن و بر
 آمدن مردم بیگانه و قوافل از اهل هر مملکت و اخبار
 ممالک و سلاطین همسایه و اعمال و افعال ایشان و جماعه
 علما و افاضل که از بلاد بعیده روی بدرگاه من
 آورده باشند بتفصیل از روی راستی و درستی بدرگاه
 مینوشته باشند

و اگر خلاف نمایند و از قرار واقع ننویسند
 انکشتان اخبار نویسان قطع نمایند و اگر اخبار نویسی
 کار سپاهی را پوشیده دارن و در لباس دیگر بنویسد
 دست و پرا قطع کنند و اگر دروغی را بنابر تهمت
 و غرضی نوشته باشد او را بقتل رسانند و امر نمودم که
 اخبار مذکور روز بروز و هفته بهفته و ماه بماه بعرض
 برسد

و امر نمودم که یک هزار نفر جبهه سوار
 و اسب سوار چیتونچی* رونده دونده و هزار نفر پیاده
 جلد تعیین نمایند که اخبار ممالک و سرحد و اراده
 و مقاصد

each should write to the imperial presence, with truth and perspicuity, full accounts of the conduct and the behaviour of the governors, and of the officers; and of the soldiers, and of the subjects; and of the state of my own armies, and of those of foreign powers; and of the bringing in, and the carrying out of all merchandize and commodities; and of the entrance, and the departure of all strangers, and of all Kauruvvauns of every country; and of the transactions of the neighbouring kingdoms and princes, and of their conduct and behaviour; and also of the learned and skilful men of distant countries, who might turn their faces towards my dominions:

AND that if the writer of intelligence was guilty of falsehood, and wrote not the true state of the facts, his fingers should be cut off: and that if he suppressed the laudable actions of a soldier, or wrote an unjust account thereof he should be deprived of his right hand: and that if he wrote a false account from enmity and from malice, he should be put to death. And I commanded that these accounts should be transmitted unto me day by day, and week by week, and month by month.

AND I ordained, that a thousand swift camel-men, and a thousand swift horse-men, and a thousand expeditious foot-men should be selected; and that they should inform themselves of the occurrences of the countries, and of the frontiers; and of the intentions and the

و مقاصد سلاطین جو اررا تحقیق نبوده و بحضور آمده
 خبر رسانند تا آنکه پیش از وقوع واقع اعلاج نمایم
 چنانچه خبر شکست یافتن توتیش
 خان از اروس خان بهن رسید دانستم که وی بهن
 پناه خواهد آورد و استعداد جنگ اروس خان و امداد
 توتیش خان نمودم

چنانچه در وقتی که بر تسخیر ممالک
 هندوستان عازم شدم بهن خبر رسانیدند که در هر
 نواحی هندوستان حاکمی و والی بر تخت سلطنت
 نشست

چنانچه سارنگ برادر ملو خان در سر
 زمین ملتان علم حکومت بر افراخته و در دهلی سلطان
 محمود خان علم سلطنت بر افراخته و در ناحیه لاهور
 ملو خان لشکر جمع آورده و مبارک خان در نواحی
 قنوج بدعوی سلطنت بر خاسته و در هر ولایتی از
 ولایت هندوستان شخصی کردن بدعوی سلطنته
 برافراخته

چون این خبر به سامع من رسید تسخیر
 آن ملک در نظر من آسان نبود لیکن در نظر سپاه
 مشکل بود

چنانچه

the designs of the neighbouring princes; and that they should return unto the presence, and give me information thereof, that I might provide the remedy before the evil arrived. Book II.

THUS I received intelligence of the defeat of Touktummish Khaun by Auroos Khaun. I knew that Touktummish Khaun would fly for protection unto me; and I made the necessary preparations to support Touktummish, and to wage war with Auroos.

THUS at the time that I was about to undertake the reduction of the empire of Hindostaun, information was brought unto me, that independent princes and chiefs were seated on the throne of government in every quarter of those dominions;

THUS, that Saurung, the brother of Mulloo Khaun, had elevated the standard of power in the land of Mooltaun; and that in Dehli Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun had erected the ensign of authority; and that in the territories of Lauhore Mulloo Khaun had drawn together a numerous army; and that Mubbauruk Khaun had aspired to the regal title in the kingdom of Kunnouj; and that in every province of the provinces of Hindostaun some one had assumed the regal dignity.

WHEN I received this information, the conquest of that empire appeared easy in my sight; but in the eyes of my soldiers it was an undertaking of difficulty.

چنانچه در وقت که مملکت هند را
 مسخر ساختم خبر بین رسید که قیصر روم بر بعضی
 مملکت من ترکتاز آورده و کرجیان از حد خود
 تجاوز نموده به بعضی قلاع که لشکرهای من آنها
 محاصره داشتند آمده مدد اهالی قلعه کرده اند
 و خود بخود کنکاش کردم اگر در
 هند توقف نمایم در مملکت ایران خللی روی
 خواهد داد نسق دار الملک هند نموده ایلغار کردم
 و روزی چند در ماورالنهر توقف نمودم و از آنجا متوجه
 روم و کرجستان شدم و جمیع آن ممالک مسخر
 ساختم

تنوک سلوک و معاش به متوطنان
 و ساکنان بلاد و نسق مزارات اولیا و بزرگان دین
 و اوقاف و نذارات

امر نمودم که هر مملکتی که مسخر
 کرد سپاهی که در آن مملکت باشد و پناه آورد
 نوکر سازند و جای دهند و رعایا و متوطنان آن دیار را
 از حوادث و قتل و غارت و اسیری محافظت نمایند

واموال

THUS, when I had subdued the empire of Hind, I received intelligence that the Keesur of Room had ravaged certain of my provinces ; and that the natives of Goorjistaun, exceeding their proper limits, had advanced to certain castles which were besieged by my forces ; and that they had given succour to the inhabitants of those castles. Book II.

AND I reflected with myself, that if I tarried longer in the empire of Hindostaun, disorders would arise in the kingdom of Eraun. Having settled the affairs of the empire of Hind, I returned from thence with speed. And I halted for a few days in Mauwur u Nuhur ; and from thence I proceeded towards Room and Goorjistaun ; and I conquered the whole of that extensive empire.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED TOWARDS THE NATIVES, AND THE INHABITANTS, OF EVERY COUNTRY. AND OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE SHRINES OF THE SAINTS, AND OF THE FATHERS OF THE HOLY RELIGION. AND OF THE GIFTS AND PIOUS DONATIONS.

I ordained, in every kingdom which should be subdued, that the warrior of that kingdom who submitted unto me should be received into my service ; and that the subjects and the inhabitants of that country should be protected from injuries, and from slaughter, and from rapine, and from slavery ;

واموال واسباب ایشان را از تاراج وبعبا
نکاهدارند و غنایه را که از آن ملک بدست آید
بقید ضبط در آورند

وسادات وعلما و مشایخ وفضلا واکابر
واشراف را اعزاز نمایند وکدخدیان وکلانتران
وردهقانان و مزارعان را استیالت دهند
ورعایا را در میانه امید و بیم نکاهدارند
ومقدار گناه واستعداد او جریمت بگیرند

وامر نمودم که بسادات وعلما و مشایخ
وفضلا و درویشان وگوشه نشینان هر مهلکی که
بتسخیر در آید سیورغالات ووظیفه ومرسوم بدهند وبقرا
وعجزه مساکین مدد و معاش مقرر دارند و بهدرسین
و مشایخ ووظیفه معین نمایند

و پروضات و مزارات اولیای واکابر دین
مواضع

AND that their effects and their property Book II.
 should be protected from ravage and from plunder ; and
 that the spoils which had been gathered from that coun-
 try should be taken from the spoilers ;

AND that the posterity of the prophet, and
 the theologians, and the holy and the learned men, and
 the nobles and the grandees should be treated with honour
 and respect ; and that the chiefs, and the leading men,
 and the principal men of the towns and the villages, and
 those who followed agriculture, should be protected and
 encouraged ;

AND that the subjects in general should be
 kept suspended between hope and fear ; and that when
 guilty of a crime, they should be fined in proportion to
 the offence, and to their ability.

AND I ordained that to the posterity of
 the prophet, and to the theologians, and to the learned,
 and to the holy men, and to the religious, and to the re-
 cluse in every country which should come under my
 dominion, lands, and pensions, and appointments should
 be granted ; and that subsistence and support should be
 allowed to the poor, and to the helpless, and to the in-
 digent ; and that to the teachers, and to the learned in
 religion salaries should be granted ;

AND that for the support of the shrines
 and the sepulchres of the saints, and the fathers of the
 holy

مواضع وقفی کنند و فرش و آتش و روشنای مقرر
نبایند

و اول بروضه مقدسه امیر المومنین شاه
مردان علی ابن ابی طالب کرم الله وجهه محال
بخفی و جلده را وقفی نبایند

و بروضه منوره امام حسین رضی الله
عنه و بروضه قدوة الاولیا شیخ عبد القادر و مقبره امام
اعظم ابو خنیفه رحمت الله علیه و مزارات دیگر مشایخ
و اکابر و بزرگان دین که در بغداد آسوده اند از
برای هریک علی قدرهم مواضع و دهات کربلا و بغداد
و غیره وقفی نبایند

و برای روضه منوره امام موسی کاظم
و امام محمد تقی و سلیمان فارسی محال مزروعه از
جزایر و غیره حاصلات مداین وقف کنند

و بجهت روضه متبرکه امام علی ابن
موسی ناحیه کته بست و محال شهر طوس را وقفی
نبایند و فرش و روشنای آتش یومیه مقرر سازند و بجهت
مزارات

holy religion, lands should be appointed; and that carpets, and food, and lamps should be allowed to those who resided therein:

AND first, that for the holy shrine of the commander of the faithful, the king of men, Aali † the the son of Aboo Taulib (on whom be the favour of God) the districts of Bukhf and Jilleh should be assigned;

AND that for the pure shrine of the Imaum Hoossein (whom the Almighty reward) and for the shrine of the mirror of the faints, Sheikh Abdulkaudir; and for the shrine of the great Imaum Aboo Khunneefeh (the mercy of God be upon him) and for the sepulchres of the other faints, and fathers, and distinguished men of the holy religion, who rested from their labours in the city of Bughdaud; that for each of them, according to their dignities, the lands and the villages of Kurbullau and of Bughdaud, and other districts should be assigned;

AND that for the support of the holy shrines of Imaum Moofi Kauzim, and Imaum Mahumud Nukki, and Soolamaun Faurfi, the fertile lands of Juzzaur and other cities should be granted;

AND that for the support of the sacred sepulchres of Imaum Aali, the son of Moofi, the lands of Kutteh Bust, and the environs of the city of Toos should be assigned; and that carpets, and lamps, and

† The fourth Khalif, and son-in-law to the Mahumudan lawgiver.

مزارات و مقابر مشایخ ایران و توران نام بنام نذورات
 و اوقاف معین نمایند

وامر نبودم که هر مملکتی که مسخر
 گردد کدایان آن ملک را جمع ساخته یومیه و وظیفه
 مقرر نمایند و ایشان را تبغا* کنند که دیگر کدای را
 بر طرف سازند و اگر بعد از تبغا کدای نمایند
 ایشانرا به بلاد بعیده بفروشند یا سر دهند تا کدازان
 از مملکت من کم شوم

تزوک تحصیل مال و خراج از رعیت
 و نسق و رونق ملک و معیوری و آبادانی و ضبط
 و حراست مملکت

امر نبودم که مال و خراج از رعیت
 بنهجی بگیرند که موجب خرابی رعیت و ویرانی
 مملکت نشود که خرابی رعیت موجب گهی خرابی
 است و گهی خرابی باعث تفرقه سپاه است و تفرقه
 سپاه موجب اختلال مرتبه سلطنت است

وامر

daily bread should be allowed to the religious; and that benefactions and gifts should be granted for the sepulchres and the Mausoleums of each of the saints of Eraun and of Tooraun. Book II.

AND I ordained that, in every kingdom which should be conquered, the mendicants of that country should be gathered together; and that subsistence and daily bread should be allowed unto them; and that they should be made pensioners and beg no more. And if after they were made pensioners they continued the practice of asking alms, I commanded that they should be sold into foreign countries, or expelled from the realm: that the race of beggars might become extinct in my dominions.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE COLLECTION OF THE REVENUES AND THE TAXES FROM THE SUBJECTS; AND THE ORDER AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROVINCES; AND THE CULTIVATION, AND THE POPULATION, AND THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE POLICE OF THE EMPIRE.

I ordained that the revenues and the taxes should be collected in such a manner, as might not be productive of ruin to the subject, or of depopulation to the country. For the ruin of the subject causeth a diminution of the imperial treasures; and a diminution of the imperial treasures effecteth the dispersion of the troops; and the dispersion of the troops produceth the extinction of the imperial power.

وامر نبودم که هر مملکتی که مسخر
 گردد و از حوادث در امن و امان در آید حاصل
 مواصل آن ملک را ملاحظه نمایند
 و اگر رعایا بجمع قدیم راضی باشند
 برضای ایشان عمل نمایند والا موافق تزوک جمع
 مبرندند

وامر نبودم که خراج موافق حاصل
 زراعت بکیرند و جمع بر حاصل زمین مبرندند
 چنانچه اول اراضی مزروعه رعیت را که
 بآب کاریز و چشمه و نهر ورود خائنه زراعت کرده
 باشند و آن آنها دوام و استبرار داشته باشد ضبط
 نمایند و آنچه حاصل آن اراضی باشد دو حصه بر رعیت
 گذارند و یک حصه بسرکار اعلی تحصیل نمایند
 و اگر رعایا آردای اراضی مضبوطه بنقدی
 راضی باشد آنچه غله حصه سرکار را موافق نرخ وقت
 نقدی بر رعیت قرار دهند و موافق نرخ نقد
 بسپاهی برسانند

و اگر

AND I ordained that, in every country Book II.
 that should be subdued (to the inhabitants of which char-
 ters of safety and security from dangers should be granted)
 the produce and the revenue of that country should be
 inspected ;

IF the subjects were satisfied with the old
 and established taxes, that those taxes should be confir-
 med, agreeably to the wishes of the subjects ; or if not,
 that they should be determined according to the REGU-
 LATION.

AND I ordained that the duties should be
 determined in proportion to the produce of the cultivated
 lands ; and that the taxes on the produce of those lands
 should be affixed and ascertained :

THUS first, that the cultivated grounds of
 the subject, which should be made fertile by the water of
 canals, or by springs, or rivulets, or rivers (if these waters
 flowed perpetually and continually) should be superinten-
 ded by the officers of the crown ; and that of the amount
 of the produce of those grounds, two thirds should be
 allowed to the possessor thereof, and one third be paid
 into the royal treasury ;

AND if the subject should consent to pay
 the tax for the restricted lands in specie, that for the grain
 due to the treasury the sum should be fixed on the subject
 according to the current price of the grain ; and that cor-
 responding to the current price of the grain, the money
 should be paid to the soldiers ; †

† If the price of grain was low the soldiers pay was less, if high, it
 was more : that is to say, it was always exactly proportioned to the value
 of the necessities of life.

واگر رعیت بحاصل وقسبت سه توده
راضی نشوند اراضی مضبوط را اول و دوم و سیوم جزیب
نبایند و جزیب اول را سه خروار و جزیب دوم را دو
خروار و جزیب سیوم را یک خروار جمع بربندند و نصف را
کندم و نصفی را جو اعتبار کنند و آنچه جمع شود
دو یک مال بکیرند

واگر رعیت با وجود این هم بدان مال
راضی نشود خرواری کندم را پنج مثقال نقره
و خرواری جورا دو نیم مثقال نقره نرخ نبایند و ساوری
قلعه بر آن اضافه کنند و دیگر بهیچ اسم و رسم چیزی
از رعایا مطالبه نبایند

و باقی زراعت خرینی و ربیع و زمستانی
و تابستانی رعیت را و زراعتی که بآب باران مزروع
شده باشد جزیب نبایند و آنچه بتحریر در آید به
ثلث و ربع عمل کنند

+ A *Furreeb* is a certain land-measure, as our acre.

AND if the subject should not be satisfied with the mode of collection, and with the partition of the general produce into three parts, that the restricted lands should be divided into first, and second, and third Jurreeb; † that the produce of the first Jurreeb should be estimated at three loads, and the produce of the second Jurreeb at two loads, and the produce of the third Jurreeb at one load; and that half thereof should be estimated as wheat, and half thereof as barley; and that of the total amount one half of the produce should be collected;

Book II.

AND if the subject, notwithstanding this, should be unwilling to pay the tax in kind, that the value of a load of wheat should be fixed at five Miskauls of silver, and the value of a load of barley at two and a half Miskauls of silver; and that the duty of the Kellaah ‡ should be exacted over and above: but that nought else should be demanded of the subject under any pretext or denomination whatever;

AND that the rest of the lands of the husbandman, those which produced in the autumn, and in the spring, and in the summer, and in the winter; and the lands which depended on the rain for fertility, should be divided into Jurreeb; and that of the produce of those which were numbered, a third or a fourth should be collected;

† What this duty is, is unknown to the translator.

AND

و ستر سهار و مخترفه و ساير جهات بلدان
 و مواضع و آنخور و علف چرا و مراعي موافق دستور
 العهل قديم بعهل آوردند و اگر رعيت راضي نشود
 به هفت و بود عهل نبايند

وامر نمودم كه پيش از رسيدن محصول
 بر رعيت مال و جهات اطلاق نبايند و چون محصول
 برسد بسه نفعه مال تحصيل كنند
 و اگر رعيت بي تحصيلدار مال كذاري
 نبايد تحصيلدار تعين نبايند و اگر بتحصيلدار
 محتاج شوند بحكم و سخن مال بگيرند كار
 بچوب و ريسمان و شلاق نرسانند و رعيت را به بند
 و زنجير متعبد نكرده اند

وامر نمودم كه هر كس صحراي اباد
 كند و يا كاريزي احداث نبايد يا باغي بسز كند
 يا موضع ويرانه را نو اباد سازد در سال اول چيزي
 نگيرند و در دوم آنچه رعيت برضاي خود بدهد
 بگيرند و در سال سيم موافق تنك مال بگيرند
 و امر

AND that the duties on the herbs, and on the fruits, and on all the other productions of the country, and on the reservoirs of water, and on the commons, and on the pasture lands should be fixed and determined according to the ancient and established practices : and if the subject should not be content therewith, that the collections should be settled according to the Hust and Bood. †

AND I ordained that, before the time of the gathering in the grain, the taxes should not be demanded ; and, when the period of the harvest arrived, that they should be collected at three different times ;

AND if the subject paid the royal dues spontaneously, that a tax-gatherer should not be appointed over him ; and if there should be occasion for a tax-gatherer, that he should levy the duties by threats and by authority ; but that he should not make use of the cudgel, and the cord, and the scourge ; nor presume to confine the subject in fetters and in chains.

AND I ordained, whoever undertook the cultivation of waste lands, or built an aqueduct, or made a canal, or planted a grove, or restored to culture a deserted district, that in the first year nothing should be taken from him, and that in the second year whatever the subject voluntarily offered should be received, and that in the third year the duties should be collected according to the REGULATION.

† This regulation is not understood by the translator.

وامر نمودم که اگر ارباب وکلانتر
بر ریزه رعیت تعدی نباید و موجب خرابی ریزه رعیت
باشد مقدار خرابی که بر ریزه رعیت رسیده باشد
از ارباب وکلانتر گرفته بایشان برساند که بحال
خود باز آیند

و مواضع خراب اگر صاحب نداشته
باشند در خالصه معهور نمایند و اگر صاحب داشته
باشند و اگر پربشان باشد مصالح الاملاک بوی دهند
که موضع خود را آباد سازد

وامر نمودم که در زمین خراب کاربها
جاری سازند و پلهای خراب را عمارت نمایند و بر نهراهای
ورود خانها پلها بنا کنند و در راهها بیقصدار یک منزل
رباطی تعبیر نمایند و راهداران و مستحفظان در راهها
مقرر دارند و در هر رباطی جمعی را متوطن سازند
که راهداری و نگاهبانی بدیشان متعلق باشد و مال
که از اهل غفلت در راهها بدزدی برود راهداران
از عهده بر آیند

وامر نمودم که در هر شهری و بلدی
مسجیدی

AND I ordained, that if the rich and the powerful should oppress the poorer subject, and injure or destroy his property, an equivalent for the damage sustained should be levied on the rich oppressor, and be delivered to the injured person; that he might be restored to his former estate:

AND that all ruined lands which lay uncultivated (if there were no owners to those lands) should be annexed to the crown. And if there were owners, and those owners were reduced to distress, I ordained that the necessary supplies should be granted unto them, that they might cultivate their lands anew.

AND I commanded that the ruined bridges should be repaired; and that bridges should be constructed over the rivulets and over the rivers; and that on the roads, at the distance of one stage from each other, Kauruvvaunfurai † should be erected; and that guards and watchmen should be stationed on the road; and that in every Kauruvvaunfurai people should be appointed to reside; and that the watching and the guarding of the roads should appertain unto them: and that those guards should be answerable for whatever should be stolen on the roads from the unwary traveller.

AND I ordained that in every town and in every city a mosque, and a school, and a monastery,

† Buildings for the reception of travellers.

مسجدي و مدرسه و خانقاهي بنا کنند و لنگر خانه
 بجهت فقرا و مساکين و دار الشفای بجهت مرضان
 مقرر دارند و طبيبي را موظف ساخته بر دار الشفا
 موکل دارند و در هر شهري دار الاماره و دار العداله
 تعبير کنند و قورچيان* بجهت نگاهباني زراعت و رعيت
 مقرر نبايند

و امر نمود که در هر ملڪي سه وزير
 تعيين نبايند يکي براي رعيت که آنچه از رعيت
 تحصيل شود و اصالت آنرا سر رشته نگاهدارد که چه
 مبلغ و چه مقدار از رعيت بهر اسم و رسم بر آمده جمع
 آنرا نگاهدارد

و وزير دوم از براي سپاه که بسپاهيان
 چه مبلغ رسیده و چه مبلغ طلب دارند
 و وزير سيوم از براي ضبط اموال غايب
 و آينده و رونده و حاصل بادي و هوای و ضبط اموال
 مجائين و موارث و ااثام که باستصواب قاضي و شيخ
 الاسلام جمع سازد

و امر

and an alms house for the poor and the indigent, and an hospital for the sick and infirm should be founded; and that a physician should receive a salary, and should be appointed to attend the hospital: and that in every city a government-house, and a court for the administration of justice should be built: and that superintendants should be appointed to watch over the cultivated lands, and over the husbandmen.

AND I ordained that in every country three Vizeers should be stationed. The FIRST for the subject, To keep a regular account of the taxes and the duties received, and what sums, and to what amount, were paid in by the subject, and under what denomination, and on what account; and to preserve an exact statement of the whole.

THE SECOND for the soldier, To take account of the sums paid to the troops, and of the sums remaining due unto them.

THE THIRD, To take possession of the Amwaul a Ghauibi, † and of the customs on the comers and on the goers; and of the revenues of the Baudi and the Huvvau; and to take possession of the effects of those who should become insane, and of those who died intestate, and of those who suffered by the laws. And he was to take possession of those effects with the approbation of the magistrate and of the ecclesiastical judge.

† The effects of people lost, or absconded.

وامر نمودم که اموال اموات را بوارث
 نند و اگر وارث نباشد در ابواب الخیر صرف
 یند یا بیکه معظمه بفرستند

تزوک جنگ وجدل و در آمد و بر آمد
 رکه وصف آرایء و فوج شکنی

امر نمودم که اگر غنیم از دوازده
 هزار سوار کم باشد درین جنگ امیر الامرا سردار
 شد و دوازده هزار سوار از اویهاق و تومانات بوی همراه
 آیند و از مینک باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان
 ز همراه گردانند

و بهسافت یک منزل بجانب غنیم پیش
 تنه به غنیم رو برو شوی و خبر بمن بفرستد

وامر نمودم که این دوازده هزار سوار
 فوج مرتب سازند برین ترتیب قول یک فوج و برانغار
 ه فوج و جرانغار سه فوج و هراول یک فوج و قراول یک
 فوج

و فوج برانغار مشتبه باشد بر هراولی
 چپاولی و شقاولی و همچنین فوج جرانغار متضمن سه
 فوج هراول و چپاول و شقاول باشد

وامر

AND I commanded that the property of the deceased should be restored to the lawful heir; and if there should be no heir, that it should be expended in pious uses, or be sent to the holy city of Mecca. Book II.

REGULATIONS OF WAR: FOR ENTERING INTO AND RETIRING FROM THE FIELD OF BATTLE; AND FOR FORMING THE LINE; AND FOR DEFEATING ARMIES.

I ordained, if the enemy exceeded not twelve thousand cavalry, that an Ameer ul Omrau should command the opposing army: and that twelve thousand horsemen of the Ouyemauk, and the Tonmaun; also Mingbaushee, and Euzbaushee, and Ounbaushee Ameers, should be placed under his command:

AND that he should advance to within the distance of one day's march from the enemy, and that he should halt opposite unto them, and send me information thereof.

AND I commanded that those twelve thousand horse should be formed in nine divisions after this manner: The main body one division, and the right wing three divisions, and the left wing three divisions, and the advanced guard one division, and the advanced guard of the advanced guard one division:

AND that the right wing should consist of its own advanced guard, and its right and its left divisions; and that the left wing should also consist of its own advanced guard, and of its right and its left divisions.

AND

وامر نبودم که امیر الامرا در زمین
 جنگ گاه چهار چیز ملاحظه نماید اول آب آن
 سر زمین دوم زمینی که سپاه را نگاهدارد سیوم
 که بر غنیم مشرف باشد و آفتاب رو برو نباشد تا
 شعاع آفتاب چشم سپاه را خیره نکراند چهارم پیش
 روی جنگ گاه کشاده ووا باشد

وامر نبودم که پیش از جنگ یک روز
 صفی آرایء نمایند و تزک افواج نبوده قدم پیش
 گذارند و سستی که میرفته باشند سر اسپان خود
 از آن سبت بر نکرانند و بچپ و راست میل نکنند
 و امر نبودم که چون نظر سپاه بر افواج غنیم افتد
 باوازه بلند تکبیر گفته سون اندازند

واگر عارض لشکر بینند که
 سردار خطا کند آن عارض دیگری را بجای وی
 بنشانند ویرلیغ فتح که من بوی سپرده ام بامرا
 و سپاه نبودار کرداند

† *Ullah ackbur*, God is great.

وامر

AND I ordered that the general should attend to four particulars in his choice of the field of battle.—FIRST, the water thereof.—And SECONDLY, the strength of the ground, that his flanks and his rear might be covered.—And THIRDLY, that his situation be more elevated than the situation of the enemy; and that the sun be not in his front, that the glare thereof dazzle not the eyes of his troops.—FOURTHLY, that the ground before his lines be extensive and open.

AND I commanded that the army should be marshalled, and the line be formed on the day preceding the action; and that (the forces being ranged in order of battle) they should march towards the enemy; and that they should not turn the heads of their horses from the direction in which they were advancing; that they should neither incline to the left nor to the right. And when the eyes of the army fell upon the forces of the enemy, I ordered that they should utter a great shout, and repeat the Tuckbeer † with a loud voice.

AND I commanded, if the Auriz ‡ of the army saw that the leader thereof was deficient in his duty, that he should deprive him of his command, and appoint another in his place; and that he should open and communicate to the Ameers and to the soldiers the order which I had delivered unto him for that purpose.

† A sort of field-deputy, appointed to observe the conduct of the commander in chief.

وامر نمودم که سردار لشکر باتفاق عارض
 و بسیاری لشکر غنیم را ملاحظه نمایند و سرداران
 خود و طرف غنیم را مقابله نمایند و در گهی
 باری تلافی و تدارک کنند و اسلحه سپاه خود و سپاه
 من بخاطر آورند و رفتار غنیم را به بینند که
 منگی و بیوستگی بجنگ می در آیند یا باضطراب

و روش جنگ غنیم را بخاطر آورند که
 مرتبه ترکناز می آورند یا فوج فوج متعاقب
 بیکر حمله می آورند و به بینند که در هنگام
 من خود را غنیم میسرساند و بر می گردد و باز حمله
 یا بهمان حمله اول اکتفا می نمایند اگر چنین
 سپاه را است که صدمه تاخت ایشانرا بردارد
 نباید که شجاعت صبر یک ساعت است

وامر نمودم که تا غنیم بجنگ مبادرت
 بد بر وی سبقت نگیرند و امر نمودم که چون
 غنیم

AND I ordained that the general of the army should, in conjunction with the Auriz, reconnoitre the numbers of the foe; and that he should compare his chiefs with those of the enemy, and confront them to each other accordingly; and that he should take the necessary precautions to supply all deficiencies; and that he should consider well the different kinds of arms used by the soldiers of the enemy and by his own; and that he should observe the motions of his foes, whether they advanced into the field slowly and in good order, or whether they rushed forward in confusion;

AND that he should consider and comprehend the movements and the order of the enemy's battle, whether they charged at once and in an united body, or by detachments, the one succeeding the other; and that he should observe, in the moment of assault, whether the enemy advanced and retired, and prepared to charge again, or whether they appeared satisfied with their first attempt. When the latter is the case, it is the duty of the soldier to bear lightly the shock of the enemy's attack, and to stand firm and patient. For bravery is but patience and firmness for an hour.

AND I ordained that until the foe advanced to the attack, he should not be attacked. And I ordered, when the enemy entered the field of battle, that the at-

غنیم بهیدان در آید سردار را نظر بر فرمایش و کار
فرمودن افواج نهکانه باشد

چه کار سردار همین است که افواج را
کار فرماید و سردار را است که در وقت کار دل خود را
پای ندهد و دست و پا کم نکند و هر فوجی را
بمنزله سلاحی از اسلحه فرا گیرد از تیر و تبر
و شمشیر و گرز و کار و خنجر و هر فوج را بوقت کار
فرماید

و سردار را است که نه فوج را و خود را
بمنزله شخص کشتی گیر فرا گیرد که به هر عضو
خود از دست و پا و سر و سینه و غیره بچنگ در آمده
و امید است که چون نه ضرب شمشیر دفعه دفعه بر
فوج غنیم برسد البته در ضرب نهم شکست یابد

و سردار را است که اول فوج هراول را
بر غنیم بدواند و هراول برانغار متعاقب آن بهید
بفرستد و از عقب هراول برانغار هراول جرانغار را براند
تا آنکه سه ضرب بر افواج غنیم آید اگر درین وقت
هراولان زیونی نبایند فوج اول برانغار را براند و از
عقب

tention of the general should be turned to the conducting and the directing of the efforts of his troops. Book II.

FOR the duty of the commander is to govern and to guide the movements of his forces; and to be cool, and firm, and collected within himself in the hour of trial; and to consider each division of his army as a particular instrument of the instruments of war; as the arrow, and the battle-axe, and the sword, and the mace, and the poniard, and the dagger; and to direct the edge or the point of each in the moment of necessity.

AND it is the duty of a general to consider himself and the nine divisions of his army as a wrestler who entereth into action, and fighteth with every part of his body — with his arms and with his feet, and with his breast, and with his head. And there is ground for expectation, when eight assaults shall have been successively made on the line of the enemy, that in the ninth shock they will certainly be defeated.

AND it is the business of a skilful general first to charge the foe with his advanced guard. And let him then send forward the advanced guard of his right wing to support them; and after them the advanced guard of the left wing: that three successive shocks may be given to the force of the enemy. And if at this juncture the advanced guards should shrink back from before the foe, let him direct the first division of the right wing to

عقب وي فوج دوم جرانغار را براند اگر فتح نشود
 فوج دوم برانغار براند و متعاقب وي فوج اول
 جرانغار را براند و خيزر بهن فرستند

و منتظر رايات من باشد و تكيه بر عنايات
 آلهي كرده سردار خود بجنك در آيد و مرا در معرك
 حاضر داند كه بتوفيق الله چون هشت ضرب بر
 غنيم واقع آيد در ضرب نهم غنيم شكست خورد
 و فتح روزي شود

و سردار را است كه تميز جلوي نكند
 و لشكر را كار فرمايد و بعد از آنكه كار بسوي رسد تا
 تواند خود را بكشتن ندهد كه كشته شدن سردار
 بد نامي آرد و موجب خيركي غنيم مي كردد

پس سردار را است كه براي و تدبير
 كار كند و تعجيل نكند كه تعجيل از شيطان
 است و بجاي در نيآيد كه از آن نستاند بر آمد

ترتيب صنف ارايه

charge, and after them the second division of the left wing: and if victory proceedeth not from them, let him order the second division of the right wing into action, and let them be followed by the first division of the left wing. And in this state of the conflict let the commander dispatch information unto me. Book II.

AND let him depend upon the arrival of my standard, and resting on the favour of Almighty God, advance himself upon the foe, and consider me as present in the action. For when (by the favour of God) eight successive shocks have been given to the strength of the enemy, they must sink under the ninth, and the victory be obtained.

AND it is the business of a general neither to be rash nor precipitate; but to direct the operations of his troops *with firmness and presence of mind*. And when he himself shall be obliged to enter into action, he must not, whilst he can avoid it, give himself up to death: for the death of the general bringeth disgrace upon the army, and encreaseth the obstinacy of the enemy.

THEREFORE it is the duty of a commander to shun temerity, and to act with deliberation and prudence: for temerity is the offspring of the devil. And let him also be careful that he venture not into a situation, out of which he cannot extricate himself and his army.

فوج قراول

فوج هراول

فوج هراول جرانغار

فوج هراول برانغار

اول فوج جرانغار* دویم فوج
جرانغار

اول فوج برانغار* دویم فوج
برانغار

قول

See PLATE I.

OF TIMOUR.

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Book II.



بر بستم
 تنوک صف ارایء افواج قاهره را چنین
 امر نمودم که اگر لشکر غنیم از دوازده
 هزار سوار زیاده باشد لیکن بچهل هزار نرسد یکی
 از فرزندان کامکار سردار باشد و دو بیکار یکی
 در رکاب وی با امرای و قشونات و تومانات والوسات
 که از چهل هزار سوار کمتر نباشند حاضر باشند
 و افواج قاهره باید که مرا حاضر دانسته
 سر رشته تدبیر و مردی و مردانگی از دست ندهند

و امر نمودم که چون پیشخانه اقبال
 مرا بر آورند دوازده فوج معین نبایند و بر هر یک
 امیری از امرای الوسات مقرر باشد و تنزک نبایند
 تا دوازده تنگی که در روش صف ارایء و افواج
 شکنی و در آمد و بر آمد که بر بسته ام در نظر داشته
 باشد

+ *Paiskhaneh* is the tent, or set of tents, of the prince; which on a march are sent forward and erected against his arrival at every stage: i. e. there are two sets of tents, and those at the first stage, when struck and sent forward, are not unloaded at the second, but proceed on to the third stage, and

THUS I FORMED REGULATIONS FOR Book II.
THE ARRANGEMENT OF MY SUPERIOR ARMIES,

IF the forces of the enemy exceeded in number twelve thousand horsemen, and were inferior in number to forty thousand, I ordained that one of my fortunate sons should command against them; and that two Beglerbeks, and the Ameers, with the Toumaunaut, and the Kuchoonaut, and the Auloofaut, in number not inferior to forty thousand men, should attend his command:

AND that the troops and the officers, who composed this victorious army, should consider me as present in the field, and give not forth from their hands their discipline, and their courage and their conduct.

AND I commanded, when my Paishkhau-neh † was brought forth, that twelve bodies of troops should be ordered out; and that an Ameer of the Ameers of the Auloofaut should be appointed to each, and that they should cause them to perform their exercises and evolutions; that they might keep before their eyes the TWELVE MILITARY REGULATIONS, ‡ which I had established for forming, and for breaking the line of battle, and for advancing, and for retreating.

and are there pitched. And thus the tents at the second stage are, when the prince departs, sent on to the fourth stage, so that the two sets are inhabited alternately.

‡ These regulations are not in the MS, and therefore are supposed to have been omitted by the transcribers through ignorance or inattention.

وسردار آن است که سرداران سپاه
 غنیم را بشمار در آورده در مقابل ایشان سرداران
 تعیین نباید و سپاه جنگی غنیم را از اوچی* و شبشیری
 و نیزه دار بنظر اعتبار در آورد و رفتار سپاه غنیم را
 ببیند که پیوسته و آهسته فوج فوج بپیدان جنگ
 می در آیند یا مغلوبه می تازند و راه در آمدن و بر
 آمدن خود را بپیدان جنگ ملاحظه نباید و شیوه
 و روش جنگ غنیم را در یابند

که گاه باشد که خود را کم نبودار کنند
 و خود را کزیزان و نمایند پس بگر و کزیز پای ایشان
 فریفته نباید شد

وسردار جنگ دیده و کار کرده آنست
 که بند و بست جنگ را بفهمد که کدام فوج را کشار
 باید داد و کدام رخنه را بتدبیر باید بر بست و چگونه
 باید جنگ انداخت سردار آنست که اراده غنیم را
 بفهمد که بکدام روش بجنگ می در آید و راه
 همان شیوه و پرا بروی مسدود گرداند

سردار را است که بدین ترتیب چهل
 هزار سوار را چهار ده فوج مرتب نماید
 اول

HE is a commander, who, numbering the Book II.
 chiefs of the forces of the enemy, appointeth proper
 chiefs in opposition unto them; and who considereth
 with the eye of attention the veteran soldiers of the foe,
 the bow-men, and the sword-men, and the spear-men;
 and who observeth the motions of the enemy, whether
 they advance into the field of battle slowly and in just
 order, squadron by squadron, or whether they rush for-
 ward in confusion; who pre-examinaeth the approach to
 the field, and also the avenue of retreat; and who pene-
 trateth the order of the enemy's battle.

FOR it shall sometimes come to pass, that
 they will cause their numbers to appear small, and put on
 the semblance of flight and dismay. A general therefore
 must not permit himself to be deceived, and drawn into
 danger, by their pretended flight.

HE is an able and experienced commander,
 who understandeth the discipline and the science of war,
 and who knoweth what division to send forward to the
 charge, and what evil to remedy by his skill, and what
 measures to follow in attacking the enemy. He is a ge-
 neral who comprehendeth the intentions of the foe, and
 who observeth their mode of attack, and counteracteth
 their motions and designs.

THE general who commands forty thou-
 sand horse, must form them into fourteen squadrons after
 this manner.

اول صف خود را آراسته ساخته قول نام
 نهد آنکاه سه فوج برانغار مرتب سازد و یکی از آن
 سه فوج را هراول برانغار نام کند و سه فوج دیگر
 جرنغار آراسته ساخته یک فوج را هراول جرنغار نام
 گذارد

و همچنین سه فوج دیگر در پیش افواج
 برانغار مرتب ساخته چپاول نام نهد و یکی از آن سه
 فوج را هراول چپاول گرداند

و همین قسم سه فوج دیگر آراسته در پیش
 افواج جرنغار مقرر داشته شغال نام کند و یکی از
 آن سه فوج را به هراول شغال تعیین نماید

بعد از آن هراول بزرگ را که در
 مقابل قول می باشد از او چپان و شمشیر داران
 و نیزه داران و بهادران آزموده کار کرده را بوجه
 پسندیده استحکام دهد که الغ * سورن انداخته همین
 افواج هراول لشکر غنیم را شکست دهد

1 *Koul*; the main body.

2 *Burraunghaur*; the rear line of the right wing.

3 *Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing.

4 *Jurraunghaur*; the rear line of the left wing.

5 *Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the left wing.

وسردار

FIRST, let him arrange his own line, and call it the Koul. ¹ Let him afterwards form the Burraunghaur ² with three squadrons; and let one of those three squadrons be called the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur. ³ And with three other squadrons let him form the Jurraunghaur; ⁴ and let him name one of those squadrons the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur. ⁵ Book II.

AND thus also let him form, and station, three other squadrons in the front of the Burraunghaur, and call them the Chuppauwul. ⁶ And let him appoint one of those squadrons the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul. ⁷

AND in the same manner let him arrange three other squadrons, and form them in the front of the Jurraunghaur, and call them the Shuckauwul; ⁸ and let him nominate one of those squadrons the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul. ⁹

AND let him afterwards form in perfect order the grand Hurrauwul, ¹⁰ which shall be posted in the front of the Koul, from the bow-men, and the sword-men, and the spear-men, and the warriors of proof: that these troops charging with loud shouts, may disperse and defeat the advanced guards of the enemy.

⁶ *Chuppauwul*; the front line of the right wing.

⁷ *Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the right wing.

⁸ *Shuckauwul*; the front line of the left wing.

⁹ *Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the left wing.

¹⁰ *Grand Hurrauwul*; grand vanguard.

AND

وسردار را است که نظر بر رفتار غنیم
داشته باشد و هر امیر که بی حکم حرکت و تیز جلوی
کند او را تنبه نماید

وسردار را است که نظر بر در آمد و بر
آمد غنیم داشته باشد و در جنگ انداختن اضطراب
نکند تا آنکه غنیم بجنک مبادرت نماید و چون غنیم
بجنک در آید سردار را است که روش جنگ ایشانرا
به بیند که بر چه کیفیت بیدان جنگ می در
آیند و می بر آیند و چگونه بر ایشان حمله آرد اگر
حمله آورده باز میگردند و قابو ریده رو بگیریز میآورند
و قابو ریده بر میگردند

وسردار را است که بدنبال غنیمی که
خود بخود شکست خورد نرود که این چنین غنیم
پشت کرم کومک خود باشد

وسردار را است که به بیند که اگر
غنیم بیدان مبادرت غنچه شده ترکتاز می آرد
و یا افواج چپ و راست خود را کشاده است سردار را
باید که اول هراول را بایشان رو برو گرداند و بجنک
اندازد

و متعاقب آن هراول چپاول و هراول
شقاول را به در هراول کلان بفرستد و از عقب
ایشان

AND it is the duty of the general to keep his eye on the motions of the foe, and to chastize those officers under his command, who, without orders, presume to advance upon the enemy. Book II.

AND it is the duty of the general to attend to the onset of the enemy, and not to venture to attack them, until they advance to the charge. And when they advance, it is the duty of the general to examine their order of battle, in what manner they come into action, and in what manner they retire therefrom, and after what manner he shall engage them; whether they charge and retire, and, seeking advantage therein, put on the semblance of flight; and then, seizing a favourable crisis, rally and charge again.

AND it is the duty of a commander not to pursue the enemy who without cause flieth from the field: for such an enemy may be well prepared for his defence.

AND it is the duty of the general to observe whether the enemy advance into the field of battle, and charge in an united body; or whether they commence the attack with the squadrons of their right and their left wings. Let the commander first oppose his Hurrauwul unto them, and push them on to the charge.

AND after them let him send forward the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul and the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul to support the grand Hurrauwul. And in the

ایشان فوج اول چپاول و فوج دوم شقاول را بچنگ
اندازد و از عقب ایشان فوج دوم چپاول و فوج اول
شقاول را براند

اگر باین هفت ضرب که بر غنیم آید
فتح نشود درین وقت هراول برانغار و هراول جرانغار را
بدواند تا آنکه نه ضرب بر غنیم وارد شود

و اگر ازین نه ضرب فتح میسر نشود فوج
اول برانغار و فوج دوم جرانغار را بدواند

اگر باین یازده ضرب هم فتح روی
نماید فوج دوم برانغار و فوج اول جرانغار را بچنگ
بفرستد امید چنانست که باین سیزده ضرب افواج
غنیم شکسته شود و فتح میسر گردد

و اگر احیانا باین سیزده ضرب فتح
حاصل نشود در این وقت سردار را است که افواج قول را
تروک کرده روان شود و خود را بمثال کوهی در نظر
غنیم نمودار گرداند و با هستگی و پیوستگی روان
گردد

و بهادران جنگی را بفرماید که بشهشیر
در آمده هجوم آورند و او چچیان شیه تیر نپایند و اگر
فتح

the rear of them, let him order into action the first squadron of the Chuppauwul and the second squadron of the Shuckauwul, and after them the second squadron of the Chuppauwul and the first of the Shuckauwul. Book II.

IF from these seven shocks which the enemy shall have received, the victory be not obtained, let him at this period send forth the Hurrauwl a Burraunghaur and the Hurrauwl a Jurraunghaur, until nine charges be made on the enemy's line.

AND if victory followeth not from these nine shocks, let him send into battle the first squadron of the Burraunghaur and the second squadron of the Jurraunghaur.

IF by these eleven efforts also the victory be not decided, let him order to the charge the second squadron of the Burraunghaur and the first of the Jurraunghaur. Thus it may be expected that by these thirteen successive charges the lines of the enemy may be broken, and the glory of the day be acquired.

BUT if it should come to pass that the victory should not be won by these thirteen attacks, it is at this crisis the duty of the general to form his Koul in exact order, and put them in motion. Let him shew himself as a lofty mountain to the eyes of the enemy, and move forward with slowness and regularity.

AND let him direct his veteran bands to rush on the foe sword in hand, and command his archers to gall the enemy with their arrows. And if the fate of

فتح نشود سردار خود بچنگ قدم پیش گذارد و منظر
 ربات من باشد ترتیب آراستن چهار ده فوج

هراول

هراول شقاول

هراول چپاول

فوج اول شقاول * فوج دوم
 [شقاول]

فوج اول چپاول * فوج دوم
 [چپاول]

هراول جرانغار

هراول برانغار

فوج اول جرانغار * فوج دوم
 [جرانغار]

فوج اول برانغار * فوج دوم
 [برانغار]

قہول

See PLATE II; pag. 383.

the day should still remain in suspense, let the general Book II.
himself advance into action and depend on the appearance
of my victorious standards. †

† This passage is unintelligible.

D d d 2

THUS

وچنین تزوک بر بستم که اگر غنیم از
چهل هزار سوار زیاده باشد بیکلر بیکان و امرا و مینک
باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان و بهادران و سایر سپاه
نظر بر رایات ظفر ایات من داشته باشند

وامر نمودم که به امیر هر فوج که
یرلیغ فرستم مطابق حکم یرلیغ عمل نمایند و از آن
تخلف نوززند و هر کس از بیکلر بیکان و امرا از حکم
تخلف و تجاوز نماید ویرا بششیر بکدرانند و کوتل
ویرا که منتظر الامارت باشد بجای وی نصب
کند

وامر نمودم که از جمله چهل اویباق
الوسات و قشونات و تومانات دوازده اویباق که بتیغا
رسیده اند بچهل فوج قسمت نمایند و امرای بیست
و هشت اویباق را که به تیغا نرسیده اند در عقب
فوج قول صغیر بندند و فرزندان و نبیرگان پیش
دست راست قول افواج خود را آراسته گردانند
و خیشاوندان و قرابتان پیش دست چپ قول افواج
خود را

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THUS also I ordained, that if the enemy Book II.
 should in number exceed forty thousand horse-men, that
 the eyes of the Beglerbeks, and the Ameers, and the
 Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees, and the Ounbau-
 shees, and the select warriors, and the soldiers in general
 should be fixed on my victorious standards. †

AND I commanded, that the chief of every
 squadron to whom I issued my orders, should act confor-
 mably to the tenour of those orders, and presume not to
 deviate therefrom; and that every one of the Beglerbeks,
 and the Ameers, who was tardy in performing, or diso-
 beyed, the orders which I sent unto him, should be in-
 stantly put to death; and that his Kotul, who is the
 expecter of promotion, should be appointed to his com-
 mand.

AND I ordained, that from among the forty
 Ouyemauk of the Aloofaut, the Kushoonaut, and Tou-
 maunaut, that the twelve Ouyemauk who had obtained
 the Tumghau, ‡ should be divided into forty squadrons;
 and that the Ameers of the twenty eight Ouyemauk who
 had not obtained the Tumghau, should form their line in
 the rear of the Koul; and that my sons and my grand-
 sons should draw up their forces before the right of the
 Koul; and that my relations and my kindred, with the
 troops under their command, should take their station

† i. e. That he would lead them in person.

‡ Those who received military pay.

خود را مراتب دارند که افواج ایشان طرح باشد که بهر
جا مدد باید رسانید کومک نمایند

و در برانغار شش فوج مقرر نمایند و یک
فوج دیگر هراول برانغار مقرر باشد و همچنین در
جرانغار شش فوج آراسته یک فوج دیگر بهراولي
جرانغار مقرر دارند

و همچنین امر نمودم که شش فوج در
پیش افواج برانغار مقرر گردانند و آنرا چپاول نام گذارند
و یک فوج دیگر را آراسته هراول چپاول کنند

و همچنین در پیش افواج جرانغار شش
فوج معین نمایند و شقاول نام دهند یک فوج آراسته
دیگر هراول شقاول گردانند

و در پیش افواج چپاول و شقاول شش
فوج از امرای کار کرده و بهادران آزموده آراسته ساخته
هراول بزورگ مقرر گردانند

و یک فوج سوای این شش فوج هراول
مقرر کرده پیشتر معین دارند و هراول هراول نام
کنند

و دو

before the left of the Koul; and that those troops should be bodies of reserve, and that they should dispatch succour to every quarter, where re-inforcement should be wanted:

AND that six squadrons should constitute the Burraunghaur, and that one other squadron should be appointed the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur: and thus also, that six squadrons should form the Jurraunghaur; and that one other squadron should be nominated the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur.

AND thus also I ordained, that six squadrons should be posted in the front of the Burraunghaur, and that they should be denominated the Chuppauwul; and that one other squadron should be formed, and appointed the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul:

AND that in the same manner six other squadrons should be stationed in the front of the Jurraunghaur; and that they should be called the Shuckauwul; and that one other chosen squadron should be appointed the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul.

AND I ordained that six other squadrons, headed by distinguished Ameers, and composed of warriors of proof and experience, should be advanced before the Chuppauwul and the Shuckauwul; and that they should be called the grand Hurrauwul:

AND that one other squadron, over and above those six squadrons, should be posted in their front, and be denominated the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul:

AND

ودو قراول بيكي را با جباعه برادران
بر دست راست وچپ هراول هراول مقرر نهايند كه
ديدبان لشكر غنيم باشند

وامر نمودم كه امراي افواج چهلكانه
ما دام كه يرليغ من بايشان نرسد بجنگ در نهايند
وتا نوبت جنگ بايشان نرسد دست برد نهايند ليكن
مستعد و آماده جنگ باشند

وچون حكم جنگ بايشان برسد روشن
غنيم را ديده بجنگ در آيند كه غنيم از کدام راه
بجنگ مي در آيد آن راه را بر ايشان بر بندند و هر
راهي كه غنيم بر بندد آنرا به تدبير بكشايند

وامر نمودم كه چون هراول هراول
بجنگ مبادرت نهايد امير هراول افواج ششكانه
خودرا متعاقب يكديگر بجنگ اندازد كه چون شش
ضرب

AND that two Kurrauwul Beghs, † with detachments of their brotherhood, should be posted to the right and to the left of the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul; and that they should be the Deedbaun ‡ on the army of the enemy. Book II.

AND I ordained that no one of the commanders of the forty squadrons, until he received orders from me, should presume to enter into battle; and that until the moment of his service arrived, he should not move from his station; and that he should stand ready and prepared for action:

AND when he received orders to engage, that he should accommodate his mode of attack to that of the enemy; and that he should observe in what manner the foe advanced into battle, and counteract his designs; and that he should, by skilful and judicious dispositions, carry into effect such of his own movements as had been traversed by the enemy.

AND I ordained, when the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul began the action, that the leader of the grand Hurrauwul should order his six squadrons to charge successively; that by six shocks, repeatedly given, the enemy may be broken and thrown into confusion. It

† *Kurrauwul Beghs*; chiefs of the light troops or scouts.

‡ *Deedbaun*; observers, people appointed to reconoitre the motions of the enemy.

ضرب مرتبه بمرتبه بر غنیم زده شور بهم بر آیند
 وشکسته شوند درین وقت امیر چپاول را است که شش
 فوج خود را رفعه بدفعه بکومک فرستد و خود هم
 ترکناز آورد

و همچنین امیر افواج شقاول فوجهای
 ششگانه خود را بحد افواج پیش روانه سازد و خود را
 هم برساند که بحول الله وقوته چون هژده ضرب
 بر غنیم زده آید شکسته و کسپخته گردند

واگر با وجود خوردن این ضریها غنیم
 خیرگی نباید امیر برانغار را باید که هراول خود را
 براند و امیر جرانغار نیز هراول خود را بدواند

چون این هر دو هراول از چپ و راست
 در آیند لشکر غنیم البته بی تاب و نا توان گردد

واگر غنیم خیره باشد امیر برانغار و امیر
 جرانغار افواج خود را مرتبه بمرتبه بر غنیم برانند و اگر
 بیند که افواج غنیم را از افواج قاهره شکستی
 نرسیده امیران برانغار و جرانغار خورها متوجه دفع
 و رفع دشمنان شوند

واگر

is at this crisis the duty of the leader of the Chuppauwul to detach his six squadrons one after the other to support the grand Hurrauwl; and afterwards to advance, himself, to the charge. Book II.

AND in the same manner also, let the commander of the Shuckauwl push forward successively his six squadrons to reinforce those who are engaged; and lastly let the commander himself advance into action. Thus, by the power and assistance of Almighty God, when eighteen charges shall have been made on the line of the enemy, they will break and disperse.

BUT if notwithstanding those shocks received by the foe, they should continue resolute and firm, it is then the duty of the chief of the Burraunghaur to dispatch forward his Hurrauwl, and of the leader of the Jurraunghaur to send forth his Hurrauwl also.

WHEN those two Hurrauwl's advance and charge on the right and on the left of the enemy, their order and their strength shall certainly be broken.

BUT if it should come to pass that the foe still continues firm, let the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur order their squadrons successively on to the charge. And if they see that the enemy give not way to the efforts of the imperial forces, the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur must themselves advance, and rush upon the foe.

واگر در این وقت امیران برانغار وجرانغار
 زبونی نمایند امیر زادگانی که طرح برانغار اند
 و خویشاوندان که طرح جرانغار اند بر غنیم ترکتاز
 آورند

و باید که نظر ایشان بر سردار و علم
 سردار باشد و بشجاعت و سردی و صفت شکن غنیم
 کردند و قصد گرفتن سردار نمایند و کوشش
 کنند که علم مخالفانرا نکونسار گردانند

واگر با وجود این ضریها غنیم قایم
 بوده باشد در این وقت باید که افواج متفرقه و بهادران
 قول و افواج الوساتی که در عقب قول آراسته شده
 بودند بیک مرتبه هجوم آورده ترکتاز نمایند

واگر در این وقت فتح نشود سلطان را
 است که خود با دل قوی و همت بلند در حرکت آید
 چنانچه من در جنگ قیصر کردم
 که بامیر زاده میران شاه که سردار
 دست راست بود امر نمودم که از دست چپ قیصر
 سرکن پرکن در آید و بامیر زاده سلطان محمود
 خان و امیر سلیمان که امیران دست چپ بودند
 پرلیغ فرستادم که بر دست راست قیصر هجوم آورند
 و بامیر

AND if at this period the commanders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur shew themselves deficient in their duty, the royal princes, and those related to the imperial family, who are the reserves of the Burraunghaur and of the Jurraunghaur, must advance to the assault. Book II.

AND they must keep their eyes on the commander and the standard of the commander, and press upon the foe with valour and intrepidity. They must endeavour to seize the general of the hostile army; and they must strive to invert the standard of the foe.

AND if, notwithstanding these shocks, the enemy still remain firm and unmoved, the royal guards, and the select warriors of the Koul, and the forces of the Ouyemauk, which were formed in the rear of the Koul, must rush forward, together and at once, to the charge.

AND if at this period the victory be not decided, it is the duty of the emperor, with fortitude of heart and with exalted resolution, to put himself and the Koul of his army into motion.

THUS I acted in my engagement with Keefur. I commanded the Ameer Zaudch Meeraun Shaah, who was the leader of the right wing of my forces, to charge headlong on the left of Keefur. And I sent orders to Ameer Zaudch Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun, and to Ameer Soolamaun, who commanded my left wing, to attack the right of Keefur.

AND

وبامیر زاده ابو بکر که امیر فوج طرح
دست راست بود حکم کردم که بر قول ایلدرم
بایزید که بر پشته ایستاده بود ترکناز آورد و من
خود با افواج قول ولشکرهای اویهاتی روی همت
بطرف قیصر آوردم

و در حبله اول شکست بر افواج قیصر
اقتاد و سلطان محمود خان بتعاقب قیصر شناخته ویرا
دست کبر کرده بدرگاه حاضر آورد و توتیش خان را
نیز بهین تزوکات شکست دادم و فرمودم که علم
ویرا نکونسار گردانیدند

واکر غنیم قزاقی * کرده افواج چپاول
و شقاول ویرانغار و جرانغار را بر هم زند و خود را بفوج
قول رساند سلطان را واجب است که پای شجاعت
در رکاب صبر مستحکم گردانیده متوجه دفع و رفع
غنیم شود

و چنانچه من در جنگ شاه منصور کردم
که خود را بهین رسانید بذات خود رو برو شدم تا
آنکه بر خاک هلاک افتاد

ترتیب آراستن چهل فوج از لشکر دوازده
اویهاتی که به تمغا رسیده اند

AND I issued directions to the Ameer Zau-
deh Aboo Bukkur, who led the reserve of the right, to
advance upon the Koul of Yeldurum Bauezeed, † who
was posted on an eminence: and lastly I myself, with the
forces of the Koul and the Ouyemauk, turned the face of
resolution toward mine enemy. Book II.

THE armies of Keefur were defeated, and
put to flight at the first onset. And Sooltaun Muhmood
pursued the vanquished Keefur; and he made him my
prisoner, and he brought him to the royal tent. By this
disposition also I conquered Touktummish Khaun, and
caused his standard to be inverted.

IF the enemy should become formidable,
and throw into disorder the Chuppauwul, and the Shuck-
auwul, and the Burraunghaur, and the Jurraunghaur, and
should advance to charge the Koul; it is then the duty
of the emperor to conduct himself with courage and with
fortitude, and to proceed to repel and disperse the foe.

THUS I acted in the engagement with
Shaah Munfoor, who penetrated even to the Koul of my
army. I opposed him in my own person, face to face,
until he fell lifeless on the plain.

THE PLAN OF THE ARRANGEMENT
OF FORTY SQUADRONS, FORMED FROM THE TWELVE
OUYEMAUK WHO HAD OBTAINED THE TUMGHAU.

† Bajazet.

قراول دست راست

قراول دست چپ

هراول

فوج اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم

هراول شقاوول

هراول چپاوول

شقاوول

چپاوول

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم] اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم]

هراول جرانغار

هراول برانغار

جرانغار

برانغار

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم] اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم]

فوج خویشاوندان

فوج امیرزاده ها

قول

بیست و هشت اویباق که بتبغا

نرسیده اند

تم

F I N I S.

I N D E X

O F

P E R S O N S A N D P L A C E S .

N.B. *m.* signifies *mentioned.*

AALI, first successor of Mahmud, 193. one of the orthodox Khalifs, 31, N. commander of the faithful, 183. son of Aboo Taulib, 359. the districts of Bukhf and Jilleh, assigned for supporting his shrine, *ibid.*

AALI, son of Moosi Jaufir, 185.

———— **BEG CHOUN GHOORBAUNI** takes Timour prisoner, 37. is ashamed of his conduct, *ibid.* commands Timour's arms to be delivered to him, and dismisses him with marks of disrespect, *ibid.*

———— **BEN LUCKTI**, minister of Hauroon ul Rusheed, dissuaded from resigning his office, 263.

———— **DURVAISH**, of the tribe of Toughauee, made Ameer, 313.

———— **YEZZUDI**, his relation differs from Timour's, 23, N. his history inferior to that of Timour, written by himself, 27, N. 123, N. ignorant of the plot between Timour and the standard-bearer of Touktumish Khaun, *ibid.*

AAZEEZ U DEEN, one of Timour's

Vizzeers, assists Timour in extricating himself from prison, 267.

ABDULLAH, a servant of Timour, who accompanied him in reconnoitring the castle of Kurshee, 99.

ABOO (or ABAU) BUKKUR. See **AMEER ZAUDEH**.

———— **TAUHIR** heads the sect of Kuraumuteh, 185. seizes the city of Mecca, *ibid.* martyrs 30,000 pilgrims on mount Auruffaut, *ibid.* takes away the black stone from the temple of Mecca, *ibid.* is totally defeated by Mocktaudir Billau, *ibid.*

ABU'L MUNSOOR TIMOUR, or **TAMERLANE**, descended in a right line from Kaujooli Bahaudur, son of Toumuneh Khaun, 25, N. of the same lineage with Chungaze Khaun (Ghengis Can), *ibid.* begins his enterprises at 12 years of age, 163. Upon Tughulluk Timour Khaun's first invasion of Mauwur u Nuhur, is doubtful whether he shall flee into Khorausaun, or submit to Tughulluk Timour, 17. asks counsel of his

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PEER, is advised to submit, *ibid.* goes to the Ameers of Jitteh, and diverts them by presents from ravaging Mauwur u Nuhur, 19, 21. departs from the Ameers, and goes to Tughulluk Timour, 21. Tughulluk restores to him the Toumaun of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, and appoints him governor of Mauwur u Nuhur, 23. he loses the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, and accepts the post of counsellor and general to Ouleaus Khaujeh, 25. is accused of rebellion, 27. ordered to be put to death by Tughulluk Timour, *ibid.* the order falls into his hands, *ibid.* he gathers together the youth of the tribe of Burlaus for his defence, 29. resolves to oppose the Ouzbuds, *ib.* the people of Mauwur u Nuhur unite themselves with him, *ibid.* is nominated to the empire by the people of Mauwur u Nuhur, 31. is desirous of attacking the Ouzbuds, *ibid.* the worthless reveal his intention, *ibid.* he deliberates concerning attacking the Ouzbuds in Summurkund, *ibid.* fears the people of Mauwur u Nuhur will shrink back from their engagements, 33. quits Summurkund, and retires to the neighbouring hills, *ibid.* waits seven days, expecting to be joined by the people of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* no one joining him, he proceeds to Buddukhsaun, *ibid.* goes to Ameer Goolaul, who directs him to proceed towards Khauruzm, *ibid.* promises Ameer Goolaul the revenue of Summurkund for one year, if he defeats the Ouzbuds, *ibid.* is attacked by Tukkul Bahaudur with 1000 horse-men, whom he opposes with 60 warriors, 35. slays 950 of them, with the loss of 50 of his own, *ibid.* is called a wonderful man by Ouleaus Khaujeh and the Ameers of Jitteh, *ibid.* his fortune reduced very low, *ibid.* wanders in the desert of Khauruzm, with his wife behind him on horse-back, *ib.* & 37. of his ten asso-

ciates, three (natives of Khoraufaun) desert him, *ibid.* is taken prisoner by Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni, and confined in a dungeon 62 days, *ibid.* wrests a sword from one of the guards, and forces his way into the presence of Aali Beg, *ibid.* is dismissed by Aali Beg with marks of disrespect, *ibid.* proceeds to the desert of Khauruzm, 39. is joined by twelve horse-men, *ibid.* is attacked by the Toorkummauns, *ibid.* and recognized by Haujee Mabummud, one of the Toorkummauns, who joins him, *ibid.* his troops increase to 60 horse-men, *ibid.* journeys towards Khoraufaun, 41. is joined in the way by Mubauruk Shaah Sunjuri, governor of Maukhaun, with 100 soldiers, and by many others, *ibid.* disperses his people in the environs of Bokhaura, and advances towards Summurkund, 43. is joined in the way by Tumookeh Kouchein with 15 horse-men, whom he sends to Mubauruk Shaah, *ibid.* enters Summurkund by night, *ibid.* and passes 48 days undiscovered in the house of his sister Kuttulugh Turkaun Aughau, *ibid.* narrowly escapes being discovered, *ibid.* flees from Summurkund by night with 50 horse-men, and proceeds towards Khauruzm, *ibid.* encamps at Atcheghi, 45. his family, and several others, join him, *ibid.* his army increases to near 1000 horse-men, *ibid.* departs thence, and subdues the countries of Baukhtur Zemeen and Kundahaur, *ibid.* arrives at the river Hiremun and sojourns there, *ibid.* is joined by near 1000 horse-men, and Kurrumfeer submits to his authority, *ibid.* determines to invade the kingdom of Seistaun, 47. receives rich presents from the governor of Seistaun, and joins him against his enemies, *ibid.* is attacked by the soldiers and people of Seistaun, *ibid.* wounded in his arm and foot by an arrow, *ibid.* obtains the victory, *ibid.* sojourns in Kurrumfeer till

till his wounds are healed, 49. departs from Kurrumfeer with 40 horse-men, and proceeds towards the mountains of Bullukh, *ibid.* is joined by Suddeuk Burlaus with 15 horse-men, *ibid.* also by Kurraunchee Bahaudur with 100 horse-men, 51. encamps in the valley of Arsuff, *ibid.* is joined by 70 warriors, 53. collects his people together, and makes a feast, 55. his forces increase to 313 horse-men, *ib.* determines to reduce the castle of Aulaujou, *ibid.* is joined by 300 men of the tribe of Doulaun Jauwun, who desert from the castle, 57. arrives at the defile of Souf, *ibid.* is joined by Umlis with 200 horse-men, *ibid.* receives intelligence of the army of Jitteh, 59. marches to the freights of Guz, *ibid.* encamps in the plain of Ilchee Booghau, *ibid.* receives intelligence that several Ameers of Jitteh are coming to join him with 1000 horse-men, 61. encamps on the banks of the river, opposite the army of Jitteh, *ibid.* forms his troops in order of battle, 63. engages the forces of Jitteh, and drives back the squadrons of Ameer Aboo Saeed, *ibid.* opposes Hydur Andookhodee and Munguli Booghau face to face, and defeats them and the whole army of Jitteh, *ibid.* crosses the Jihoon at Turmuz, 65. is attacked by surprise by the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh, *ibid.* defends himself in a peninsula, 67. encamps opposite the Jetes for the space of a month, *ibid.* sends forces to pursue the Jetes, *ibid.* encamps at Khullum, *ibid.* arrives at Kunduz, and is joined by the people of Yeurlaiee, 69. marches to Taulkhaun, and is joined by many of the soldiers of Buddukhshaun, *ibid.* arrives in the kingdom of Khuttulaun, *ibid.* sojourns in the Dush of Koulauk, 71. receives intelligence that the Jetes, consisting of 20,000 horse-men, are encamped at the bridge of Sungheen, *ibid.* receives an ambaf-

sador from the Jetes, shews him his army twice and dismisses him, *ibid.* receives intelligence that 6000 horse-men are coming upon him, 73. his army seized with a panic, *ibid.* attacks the advanced guard of the Jetes, and drives them back to the bridge of Sungheen, 77. stations 2000 men at the bridge opposite the Jetes, *ibid.* swims over the river with 5000 men, 79. and encamps on a hill above the enemy, *ibid.* the Jetes pretend a flight, he penetrates their design, *ibid.* is attacked by them, 81. defeats Ouleaus Khaujeh, and drives him beyond the Sihoon, 83. returns in triumph to 1363 Mauwur u Nuher, *ibid.*

He meditates how he may attain the sovereign power, 85. admits Ameer Hoossein partner of his fortune, *ibid.* is always opposed by him, *ibid.* make him swear friendship, *ibid.* gains over to his interest Sheikh Mahummud with seven Kushoons, *ibid.* gives to each Ameer of those Kushoons the command of a province, *ibid.* confers a province on Share Behraum, 87. gains over several Ameers by his kindness to Ameer Hoossein, *ibid.* several of his Ameers consider themselves as his equals, *ibid.* he determines to reduce them all to subjection, 89. gains over to his interest Ameer Haujee Burlaus, *ibid.* wins Ameer Bauezzeed Jullair to his interest by kindness, 91. takes possession of the lands of Sheikh Mahummud, deceased, 89. opposes Ameer Hoossein to Ameer Ilchee Booghau Suldoze, 91. gains over Mahummud Khaujeh Erudee by giving him a province, *ibid.* sows division amongst the princes of Buddukhshaun, and gains them severally to his interest, *ibid.* assists Ki Khissero against Aljauitoo Burdi, *ibid.* reconciles them together, and sends them against Ameer Khizzur Yessooree, 93.

- 1365 INVITED by Ameer Hooffein to a conference at the pass of Chuckchuck, 101. secretes a number of warriors about the pass, for fear of treachery, *ibid.* is informed of Hooffein's perfidy by Share Behraum, 103. defeats the army sent by Hooffein to circumvent him, and marches to Kurshee, *ibid.* upbraids Hooffein with his treachery, 105. loses the castle of Kurshee, 93. crosses the Jihoon under pretence of going to Khoraufaun, 95. meets a Kauruvvaun going to Kurshee, *ibid.* sends a spy with them to discover the situation of the enemy, *ibid.* tarries on the banks of the Jihoon till the spy returns, 97. re-crosses the river with 243 warriors, and arrives at Sharekund by forced marches, *ibid.* halts at the distance of 3 miles from Kurshee, *ibid.* commands scaling ladders to be prepared, and goes by night, accompanied by 2 persons only, to reconnoitre the castle, 99. discovers the guards asleep, *ibid.* brings up his warriors, and takes possession of the castle, *ibid.* He marches towards Bullukh, and encamps on the frontiers, 109. Ameer Hooffein comes forth to fight with him, *ibid.* he defeats him and besieges him in the castle, *ibid.* takes the castle. *ibid.* Hooffein slain, *ibid.*
- 1369 Receives an ambassador from Auroos Khaun, 115. attacks Auroos Khaun and puts him to flight, 117.
- 1375
- 1380 Pretends to return from Bullukh to Summurkund, 111. turns back, and takes Mullik Gheaus u deen in Hurrant, 113. subdues the whole country of Khoraufaun, *ibid.*
- 1381 Receives the submission of Aali, governor of Mauzinduraun, 117.
- 1383 Summons the rulers of Seiftaun, Kundahaur, and of the Afghauns, to submit to him, 115. is obeyed, *ibid.*
- 1387 Sends armies against the countries of Kilaun and Jurjaun, 119. conquers the city of Isfahaun, and stations 3000 men there, *ibid.* commands a general slaughter to be made of the people of Isfahaun for their rebellion and cruelty, *ibid.* Pursues Touktummish Khaun 5 months in the Dusht of Kipchauk, 121. his army 13 reduced to great straits for want of provision, *ibid.* is opposed by Touktummish Khaun with a very numerous army, 123. his Ameers disheartened, *ib.* he plots secretly with the standard-bearer of Touktummish, *ibid.* his Ameers take courage from the intrepidity of his sons and grandsons, 125. appoints the prince Aboo Bukkur, with 8000 men, the advanced guard, *ibid.* commands his troops in the heat of battle to pitch their tents and prepare victuals, *ibid.* obtains the victory through his intrigue with the standard-bearer of Touktummish, *ib.* Marches into Erauk a second time, and collects an army of 80,000 men, 121. is attacked in person by Shaah Munfoor, *ibid.* sends an ambassador to Sooltaun Ahmud Jullair, to inform himself of his abilities, 125. receives his account, 127. arrives suddenly at Bughdaud, and conquers it, *ib.* Marches a second time into the Dusht of Kipchauk, and, having conquered the countries of the 5th and 6th climates, returns victorious to Summurkund, 129. Demands counsel of his sons 13 and Ameers concerning the reduction of Hindostaun, *ibid.* seeks an omen in the Koraun, 133. pitches his tents towards Hindostaun, *ibid.* commands the prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer, with 30,000 horse-men, to subdue Mooltaun, *ibid.* orders Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun, &c. with 30,000 men, to go against Lahore, 135. he himself, with 32,000 horse-men, forms the main body, *ib.* his whole army consists of 92,000 horse-men, *ibid.* proceeds to Hindostaun, *ibid.* is informed that the Oughaus infest the road to Hindostaun, and plunder therein, *ibid.* is requested by Mullik Mahummud to revenge.

- revenge the murder of his brother Lushkur Shaah upon Moofi his murderer, 137. seeks to get Mullik into his power by policy, *ibid.* is shot at by an arrow, *ibid.* is opposed by Sooltaun Muhmood, and Mulloo Khaun, with 50,000 men, and 120 elephants in Dehli, 139. pretends fear, in order to draw them out of Dehli, *ibid.* defeats Sooltaun Muhmood, and gains immense spoils, *ibid.* conquers Dehli in the space of one year, and returns to Summurkund, *ib.* receives information of the encroachments of the people of Goorjistaun, 142. summons his armies to join him at Isfahaun, *ibid.* arms himself, 143. subdues the castles of Seewaus and Goorjistaun, and divides the spoils amongst his soldiers, *ibid.* punishes the seditious of Azzurbauejaun, *ibid.* subdues Mulluteah and the neighbourhood thereof, *ibid.* subdues Hullah and Humfau, 145. determines on the reduction of Misfur and Shaun, *ibid.* is opposed by Keefur, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, with a mighty army, *ibid.* writes a letter to Keefur, 147. reduces the city of Dummishk, 149. receives by his ambassador a letter of defiance from Keefur, *ibid.* marches towards Bughdaud by the way of Moosul, *ibid.* turns back by the way of Tubburaze, and arrives at Bughdaud, 151. subdues the castle and city of Bughdaud, after a siege of 2 months and some days, *ibid.* commands it to be razed to the ground, *ibid.* sojourns some time in the kingdom of Azzurbauejaun, *ibid.* collects his forces together from all quarters to oppose Keefur, 153. departs from Azzurbauejaun to wage war with Keefur, *ibid.* is opposed by Keefur, with 400,000 men, *ibid.* assaults Keefur, and takes him prisoner, and obtains a compleat victory, *ibid.* returns triumphant to Summurkund, after a war of 7 years, *ibid.*
- 1399
- 1400
- 1401
- 1402
- ABULGHAZI KHAUN, 27, N.
- AFGHAUN. See OUGHAUN.
- ALCHOUN BAHAUDUR, brother of Beghchuck, marches against Timour, 65.
- ALJAIIE TURKAUN AUGHAU; sister of Ameer Hooffein, and wife of Timour, 35, 43. carried behind him on his horse in the desert of Khauruzm, 35. secured in a house of the Toorkummauns, 39. secreted by Timour in the environs of Bokhaura, 43.
- ALJAVITO (or ALJAVETOO) BURDI, flees to Timour for shelter, 91. is reconciled to Ki Khissero, 93.
- SOOLTAUN, son of Arghoon Khaun, supporter of the Mahummudan faith in the 7th century of the Hij. 189. on the death of his brother, assembles the Suids and Theologians in the imperial Musjid, and asks their consent to his ascending the throne, *ib.* and 193. obtains it, 195. ordains that the names of all the successors of the prophet shall be recited in the Khutbeh, and impressed on the coins of the empire, *ib.*
- ALKUMMI, a man noted for his malevolent and revengeful disposition, 257. raised to the dignity of prime minister by Maatassim Billau Ubbausi, *ibid.* betrays the Khalif into the hands of Hullaukoo Khaun, *ibid.*
- ALLUGH TUKTIMOUR, one of Tughulluk Timour Khaun's generals, sent to invade Maarwur u Nuhur, 19.
- AMEER UL OMRAU, of Ameer Hooffein, submits to Timour, 111.
- AMEER AALI, ruler of Mauzinduraun, seeks protection from Timour, 117.
- ABOO SAEED, of the tribe of Burlaus, 311. made general of the Jetes, 61. his squadrons defeated by Timour, 63. taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, flees to Timour, and is appointed by him ninth Ameer and governor of a province, 319, 311.
- BAEZZEED, of the tribe of Turkhaun, made seventh Ameer, 311.
- AMEER.

- AMEER BAUEZZEED JULLAUIR, ruler of the province of Khujjund, 91. asks counsel of Timour, 15. retires into Khorausaun, 17. forced to submit to Timour, 91.
- BIAUN SULDOZE, father of Sheikh Mahummud, 85, 89.
- GOOLAUL, a devout man consulted by Timour, 33. advises Timour to go to Khauruzm, *ibid.* is promised the revenue of Sumurkund for one year, if Timour proves victorious, *ibid.*
- HAUJEE BURLAUS, uncle of Timour, 15, N. asks counsel of Timour, *ibid.* the troops of Kush desert Timour and join him, 321. unites himself with Timour, 89.
- HINDOOKEH deserts the army of Jitteh, and joins Timour, 59.
- HOOSSEIN. See HOOSSEIN.
- ILCHEE BOOGHAU SULDOZE lays claim to the city of Bullukh, 91. is opposed by Ameer Hoossein through the policy of Timour, *ibid.*
- JAUKOO, of the tribe of Burlaus, 311. one of the chief supporters of Timour's power, 247. alone remains with him after the desertion of the forces of Kush, 323. Ameer Hoossein endeavours in vain to set Timour at variance with him, 247. is made Ameer ul Omrau, 323. and governor of a frontier kingdom, 311. appointed to the government of Bullukh and Hissaur, 323.
- JULLAUL U DEEN deserts the army of Jitteh, and joins Timour, 59.
- KHIZZUR YESSOOREE takes possession of Taufhkund, 93. is reduced low, and flees to Timour, *ib.*
- KHODADAUD, of the tribe of Burlaus, made Ameer ul Omrau and governor of Buddukhshaun, 309. his advice to Timour, 327.
- KURGUN, or Cazagan, grandfather of Ameer Hoossein, 67, 85, 327.
- KURRAUCHAUR NOORAUN, fifth ancestor of Timour, and Vizzeer of Chughtauee Khaun (son of Chungaze Khaun) 23, N. Toumaun of, restored to Timour by Tughulluk Timour Khaun, *ibid.*
- AMEER MOOSI, stationed at the bridge of Sungheen opposite Ouleaus Khaueh, 77. and in Kurfhee against Timour, 93. surrounds Timour therein with twelve thousand horsemen, 9. is defeated, *ibid.*
- MUVIUD AURLAUT, stationed at the bridge of Sungheen opposite Ouleaus Khaueh, 77. made Ameer ul Omrau, 313.
- SAUHIBA KURRAUN, *Lord of the fortunate Conjunction.* Timour so called, 181, 183, 195, 197.
- SAUR BOOGHAU, of the tribe of Kipchak, made Ameer, 313.
- SIFE U DEEN joins Timour, 53. is honourably received by him, 55.
- SHEIKH MAHUMMUD, son of Biaun Suldoze, joins Timour, 85. destroyed by drinking wine, 89.
- SOOLAMAUN BURLAUS deserts the army of Jitteh, and joins Timour, 59. one of the commanders of the left wing in Timour's engagement with Keefur, 405. m. 73.
- TIMOUR, TAMERLANE so called, 31, 39, 53, 57, 97, III.
- UBBAUS, one of Timour's most faithful chiefs, 247. put to death by him unjustly, *ibid.*
- ZAUEH ABOO BUKKUR, *grandson of Timour*, appointed commander of the advanced guard, in the engagement with Touktuminish Khaun, 125. leads the reserve of the right wing in Timour's engagement with Keefur, 407.
- MEERAUN SHAAH, commander of the right wing of Timour's forces in his engagement with Keefur, 405.
- SOOLTAUN MUHMOOD KHAUN, *nominal emperor of Chughtauee*, sent by Timour to attack Lauhore, with 30,000 horse-men, 135. one of the commanders of the left wing in Timour's engagement with Keefur, 405.
- AMUVEAH (OR AMU) *the Jihoon, so called from*

- from the city situate near it. Lat. about 39°. Long. 62°. 10'. E. from London.*
Timour crosses it, 95.
- ANDIJAUN, a city of Toorkistaun, *Lat. about 42°. 10'. Long. 69°. 0'. E. from Lond.* the government of, given by Timour to Munguli Booghau, 319.
- ANDURAU, a city of the province of Bullukh, *situate at the foot of the mountains which divide the dominions of the Great Mogul and Persia from Great Bukharia; Lat. 36°. 20'. L. 69°. 0'. E. from Lond.* Timour encamps there, 35.
- ANGOOREAH, a city of Anatolia on the river Melus, 150 miles E. of Constantinople (remarkable for the victories of Pompey and Timour over Mithridates and Bajazet). *Lat. about 39°. 50'. Long. about 33°. 0'. E. from London.* Timour marches by the way of, to attack Bajazet, 153.
- ARABIA, cities of, m. 217.
- ARGHOON KHAUN, father of Ghauzaun Khaun, 187.
- ARHUNG, [supposed to be the same as Arhungferai] a city of Tookhuristaun on the river Jihoon, *Lat. 37°. Long. 66°. from London.* Country of, seized by Ki Khiffero and Aljauitoo Burdi, 91.
- ARKUNUT, tribe, Haujee Beg of, 19.
- ARSUFF, valley of, Timour encamps there, 51.
- ATCHEGHI, a hilly country, lying near the Jihoon. Timour encamps there, 45.
- AULAUJOU, castle of, reduced by Timour, 57.
- AURGHOON, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Tausih Khaunjeh of, made eighth Ameer, 311. twenty persons of, promoted, *ibid.*
- AURLAUT, tribe of, receive Tumghau, 309. Ameer Muviud of, made Ameer ul Omrau, 313. Sullauichee Bahaudur of, made Ameer, *ibid.*
- AUROOS KHAUN sends an ambassador to Timour after the defeat of Touktummish Khaun, 115. is attacked unprepared, and vanquished by Ti-
- AURUFFAUT, mount of, 30,000 pilgrims martyred there, 185.
- AZZUD U DOWLA DELUMI supporter of the Mahummudan faith in the 4th century of the Hij. 185. deposes Muttei Lounrilla Ubbauhi from the Khillaufut, and places Taulaa Billau, his son, on the throne, 187.
- AZZURBAUEJAUN, a province of Persia, part of the ancient Media. It is bounded on the N. by the province of Shurwaun, on the S. by the provinces of Erauk a Ajjum and Kurdistaan (the ancient Assyria), on the E. by the province of Kilaun and the Caspian sea, and on the West by Turkomania. Touktummish Khaun sends a mighty army upon it, 127. the seditious of, chastised by Timour, 143. Timour sojourns there, 151. departs thence, 153.

B.

- BAUBAU AALI SHAAH, a dervise, his advice to Timour, 89.
- BAUKHTUR ZEMBEEN, subdued by Timour, 45, 163.
- BEGCHUCK, one of the Ameers of Jitteh, appointed by Tughulluk Timour Khaun to ravage Mauwur u Nuhur, 19.
- BEHRAUM JOUBEEN, general to Hurmuz, with 320,000 Persians engages the Khaukaun, and after a battle of three days and three nights, defeats him, 285. unjustly accused to Hurmuz of having secreted the enemy's treasures, *ibid.* pronounced a traitor, and treated with contempt by Hurmuz, *ibid.* deposes Hurmuz, 287.
- BEHRAUM JULLAUIR joins Timour, 45.
- BOKHAURA, the capital of a province of that part of Mauwur u Nuhur now called Bucharia Proper, *situate in about 39°. 0'. of Latitude, Long. 63°. 0'. E. from London.* Environs of, two hundred persons, dispersed in, 43. Aljaiè Turkaun Aughaun, secreted there by

- BOULAU deserts Timour in time of danger, 315.
- BOULAUD BOOGHAU [supposed to be the same as the preceding.] separates from Timour, 69.
- BUDDUKHSHAUN, a city of the province of Bullukh, situate at the foot of the mountains which separate Hindostaun from Great Tartary, on the N. side of the Jihoon, about 100 miles from its source, and 230 from Bullukh. Lat. $37^{\circ}.10'$. Long. $69^{\circ}.30'$. E. from Lond. Princes of, prepare for war, 69. soldiers of, join Timour, *ibid.* princes of, submit to his authority, *ibid.* after their treachery to Timour, received by him with kindness, 323. m. 33, 67, 91, III, 135.
- BUGHDAUD, the capital of the province of Erauk a Arrub, situate on the Tigris. Lat. $33^{\circ}.30'$. Long. $44^{\circ}.20'$. E. from London. Conquered by Timour, 127. surrounded by an army under Timour's sons, 151. besieged by Timour himself, and taken after a siege of two months, *ibid.* razed to the ground, *ibid.* m. 125, 149. revenues of, assigned for supporting the sepulchres and shrines of the saints, 359.
- BUKHF and JILLEH, districts of, assigned for supporting the shrine of Imaum Aali, son of Moosi, 359.
- BULLUKH, the capital of a province of that name, situate towards the borders of Persia, about 50 miles S. of Turmuz on the river Dehash, Lat. $37^{\circ}.0'$. Long. $64^{\circ}.30'$. E. from London.
- PROVINCE OF, lies to the S. of Summurkund, and E. of that division of Mauwur u Nuhur, called Proper Bucharia. Its length, according to modern geographers, is about 360 miles, and its breadth about 250. Kingdom of, Timour sojourns there, 49. hunts in the mountains of, 51. taken from Timour by Ameer Hoofsein, 87. claimed by Ameer Ilchee Booghau, 91. given to Ameer Hoofsein by Timour, 107. Timour encamps there, 109. m. III, III, given to Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus, 323.
- BURHAUN AGHLAUN, 289.
- BURLAUS, tribe of, m. 29, 93. appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. four Ameer ul Omraus selected from it, *ibid.* two Ameers of, promoted, 311. a hundred Mingbaufhees appointed therefrom, *ibid.*
- BURLAUS BHAUDUR (one of Timour's Euzbaufhees) engages Touktummish Khaun, and defeats him, 289. is appointed governor of Hifsauf Shaudumaun, *ibid.*
- BURTUN KHAUN, 25, N.

C.

- CHEEN, kingdom of, its prince called Fughfoor, 131.
- CHUCKCHUCK, pass of, Timour and Ameer Hoofsein agree to meet there, 101.
- CHUGHTAUEE KHAUN, son of Chingaze Khaun, 23, N. his conduct towards a minister accused of peculation, 249.
- CHUGHTAUEE, the countries of Transoxiana, &c. which were given to Chughtauee Khaun. The Toumaunaut and Kushoonaut of, become celebrated on account of Timour's exploits, 93.
- CHUNGAZE KHAUN, (or Ghengis Can) 23, N.

D.

- DAVOOD, armour of, Timour cloaths himself in it, 143.
- DAURAU, name given to the king of Hindostaun, 131.
- DEAUR A BUKKUR, the capital of a province of the same name, situate on the Tigris, near its source, 212 miles E. of Hullub, and 261 N. of Bughdaud. Lat. $37^{\circ}.42'$. Long. $40^{\circ}.17'$. E. from London. Bajazet sends his forces against it, 153.
- DEHLI, the capital of Hindostaun, situated on the river Jumna, 142 miles N.

of

- of Agra, and 339 S. of Lauhore, Lat. 28°. 20'. Long. 87°. 20'. E. from Lond. Castle of, fortified by Sooltaun Muhmood, 139. subdued by Timour, *ibid.*
- DOULAUN JAUWUN, three hundred men of the tribe of, join Timour, 57.
- DOULDEE, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. two persons of, made Ameer, 311.
- DUMMISHK, the capital of the South part of Shaum, ninety five miles N.E. of Jerusalem, and two hundred and ten S. of Hullub. Lat. 33°. 23'. Long. 36°. 20'. E. from London. Mullik Furruij arrives there, 149. reduced by Timour, *ibid.*
- DURBUND, a city of Daughestaun, on the W. coast of the Caspian Sea. Lat. 42°. 0'. Long. 50°. 0'. E. from London. Timour passes by it in his way to the Dusht of Kipchak, 127. Touktummish Khaun sends a mighty army that way against Azzurbauejaun, *ibid.*
- E.
- EKKOO TIMOUR, conquers Auroos Khaun, 283. is promoted by Timour, *ibid.* is accused to Timour of having appropriated to his own use the spoils taken from Auroos Khaun, *ib.* commanded to appear before Timour, 287. the whole of the spoils taken from Auroos Khaun, conferred on him and his soldiers, *ibid.*
- ERAUK A AJJUM, or Persian Erauk, the chief province of Persia, lying in the centre of that kingdom, bounded by Kilaun and Azzurbauejaun on the N. Khoozistaun and Fauristaun on the S. by Khoraufaun and Kurdistau on the W. Its capital Isfahaun. Cleared from heretics by Timour, 335. m. 125.
- ERAUK A ARRUB, or Babylonian Erauk, comprises the districts which lie on each side of the Tigris, having Deaur a Rukkur on the West. and Koo-histaun on the East. Its capital Bughdaud, m. 125.
- ERAUK, people of, petition Timour on account of the oppressions of the race of Muzuffur, 117. Timour draws his army into it, 119. attacks it a second time, 121.
- ERAUKS, THE TWO, the governors of, petition Timour to punish the infidels of Goorjistaun, 141.
- ERAUN, all the country lying between the Jihoon and the Tigris, i. e. Persia and the neighbouring countries. m. 131, 355.
- F.
- FAURIS, or Persis, a province of Persia, bounded by Erauk a Ajjum on the N. by Kurmaun on the E. by the Persian Gulf on the S. by Khoozistaun on the W. Its capital Shauraze. m. 141, 355.
- FUGHFOOR, a title given to the king of Khuttun, Cheen and Maucheen, 131.
- FURRUKH, left governor of Bughdaud by Sooltaun Ahmud Jullaur, 151. drowned in the Tigris, *ibid.*
- G.
- GHAUZAUN KHAUN, (son of Arghoon Khaun and grandson of Hullaukoo Khaun) promoter of the faith in the 6th century of the Hij. 187. converted, with 100,000 Toorks, to the Mahummudan faith by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee in the plain of Laur, 189.
- GHIZNEIN, 225.
- GHIZNI, the capital of a province separated by mountains from the North West parts of Hindostaun, situate near Kundahaur, and lying to the South of Gaur. Lat. 33°. 30'. Long. 66°. 0'. E. from Lond. Emperor of, will not suffer a stone to be removed, which he had placed at the entrance of the plain of Ghiznein, 225.
- GOOLAUB, Mahummud Auzaud appointed governor of. 201.

GOORJISTAUN, a province of Asia, bounded by Circassia on the North, by the Caspian Sea on the East, by Armenia on the South, and by Mingrelia on the West. Its capital Tefis. Lat. $43^{\circ} 30'$. Long. $47^{\circ} 24'$. E. from Lond. Its inhabitants complained of by the governors of the two Erauks, 141. subdued by Timour, 143. m. 155.

GURKUS, tribe of, governed by Moofi, 135.

GUZ, freights of, Timour arrives there, 59.

H.

HAUJEE MAHUMMUD, a Toorkummaun, 39. recollecting Timour, commands the people to desist from attacking him, and joins him himself, *ibid.*

————— MUHMOOD SHAAH YESSOREE succeeds to the command of the armies of Jitteh, 21.

HIND, king of, called Daurau, 131. m. 355. See HINDOSTAUN.

HINDOSTAUN, a large country lying between 7° . and 37° . Lat. and between 64° . and 93° . E. Long. from London. Bounded by Ouzbuk Tartary and little Thibet on the North, by Thibet, the kingdom of Afem, Ava and Pegu on the East, the bay of Bengal and the Indian ocean on the South, the Indian ocean and Persia on the West; being about 2043 miles in length from N. to S. and 1412 in breadth from E. to W. Fortified with many ramparts, 129. always governed by the Shaahinshaah, or king of Eraun and Tooraun, 131. road of, infested by the Oughans, 135. cleared by Timour, 137. its chief city, conquered by Timour, 139. the reduction of, m. 353.

HIREMUN, river, takes its rise in a range of mountains in Lat. about $30^{\circ} 40'$. Long. $64^{\circ} 0'$. from Lond. passing by Seitoun, a branch of it falls into the lake Zare, 231 miles S. W. of Kun-

dahaur, in Lat. $33^{\circ} 0'$. Long. $60^{\circ} 0'$. E. of Lond. Timour sojourns near it, 45.

HISSAUR, or HISSAUR SHAUDUMAUN, kingdom of, given to Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus, 323. m. 319.

HOOSSEIN, (Ameer HOOSSEIN) grandson of Ameer Kurgun, joins Timour in the desarts of Khauruzm, 35. his sister wife to Timour, *ibid.* comes to Timour, 67. his ill conduct occasions the desertion of Timour's officers, 69. wants to establish himself on the throne of Mauwur u Nuhur, 85. always envies and opposes Timour, *ibid.* is forced to swear friendship to him, *ibid.* seeks to overthrow Timour, *ibid.* takes the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun from Timour, *ibid.* is opposed in his claims by Ilchee Booghau Suldoze, 91. breaks his oaths with Timour, 93. takes the castle of Kurflee from Timour by fraud, and places a strong garrison in it, *ibid.* sends a Koraun to Timour, swearing friendship upon it, 101. desires to have a personal conference with Timour at the pass of Chuckchuck, *ibid.* slays Share Behraun, 103. his treachery to Timour, *ibid.* receives a letter from Timour, and is confounded, 105. is presented with the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun by Timour, 107. seeks to take Mauwur u Nuhur from Timour, *ibid.* fights several times with Timour, and is always defeated, *ibid.* slays Humoochee the brother of Ki Khiffero, ruler of Khuttulaun, *ibid.* comes forth to fight with Timour, 109. is defeated and slain, *ibid.*

————— lost his dominions through the oppressions of a wicked and cruel minister, 203.

————— bribed one of Timour's Vizeers to raise enmity betwixt Timour and Ameer Jaukoo and Eekoo Timour, 247. his design discovered, *ibid.* his friendship more hurtful to Timour.

Timour than the malice of his greatest enemies, 327.
HOOSSEIN, the Khalif, 183.
HUKKEEM SUNNAI, cotemporary with, and preceptor to, Sooltaun Sunjuri, 187.
HULLAUKOO KHAUN, father of Arghoon Khaun, 187. excited by Alkummi to attack Maatuffim Killau Ubbausi, 257.
HULLUB, the present metropolis of Shaum, Lat. 36°. 12'. Long. 37°. 40'. E. from London. Subdued by Timour, 145. Timour arrives there in his march against Keefur, 149. Keefur sends troops against it, 153.
HUMOOCHEE, brother of Ki Khiffero, slain by Ameer Hoossein, 107.
HUMS, Keefur sends troops against it, 153. See **HUMSAU**.
HUMSAU, a town of Shaum near Hama, Lat. 34°. 30'. Long. 38°. 10'. E. from Lond. Subdued by Timour, 145.
HURMUZ, son of Noufharevaun, sends Behraum Joubeen, with 320,000 Persians, to oppose the Khaukaun, 285. forgetting the services of Behraum, pronounces him a traitor, and treats him with contempt, *ibid.* is deposed, 287.
HURRAUT, a city of Khoraufaun, 171 miles S. E. of Toos, Lat. 34°. 0'. Long. 59°. 20'. E. from Lond. Prince of, Mullik Gheaus u deen, 113. conquered by Timour, *ibid.*
HYDUR ANDOOKHODEE advances to fight with Timour, and is defeated, 63. taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, flees to Timour, and is appointed by him governor of a province, 319.
HYSSAUR. See **HISSAUR**.

I.

IMMAUM A AAZUM, his opinion, 191.
 ——— **HOOSSEIN**, revenues assigned for supporting his sepulchre, 359.
 ——— **MAHUMMUD NUKKI**, *ibid.*
 ——— **MOOSI KAUSZI**, *m. ibid.*
 ——— **SHAUFEL**, 191.

ISFAHAUN, the capital of the province of Erauk a Ajjum and of all Persia in Asia, lying about 223 miles N. of the Persian Gulph, and 321 S. of the Caspian Sea. Lat. 32°. 40'. Long. 51°. 40'. E. from London. Conquered by Timour, 119. people of, rebel and slay the governor with the whole garrison, *ibid.* all commanded to be put to the sword, *ibid.* appointed a place of rendezvous for Timour's forces, 141.

JIHOON, the ancient Oxus, a river rising in mount Imaus in the Northern parts of India in Asia, Lat. 39°. 30'. and running N. W. through Ouzbuk Tartary, divides it from Persia. Forty leagues from its mouth, it divides into two branches; one falling into the Caspian Sea, Lat. 44. the other into the lake Aral, Lat. 42°. 0'. Long. 59°. 50'. E. from London. Timour halts there some days, 65. crosses it, 67. m. 23, N.

JILLEH. See **BUKHF**.

JITTEH, a kingdom having Toorkistaun on the E. the river Sihoon on the S. Kipchak on the W. and part of Toorkistaun on the N. m. 19, 23, &c. &c.

JOÜJI, tribe of, abandoned by Touk-tummish Khaun, 125. m. 129.

JULLAUIR, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. two Ameer's of, promoted, 311. twenty people of, promoted, *ibid.*

JURJAUN, country of, m. 117.

JUZZAUIR, lands of, assigned for supporting the shrines of Immaum Moofi Kauzim, Immaum Mahummud Nukki, and Soolamaun Faurfi, 359.

K.

KAUBOOLISTAUN, the province of Kaubul, 163.

KAUBUL, capital of Kauboolistaun, N. W. of Hindostaun, and about 110 miles E. of Kundahaur. Lat. about 34°. 30'. Long. 69°. 12'. E. from London. Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer stationed there with 30,000 men, 133.

- KAUBUL SHAAH**, of the line of Chingiz, slain by his Ameer, to ingratiate themselves with Timour, 325.
- KAUJOOI BAHAUDUR**, brother of Kubbul Khaun, eighth ancestor of Timour, and great grandfather of Kurmauchaur Nooyaun, 25, N.
- KESUR**, or **BAJAZET**, supposed to be descended from a Toorkummaun sailor, 147, N. resolves on a war with Timour, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, 145. comes down with a mighty army, and calls the forces of Mishur and Shaun to his aid, *ibid.* receives a letter of advice from Timour, 147. marches to oppose Timour, with 400,000 men, 153. is defeated, and brought prisoner to Timour, A. D. 1402, *ibid.* m. 355, 405, 407.
- KEHULKEH**, castle of, Timour sends his Kurrauvul against it, 65.
- KHAUJEH AGHLAUN**, of the tribe of Moghool, made Ameer, 311.
- **SHUMS U DEEN**, sepulchre of, Ameer Hoossein swears friendship to Timour there, 85.
- KHAUKAUN, THE**, advances against Hurmuz with 300,000 Toorks, 285. is defeated by Behraum Joubeen, after an engagement of three days and three nights, *ibid.*
- KHAURUZM**, a kingdom situate on the Eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, near the mouth of the Jihoon, having Mauwur u Nuhur on the E. Khorausaun on the S. and great Tartary on the N. it extends from 37°. to 42°. of Lat. and from 52°. to 62°. of Long. from Lond. TIMOUR advised to go thither, 33. Tukkul Bahaudur engages with him there, 35.
- desert of, Timour wanders in it with his associates, and is taken prisoner, 37.
- KHILLAUTEH**, a town of Mauwur u Nuhur lying near the Jihoon. The Ameer of Jitteh encamp there with 20,000 horse-men, 71.
- KHIOOK**, a town of Khorausaun, situate near the Jihoon, W. of Bokhaura. Lat. about 39°. 40'. Long. 62°. 30'. E. from London. Tukkul Bahaudur its governor, 35.
- KHISSURO PURVAZE**, advanced to the throne of Persia, in the place of Hurmuz deposed, 287.
- KHORAUSAUN**, a province of Persia, bounded by the mountains of Bullukh (which separate it from Mauwur u Nuhur) and the province of Kunda-haur on the E. by Seistaun on the S. by the provinces of Erauk a Ajjum and Mauzinduraun on the W. and by the province of Asterabad and the river Jihoon (which separate it from Khauruzm) on the N. Its capital Hurrat. Ameer Haujee Burlaus and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullaair retire thither upon Tughulluk Timour Khaun's first invasion of Mauwur u Nuhur, 17. m. 15, 113, 141, 333.
- KHUJJUND**, a city of Mauwur u Nuhur situate on the river Sihoon, about 7 days journey N. E. of Summurkund. At this place is a famous passage over the river, Lat. 41°. 15'. Long. 67°. 30'. E. from London. Waters of, crossed by Tughulluk Timour Khaun with intention to invade Mauwur u Nuhur, 15. crossed by Ouleaus Khaujeh in his flight from Timour, 83.
- KHULLUM**, a town of Tookhauristaun, Lat. 36°. 40'. Long. 65°. 50'. E. from London. Timour encamps there, 67.
- KHUTTULAUN**, a province situate between the rivers Vakhsh and Hurrat, and bounded by Tartary, Buddukhshaun, and the territory of Bullukh. Timour arrives there, 69. seized by Ki Khissero and Aljaitoo Burdi, 91.
- KHUTTUN**, the country of, m. 131, 163.
- KHUZZAUR**, a town of Mauwur u Nuhur situate S. of Kush, in Lat. 38°. 30'. Long. about 65°. The armies of Tughulluk Timour Khaun arrive there, 19.
- KILAUN**, a province of Persia bounded by the Caspian Sea on the N. by Khorausaun

- faun on the E. by Erauk a Ajjum on the S. and by Azzurbauejaun on the W. m. 141.
- KIPCHAUK**, (called by Europeans Grand Tartary) contains all the country situate between the Lesser, or Crim Tartary and Toorkistaun. Tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Ameer Saur Booghau of, made Ameer, 313.
- Dufht of, the Ameers of Tughulluk Timour Khaun rebel there, 23. Timour enters it, 129. subdued by Timour, 117.
- KOOCH TIMOUR**, (son of Begchuck) an Ameer of Jitteh, 71.
- KOOTTUB UL AKTAUB**, Timour's Peer, 125. See PEER.
- KOULAUK**, Dufht of, Timour sojourns there, 71.
- KOWVUNG KHAUN**, of the tribe of Tautaur, made Ameer, 313.
- KUBBUL KHAUN**, (twin-brother of Kaujooli Bahaudur, and son of Toumunch Khaun) great grandfather of Chungaze Khaun, m. 25, N.
- KUNDAHAUR**, Capital of a territory of the same name, situate on the confines of Persia and the dominions of the Great Mogul, 436 miles N. W. of Lauhore, Lat. 33°. 10'. Long. 67°. 10'. E. from London. Subdued by Timour, 45, m. 141.
- KUNDUZ**, a town of Tookhauristaun, situate in Lat. 36°. 36'. Long. 66°. 0'. E. from London. Timour arrives there, 69. and appoints Mahumud Auzaud governor of it for his bravery against the Seah Poshaun, 291.
- KUNNOUJ**, a town and kingdom situate between the two arms of the Ganges, 282 miles E. of Mooltaun. Its Capital Kunnouj is in Lat. 26°. 45'. Long. 80°. 10'. E. from London. Mubbauruk Khaun aspires to the sovereignty of, 353.
- KURBULLAU**, a town of Erauk a Arrub on the W. side of the Euphrates. Lat. 32°. 40'. Long. 44°. 10'. E. from London. Lands and villages of assigned to support the sepulchres and shrines of the saints, 359.
- KURMAUN**, a province of Persia situate between Fauris and Seiftaun, extending from the frontiers of Erauk a Ajjum to the streights of Hormuz, m. 141.
- KURRAU EUSOOF**, the Toorkummaun, defeated by Timour, 281. stirs up Keefur to make war upon him, 145. Timour demands him of Keefur, 147. he molests the Kauruvvauns going to the sacred cities, 153.
- KURRAUNCHEE BAHAUDUR**, joins Timour with a hundred horse-men, whom he had separated from the armies of Jitteh, 51.
- KURROOT**, house of, Timour delivers Khoraufaun from its princes, 333.
- KURRUMSEER** submits to Timour, 45. Timour sojourns there for two months, 49.
- KURSHEE**, a town of Mauwur u Nuhur, at some distance to the North of the Jihoon. Lat. 38°. 35'. Long. 64°. 0'. E. from London. Taken by fraud from Timour, 93. Timour attacks it with 243 warriors, 7. taken by Timour, *ibid.* and 99. Timour surrounded therein by Ameer Moofi and Mullik Bahaudur, 9.
- KUSH**, a city of Mauwur u Nuhur, a few miles to the E. of Kurthee, and S. of Summurkund. Principality of, m. 45, N. its forces desert Timour, and join Ameer Haujee Burlaus, 321.
- KUSHMEER**, a kingdom situate on the W. side of the Ganges, and on the E. side of the Indus. Part of Timour's troops march that way against Lauhore, 135.
- KUTTEH BUST**, lands of, assigned to support the Shrine of Immaum Aali, son of Moofi, 359.
- KUTTOOR**, a mountain of Buddukhsaun. The Seah Poshaun vanquished near it, 289.

KUT-

KUTTULUG TURKAUN AUGHAU, eldest sister of Timour, secretes him in her house forty days, 43.

KYLANAUT, *m.* 163. See **KILAUN**.

KYPCHAUK. See **KIPCHAUK**.

L.

LAUHORE, capital of the province of Punjab in Hindostaun, 322 miles *W.* of Dehli. *Lat.* 31°. 53'. *Long.* 73°. 30'. from London. Part of Timour's forces march against it, 135. territories of, a numerous army drawn together in by Mulloo Khaun, 353.

LAUR, a city of Fauris, 372 miles *S.* of Isfahaun. *Lat.* 27°. 20'. *Long.* 53°. 35'. *E.* from London. Plain of, a hundred thousand Toorks converted at once there by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee, 189.

LUSHKUR SHAAH, brother of Mullik Mahummud, killed by Moofi, 137.

M.

MAATUSSIM BILLAU UBBAUSI makes Alkummi his prime minister, 257. is betrayed by him into the hands of Hullaukoó Khaun, and put to death, *ibid.*

MAHUMMUD, the Arabian Law-giver, 9. number of his Attributes ninety two, 135. prayers due to him, and his descendants, 189. a proverb of his, 339.

————— posterity of, exalted above other men, 203. pensions and salaries ordained them by Timour, 235.

MAHUMMUD AUZAUD, one of Timour's Mingbaushes, vanquishes the Seah Poshau in the war of Kuttoor, 289. is appointed governor of Kunduz and Goolaub, 291.

————— **JEHAUNGHEER**, Timour's eldest son, the subsistence of twelve thousand horse-men allowed him for his support, 241.

MAHUMMUD KHAUJEH ERUDEE, of the Hord of Tauemun, having seized the country of Shereghaunaut, opposes Timour, 91. submits to Timour, on his presenting him with another province, *ibid.*

————— **MEHDI**, the last of the 12 successors of Mahummud, 193.

MAUKHAUN, a city of Khorausaun, *Lat.* 37°. 30'. *Long.* 60°. 0'. from Lond. Its governor Mubbauruk Shaah Sunjuri, 41.

MAUMOON UL RUSHEED, supporter of the Mahummudan Faith in the 2d century of the Hij. 185. abrogated seventy two unorthodox tenets, and established the true rites according to the Sunna, *ibid.* took possession of the government by the consent of Aali, the son of Moofi Jaufir, *ibid.* who was appointed by him successor to the Immaumut, *ibid.*

MAUWUR U NUHUR, or Tranfoxiana, comprehends in general the whole country situate between the Jihoon and Sihoon. Its capital Summurkund. (N. B. Some modern geographers apply the name of Mauwur u Nuhur to a part of Tranfoxiana, called the province of Summurkund, about 540 miles long from *W.* to *E.* and 500 broad from *S.* to *N.*) People of, unite themselves with Timour, 29. make a written engagement to support him with their lives and fortunes, *ibid.*

————— country of, is oppressed by the Ouzbuds, 27. delivered by Timour, *ibid.* is cleared from the abominations of the Ouzbuds, 87. from discord and anarchy, 93. being delivered from oppression, submits to Timour's government, 107. Timour halted there a few days in his march from Hindostaun to Room and Goorjistaun, 355. *m.* 333.

MAUZINDURAUN, a province *S.* of the Caspian Sea. Governor of, Ameer Aali, seeks protection of Timour, 117. *m.* 118, 141.

MECCA,

- MECCA**, capital of a territory bearing its name, and of all Arabia Felix in Asia, the birth-place of Mahummud. It lies 200 miles S. of Medina. Lat. $21^{\circ}.30'$. Long. $38^{\circ}.50'$. E. from Lond. Seized by Aboo Tahir in the third century of the Hij. 185. m. 373.
- MEER SIUD SHURREEF** (one of the most respectable doctors of the eighth century of the Hij.) a letter of his to Timour, 181, 183, &c. m. 195.
- **ZEAU U DEEN**, (probably the same as Siud Zeau u deen) a holy man noted for the efficacy of his prayers, 207. prays for Timour's success during his engagement with Touktumish Khaun, *ibid.*
- MEERAUN SHAAH**, Timour's third son, the subsistence of nine thousand horse-men allowed him for his support, 241. See **AMEER ZAUDEH MEERAUN SHAAH**.
- MISSUR** (or Egypt), forces of, called to the aid of Keefur, 145. defeated by Timour, 149. m. 143.
- MOCKTAUDIR BILLAU UBBAUSI**, promoter of the Mahummudan Faith in the third century of the Hij. 185. totally defeats Aboo Tahir, and his associates, *ibid.*
- MOGHOOI**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Khaueh Aghlaun of, made Ameer, 311.
- MOOLTAUN**, a city of Hindostaun (capital of a province of the same name) 414 miles W. of Dehli. Lat. $29^{\circ}.40'$. Long. $71^{\circ}.10'$. E. from London. The prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer ordered to go against it, 133. m. 353.
- MOOSI**, the Oughau, head of the tribe of Gurkus, attacks Lushkur Shaah the Oughau, 135. kills him, 137. is slain himself, *ibid.*
- MOOSI JAUFIR**, father of Aali, 185.
- MOOSUL**, a city of Deaur a Bukkur, situate on the W. shore of the Tigris. Lat. $36^{\circ}.30'$. Long. $43^{\circ}.30'$. E. from Lond. Timour marches by the way of, to invade Azzurbauejaun, 149.
- Moscow**, Timour penetrates as far as,
- MUBBAURUK KHAUN** aspires to the sovereignty of Kunnouj, 353.
- MUBBAURUK SHAAH SUNJURI**, governor of Maukhaun, joins Timour with an hundred soldiers, 41. advises him to quit the desert, *ibid.* joins him at Atcheghi, 45.
- MUGHRIB**, kingdom of, m. 163.
- MULLIK BAHAUDUR** and **AMEER MOOSI** sit down in Kurfsee with 12,000 horse-men, 7.
- **BURKOOK**, 149.
- **FURRUJ**, king of Misfur and Shaun, departs to Dummishk, 149. is pursued by Timour, *ibid.* defeated, *ibid.*
- **GHEAUS U DEEN**, ruler of Khorausaun, is in great fear of Timour, 111. hearing of Timour's departure, remits of his diligence and caution, 113. is surprized and taken by Timour, *ibid.*
- **MAHUMMUD**, brother of Lushkur Shaah, solicits Timour to revenge his brother's death, 137. is confined by Timour, *ibid.*
- **SHAAH SILJOKEE** loses his kingdom, by disgracing a worthy minister, and appointing a worthless man in his place, 255, 257.
- MULLOO KHAUN**, Vizzeer of Sooltaun Muhmood, on Timour's invasion of Hindostaun, gathers together a numerous army in Lauhore, 353. in conjunction with Sooltaun Muhmood, opposes him in Dehli with 50,000 horse-men, and 120 elephants, 139. their troops defeated, *ibid.* he is deprived of his power by Timour, 333.
- MULLUTEAH**, a town of Room, capital of Little Armenia. Lat. $38^{\circ}.0'$. Long. $39^{\circ}.0'$. from Lond. Subdued by Timour, 145.
- MUNGULI BOOGHAU SULDOZE**, governor of the castle of Aulaujou under Ouleaus Khaueh, 55. refuses to hearken to Timour's proposals, 57. leaves the castle, and flees from Timour, *ibid.* in the war of Bullukh.

- mour, 281. Timour attempts in vain to corrupt him, *ibid.* he charges Timour with undaunted valour, and is defeated, *ibid.* taking offence at the conduct of Tughul. Timour Khaun, he flees to Timour, and is by him appointed governor of a province, 281, 319. signalizes himself in Timour's service, 281. rallies Timour's troops, when thrown into confusion, and decides the victory, *ibid.* is promoted by Timour, *ibid.*
- MUTTEI LAUMRILLA UBBAUSI**, deposed from the Khillaufut, 187.
- MUZUFFUR**, race of, accused to Timour of oppression, 117.
- N.
- NIZZAUM UL MOOLLUK**, Vizzeer to Mullik Siljokee, 257. unjustly disgraced by him, *ibid.* his failings exceeded by his virtues, 263. is dissuaded from his intention of going on pilgrimage, *ibid.* he delivered Mullik Shaah from the hands of Keefer, 267.
- NOUSHAREVAUN**, father of Hurmuz, *m.* 285.
- O.
- OMUR ABDUL AZEEZ**, the supporter of the Mahumudan faith in the first century of the Hij. 183. abolished the profane practice of execrating Aali from the pulpits, 183.
- **SHEIKH**, second son of Timour, 241. the subsistence of ten thousand horse-men allowed for his support, *ibid.*
- OUĞHAUNS**, inhabitants of the mountains S. of Kundahaur. Certain of, infest the road to Hindostaun, 135. are extirpated by Timour, 137.
- OUJ KURRAU BAHAUDUR** stationed at the bridge of Sungheen, opposite Ouleaus Khaueh, 77.
- OUZBUKS**, probably in this work the same as the Jetes. At present the Ouzbuds, or Uzbeks, possess all the country between the Caspian Sea and the dominions of the Great Mogul. Are guilty of cruelty and oppression in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, 27. are attacked by Timour, *ibid.* extirpation of, authorized by the Siuds, 29. extirpated from Mauwur u Nuhur, 87. from Tooraun, 105. garrisons of, in certain castles of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* are drawn out by the policy of Timour, and flee, 107. *m.* 333.
- P.
- PEER MAHUMMUD JEHAUNGHEER**, son of Mahummud Jehaugheer. His opinion concerning the conquest of Hindostaun, 129. ordered by Timour to march from Kaubul with 30,000 horse against Mooltaun, 133.
- R.
- ROOM**, (Anatolia, or Asia Minor) is terminated on the N. by the Euxine Sea; on the E. by Georgia, Armenia, and Turcomania; on the S. by Shaum and the Levant; and on the W. by the Archipelago, Hellepont, and Propontis. King of, called Keefer, 131. country of, Timour sends an army to ravage it, 153. entirely conquered by Timour, 355.
- ROOMI**, Turks, inhabitants of Room, 279.
- S.
- SAUN BAHAUDUR**, of the tribe of Douldee, made Ameer, 311.
- SAUREEK BAHAUDUR**, an Ameer of Jitteh, 71.
- SAURUNG**, brother of Mulloo Khaun, assumes

- assumes the sovereignty of Mooltaun, 353. dispossessed by Timour, 333.
- SEAH POSHAUN, inhabitants of the mountains S. of Buddukhshaun, 289. and N. defeat Burhaun Aghlaun, *ibid.* are vanquished by Mahummud Auzaud, *ibid.*
- SEEWAUS, a city of Room, Lat. 39° 6'. Long. 38° 40'. E. from London. Subdued by Timour, 143.
- SEISTAUN, a province of Persia. Its capital Zurunge is situate in Lat. 32° 25'. Long. 61° 0'. E. from London. Governor of, sends presents to Timour, and requests his protection, 47. joins with his enemies against Timour, *ibid.* is conquered by Timour, *ibid.*
- armies of, ordered to make ready for war, 141.
- SHAAH MUNSOOR opposes Timour face to face, and is slain, 407.
- SHAAHROKH, Timour's fourth son, the subsistence of nine thousand horse-men allowed him, 241. his opinion concerning the war of Hindostaun, 129.
- SHARE BEHRAUM, of the tribe of Jullauir, 311. had separated from Timour to go to Hindostaun, 55. returns to him, *ibid.* attempts to corrupt the governor of the castle of Aulaujou, 57. separates from Timour, 69. returns to him, 87. informs him of the designs of Ameer Hooffein, 103. is slain by Ameer Hooffein, *ib.*—he had deserted Timour and united with his enemies, 171. was pardoned by Timour in consideration of his valour, *ibid.* was made ninth Ameer, 311. fought against Timour with astonishing valour, 279. fled to him for protection, and was honourably received, *ibid.*
- SHARAUZE, capital of Fauris, about 176 miles S. of Isfahaun. Lat. 29° 50'. Long. 53° 10'. E. from London. Inhabitants of, rebel, 121. are reduced by Timour, *ibid.*
- SHAREKUND, a town of Mauwur u Nuhur N. of Kurfhee. Lat. 38° 40'. Long. 64° 0'. E. from London. Timour halts there, 97.
- SHAREVAUN. See SHURWAUN.
- SHAUDUMAUN, or HISSAUR SHAUDUMAUN, a town of Saganian. Lat. 38°. Long. about 65° 0'. Taken from Timour by Ameer Hooffein, 87. given to Ameer Hooffein by Timour, 107. m. 319.
- SHAUM (or Syria) a country in Asia bounded on the W. by the Mediterranean, on the N. by mount Armenus, on the E. by the Euphrates, and on the S. by Arabia Petraea. Its capital Dummishk. Forces of, called to the aid of Bajazet, 145. conquered by Timour, 149. m. 163. Heretics of, punished by Timour, 335.
- SHEIKH ABDUL KAUDIK, lands allowed for supporting his shrine, 359.
- AHMUD JAUMI, contemporary with, and preceptor to, Sooltaun Sunjur, 187.
- IBRAHEEM HUMMUEE converts a hundred thousand Toorks at once in the plain of Laur, 189.
- SHUNGOOM, an Ameer of Jitteh, 71.
- SHURWAUN, a province of Persia situate on the Caspian Sea. Its capital Shamaki is in Lat. 40° 50'. Long. 60° 0'. E. from London. Touktumish Khaun's army marches by it, to invade Azzurbauejaun, 127. m. 117.
- SHURWAUNAUT, m. 163.
- SIHOON, or the Jaxartes; bounds Mauwur u Nuhur on the N. m. 23, N.
- SIND, or the Indus, rises in the mountains which divide Tartary from India, and passing through Kufhmeer and Mooltaun, empties itself in the Indian Sea. Crossed by the armies of Timour, in their way to Mooltaun and Lauhore, 133, 135.
- SIUD HOOSSUN advises Timour to quit the desert of Khauruzan, 41. joins him, 45.

- SIUD ZEAU U DEEN, 41. See MEER ZEAU U DEEN.
- SOOLAMAUN, mountain of, *m.* 133, 247, 248.
- FAURSI, a revenue assigned for supporting his Shrine, 359.
- SOOLTAUN AHMUD JULLAUIR, governor of Bughdaud, receives an Ambassador from Timour, 127. treated contemptuously by the Ambassador in a letter to Timour, *ibid.* flees towards Kurbullau, *ibid.* departs from Bughdaud leaving one of his officers to defend it, 151.
- GHEAUS U DEEN, *m.* 113, 335. See MULLIK GHEAUS U DEEN.
- HOOSSEIN, *son of* Timour's daughter named Akia Beghi, his opinion concerning the war of Hindoftaun, 131.
- MAHUMMUD (or MUHMOOD) KHAUN *nominal emperor of* Chugtauce. See AMEER ZAUDEH.
- MUHMOOD, *emperor of* Ghizni, an instance of his determined resolution in enforcing his commands, 225. deposed by his ministers, *ibid.*
- MUHMOOD KHAUN, *ruler of* Dehli, 353. opposes Timour with 50,000 men, 139. is defeated, and flees to the mountains, *ibid.*
- SUNJUR, *son of* Sooltaun Mullik Shaah, promoter of the faith in the fifth century of the Hij. 187. contemporary with, and disciple of, Sheikh Ahmud Jaumi and Hukkeem Sunnai, *ibid.*
- SUBZVAUR, *m.* 207.
- SUDEUK BURLAUS, of the race of Yeldurreen Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, joins Timour with 15 horse-men, 49.
- SULDOZE, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Ilchee Bahaudur of, made Ameer, 311.
- Ameers of, swear fidelity to Kaubul Shaah, 325. hearing of Timour's exaltation to the throne break their faith, and put him to death, *ibid.* execrated for it by Timour, *ibid.*
- SULLAUCHEE Bahaudur, of the tribe of Aurlaut, made Ameer, 313.
- SUMMURKUND, *capital of* Mauwur u Nuhur, *situate in the valley of* Sogd, *about 7 days journey N. E. of* Bokhaura. *Lat.* 39°. 40'. *Long.* about 65°. 0'. *E. from London.* Timour returns thither after the conquest of Hindoftaun, 139. after the defeat of Bajazet, 153. *m.* 31, 323.
- SUNGHEEN, bridge of, 71. station of Ouleaus Khaujeh, 77.

T.

- TAUBAUN BHAUDUR, of the tribe of Douldee, 311. in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun, penetrates to the standard-bearer, and inverts the standard, 289. his enemies seek in vain to obscure his renown, *ibid.* received into favour, and promoted by Timour, *ibid.* made Ameer, 311.
- TAULAA BILLAU, *son of* Mutteilaumrilla Ubbausi, appointed to the Khillaufut, in the room of his father, by Azzud u dowlah, 187.
- TAULKHAUN, *a town of* Toorkhauriftaun. *Lat.* 36°. 50'. *Long.* 67°. *E. from London.* Timour arrives there, 69.
- TAUSH KHAUJEH, of the tribe of Aurghoon, made eighth Ameer, 311.
- TAUSHKUND, *a town of* Toorkhauriftaun. *situate near the* Sihoon. *Lat.* 42°. *Long.* about 63°. *E. from London.*
- TAUTAUUR, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Kowvung Khaun of, made Ameer, 313.
- TIGRIS, river, Furrukh drowned in it, 151.
- TIMOUR, or TAMERLANE. See ABUL MUNSOOR TIMOUR.
- TIMOUR, river, crossed by Timour, 129.
- TIMOUR AGHLAUN, *m.* 315.
- TIMOUR.

- TIMOUR KHAUJEH AGHLAUN**, with his forces, joins Timour, 45.
- **NOUBUKAUN**, second Ameer of Jitteh, 71.
- TOORAUN**, all the countries situate beyond the Jihoon. Timour becomes lord of it, 87. clears it of the Ouzbuku, 105. certain of the seditious of Khoraufaun, sent thither, 143.
- Saints of, benefactions and gifts granted for their sepulchres and mausoleums, 361, m. 163.
- TOORKISTAUN**, infidels of; almost annihilate the Mahummudan religion by their conquests, 187. a hundred thousand of them converted at one time by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummue, 189. m. 319.
- king of, called Khaunkaun, 131.
- TOOS**, a city of Khoraufaun 123 miles S. E. of the Caspian Sea, and 604 S. W. of Bokhaura. The revenues of its environs, assigned for supporting the sepulchre of Immaum Aali, son of Moofi, 359.
- TOUBUK BAHAUDUR** joins Timour, 53.
- **TOUGHAVEE**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Aali Durvaish of, made Ameer, 311.
- TOUK TIMOUR**, of the tribe of Jul-laur, made eighth Ameer, 311.
- TOUKTUMMISH BUDDAU KHAUN**, defeated by Auroos Khaun, 115.
- **KHAUN**, 289. his standard inverted by Taubaun Bahaudur, *ibid.* his army defeated by Burlaus Bahaudur, 289. fleeing to Timour, is treated by him with kindness, 327. defeated by Auroos Khaun, 353.
- TOULAUN BOOGHAU**, sent to Timour by the Ameers who deserted from the army of Jitteh, 59.
- TOULKCHEE**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Aljaitoo Burdi of, made Ameer, 311.
- TOUMNEH KHAUN**, father of Kubul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur, and fourth ancestor of Chungaze Khaun, 25, N.
- TUBBURAUZE**, a city of Azzurbauejaun, 396 miles N. of Isfahaun. Lat. 38°. 25'. Long. 47°. 0'. E. from London. Timour marches towards it, 151. turns back by the way of, *ibid.*
- TUBBURISTAUN**, a province of Persia, having the Caspian Sea on the N. Kilaun on the W. Erauk a Ajjum on the S. and Khoraufaun on the E. Armies of, ordered to make ready for war, 141.
- TUGHULLUK KHAUJEH**, brother of Khaujeh Beg, Ameer of Jitteh, 71.
- **KHAUJEH BURLAUS** (probably the same as the preceding) joins Timour, 53. and is received by him with marks of joy and respect, 55.
- **SULDOZE**, overpowered by Timour, 75 and 77.
- **TIMOUR KHAUN**, of the line of Chungaze, 15. his Ameers rebel in the Dusst of Jitteh, 11. follows the advice of Timour, *ibid.* crosses the Sihoon at Khujjund, 15. determines to reduce Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* issues mandates of summons to Timour, Ameer Haujee Burlaus and Ameer Bauzezed Jul-laur, *ibid.* rejoiced at the coming of Timour, 21. follows his counsel, *ibid.* hears that the Ameers of his three Armies had received presents from the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* turns them out of their commands, and appoints Haujee Muhmood Shaah Yeffooree to supply their place, *ibid.* disturbed at the rebellion of his chiefs, asks counsel of Timour, 23. returns back to the Dusst of Jitteh, *ibid.* gives Timour the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* restores him the Toumaun of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, *ibid.* breaks his engagements with Timour, and brings an army a

- second time against Mauwur u Nuhur, 25. gives the government of it to Ouleaus Khaujeh his son, *ibid.* and appoints Timour minister and general to Ouleaus Khaujeh, *ibid.*
- TUKKUL BAHAUDUR**, governor of Khiook, falls upon Timour with a thousand men, 35.
- TUMOOKEH BAHAUDUR**, sent over the river at Turmuz with three horse-men to gain intelligence of the Jetes, 59. returns after four days, *ibid.*
- **KOUCHHEIN** joins Timour with 15 horse-men, 43. is sent by him to Mubbauruk Shaah, *ibid.*
- TURKHAUN**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Ameer Bauezzeed of, made seventh Ameer, *ibid.* twenty persons of, made Euzbaushees, *ibid.*
- TURMUZ**, a city of Mauwur u Nuhur situate on the Jihoon, about 50 miles N. of Bullukh, being a famous passage over the river. Lat. about 37°. Long. 66°. 0'. E. from London. Waters of, crossed by Tumookeh Bahaudur, 59. by Timour, 65. land of, the armies of Jitteh plunder there. 59. ——— **OLD**, the Ameers who deserted the army of Jitteh arrive there, 59.
- U.
- UBBAUS**, one of the three Orthodox Khalifs, 183.
- UMLIS**, son of Toumun Bahaudur, coming into the neighbourhood of Bullukh to plunder, joins Timour with 200 horse-men, 57.
- Y.
- YELDURRUM BAUEZZEED**, or Bajazet, 149, 407. See **KESUR**.
- YESSOOR**, tribe of, assist Ameer Khizur Yeffooree, 93. are pillaged by Ki Khiffero and Aljaitoo Burdi, *ib.*
- YEURLDAIEE**, people of, join Timour, 69.

I N D E X

O F T H E

I N C I P A L M A T T E R S .

IMPORTANT, one, appointed Timour to every department of government, to keep a journal of the receipts and disbursements, 307. See Auloos.

use, one, ordered by Timour built in every city for the poor,

prince or leader; a title given the nobility of the first rank in the Mogul empire, 15, N.

divided into twelve ranks, of the Ameer ul Omrau is chief. (The First meer ul Omrau.) The First made Second on his signaling; the Second, Third; the Fourth; &c. 275, 293. One allowed to the First, two to the Second, three to the Third, four to the Fourth, &c. of the Ameer ul Omrau. (See 291.) The First to bring with him into the country a hundred and ten horses, the Second a hundred and twenty, &c. The revenues of the frontier provinces assigned for their payment, 237. The First joined, in collecting the revenues, not to exact more than the ac-

are to hold a Jaugheer for three years; and longer, if the inhabitants are satisfied with their conduct, 241. to be degraded from their commands, if they disobey orders in time of action, 245. to be exalted by a title of honour, the standard, the Niccaureh, the appellation of Bahaudur, and other dignities, on their defeating an army, or reducing a kingdom, 283. to be appointed to the vice-genercy of a kingdom for three years, upon their conquering it, 291. if tardy in executing, or disobedient to, commands, to be instantly put to death, 397.

Ameers, Three hundred and thirteen, of wisdom and judgment, selected from Timour's chosen and superior servants, and advanced to exalted dignities, 269. who were as firmly united together, and to Timour, as if one soul had animated them all, 337. never desisted from an undertaking till they had brought it to a conclusion, *ibid.* an *expediter of preferment* appointed to succeed on the death of each, *ibid.* a hundred styled Ounbaushees; a hundred, Euzbau-

273. Four of these appointed Beglerbegs; and one, Ameer ul Omrau, 271.
- Ameers, Twelve of reputation and renown exalted to high commands by Timour, each commanding a squadron proportionate to his rank, 271. and each being deputy to his next superior, *ibid.* the Twelfth Ameer, a commander of twelve thousand horse, and deputy to the Ameer ul Omrau, 273.
- Ameer ul Omrau, *Chief of the Ameers or Nobles*, 233, N. his office to issue orders to the Ameers, 273. and to superintend the payment of the Mingbau shees, 233. his pay ten times as much as that of the officer subordinate to him, 235. receives it under the inspection of the Deewaunbe ghee and Vizzeers, *ibid.* a stipend granted him from the revenues of a frontier province, 237. is not to perform the duty of an Ameer, 273. not to take less than three hundred horses with him into the field, 297. insignia of his office, the Standard, Niccaureh, Toumaun Toghe and Cher Toghe, 291. his place in the Deewaun on the left side of the throne, 329.
- Ameers of Auloofaut, their orders for entering the field, 309. an Eurghée and Birruck granted to each of them, *ibid.*
- _____ of Hurratwul, their place in the Deewaun, in the front of the throne, 329.
- _____ of Kufhoonaut, what they were to bring into the field and what should be allowed them, 309.
- _____ of Toumaunaut, the same. *ibid.*
- Ameer Zaukeh, a son or grandson of a King or Emperor, 405.
- Amwaul a Ghauibi, the effects of people lost or absconded, 371.
- Arabic, sentences quoted in it, 74, 88, 118, 132, 180, 188.
- Arrub or Ajjum, *Arabian or Persian*, m. 217, 323.
- Artificers, of every sort, of Timour's XI. Class, 215. admitted into his palace and camp, *ibid.* those of the tribes which submitted to him, employed in his service, 217. Architects employed by Timour in raising magnificent buildings, 213.
- Astrologers, of Timour's VIII. Class, 213. essential to the dignity of empire, *ibid.* assist him in ascertaining the benign or malignant aspects of the stars, *ibid.*
- Audience, hall of, the infantry &c. paid there, 237. assignments for the payment of the Ameers and Mingbau shees delivered there, 239.
- Auloos, a tribe or herd. Plural, Auloofaut.
- Auriz, a sort of field-deputy, 375, 377.
- Autaukeh, an embroidered one, a military reward, m. 291.
- Authority, Timour's, so secured by order and regulation that none had power to interpose in his government, 199.

B.

- Bahaudur, *the brave*, an appellation given to those who signalized themselves in battle, 283, N.
- Baudi and Huvvau, revenues of, 371. See Huvvau.
- Bauwulli, a Mogul word, its meaning unknown, 277.
- Begging not allowed by Timour, 349, 361. See Mendicants.
- Beglerbegs, *generals or commanders of the first rank*, m. 271. if tardy in executing, or disobedient to commands, to be instantly put to death, 397.
- Birruck, (Mogul) a little flag, 309.
- Buffoons and vagrants, not to be suffered in city or country, 347.
- Bukdeh, part of the dress of ceremony of the Ameers; &c. 297.
- Burraun-

Burraunghaur, *the rear line of the right wing*, 389. consists of 3 squadrons in an army of 12,000, *ibid.* of 6 in an army of 40,000, p. 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403, m. 405, 407.

C.

Caaba, the black stone torn from its corner, 185.

Cavalry, their accompts made up half-yearly, 237. paid from the treasury, *ibid.*

Cher Toghe, *a sort of standard or spear*, a military distinction granted to the Ameer ul Omrau, 291.

Chupkunchee, four divisions of, appointed to scour the country round the camp, 301.

Chuppauwul, *the front line of the right wing*, 389. when to enter into action, 393. consists of six squadrons, when the army exceeds 40,000, *ibid.* their order of entering into action, 403. m. 407.

Classes,

Timour divides his people into XII. 205. and considers them as the 12 months, and as the 12 signs of the Zodiac, predominating over the concerns of his empire, *ibid.*

Class I. The descendants of the Prophet, theologians, doctors learned in the law, and holy men, *ibid.*

II. Persons of wisdom, deliberation, vigilance, circumspection, and aged men, *ibid.*

III. Devout and pious men (supposed to be a selection from the first class), 215, and N.

IV. Ameers, chiefs, and commanders of forces, 207.

V. Soldiers and subjects, 209.

VI. A selected number from amongst the wise and prudent, to whom secrets and the most hidden transactions were entrusted, 211.

VII. Vizzeers, secretaries and scribes,

VIII. Physicians, surgeons, astrologers, and geometricians, 213.

IX. Historians, and men of knowledge, *ibid.*

X. Holy and pious men, possessed of wisdom (supposed to be Hermits or Monks), 215, and N.

XI. Artificers of all sorts, *ibid.*

XII. Travellers, voyagers, merchants, and chiefs of Kaurruvvauns, *ibid.*

Conduct, an account of Timour's, left by him as an example to his sons and descendants, for the attaining and preserving of dominion, 158, 159. He promoted the worship of Almighty God, and always supported the Mahummudan faith, 159. ranked his people under different classes (see Classes) 159, 201. always complied with times and occasions, 161. conducted the affairs of his empire with generosity, patience, and policy, *ibid.* so regulated his government by order and discipline, that none of his subjects could aspire beyond their respective degrees, *ibid.* encouraged his officers and soldiers by his liberality, *ibid.* shared with them in all their labours and hardships, *ibid.* on his accession to the throne, abandoned ease and safety, to establish the glory of his name, 163. gained the affections of his people by justice and clemency, *ibid.* by rewards and punishments kept his subjects divided between hope and fear, 165. compassionated the lower ranks of his people, *ibid.* always gave sentence agreeably to the sacred law, *ibid.* received with kindness all who submitted to him, *ibid.* treated with esteem and veneration all persons distinguished for religion or learning, *ibid.* associated with good and learned men, intreated their support, and sought success from their prayers, 167. loved the poor, and neither oppressed nor excluded them his favour, *ibid.* attended not to malevolent insinuations, *ibid.*

ibid. made one undertaking the sole object of his attention, until it was brought to a conclusion, *ibid.* dealt not with severity towards any, nor was oppressive in any of his actions, *ibid.* enquired into the laws and regulations of ancient princes, and therefrom selected models for his own imitation, *ibid.* esteemed the great as his brethren, and the poor as his children, 169. made himself acquainted with the dispositions and wishes of the inhabitants and nobles of every country, and appointed over them governors adapted thereto, *ibid.* punished all who were guilty of oppression or cruelty, *ibid.* received all officers, of what tribe, country, or nation soever, with particular respect, 171. always repaid the value of services, *ibid.* and 199. received his enemy with kindness and liberality when he submitted, and pardoned disloyalty in consideration of valour, *ib.* peculiarly distinguished in his prosperity all those with whom he had been connected in the days of distress, 173, 199. shewed clemency to his relations, ever substituting pardon in the place of punishment, *ibid.* and N. dealt with every one according to his opinion of the person's worth, *ib.* conducted himself with caution and policy towards friends and enemies, *ibid.* honourably treated the captive who had behaved with fidelity to his master, *ibid.* and considered the soldier of the foe who deserted in the time of action, as the most detestable of men, 175. so secured his authority by regulations and order, that none had power to interpose in his government, 199. either overlooked, or bore with patience, the faults of those about him, *ibid.* buried in oblivion all past evil actions, *ibid.* never gave way to revenge, 201. ordered that all representations sent to him, all orders issued by him, and every matter debated in council to be inserted in the

narrative of his transactions, 307. expelled from his presence the wicked and seditious, *ibid.* obtained the obedience of his subjects by complacency, mercy and indulgence, *ibid.* commanded that every person who came before him, and attracted his notice, should receive honours proportionate to his rank, *ibid.* regulated his conduct by certain maxims and rules (see Maxims and rules), 221 and 335. those admitted not into his service who had been faithless to his enemies, 319. on his attaining supreme power, he conducted himself in the same manner both to friends and enemies, 323. and received his enemies who had injured and practised deceit upon him with such kindness that they blushed at their own unworthiness, *ibid.* and 325. made compensation to every one whom he had injured or distressed, and balanced his distresses by kindness and gratuities, *ibid.* and 325. considered his friends who had always adhered to him, as the partners of his fortune; and regarded not the riches and wealth he conferred upon them, 325. overcame the refractory by their own devices, 347. confined the base and abject within their proper bounds, 345. gave back the government of every country to its respective prince, and secured his obedience by kindness, 347. protected the inhabitants of every conquered kingdom from injuries, 355. and ordered the spoils taken thence to be re-taken from the spoiler, 357.

Council, general, writers of, appointed to keep a full account of all matters debated there, which were ordered to be inserted in the narrative of Timour's transactions, 307. the malevolent and evil not suffered to enter therein, 167. Timour's Ameers, chiefs, and commanders of forces admitted thereto, 207.

Council,

Council, private, persons of wisdom, deliberation, vigilance and circumspection, and aged men admitted thereto, 205. several members thereof, treacherous to Timour, 229. all matters appertaining to the imperial dignity, the appointment of officers, plans of operation &c. communicated to Timour therein, 307. secretary appointed to attend it, *ib.* See Secretary.

Counsel, one of the chief supports of empire, 7. used by Timour in all his enterprises, 9, 15. two sorts of, of the tongue, and of the heart, 13. that of the heart alone attended to by Timour, *ibid.* that rejected which caused disunion amongst his soldiers, 15. that only regarded, which was given with firmness and judgment, *ibid.*

Counsellors, those only worthy who steadfastly adhere to their determinations, 13.

Criminals, pardoned by Timour for their first offence, 219. adequately punished if they offend afterwards, *ibid.* not to be fined and corporally punished at the same time, 251.

D.

Deedbaun, *observers, people appointed to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy*, 401.

Deewaun, none to appear there in time of peace without the dress of ceremony, 297. the dress of ceremony described, *ibid.*

Deewaunbeghi, *president of the council*. 23, N. his place in the Deewaun opposite the throne, 329. his subsistence ten times as much as that of an Ameer, 235. superintends the payment of the Ameer ul Omrau, *ibid.* his office to lay before the emperor the statement of the salaries of the people, and to pay them agreeably thereto, *ibid.* m. 305.

Dervaisih, *a hermit or monk*, Timour's grand-children to be reduced to this

state when they rebel, 243. people of this profession, loved by Timour, 167. m. 89.

Designs, formed by Timour for the reduction of kingdoms, and for his conduct towards friends and enemies, &c. 3.

I. When Tughulluk Timour Khaun first invaded Mauwur u Nuhur, 19.

II. When Tughulluk invaded Mauwur u Nuhur a second time, 25.

III. When Aali Begh Choun Ghoorbauni had imprisoned him, 35.

IV. When he had escaped from Aali Begh, and was sojourning in the desert of Khauruzm, 39.

V. When he had gathered together an army, and was meditating the invasion of Mauwur u Nuhur, 45.

VI. When Kurrumseer had submitted to him, and he was collecting an army to subdue Mauwur u Nuhur, 49.

VII. When his army was increased to 313 horse-men, and he was meditating the reduction of Aulaujou, 55.

VIII. When he was opposed by the army of Jitteh, 61.

IX. When he had defeated the army of Jitteh, and was endeavouring to establish his regal power, 65.

X. When he departed to subdue the countries of Buddukhsaun, 67.

XI. When Buddukhsaun had submitted to him, and he was meditating the conquest of Khuttulaun, 69.

XII. When some of his chiefs were dissatisfied, and he was endeavouring to reconcile them, 73.

XIII. When he was opposed by Ouleaus Khaueh at the bridge of Sunghen, 77.

Designs, Timour's, for subduing Hurraut, 111. for conquering the countries of Seistaun, Kundahaur, and the land of the Oughans, 113. for vanquishing Auroos Khaun, 115. for subduing Kilaun, Jurjaun, Mauzinduraun, Azzurbauejaun, Shurwaun, Fauris and Erauk, 117. for reducing Touktumtish Khaun, 121. for conquering Bughdaud and Erauk a Arub.

- rub, 125. for extirpating Touktum-mish Khaun, 127. for reducing the empire of Hindostaun, 129. for clearing the road to Hindostaun of the Oughans, 135. for vanquishing Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, and Mulloo Khaun, 137. for reducing the country of Goorjistaun, 141. for conquering Misflur and Shaun, 145. for subduing the cities of Room, and defeating the armies of Keesur, 149.
- Drum, one, allowed to the Euzbaushee and Ounbaushee Ameers, as a military distinction, 291.
- Dusht, a large plain, or champain country.
- Duvvauleh Chouk, one horse-man to be brought from each by the Ameer of every Auloos, 309 and N.

E.

- Empire, without religion, likened to a naked man, 175. and to a house without a roof, gates, or defences, *ibid.* the offices in an earthly one, symbols of those in the heavenly, 201. it's concerns necessary to be divided amongst many, lest too much being entrusted to one, he become too powerful, 225. will decay, unless established in morality and religion, 175. it's chief support deliberation, counsel, and provident measures, 7. physicians, surgeons, and geometricians essential to it's dignity, 213.
- Eooke (Mogul) supposed to signify a watch-word, 299.
- Erzbegee, a presenter of petitions, 305, N.
- Eusqof, *Joseph*, chap. of, m. 19. the Korau opened by Timour at that place, on his seeking an omen, *ibid.*
- Euzbaushee, commander of a hundred, 229. the manner of his appointment, *ibid.* has power to appoint an Ounbaushee, 231. may be appointed by

a Mingbaushee, *ibid.* his subsistence double that of the Ounbaushee, 233. receives his subsistence under the inspection of the Mingbaushee, *ibid.* his duty not to be imposed on the Mingbaushee, 273. to be appointed Mingbaushee on his signaling himself, 275. the command of a province to be given him on his conquering an enemy, 289. his accoutrements of war, 295. his dress of ceremony in times of peace, 297. his place in the Deewaun on the left side of the throne, 329. m. 397.

F.

- Friend, useful in all places, 103. a firm, is the enemy of his friend's enemy, and fears not to hazard his life, when necessary, 325. a foolish, is worse than a wise enemy, 327. a true, is not offended at the conduct of his friend, *ibid.* and 325.
- Furraushaun, people employed to erect tents, 235. subsistence of, fixed at from 100 to 1000, *ibid.*
- Fursung, a league of about six thousand yards, 9, N.

G.

- General (or Commander), of Timour's IV. Class, 207. his place in the Deewaun on the right side of the throne, 329. admitted to Timour's private councils, 207. questions concerning the art of war &c. proposed to him by Timour, 209. to be deprived of his command, if found insufficient, 375. his duty, to reconnoitre the enemy, and compare his chiefs with those of the foe, and carefully to examine the enemy's weapons and mode of attack, 377. not to begin the engagement, till first attacked by the enemy, *ibid.* to govern the movements of his forces, and to be cool, firm, and collected within

- within himself, 379. to consider himself and his army as a wrestler, who fighteth with every part of his body, *ibid.* the manner in which he ought to attack the enemy, *ibid.* and 381. he must not be rash and precipitate, nor expose himself unnecessarily to danger, 381. his death bringeth disgrace upon the army, *ibid.* A good one numbereth the chiefs of the forces of the enemy, and appointeth proper chiefs in opposition to them, 387. pre-examineth the field of battle and order of the enemy, *ibid.* understandeth the science and discipline of war, and what measures to pursue in attacking the enemy, *ib.* comprehendeth their intentions, and counteracteth their motions and designs, *ibid.* and 269. of 40,000 horse directions for, 387, 389. his duty to watch continually the motions of the foe, and to chastize those officers, who, without orders, advance on the enemy, 391. not to pursue an enemy, who, without cause, fleeth from the field; *ibid.* Directions for his attacking the enemy, 391, 393. a treacherous, to be put to death, 321.
- Geometricians**, of Timour's VIII. Class, 213. esteemed by him as essential to the dignity of Empire, *ibid.* assisted him in planning and constructing magnificent buildings, *ib.*
- Governors**, those not fit to govern, whose authority is inferior to the power of the scourge, 241. their duty to levy fines on the guilty proportionate to their misdemeanours, 349.
- Guards** stationed at the entrance of roads, to defend the merchants and travellers, 347, 369. accountable for the value of every thing lost therein, *ib.*
- H.**
- Hermits**, (or Monks) supposed to be the holy, pious men of Timour's X. Class, 215, N. knowledge of a future state acquired from them, *ibid.* delight and satisfaction reaped from their conversation and working of miracles, *ibid.*
- Hijrut**, or Hijreh, *the Mahummudan Era*, commencing A. D. 622, m. 153.
- Historians**, of Timour's IX. Class, 213. treated with esteem and veneration by him, 165. his knowledge of history and geography acquired from them, *ibid.*
- Hooram Surrai**, *Soraglio*, a lady of Timour's, receives the donation of 12 years of life from 12 Siuds, 207.
- Hospital**, Timour orders one for the sick to be built in every town and city, 371. a physician appointed to attend it, *ibid.*
- Hunter Dr.** his MS. fragment of *the Life of Timour written by himself*, refutes an assertion of Ibn Arabshaah, 25, N.
- Hurrauwul**, *the advanced Guard*, 79. in an army of 12,000 consists of one squadron, 373. first opposed to the enemy, 391.
- *Grand, the Grand Vanguard*, 389. in an army of 40,000 consists of six squadrons, 399. their order of entering into action, 401. supported by the Chuppauwul, 403.
- a *Burraunghaur, the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403.
- a *Jurraunghaur, the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403.
- a *Chuppauwul, the advanced guard of the front line of the right wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 391.
- a *Shuckauwul, the advanced guard of the front line of the left wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.*

- ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 391.
- a Hurrauwwul, *the advanced guard of the advanced guard*, 399. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* begin the action, 401.
- Husband-man, The, not possessed of the implements of agriculture, to be furnished therewith, 219. supplies to be granted to the distressed, that he may be enabled to cultivate his ruined lands, 369. superintendants appointed to watch over him and the cultivated lands, 371.
- Huft and Bood, *some regulation for collecting certain duties*, 367.
- Huvvaui and Baudi, the third Vizzeer in every country to take possession of their revenues, 371. See Saur.
- I.
- Immaum, *a priest or prelate*.
- Immaumut, *the office of Immaum*. Aali appointed successor to it, 185.
- Intelligence, concerning foreign princes and countries, transmitted to Timour by 1000 swift camel-men, 1000 horse-men and 1000 foot-men whom he selected for that purpose, *ibid.* also by travellers, whom he encouraged for the same, 215. and by merchants and chiefs of Kauruvvauns, 217.
- writer of, an officer appointed by Timour in every place, to send him a full account of all things transacted therein, 349, 351. how punished for giving false accounts, 351.
- Islam, religion of, *the same as the Mahummudan*, m. 175, 177, 179, 183, 189, 193, 197. See Religion.
- J.
- Jaugheer, *a royal grant of certain lands; or more properly, an assignment of the crown-revenues of a certain district to any one, and revocable at the pleasure of the prince*, 239, N.
- Jaugheerdaur, *the holder of a Jaugheer*, 239, N. his conduct inspected by two supervisors, *ibid.* the state of his province to be inspected after three years, *ibid.* to be deprived of it, and his subsistence, for 3 years, if the inhabitants are dissatisfied, 241.
- Jaumeh, *an upper coat*, a part of the dress of ceremony of the Ameers, &c. 297.
- Judge, one, appointed in every city and town, 177.
- one, established for the army, 177.
- one, for the subjects, *ibid.*
- one, in equity, appointed by Timour, to transmit to him all matters of litigation, 179.
- ecclesiastical, (and the Suddur) ordered to lay before Timour; from time to time, all the ecclesiastical affairs of the empire, 179. and to decide on cases determinable by the sacred law, 253.
- civil, his office to lay before Timour those cases which were not determinable by the sacred law, *ibid.*
- Judges, their place in the Deewaun on the right side of the throne, 329.
- Jurraunghaur, *the rear line of the left wing*, 389. consists of 3 squadrons in an army of 12,000, *ibid.* of six squadrons in an army of 40,000, p. 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403. reserves of, those related to the imperial family, 405. who when the commander of the Jurraunghaur fails in his duty, must advance to the assault, *ibid.*
- Jurreeb, *a certain land-measure*. Restricted lands, divided into first, second and third Jurreeb, when the subject was dissatisfied with the mode of collection, 365.
- the estimation of the produce of the first, second, and third, *ibid.* hands depending on rain, divided into, *ibid.*

Juffauwullaun, *probably some particular order of soldiers*, m. 235. subsistence of, established at from 1000 to 10,000, *ibid.* were payed yearly together with the infantry &c. in the hall of audience, 237.

K.

Kauruvvauns, m. 95, 97, 153. their departure and arrival, registered by Timour's writers of intelligence, 351.

———— Chiefs of, appointed by Timour to travel into different countries, to bring back merchandize, and to inform him of the situation, manners, and customs of the inhabitants, 215, 217.

Kauruvvaunfurai, *buildings for the reception of travellers*, ordered to be built in every road at the distance of a stage from each other, and people appointed to reside there, 369.

Keefur, *title of the Turkish emperors*, 131.

Khaun, *a prince or emperor*, 283.

Khaukaun, *title of the King of Toorkistaun*, 131.

Khaunch, *a house*, 309.

Khillaufut, *the office of Khalif*, m. 187.

Khirgauh, *a Tartar tent or hut*, 309.

Khulleefeh, *a successor of Mahummud*, m. 257. the Fourth Khulleefeh, a question proposed to him, 17. his answer, *ibid.* N.B. This Fourth is Aali, who is elsewhere stiled first successor of Mahummud. His being called both first and fourth, is occasioned by the different sects of Mahummudans, some holding that Aali was the first, others that Aboo Bukkur, Omar, and Osamaun preceded him. Timour was of this latter sect, who are called Sunnites.

Khutbeh, *a discourse read by the Mullas on fridays in the Mosques, in which the prince then reigning is prayed for.* Aljanitoo Sooktaun orders the names of the successors of Mahummud to be recited therein, 195.

King, A, ought not speedily to degrade the servant whom he hath exalted, nor to neglect those whom he knoweth or remembreth, 317. but if he chance unjustly to disgrace a faithful servant, he ought to confer double honour upon him, *ibid.* his duty to extirpate the authors of tyranny and oppression from every kingdom, 331, 333. ought to establish the true faith, by invading those countries wherein it is neglected, *ibid.* his duty to invade a kingdom divided by factions, and heresies, 335. — twelve Maxims necessary for every one to adhere to, 221. See Maxims.

Kings, nothing more worthy their valour than conquering kingdoms and empires, and waging holy war with infidels, 141. Timour obtained the Thrones of twenty seven, 163.

Koollauh, *a cap*, part of the dress of ceremony, 297.

Koornish, not to be given to the soldiers who turn their backs in battle, 277.

Kootwaul, one appointed in each quarter of Timour's camp, 301. his office, *ibid.*

Koraun, Timour seeks an omen in it concerning his submitting to Tughulluk Timour Khaun, 19. concerning his attacking the army of the Jetes, 75. concerning his taking the absolute command, 89. concerning his invading Hindostaun, 133, m. 101.

Kotul, a person appointed to succeed on the death or dismissal of an officer, 75.

Koul, *the main body*, 389. when to enter into action, 393, 403. order of the troops near it, 397, 399.

———— of Yeldurum Bauezzeed; attacked by Aboo Bukkur, 407.

———— of Timour, penetrated to by Shaah Munsoor, *ibid.*

Kulckee, twelve thousand men of the sword, cantoned in and about the palace, 299.

Kulluck-

- Kulluckcheaun, *probably some particular order of soldiers*, m. 235. subsistence of, established at from 1000 to 10,000, *ibid.* payed yearly, together with the infantry, &c. in the hall of audience, 237.
- Kullung, *a military mark of distinction*, 291.
- Kummur, *a belt or girdle*, 291.
- Kuraumuteh, *a sect founded by Kuramut in the third century of the Hij.* They seize the city of Mecca under Aboo Tahir, 185.
- Kurrauwul, plur. Kurrauwulaun, *light troops, or scouts*, 65, 401. negligence of, occasions Timour's being surprized by Ouleaus Khaujeh, 65. bring intelligence to him of the army of Ameer Hoossein, 103. are stationed on each side of the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul, 401.
- Beghs, *commanders of the Kurrawulaun*, *ibid.*
- Kushoon, *a body of military men something less than the Youmaun*, 29, N. Plur. Kushoons, and Kushoonaut, m. 85, 323.
- M.
- Maulaumauni, *imposts, or duties*, 237, and N.
- Maxims XII; necessary for every prince to adhere to, 221.
- I. To make it evident to all his subjects, that his words and actions are his own, and that none else hath influence therein, *ibid.* to hear the counsel of all, but not to be so far guided thereby, as to make them his equals in the concerns of government, *ibid.*
- II. To adhere steadfastly to justice in all his actions, and to employ virtuous and just ministers, *ibid.*
- III. To act with such resolution and firmness in his commands, that none may presume to violate them, 223.
- IV. To persist invariably in his determinations, till they are brought to a conclusion, *ibid.*
- V. To enforce obedience to his commands, whatever be the result, *ibid.*
- VI. Not to trust the concerns of government, or his authority, to any one, 225.
- VII. To attend to the opinions of his servants, and to select what is good therefrom, 227.
- VIII. To be cautious and circumspect in forming his determinations; not suffering himself to be influenced by the information of his officers concerning any one, until the truth be proved, *ibid.*
- IX. To so impress the majesty of his dominion on the hearts of his subjects, that none may presume to disobey his commands, *ibid.*
- X. To adhere to that which he sayeth; his word being the most valuable of all things, *ibid.*
- XI. To consider himself as single and sole governor; not allowing any one to become his associate, 229.
- XII. To make himself acquainted with the manners and dispositions of his courtiers and favourites, and to be very cautious in whom he reposeth confidence, *ibid.*
- Maxims IV. steadfastly adhered to by Timour in his reduction of kingdoms, 335.
- I. To enter upon every enterprize with deep deliberation, and mature counsel, *ibid.*
- II. To use policy and circumspection in executing his designs, 337. to inform himself of the dispositions and genius of the natives of every country; and to accommodate himself to their prejudices in the appointment of their governors, *ibid.*
- III. To gain the affections and attachment of a select part of his Nobility, *ibid.* See Amceers.
- IV. Always to act with expedition, except when delay was policy; and with severity or lenity, as occasion required. Never to commit to the sword what might otherwise be effected.

- fects. To spend the day in examining the difficulties of conquest with wise and experienced men, and the night in deliberating, and forming the plan for the execution of his resolutions, 339.
- Mendicants, subsistence allowed them by Timour, 349, 361. to be sold, or expelled his dominions, if, after receiving this subsistence, they continued to ask alms, 361.
- Meer Toozuk, *regulators, masters of the ceremonies*, 331, and N.
- Mingbaushce, *leader of a thousand*, the manner of his appointment, 231. appoints the Euzbaushce, *ib.* his subsistence three times as much as that of the Euzbaushce, 233. receives his pay under the inspection of the Ameer ul Omrau, *ibid.* the interior districts allotted for his subsistence, 237. to be appointed Ameer on his signaling himself, 275. to be appointed lord of a principality on his defeating the forces of his antagonist, 289. his accoutrements of war, 295. his dress of ceremony, 297. his place in the Dsewaun, on the left side of the throne, 329. *m.* 273, 397.
- Minister. See Vizzeer.
- Miskaul, *an arabic drachm, the 12th part of an ounce*, *m.* 365.
- Mogul words, distinguished from the Persian by an asterisk in this edition, 3, N.
- Monastery, one, ordered by Timour to be built in every city, 179.
- Mosque, one, ordered to be built in every town by Timour, 371.
- Mozeh, *boots*, part of the dress of ceremony of the Ameer, 291.
- Musjid (or Mosque) the imperial, the theologians assembled there by Al-jauitoo Sooktaun, 189. *m.* 193.
- N.
- Niccaureh, *a kind of kettle-drum*, 283, and N.
- Nooyaun, *a prince or descendant of a prince*, 23, N.
- Nouniaun, *of the same signification as the preceeding*, 329.
- Nuffeer, *a sort of trumpet*, a military distinction allowed to the Mingbaushce Ameer, 291.
- O.
- Omens, sought for by Timour previous to all his undertakings, 19. one, drawn from the Korau, concerning his submission to Tughulluk Timour Khaun, *ibid.* concerning his attacking the Jetes, 75. concerning his taking the absolute sovereignty, 89. concerning his expedition against Hindostaun, 183.
- Ounbaushce, *commander of ten*, 229. the manner of his appointment *ib.* upon the death of a soldier has power to appoint another in his place, 231. may be appointed by the Euzbaushce, *ibid.* his subsistence ten times as much as that of the common soldier, 233. receives it under the inspection of the Euzbaushce, *ibid.* his duty not to be imposed on the Euzbaushce, 273. to be appointed Euzbaushce on his signaling himself, 275. the government of a city to be conferred upon him on his vanquishing an enemy, 289. his accoutrements of war, 295. his dress of ceremony, in time of peace, 297. his place in the Dsewaun on the left side of the throne, 329. *m.* 397.
- Ouyemaik, *a Tartar herd, or tribe*, 399, &c.
- P.
- Paiskhaneh, *the tent, or set of tents, of a prince; which on a march are sent forward, and erected against his arrival at every stage*, 385, N.
- Peet, *a kind of gossly fasher*, 5, N.
- Timour's Peet, his name and character, *ibid.* his letters to Timour; concerning

- concerning government, 5. concerning his seeking protection from Tughulluk Timour Khaun, 17. concerning his being appointed by the theologians Supporter of the Mahummudan faith, 197. concerning the proper administration of empire, 201. concerning the prosperity of wicked men and tyrants; their certain destruction; and why the just sometimes suffer calamities, 341, 343. concerning Mullik Gheaus u deen, 113. concerning Timour's invasion of Erauk, 125.
- Philosophers, treated with esteem and veneration by Timour, 165.
- Physicians, of Timour's VIII. Class, 213. essential to the dignity of empire, *ibid.* salaries appointed by Timour for those who attended the hospitals, 371.
- Plan, Timour rejected every one in which the hazard was two-fold, and chose that where the peril was single, 11. always acted on one which was uniform and good, *ibid.*
- Poor, accommodated by Timour agreeably to their situations, 219. almshouses ordered to be built for them in every town and city, 369.
- R.
- Rebellion, punished, in Timour's sons, by imprisonment, 233. in his relations, by confiscation of their estates, *ibid.* in others, sometimes by death; but not hastily inflicted, 245.
- Region, or Climate, the fifth and sixth conquered by Timour, 129. m. 131.
- Regulation, Timour's, concerning the division of his people into Classes, 205. concerning those tribes which submitted to him, 217. for the forming his army, 229. the payment of his forces, 231. the distribution of provinces and districts, 237. the maintenance of his children and descendants, 241. the punishments of his children, grand-children, relations, chiefs and ministers, 243, 245. the payment of his ministers and superior officers, 253, 269. the promoting and rewarding his soldiers, 275. the conferring honours and rewards on his Ameers, soldiers, and subjects, 283. concerning the arms and necessaries of soldiers, 293. the honours of the Niccaureh and Standard, 291. concerning the imperial guards, with rules to be observed in the Presence, in times of war and peace, 297. the departments of Vizzeers, 301. the governments of the Ameers of Auloofaut, Kushoonaut, and Toumaunaut, 307. the behaviour of servants towards their prince, and of the prince towards his servants, 313. concerning his own conduct towards friends and enemies, 323. precedency and admission to the imperial presence, 327. the reduction of kingdoms, 331. the obtaining of intelligence and information of the state of all his dominions and subjects, 349. the conduct to be observed towards the people of every country, 355. the shrines of saints and fathers, and concerning gifts and pious donations, *ibid.* taxes, the cultivation, population, and police of the empire, 361. war, 373. the arrangement of Timour's superior armies, 385. twelve military regulations mentioned, *ibid.*
- Religion, adherence to, and encouragement of, the chief support of empire, 159. the basis of all grandeur and power in an empire, 175. Mahummudan, the established religion of Timour's empire, *ibid.* its promulgation and support, Timour's first regulation, 177. Timour proclaimed its Restorer and Supporter by the theologians, and declared to be so appointed by God, 183. a propagator of, sent in every century by the Almighty, *ibid.* the foundation of Timour's power kept firm by it, 197. teachers

- teachers of, appointed by Timour in every city, 179. and salaries granted them, 357.
- Robbers, wherever found, or by whomsoever detected, to be put to death, 251.
- Rujjub, the 7th month of the Mahummudan year, 153.
- Rules, Twelve, established by Timour for the support of his glory and empire, 159.
- I. To promote the worship of God, and to propagate the Mahummudan faith throughout the world, *ibid.*
 - II. To consider his people as divided into XII. different classes, and to assign them suitable stations, *ibid.*
 - III. To use counsel, deliberation, and provident measures; and to comply with times and occasions, 161.
 - IV. To regulate the concerns of his empire by order and discipline, *ibid.*
 - V. To reward liberally his officers and soldiers, *ibid.*
 - VI. To gain by justice and equity the affections of his people, *ibid.*
 - VII. To treat with profound respect men of learning and religion, 165.
 - VIII. To make one business the sole object of his attention, till accomplished; and to regulate his conduct by the good example and institutions of former princes, 167.
 - IX. To make himself perfectly acquainted with the circumstances and situations of all his subjects, and to appoint over them governors adapted to their manners and wishes, 169.
 - X. To receive all who submitted to him with distinction and respect, and to honour them according to their different degrees, stations, and merits, 171.
 - XI. To treat with distinguished favour his relations, and those whom he had known in the days of his adversity, 173.
 - XII. To hold in high esteem his soldiers; and to honour those of the enemy who had behaved with bravery

and fidelity to their prince, *ibid.*

S.

- Sauhebaun, a sort of upper roof for the tent &c. 295 and N, 297.
- Saur and Huvvauee, the Vizzeer of, his office, 297.
- Sawurghaul, pl. Sawurghaulaut, a grant from the crown of lands or revenues to be enjoyed for ever by the possessor and his heirs, 305, and N.
- School, one, ordered by Timour to be built in every city, 309.
- Secretary, confidential, appointed by Timour to minute down all secret transactions and deliberations, 307.
- Shuckauwul, the front line of the right wing, 389. consists of 3 squadrons in an army of 12,000, *ibid.* of 6 in an army of 40,000, p. 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403.
- Siuds, descendants of Mahummud, of Timour's III. Class; seventy, massacred by the Ouzbaks, 27. prayers of, implored by Timour, 205. their blessings, supplicated by him on his actions, *ibid.* the greatest advantage reaped from their mediation, 207. victories obtained through their prayers, *ibid.* an instance thereof, *ibid.* twelve holy, restore one of Timour's wives to health for 12 years, each giving her a year of his own existence, *ibid.*
- Sländer, many people lovers of it, 229.
- Soldiers, equally regarded as the subjects by Timour, 209. kept in readiness, and their wages advanced to them before they were due, *ibid.* confined to their respective stations, *ibid.* those rewarded who signalized themselves, *ib.* those of the enemy, incorporated with Timour's troops on their submission, 217. descendants of, enrolled amongst the imperial forces, and promoted according to their conduct, 219. ten distinguished, appoint the Ounbaufhee, 229. subsistence

tence of, fixed at the value of their horses, 233. subsistence of the foot, fixed at from 100 to 1000, *ibid.* a written order for their subsistence to be delivered to each, 235. the foot, paid yearly, and the horse, half-yearly, *ibid.* on their being guilty of oppression, to be delivered into the hands of the oppressed, 251. to be promoted to the rank of Ounbau-shee, on their first signaling themselves, 275. their firmness and spirit to be considered, *ibid.* Koornish not to be given to those who turn their backs in battle, 277. those to be pardoned, who flee from absolute necessity, or who are struck with a panic, *ibid.* their wounds to be considered as proofs of their valour, and they to be rewarded accordingly, *ibid.* their rights not to be invaded, *ibid.* not to be deprived of their rank and pay, when advanced in years, *ibid.* the aged warriors to be treated with honour, their counsel to be regarded, and themselves to be considered as the ornaments of the empire, 279. their sons to succeed to their dignity and station, *ibid.* those taken in battle, not put to death by Timour, *ibid.* received into his service, if they consented; if not, were set at liberty, *ibid.* those treated by Timour with honour and confidence, who after behaving faithfully to their Prince, left him through necessity, *ibid.* and 317. their habiliments of war, 293, 295, 297. character of the good and faithful, 313, 315, 317, 319. any one quitting his master in time of peace, may be received by another, 319. the glory of him who defeateth his enemy, to be exhibited in a ten-fold light, and himself to be promoted for the encouragement of others, 321. he to be presented as a gift to the foe, who opposeth his master's interest, and leagueth with the

enemy, *ibid.* his duty to bear lightly the shock of the enemy's attack, and to stand firm and patient, 377. to be rewarded with a Kullung, or embroidered Autaukeh, with a horse, sword, and belt, on his distinguishing himself, 291. the insinuations of the envious not to be heard against a valiant one, 321. one of tried magnanimity more valuable than a thousand who want discretion, 7. those prohibited Timour's service, who had been faithless to his enemies, 319. to be received with honour, on their spontaneous return to their master after desertion, 317.

Subordination, neglect of, causeth corruption and violence, 203.

Suddur, or Sedr, his authority, 177, N. appointed by Timour to watch over the conduct of others, to regulate the manners of the times, and to appoint superiors in holy offices, and to ordain pensions &c, *ibid.* ordered to lay before Timour all ecclesiastical affairs, 179, 305.

Supna, *the traditions of Mahummud, which by the orthodox Moslems are considered as a supplement to the Koraun, and of equal authority*, 185.

Supervisors, two appointed by Timour to every province on which a royal assignment was granted, 239. their office, *ibid.*

— one appointed by the Suddur to inspect the weights and measures, 177.

Surgeons, of Timour's VII. Class, 213. essential to the dignity of empire, *ibid.*

Surmozeh, *a sort of leathern clog covering the foot of the boot*, a part of the dress of ceremony of the Ameer's &c. 207.

Sword, one tenth of the requisites for conducting the affairs of dominion, 7. far inferior to policy, *ibid.* nothing to be committed to it, which can otherwise be effected, 339.

Taxes,

T.

Taxes, the poll and house, not to be levied on any town, 349. old ones, to be continued, if agreeable to the subjects of any reduced kingdom, 363. to be determined according to the fertility and quantity of cultivated lands, *ibid.* equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the produce, if the lands were watered by perpetual springs, *ibid.* value always fixed according to the value of the necessaries of life, *ibid.* equal to half the produce of the land, divided into Jurreebs, 365. equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the lands depending on rain, *ibid.* not to be collected before the gathering in of the grain, 367. may be collected by threats, but not by actual punishment, 241. a gatherer of, not to be appointed, if the subject pay spontaneously, 367.

— on herbs &c. determined according to the ancient practice, 367. to be settled according to the Hust and Bood, when the subjects are dissatisfied, *ibid.* collected at three different times after harvest, *ibid.* not settled till three years after the first cultivation of waste lands, and then determined according to the Regulations, *ibid.*

Theologians, of Timour's I. Class, 205. their place in the Deewaun on the right side of the throne, 329. treated by Timour with esteem and veneration, 165. access to him granted them at all times, *ibid.* questions proposed to them by him concerning things lawful and forbidden, 205. those of the enemy received with reverence, on their submission, 217, 357. pensions, salaries, and subsistence allowed them by Timour, 235, 357. they decree Timour to be the Restorer and Promoter of the Mahumudan faith, 181. selections from the works of former ones, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195. were as-

sembled by Aljaitoo Sooltaun, 189. decreed that prayers were due to the descendants of Mahummud, *ibid.* their decree concerning Aljaitoo Sooltaun, 195. concerning Timour, *ibid.*

Toghe; one, to be allowed to the Mingbauhee Ameer, 291. See Cher Toghe.

Toork or Tauchek, explained in N, 217. m. 171, 323.

Toorki language (or Mogul) Timour writes in it to Ameer Hoooffein, 103.

Toumaun, a military fief capable of sending forth 10,000 fighting men; it also signifies that number of men collected together, 23, N.

Travellers, of Timour's XII. Class, 215. structures built for them in every road, 179. encouraged by Timour to bring intelligence concerning foreign nations, 215.

Tumghau, Soldier's pay, 309, N.

Tyrant, his prosperity not to be ascribed to his merit, 341. the causes of the long duration of his power, *ibid.* dominion rather continued to an infidel than to him, *ibid.* the cause of his increasing prosperity, 343.

U.

Universe, The, preserved from confusion by the deity's being absolute alone, 89.

V.

Victory obtained by the divine favour, not by greatness of armies, 7. Timour's ascribed by him to the aid of the Almighty, 7, 35, 39, 127. obtained by the prayers of devout and pious men, 207. foretold to Timour by a voice from heaven, 79. hidden by the curtain of fate, 145.

Vizzeers, of Timours VII. Class, 211. the most respectable and confidential of the servants of royalty, 245. their place

place in the Deewaun opposite the throne, 329. their subsistence ten times as much as that of the Ameers, 235. their office to lay before the emperor the affairs of his whole government, 211. to keep the treasury rich, *ibid.* to inspect the revenues and expences of government, *ibid.* not to be hastily punished, when accused of treachery, 245. their punishment, when guilty of speculation, 247, 249. are a class of men who have many enemies, 249. are betrayed by those they patronize, and opposed by those they neglect, *ibid.*

Four qualities necessary for Vizzeers,

- I. Firmness and generosity.
- II. Understanding and sagacity,
- III. A capacity of conciliating mens affections.
- IV. Patience under difficulties.

Pre-eminence to be conferred on such ministers by confidence, esteem, discretionary power, and authority, 253, 257. — to be stiled *Lords of the sword and pen*, upon their conquering or preserving a kingdom, 265. to be expelled from their office, if they say evil of others, and endeavour to ruin the good and virtuous, 255. their office not to be conferred on the wicked and revengeful, *ibid.* nor on persons of mean birth, 257.

Vizzeer, a bad, causeth the destruction of his master's power, 223, 259, 267.

—— a wise, he who useth mildness and severity in moderation, 259.

—— a perfect, who never giveth way to revenge, *ibid.*

—— an intelligent and sagacious, who acteth with circumspection and policy, 261.

—— an experienced and active, who attendeth to the population and cultivation of the country, and hazardeth his fortune and life in the service of his master, *ibid.*

—— a virtuous, whose good quali-

ties exceed his failings, 263.

—— a skilful and able, who hath capacity to divide or unite the power of armies, and to sow divisions amongst the enemies of his master, 265. four appointed to attend the imperial Deewaun, subordinate to the Deewaunbeghee, 301, 307.

—— I. of the country and the subject, his office, 303.

—— II. of the armies, his office, *ibid.*

—— III. of the Saur and Huvvau, his office, *ibid.*

—— IV. of the imperial house-hold, his office, 305.

—— Three, appointed over the frontiers, and the demesnes of the crown, *ibid.* subordinate to the Deewaunbeghee, *ibid.*

—— Three, to be stationed in every country, 371. their offices, &c. *ibid.*

W.

Wicked and seditious, expelled by Timour from his presence, 201.

Word, nothing so valuable to princes as having a just veneration for it, 227. equal to a family of princes and a rich treasury, *ibid.* maketh numerous subjects and powerful armies, *ibid.*

Y.

Yettool, a royal grant. See Jaughser.

Yole Bolishun, a Mogul expression, used by Timour to Ouleaus Khaujeh, 83.

Yuslawwallaun, a sort of guards or messengers, their subsistence established at from 1000, to 10,000, p. 235. paid yearly, together with the infantry &c. in the hall of audience, 237.

—— chief of, stationed at the door of the imperial pavilion, 329.

The Names of the principal Persons and Places mentioned in this Work, according to the different Orthography of Mr. DAVY, and MONSIEUR PETIS DE LA CROIX; accommodated to the Use of those who wish to compare the different Accounts.

LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.	LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.
A.		Candahar	Kundahaur.
Abbas	Ubbaus.	Cannoudge	Kunnouj.
Aboubecre	Aboo Bukkur.	Capchac	Kipjauk.
Akitimur	Eekoo Timour.	Cara	Kurraû.
Aleppo	Hullub.	Carezm	Khauruzm.
Ali	Aali.	Carfchi	Kurthee.
Anatolia	Room.	Caratchar	Kurrauchaur.
Azad	Auzaid.	Catlan	Khuttûlaun.
Azerbaijane	Azzurbauejaun.	Cazagan	Kurgun.
B.		Cazanchi	Kurraunchee.
Bagdad	Bughdaud.	Cayafeddin	Gheaus u deen.
Bajazet	Keefur.	Chahmanfour	Shaah Munfoor.
Balc	Bullukh.	Charoc	Shaarokh.
Barcoc	Burkook.	Cheik	Sheikh.
Bedakchan	Buddukthaun.	Chekidgek	Chuckchuck.
Bei	Begh.	Chir	Share.
Berlas	Burlaus.	Chiras	Sbarauze.
Bocara	Bokhaura.	Chirkunt	Sharekund.
C.		Chirouan	Shurwaun.
Cabul	Kaubil.	Cogende	Khojjund.
Cabulchah	Kaubil Shaah.	Coja	Khaujeh.
Cachmir	Kufhmeer.	Condoz	Kunduz.
Can	Khaun.	Coraffane	Khoraufaun.
		Cotan	Khuttun.
		Cotluc	Kuttulug.
		D.	
		Damascus	Dummissik.

Deli

LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.	LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.
Deli	— Dehli.	Kerbela	— Kurbullau.
Diarbekir	— Deaur a Bukkur.	Ketuer	— Kuttoor.
		Kirman	— Kurmaun.
		Kivac	— Khiook.
	E.		
Egypt	— Missur.		M.
Elias	— Ouleaus.		
Emessa	— Hums.	Macan	— Maukhaun.
Emir	— Ameer.	Mahmoud	— Muhmud.
Enderabe	— Anduraub.	Mahomet	— Mahummud.
Erlat	— Aurlaut.	Malatia	— Mulluteah.
		Malek	— Mullik.
	F.	Mazenderan	— Mauzinduraun.
		Mellou Can	— Mulloo Khaun.
Fars	— Fauris.	Mir	— Ameer.
		Miranchah	— Meeraun Shaah.
		Mirza	— Ameer Zaudeh.
	G.	Mobarekchah	— Mubbauruk Shaah.
		Mouffa	— Moofi.
Gehanghir	— Jehaungheer.	Muaid	— Muviud.
Gelair	— Jullaur.		
Georgia	— Goorjistaun.		N.
Gete	— Jitteh.		
Ghengis Can	— Chungauze Khaun.	Nevian	— Nooyaun.
Gihon	— Jihoon.		
			O.
	H.	Oladgia Itou	— Aljauitoo.
Hadgi	— Haujee.	Olagiai	— Aljaiè.
Herat	— Hurraut.	Olatchou	— Aulaujou.
Houlacou Can	— Hullaukoo Khaun.	Oluc	— Allugh.
Huffein	— Hooffein.	Oughanian	— Afghaun, and Oughan.
		Ourous Can	— Auroos Khaun.
	I.	Oxus	— Jihoon.
Irac Agemi	— Erauk a Ajjum.		
Irac Arabi	— Erauk a Arrub.		P.
Ispahan	— Isfahaun.	Poulad	— Boulau.
	K.		S.
Kech	— Kufh.		
Kei Cofru	— Ki Khiffero.	Saddic	— Suddleuk.
			Samarcande

LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.	LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.
Samarcande	— Summurkund.		U.
Sebaste	— Seewaus.		
Sultan	— Sooltaun.	Uzbek	— Ouzbuk.
Syria	— Shaum.		V.
	T.		
Tauris	— Tubburaze.	Veli	— Aali.
Tekil	— Tukkul.		.
Termed	— Turmuz.		Y.
Timur	— Timour.		
Timur Bec	{ Abu'l Munfoor	Yakou	— Jaukoo.
	{ Timour, and A-	Youfef	— Eufoof.
	{ meer Timour.		
Tocatmich	— Touktummish.		Z.
Tocluc	— Tughulluk.		
Touchi	— Jouji.		
Tranfoxiane	— Mauwur u Nuhur.	Zagataie	— Chugtauee.

S P E C I M E N S
O F
C O M P O S I T I O N
I N. T H E
P E R S I A N L A N G U A G E.

See the P R E F A C E.

The Exordium of JAUMI'S Poem, entitled,
Euseef and Zoelleikha.

IN the name of him whose name is the refuge of the Souls
of the faithful;
Whose praise is the ornament of eloquent tongues.
The most high, the only God, the eternal, the omniscient;
He who bestoweth strength and *power* on the feeble *and the*
helpless.

From the repository of his beneficence proceeds the autumnal
gale,

Which bespangles with gold the carpet of the garden.

It is his presence that enflameth the orb of day,

From whence every atom derives its light.

Should he hide his countenance from the two great luminaries
of the world,

Their *mighty* spheres would descend quick into the area of an-
nihilation.

From the vault of heaven to the centre of the earth,

Which ever way we direct our thought and imagination ;

Whether we descend, or hasten upwards,

We shall not discover one atom uninfluenced by his power.

Wisdom is confounded in the contemplation of his essence ;

The investigation of his ways exceeds the powers of man.

The angels blush at their want of comprehension ;

And the heavens are astonished at their own motion.



A PRAYER directed by the BRAHMINS to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the *Sanskrit* Language, and translated by C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esq; from a Persian Version of *Dara Shikoo*, a Son of *Shah Jehan*, Emperor of Hindostan.

O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy Majesty and in thy Displeasure. I reverence thy Arrows, which convey destruction; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou bestowest joy, and dost away all sins.

O THOU, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, dispel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful and defend them from harm: and grant that I may remain secure under thy guardianship and protection. Thou art the great Physician of Physicians! heal thou my infirmities; disperse my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

I REVE-

I REVERENCE thee in the Sun, which is thy Image, whilst it scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the universe; whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness; nor less when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turn away that anger from me. I reverence him who is the source of joy to living creatures, whose nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increase of age. — To Him and all that springs from Him I owe reverence and honour.

O RUDER, string thy bow to defend me from all my open or secret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to destroy them. When thou hast destroyed my enemies and unstrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art rejoiced; then grant that I likewise may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needest not to string the bow, nor to sharpen the points of arrows. Thou needest not the sword like other swords, to accomplish thy purposes. O thou who canst fulfil desires, whose designs no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every side, and drive my enemies far from me.

O RUDER, thy arm is like shining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All causes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cause of causes. Thou art space. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beasts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the Guide. Every light that shines is thy light. Thou enterest into all: thou sustaineest all.

O PUNISHER of those who go astray, O Lord of life, O purest of Beings! terrify not thy creatures, strike them not, destroy them not: nor let even one of them suffer pain from thee. O thou, who givest strength to the feeble, and medicines to the sick; grant me thy support, that I may enjoy health and

live. O R U D E R, turn my understanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beseech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beast, in quiet and security. Preserve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with sickness: do thou, R U D E R, give them health, and drive diseases far from them. We all come before thee in supplication. Grant unto us all those blessings, which our fathers asked of thee for us, when they were desirous of bringing us into existence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in sacrifice and prayer unto thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou source of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wantest nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employest thy arms for my security, who hast thousands of thousands of weapons; scatter my enemies, and destroy them: for thou, R U D E R, art supreme in every part of nature. Exert for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth: which shew themselves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various species of living creatures, in the waters, and in food provided for the support of life. Thou, who destroyest all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidst the guardians of the highways and in the places of worship; in all thou art the infinite R U D E R: in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to disarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the East, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the West, and ten times toward the North, I bow myself before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid that I may enjoy health and see the destruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the East, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the West, ten times toward the North, and ten times with my eyes on Heaven above, I bow myself before thy aerial and heavenly powers, whose arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that

I may

I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Every one of these is RUDER; whose infinite power I reverence: RUDER, whose fullness is in all. All that has been, it is He. All that is, it is He. All that shall be, it is He.

The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the Judger Bede: to which it may be curious to subjoin a Description of RUDER, to whom it is addressed, as contained in another sacred Book, intitled the Atherbun Bede.

THE Angels having assembled themselves in Heaven before RUDER, made obeisance and asked him, O RUDER, what art thou? RUDER replied, were there any other, I would describe myself by similitude. I always was, I always am, and always shall be. There is no other, so that I can say to you, I am like Him. In this Me is the inward essence, and the exterior substance of all things. I am the primitive cause of all. All things that exist in the East, or West, or North, or South, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are transcendent. I am truth. I am the spirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four BEDES.* I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the first, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpose do I exist, that whosoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all books, and all their ordinances. And whosoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will understand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to those who practise virtue, will I give fullness and tranquillity.

RUDER having pronounced these words to the Angels, was absorbed in his own brightness.

* The sacred Writings of the Hindoos in the *Sanscrit* language.

THE foregoing Specimens I intended to have introduced by an Essay of some extent on the great importance and utility of the Persian Language, and by a Proposal for establishing a Persian Professorship in the University of Oxford. But having since met with a pamphlet of much merit, written some years ago by Governor HASTINGS, directed to the same object, I have thought it unnecessary to prosecute my design.

Whilst I was engaged in writing the intended Essay and Proposal, I received from Mr. DAVY, in answer to my repeated enquiries, the following LETTER: which places the importance of the Persian Language for transacting the Company's affairs in India, in so clear and just a light; is founded throughout on such striking facts; and supported and illustrated with so many judicious observations and remarks; that I conceived it to be highly worthy the attention of the East India Company, and of the Gentlemen in their service. Impressed with this idea, notwithstanding I afterwards relinquished my original design, I determined, if possible, to lay the Letter before the Public: but as it was communicated for my private use only, Mr. DAVY's approbation was necessary for the purpose; which, at my particular solicitation, he has been pleased to grant.



Gloucester, Sept. 24. 1779.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

IN compliance with your repeated applications, I have at length taken up my pen, with a determination to reply as fully as possible to all your Enquiries.

“I CANNOT communicate any “important facts of times or places, when and where a want of knowledge of the Persian in the servants of the Company has been attended with particular disadvantage to their affairs *in a political point of view* :” one only, supported by proof, occurs to my memory, of which I shall shortly take notice. Such facts, in their full extent at least, have not lately existed ; because, for some years past, a few gentlemen have been found tolerably well qualified to act as Persian interpreters in the transaction of the Company’s more important concerns with the native Powers. That such facts did formerly exist, is certain ; and that the want of such knowledge now would be attended with still worse effects is as certain. To prove which, I think, you will meet with little difficulty. The same reasons which will establish the authority of the fore-going observations, will moreover be sufficient to prove the positive necessity of a still more extensive and general knowledge of the Persian, than has hitherto been acquired by the gentlemen in India.

WE

“ WE are to consider, that the territories now under the dominion of the East India Company, the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar*, with part of *Orissa*, the coast of *Coromandel*, and the settlements on that of *Malabar*, are together twice as extensive as Great Britain and Ireland. In a word, such is their extent, and such their importance, that it has been deemed necessary to keep on foot an army of fifty thousand disciplined men for their defence and protection : for that is the amount of the forces of the three establishments, *Bengal*, *Madras*, and *Bombay*. These rich and fertile territories, except where embraced by the ocean, are separated and surrounded by native independent Princes and Powers, some of them exceedingly formidable. It follows, that dominions so extensive and so situated, must be secured and protected as much by policy as by arms : a vast political system must be established ; an exact and perfect balance of power must be preserved ; the weak must be supported, the too powerful must be circumscribed and depressed. For these purposes Friendships, Alliances, and Treaties, must be formed with some in opposition to others ; and these Alliances, Treaties, and Friendships, must again be dissolved, and give way to others, as the strength, influence, and resources of the different independent Princes of the Empire may be diminished or increased. Hence the everlasting train of conferences, correspondences, and negotiations, with the native Powers. Hence the necessity of watching their motions, discovering their hidden strength and resources, and diving into their secret councils, connections, and alliances. These are all businesses of the first importance ; they require the strictest integrity, and the most profound secrecy in the negotiators : and finally, these businesses are all to be transacted in, and by the assistance of, the Persian tongue.

“ MR. ORME, a very accurate and able historian, whose long residence in India enabled him to acquire a perfect knowledge

of the subject, gives a very striking instance of the fatal consequences that may ensue from employing native interpreters in our transactions with the princes of Hindostan; and judiciously points out the positive necessity of entrusting the execution of such important concerns to European gentlemen only*. Nothing indeed can be more absurd or dangerous, than for the government in India to rely on the honour and integrity of natives for the transaction of such weighty, political matters, as I have pointed out; and more especially to confide in that inferior class of them, who are content to bear the yoke of servitude under a foreign power from necessity, or pecuniary motives. Such are all the native servants to Europeans. But that natives of a superior rank are not altogether proof against the influence of gold, I have met with several instances. A very strong evidence of the above assertion I have now in my possession; namely, exact copies of all the Letters wrote by the reigning Mogul, *Shaab Aulum*, in the years 71, 72, 73, to the several independent Princes of the Empire. These copies were regularly transmitted by one of the King's confidential secretaries, and often came into my possession, before the persons to whom they were sent could receive the originals. By this means the councils, negotiations, and intrigues of the court of Dehli, and of others, the native Powers and Princes of Hindostan, were entirely laid open to our inspection. This happened during the period that I had the honour to fill the post of Persian Secretary to SIR ROBERT BARKER, the then commander in chief of the forces of *Bengal*. The above, I think, is a strong and pointed proof: and it follows, that European gentlemen only can, in prudence and in policy, be entrusted with this important business; and that a partial knowledge of the Persian Language is by no means sufficient to qualify even them to be trusted. To be able simply to converse in the Persian, is a very inade-

* Vide Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan. Vol. I. p. 350, &c.

quate degree of knowledge. A Persian interpreter should not only be able to speak fluently in the Language, but to read all such Letters as he may receive; not only to read all such Letters, but to answer them with his own hand, if the importance of the subject, of which they treat, should render it necessary. Otherwise the secret negotiations and correspondence of government are liable to be made public through the medium of the native *Munchees*, or Writers, whom he will be obliged to employ and trust. Some natives he must have, to assist in the ordinary business, from its great multiplicity; but even this, by a proper encouragement of the study of the Language, might be obviated. Junior servants, when qualified, might be appointed to act under their Seniors, and the natives be totally excluded. And such a Plan, I am convinced, would be productive of much advantage.

“ FROM the foregoing hints, I dare say, you will be able to prove, that the study of the Persian, in a political point of view, is highly worthy of encouragement.

“ THE general study of this valuable Language, abstracted from all political views, is a matter of very great importance to the East India Company. How it is possible that their civil servants should be able to do their duty effectually in the various posts and offices to which they are appointed, without any knowledge of it, is difficult to conceive. That by far the greater number of them do perform the businesses allotted to them without a knowledge of any of the country Languages, is certain; but that the manner in which they perform them must be exceedingly defective, every one will be convinced, by reflecting on the nature of the offices which they fill. Servants of all ranks * are detached from the presidency, and spread

* By these are meant Writers, Factors, junior and senior Merchants, and in the more important departments, often members of the Council: but these last are generally assisted by European Interpreters.

abroad throughout the provinces and districts of the Company's territories, for the purposes of superintending the cultivation and regulation of the countries, the administration of justice in the *Kucheries*, or native courts of Judicature, and the collection of the Revenues *. Many also are appointed to the different Factories, to superintend the fabrication and making up of the Investments for the European market.

“ HAVING given this detail of the employments, to which the senior and junior civil servants of the Company are in rotation appointed, I think it will be needless to dwell on the great utility, and indeed absolute necessity of a knowledge of some language or other, understood in the country, to gentlemen so employed †; or to shew how much more effectually they would be able, with such knowledge, to do their duty, than they can now through the medium of their *Surcors*, or native Clerks ‡, to whom, from an ignorance of the language, they are obliged, in a great measure, to delegate their authority, to pay an implicit attention to their advice and opinions, and, what is still worse, from the above deficiency, to receive through them every complaint and grievance of the subject; though the complaints are frequently levelled against those very Agents,

* It may be necessary to observe, that this arrangement took place but a very few years ago; and therefore the importance of the Persian in the point of view now under consideration, is to be dated from that period only.

† It is true, that in *Bengal*, but in *Bengal* only, an acquaintance with the dialect of that province, might be made to answer the purposes of gentlemen employed as above-mentioned: but as that dialect would be of very little use to them, even in the neighbouring province of *Bahar*, much less in any other part of *Hindustan*; as the *Persian*, on the contrary, is the polite language throughout the Empire; and as it is impossible to acquire a knowledge of that, without forming, at the same time, a familiar acquaintance with the *Moors*, from the intimate connection between them; and as the *Moors* is the vulgar tongue of all the *Mahummudan* natives, and is as well known to the generality of the *Aborigines* or *Hindoos*, as to the *Mahummudans* themselves; for these reasons it is evident, that the *Persian* is most worthy the attention of *Europeans*.

‡ The *Surcors* are all *Hindoos*; and by some little knowledge of the *English*, which they are careful to acquire, are enabled to act as *Interpreters* to the gentlemen who employ them.

and

and the grievances complained of generally originate from their knavery, avarice, and extortion.

“ TRUE it is, that in *Bengal*, the Dialect bearing that name is now most frequently used in the transacting of mercantile concerns; but it does not follow, that the Persian language, and that of Hindostan (vulgarly called the *Moors*) are therefore entirely superfluous: on the contrary, I conceive it to be easy to prove, that if the Company’s civil servants were generally acquainted with the Persian, they would find themselves enabled to fill every department in which they could possibly be placed, without the assistance of any medium whatever.

“ IN a *private commercial light* also, I think, much may be said in its favour. Individuals, such as could find leisure to study the language, would reap a singular advantage from the knowledge of it. In the western provinces of Hindostan, though not so universally in Bengal, the Persian is used in all mercantile transactions: and if the study of it was generally followed, and applied to practice, hundreds of *Surcors* and *Banians*, who now eat up two thirds of the merchants profits, oppress the country under the name of English *Gomauhtes*, and brand the character of their masters with infamy, might be discarded and turned adrift; or at least meet with such checks, as would, in a great measure, put a stop to their rogueries.

“ IT may be further observed, that the study of the Persian is by no means unworthy the attention of the *Military*, for this plain reason; because it is the best, and indeed the only road to a perfect acquaintance with the language of Hindostan; without which, no officer, however great his military abilities, can be esteemed properly qualified to command a battalion of our native troops. The loss of more than one detachment from that very deficiency, has proved this beyond dispute. It may be added, that an officer on a detached command, must always

have occasion to correspond, sometimes to negotiate with the chief men of the districts and provinces, where he may be, or through which he may have occasion to pass : and these negotiations, however trifling they may at first appear, have been frequently known to lead to matters of vast importance. This is another, and, I think, no bad reason, why an officer ought to be acquainted with the Persian and Hindoostan languages.

“ IN opposition to the foregoing it may be asserted, that the difficulties attending the study and acquisition of a copious and elegant language, differing totally from our own in phrase and idiom, and clothed in unknown, complex, and obscure characters, would be insurmountable to many; and that the various occupations and businesses, in which the Company's servants in India are employed, cannot afford them leisure and opportunity to engage in so troublesome and arduous an undertaking; and therefore, as heretofore, the acquisition of this valuable knowledge must be left to those young men, who, from curiosity, ambition, or superior abilities, are inclined to devote themselves to such difficult studies. In reply to the *first* of the above objections, I can, from personal knowledge, venture to affirm, That a very moderate share of abilities and of memory, supported by a common proportion of perseverance and attention, are sufficient to overcome the ideal difficulties, arising from the copiousness of the language itself, from the difference of the idiom, and from the obscurity of the character.

“ IN answer to the *second*, I will allow that the occupations and employments of the Company's junior servants are many and various; and that if pleasure and dissipation be admitted of the number, they have not a moment to spare. But supposing it practicable for them to curtail their attendance on the last mentioned important businesses but for two short hours in the day, I do assert, that they may with ease make themselves

masters of the language, and that in a very moderate space of time.

“ THE advantages arising from a knowledge of the Persian to gentlemen in India have not, till within these few years, been perfectly understood. In fact, its *general* utility has not existed but from that period, when the Company found it necessary to place the entire administration of the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar* in the hands of their own proper servants. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that a circumstance which did not immediately strike many of the ablest of their superior officers abroad, could not suddenly engage the attention of their administration at home. And hence we must account for the little encouragement hitherto given to the study of the Persian language,

“ BUT I conceive it is now evident, that the Court of Directors, from the information which they have from time to time received, are fully convinced of its great utility; and that they are determined to promote the cultivation of it to the utmost of their power. For to this intention we must ascribe the very necessary encouragement which they have given to the learned Author of the Persian and Arabic Dictionary; the first volume of which has been already published. Of this valuable work; as appears by the printed proposals, they have engaged to take one hundred and fifty copies: which, it is reasonable to suppose, they intend to distribute among their servants abroad, and thereby to facilitate the study of the language, now rendered infinitely more easy than it was formerly, by the labours of the foregoing and another learned Author; whose Grammar, added to this Dictionary, has entirely removed every possible impediment. Indeed, all that appears wanting at present to promote a general application to the Persian in India, is a proper encouragement on the part of the East India Company, supported by their orders and authority; and a consequent conviction in

their junior servants, that a knowledge of that language is necessary to their promotion. If they were taught to know, that an acquaintance with the Persian was the principal avenue, through which they were to expect to arrive at superior rank, and that that knowledge for the future would be so far substituted in the place of seniority, as to render seniority of no avail without it, it would then become the principal object of the junior classes of their servants; and the language of course would be generally studied.

“ IT may be added, that the above scheme, though a partial, would be no bad scale, by which to measure the abilities of their younger servants: for though a knowledge of that language in the persons who possessed it, could not point out the extent of their abilities; yet the want of that knowledge in those who could not acquire it, would certainly discover those who had no abilities at all. For a man who, so circumstanced, wanted talents, memory, or perseverance to form a moderate acquaintance with any language whatever; although he might make a tolerable smith, or carpenter, or bricklayer, would certainly turn out a very bad merchant, a very indifferent inspector of a province, or military officer.

“ IN my ideas of the utility and importance of a knowledge of the Persian in the servants of the Company, I am supported by the opinions of several of the first Characters who have appeared in India; amongst whom, Mr. HASTINGS, now President of the supreme Council in *Bengal*, and the late Governor VANSITTART, are particularly distinguished. Those gentlemen did not think the Persian unworthy their attention; they found leisure to acquire a knowledge of that, and, consequently, of the language of Hindostan; in which they doubtless found their advantage. And I have been credibly informed, that both Mr. VANSITTART and Mr. HASTINGS had in contemplation the establishment of an Academy in England, in

to promote the study of the Persian language ; and to enable such young men, as were intended for the India service, to acquire the rudiments of that useful knowledge at home. The return of these gentlemen to India rendered their intention abortive : but those intentions, nevertheless, tend to prove a high idea they entertained of its importance and utility.

‘ IN a word, the necessity of a knowledge of the Persian, gentlemen residing in India, may, I think, be placed in a very clear point of view, by the following concise and simple story, or Comparison. If an inhabitant of France, a Spaniard, a Swede, or a Dane, were to visit England with a view of improving his fortunes, would it not be necessary for him to learn the language of this country, in order to render himself capable of obtaining any employment whatever, either Civil or Military ?

‘ THE general study of the Persian language would be productive of one other advantage to the East India Company, well worthy their attention. From the smallness of the number of persons who have acquired a practical knowledge of the Persian language, and the still smaller number who have returned to England possessed of that knowledge, I have been led to believe, that a Department, which I should consider of much importance to the Company, has not hitherto been established. If the study of the Persian should meet with the encouragement it merits, and, in consequence thereof, the application to that study should become general, many gentlemen might return from India well qualified for the purpose, and with such moderate fortunes, as might not place them above the acceptance of the office I am about to point out. It is well known, that the Court of Directors annually receive from their settlements in India, Letters, Memorials, Treaties, and other important papers, in the Persian language, transmitted to them as interpreters by their officers abroad. It is true, that translations

from *many circumstances*, accurate translations of such Letters, Memorials, and Treaties, by a gentleman unbiaſſed by party, faction, or intereſt, and under their own immediate protection, muſt be highly acceptable and advantageous to the India Government at home. Such a perſon would alſo be able to tranſlate into the Perſian language all ſuch Treaties and Letters, as they might have occaſion to ſend or write to the native Powers of Hindoſtan ; which might be tranſmitted to India under their proper Seal, and conſequently not be liable to an erroneous tranſlation abroad.

“ I HAVE been informed from good authority, that ſeveral gentlemen in the Direction, a very few years ago, were ſufficiently convinced of the utility of ſuch an eſtabliſhment. The arrangement and expences of a regular Perſian Secretary’s Office at the India Houſe, by ſome who are advocates for œconomy, might be eſteemed an objection : but this, I conceive, may be eaſily obviated. For ſuch a perſon as I have pointed out, might be induced, for a moderate ſalary to undertake the Office : he might reſide in, or at any diſtance from the Capital ; the neceſſary papers might be tranſmitted to him by their proper Secretary for the time being, and might be returned by him to the ſame Secretary, with their tranſlations.

“ THE foregoing Obſervations contain all that occurs to me on the ſubject, and I ſincerely wiſh, that they may afford you ſome little aſſiſtance, in proving the high importance of Perſian literature ; and that you will be enabled to point out the propriety of promoting in this country the ſtudy of a language, ſo neceſſary to the ſervants of the Company, ſo advantageous to the Company themſelves ; and, from the extent and wealth of their Territories and Commerce, not an unimportant object to the Britiſh Nation.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM DAVY.”

F I N I S.

