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Henry Miers Elliot Edited by John Dowson
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The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians

This extensive eight-volume work was first published between 1867 and 1877 by the linguist John Dowson (1820–81) from the manuscripts of the colonial administrator and scholar Sir Henry Miers Elliot (1808–53). Before his death, hoping to bolster British colonial ideology, Elliot had intended to evaluate scores of Arabic and Persian historians of India, believing that his translations would demonstrate the violence of the Muslim rulers and 'make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and the equity of our rule'. Volume 8 addresses criticism of the previously published volumes, and includes additions and corrections to them. The volume also contains extracts of numerous additional histories covering the end of the Mughal Empire from Muhammad Shah (1702–1748) to the establishment of British political and military dominance in India in the mid-nineteenth century.

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The Muhammadan Period

VOLUME 8

HENRY MIERS ELLIOT
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THE
HISTORY OF INDIA,
AS TOLD
BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.
THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS
OF THE LATE
SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,
EDITED AND CONTINUED
BY
PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,
STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

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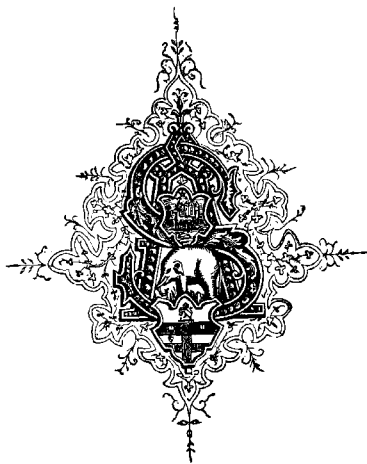
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PREFACE.

ELEVEN years have elapsed since the materials collected by Sir H. M. Elliot for this work were first placed in my hands for revision and publication. In bulk the papers seemed sufficient and more than sufficient for the projected work, and it was thought that an Editor would have little to do beyond selecting extracts for publication and revising the press. With this belief I undertook the work, and it was announced as preparing for publication under my care. When the papers came into my possession, and the work of selection was entered upon, I soon found that the MSS., so far from being superabundant, were very deficient, and that for some of the most important reigns, as those of Akbar and Aurangzeb, no provision had been made. The work had been long advertised, and had received the support of the Secretary of State for India, not as a series of Selections from the Papers of Sir H. M. Elliot, but as a continuous "History of India as told by its own Historians." I had thus unwittingly undertaken the editing of a complete History out of very incomplete and disjointed materials. So I had to determine whether to make the best of the matter provided, or to

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fill up the blanks and finish the work by my own unassisted labour. Had this prospect been presented to me at the first, I should probably have shrunk from undertaking the task; for I should not only have distrusted my ability, but have felt that the time and labour required were greater than I could bestow. But I had put my hand to the plough, and had promised the publication of a complete history; so I resolved that it should be as perfect as my labour and ability could make it. Happily I have had the leisure and have been blessed with health to finish my undertaking; but although I rejoice over the conclusion, I part with regret from a work which has occupied my constant thought and care for so many years.

I am conscious that there must be many imperfections and errors in the eight volumes. The voluminous extent of the work would not allow of deliberate study, for the utmost span of life I could hope for would not have sufficed for anything like full and careful study of every MS. I have had to examine. Living far away from great libraries, I have had access to few books beyond my own limited collection, and I have seldom enjoyed the advantage of taking counsel with others upon doubtful passages and obscure allusions. The completion of the work has been my grand aim; and to achieve this end, I have often pressed on when I would have preferred to wait and consider—to inquire for other copies of MSS., and to examine and compare the statements of other writers. Nearly, if not quite half of the matter contained in the whole eight volumes, has been supplied by my own pen, and a large portion of the other half

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has required extensive revision. Besides all this, and the superintendence of the press, there has been the long and wearisome labour of going through many tedious and lengthy Persian MSS., as well as crabbed translations, in search of passages for publication, and often with little result.

One portion of the work has been subjected to very sharp and hostile criticism. Since the publication of the second volume, in which some extracts from the *Tabakát-i Násirí* appeared, Major Raverty has undertaken a complete translation of that work, and has published a considerable portion. Many years ago the late Lord Strangford characterized Major Raverty as “a ready censurer of the errors and shortcomings of his precursors,”¹ and time has by no means changed his disposition. His work abounds with sarcastic censures cast on other writers, but contains very little in acknowledgment of the assistance he has received from the labours of his predecessors. It is no difficult matter to criticise and point out errors in the best of translations, especially when the original texts vary and are unsettled. If such criticisms are couched in fair and courteous terms, they are acceptable to both authors and readers, but no benefit can accrue to any one from captious and sneering animadversions. Had Major Raverty’s criticisms on this work affected only me personally, they should have passed without observation; but for the credit of this publication, I have gone through his observations seriatim, in a few pages supplementary to this Preface, and am greatly rejoiced

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1862, p. 54.

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that such an eager critic has found so little real cause for complaint. I have tried to treat his criticisms in a calm and judicial spirit, and I have given him full credit for such real improvements as his practical knowledge and additional MSS. have enabled him to make. For these corrections, but not for his manner of making them, I tender my thanks.

It is not for me to pass a judgment on the value of this publication. But whatever its imperfections, it has been the means of bringing to the knowledge of Europeans, the merits and demerits of many histories, some entirely unknown, or, if known at all, known only by name and repute. It may be that valuable writings still remain undiscovered; but until they are brought to light, this work will serve, not simply as a store of original information, but as a guide to the sources from which critical and diligent investigators may seek for help and enlightenment upon obscure and doubtful matters. It brings down the history of the Muhammadan Empire in India to the close, but it contains little relating to the independent dynasties of the Dakhin. Sir H. M. Elliot included the history of these dynasties in the ultimate scope of his work, and had obtained a few MSS. for the purpose, but no translations have been made. There are materials from which these histories might be compiled, and the publication of them would complete the Musulman history of Musulman India.

It only now remains to perform the grateful task of expressing my thanks for assistance received. To Mr. E. Thomas I have been indebted for many valuable hints and observations throughout the whole course of

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the work. To Dr. Rieu I have written without hesitation whenever I required information about MSS. in the British Museum, and have always received a prompt, courteous, and full reply. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. Blochmann, of the Calcutta Madrasa, who has taken a lively interest in the progress of this work, and has pointed out errors and suggested improvements in the spirit of a true scholar. Distance has prevented frequent communication with him, and I regret that I have been unable to profit more by his deep and extensive knowledge of Muhammadan historians. The care and intelligence with which the work has been printed by Messrs. Austin has saved me much trouble, and deserves my acknowledgment.

It has been my constant intention to give full credit to those translators whose MSS. have been printed in these volumes, to name the sources from which materials have been drawn, and to acknowledge every help that has been rendered. If I have ever failed in doing this, it has been through ignorance or accident, and in spite of my best intentions.

The articles in this volume are numerous, and it is not possible to give a complete list of the translators. The bibliographical notices, with the exception of a few compiled by the Editor, are no doubt the work of Sir H. M. Elliot, for although they have been copied out fair by his amanuensis, the original drafts of many of them still remain in Sir Henry's handwriting. Some of the Extracts were apparently translated by *munshís*. The following list gives the names of the translators as far as the Editor has been able to ascertain them :

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- LXXXV.—*Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*—Editor.
 LXXXVII.—*Tazkira-i Chaghatái*—Editor.
 XCIII.—*Jauhar-i Samsám*—Major Fuller.
 XCIV.—*Tazkira-i Anand Rám Mukhlis*—Lieut. Perkins.
 C.—*Tárikh-i Ahmad Sháh*—Sir Douglas Forsyth.
 CI.—*Bayán-i Wáki'*—Lieut. Prichard.
 CII.—*Tárikh-i 'Álamgír Sání*—Editor.
 CIII.— ,, *Manázilu-l Futúh*—Major Fuller.
 CXVI.— ,, *Shahádat-i Farrukh Siyar*—Editor.
 CXIX.—*'Ibrat-náma*—Editor.
 CXXI.—*Tárikh-i Ibráhím Khán*—Major Fuller.
 CXXVI.—*Gul-i Rahmat*—Editor.
 CXXVIII.—*Tárikh-i Muzaffarí*—Editor.
 CXLII.—*'Imádu-s Sa'ádat*—Editor.
 CXLIII.—*Nigár-náma-i Hind*—Major Fuller.

Copious Indexes to the whole work, in three divisions, Bibliographical, Geographical, and General, are given at the end of this Volume. The want of partial Indexes has been felt as the Volumes have appeared; but the superior facilities afforded by the complete Indexes now supplied will more than compensate for the temporary inconvenience experienced during the progress of the work.

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EXAMINATION OF MAJOR RAVERTY'S CRITICISMS OF THE
TABAKAT-I NĀSIRI AS TRANSLATED IN VOL. II.
OF THIS WORK.

In the Preface a reference has been made to Major Raverty's criticisms of a portion of this work. They are here noticed and examined seriatim.

Major Raverty begins the section relating to the Ghaznīvides with a note condemning the text printed in the "Bibliotheca Indica" and the MSS. belonging to the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society. These MSS., according to Major Raverty, "are the most defective and incorrect of any" he has "collated." The Editor of this work used the MS. of the Asiatic Society and one belonging to Sir H. Elliot, but they were inferior to the printed edition, and so the latter was the text used. Major Raverty has collected thirteen MSS., and they may have all the excellences which he attributes to them, but the fullest MSS. are not always the best. The interpolations of ignorant or half-informed scribes are worse than omissions—for they lead astray and bewilder the reader. These MSS., however, have cleared away some errors in the texts that I used, and I have gladly adopted such new readings as seem to be improvements.

I.—Page 68. The opening of the history of Subuktigin gives Major Raverty occasion for a long and laboured note. The translation he gives of the passage is as follows: "He had heard that his (Subuktigin's) father used to be called by the name of Kará Bah-Kam; and that his (proper) name was Húk; and that Ghar-gháú in the Turkish language is called Bah-Kam; and that the meaning of Kará Bah-Kam would be the Black Tátar Bull."

Here it is obvious that the sentence about *ghar-gháú* is altogether superfluous, and it may be blotted out without making any difference

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in the sense of the passage. This can hardly have been the intention of the author. The original words as given in the printed text are—

شنید که پدر سبکتگین را قرا بحکم گفتندی و نامش جوق بود و غوغارا
بترکی بحکم خوانند و معنی قرا بحکم سیاه غوغا باشد

Major Raverty gives the variants of eleven MSS. The differences are only in the words here given as *jauk* and *ghaughá*. He adopts the form *Húk* in preference to *jauk*. After running through all the variants of the other word, he comes to the conclusion that “the word *must* be *ghajz-gháo*,” although the form *ghajz* never once occurs, and then, by arbitrarily changing the غ of *gháo* into گ, he brings forth his “Black Tatar Bull.” Then comes his criticism: “In Elliot (Vol. II. p. 266) the passage in question is thus translated. ‘His (Subuktigin’s) father was called *Jauk* (troop), and in Turki they call a troop *bahkam* (on whose authority I wonder?), so that the meaning of the name *Kará-bahkam* is black troop.’ From this it will be seen that the translator has discarded altogether both عشر غلو of MSS. 10 and 11, and غوغا of the printed text, and has given the person’s Turkish *real*-name as the equivalent (the Persian equivalent, it must be supposed) of his Turkish *nick*-name; so according to this theory جوق means troop, and بحکم also means troop, but what becomes of the Persian سیاه غوغا etc., the translator sayeth not! *Jauk* however is Arabic for a party, a troop, etc., but what بحکم may mean remains to be proved.” It is unnecessary to follow him through the alterations of letters and the guesses by which he arrives at the conclusion that it means “Black Wolf,” and supposes this to be in some way identical with his “Black Tatar Bull.”

The whole of Major Raverty’s censure of the translation in Elliot evidently springs from his ignorance of the meaning of the word *ghaughá*, which among other meanings has that of “company, assembly, multitude of people.” If he had consulted his dictionary, instead of indulging in guesses and alterations of letters, he would have seen that the printed text has a clear and coherent meaning, and that the translation which he censures is exact and complete, no word is omitted. The unintelligible words of the MS. have certainly been discarded, but in favour of the *siyáh ghaughá* of the print.

II.—In page 76 Major Raverty begins a long note about Waihind.

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In this he censures my rendering a passage of Rashīdu-d dīn at p. 47, Vol. I., by “uniting near the fort of Dirūna, (the waters) fall into the Nurokirāt.” Reinaud’s rendering of the original passage in Bīrūnī is, “Near the fort of Dirūna it is joined by the waters of Nūr and Kirāt.” This was unknown to me at the time. I had the Persian version, which might be rendered as “the river Nūrokirāt,” or “the river of Nūr and Kirāt.” Curiously enough, Major Raverty cites the Arabic version which decided my reading. The words are *لنور و قرآت* which he translates “into the river of Un Nūr and Kirāt.” But if the first letter is the article *un*, where does he find “into”? The words say simply “into Nūrokirāt”; the word “river” is Major Raverty’s addition. There can be no doubt that the Arabic translator understood his Persian original to mean “the river Nūrokirāt,” and as the Persian text has that meaning, I made my translation so as to be in accord with both versions. Reinaud’s translation of Bīrūnī, “the waters of Nūr and Kirāt,” shows that the Arabic translator of Rashīdu-d dīn took a wrong, though justifiable, view of his text, and led me into error. Major Raverty seems to be so well acquainted with “the *darah* of Nūr” that it is a pity he did not describe it more distinctly. Sir H. M. Elliot’s knowledge did not extend beyond what this passage supplies.

III.—Page 80. Major Raverty says: “In Vol. II. page 269 of Elliot a passage is thus translated: ‘On the same night that he (Mahmūd) was born, an idol temple in India, in the vicinity of Parshāwar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down!’ There is nothing like giving a *bold* translation.” The words of the text are—

در آن شب که ولادت او بود بتخانه بهند که در حدود پرشاور بود بر لب
آب سند بشکست

It would be difficult to make a more precise translation of this than the one above given. Major Raverty’s translation is, “The idol temple of Wahand or Bihand (it may also be read Wahind or Bahind), which was situated on the confines of Barshābur, on the bank of the Sind, split asunder.” This shows that the fault is in the text, not in the translator. If any MS. gives *وهند* instead of *بهند*, that reading may be readily accepted; but in the absence of such reading, it would have been *bold* to alter the text.

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IV.—Page 90. Major Raverty objects to the rendering of *ghárat-kardand* by “destroyed” in the passage (Elliot, page 271), “Mas’úd ordered him to be made prisoner and his whole force to be destroyed.” *Ghárat* means “plunder,” “hostile incursion,” and the word “destroy” is too strong, though it is not to be supposed that the plundering could be effected without killing. Having expressed this censure, Major Raverty should have been careful to be accurate himself, and should not have made one word into two by translating *ghárat* as “plundered and despoiled.” In the same page he also objects to “killed” as the translation of *sáhib-i wáki’ah*, and says the phrase does not mean *killed*. *Wáki’ah* means both “misfortune” and “death,” so that the words do mean “killed,” and the translation was allowable; but as the man in question is mentioned afterwards, the translation should have been, “When Mas’úd fell into misfortune at Maríkala.”

V.—Page 91. The meaning which Major Raverty assigns to the word *bel* is probable, and although I can find no other authority for it, I have inserted it among the corrections.

VI.—Page 98. Major Raverty translates the words

اخبار سماع داشت و روایت کردی

by, “He was a depository of the oral traditions which he was wont to narrate,” and adds a note: “Translated by Mr. Dowson (Elliot, p. 274), ‘used to listen to chronicles and write history.’” As *akhbár* means “chronicles” and *samá’* means “hearing,” there is some warrant for the rendering, but how it is twisted into “a depository of the oral traditions,” I am unable to discover. The word *riwáyat* means “history, narrative, relation, tale,” and any one of these may be added to the verb “he was wont to make.” On reconsideration of the passage, I have come to the conclusion that as *samá’* means “fame, report,” as well as “hearing,” the phrase may be more accurately rendered by, “He knew many famous stories which he used to tell.”

VII.—Page 101. “Every copy of the work collated has (with two exceptions, which have *مرغان*) the word *مرغان* signifying ‘birds,’ etc., as plainly written as it is possible to write; but in the printed text *مسرغان* has been substituted, and Mr. Dowson of course follows the printed text.” As Mr. Dowson had only two inferior MSS., he certainly followed the intelligible print and gave the translation (Vol. II. p. 276) of “fleet messengers.” He would have hesitated long

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before he converted *murghán* “birds,” “fowls,” into “carrier-pigeons,” as Major Raverty has done.

VIII.—Page 102. “The original text is *مواضع ومونات* (not *mútán*), which Mr. Dowson renders ‘disease and murrain,’ and adds in a note, ‘The former words (sic) mean literally diseases, but it (sic) is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts.’ Does *múndt* also mean ‘murrain’ in the body politic?” The printed text has ‘*awáris o mútán*, and I translated this (page 276) by “diseases and murrain,” for which the dictionaries give full warrant. The words form one of those reiterative phrases of which the Persians are so fond. I knew nothing of *مونات*, and now that I do, I prefer the text of the print and my own translation to Major Raverty’s rendering, “(The levying) of heavy contributions in taxes and supplies.” The two *sics* which Major Raverty has inserted in his quotation are characteristic. It is easy to be seen that by a printer’s accident “word means” has been converted into “words mean.”

IX.—Page 103. “Mr. Dowson translates (page 277): ‘He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence apprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people.’” Major Raverty’s rendering is, “Awe of his authority was implanted in the hearts of all people.” The difference is not very great; but I prefer my own rendering, and hold to it. Major Raverty quotes the text—

بدین سبب حیبتی از سلطنت او در دل خلق متمکن شد

and has incorrectly written *حیبتی* for *حیبتی*.

X.—Page 104. Major Raverty translates the passage which stands in the print—

چند باره و قصب بنا فرمود

by “he founded several towns.” He adds a note: “In Elliot’s India, Vol. II. p. 277, this passage is translated, ‘several fortified places and towns were founded,’” and expatiates upon the fact that “*Kasbah* does not mean fortified places.” The words are rightly translated, for *bárah* means “walls, fortifications,” and *kasbah* means “towns.”

XI.—In the same page 104, Major Raverty translates the words—

سادات کرام و علمای با نام

by “illustrious Saiyids and dignified Ulamá.” This had been rendered in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 277) by “illustrious nobles and learned men of re-

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pute." The difference is small, and quite unworthy of notice; but as it has been dragged forward, it may be remarked that one translation is partial, the other complete, and that *bá-nám* means "famous, having a name," rather than "dignified."

XII.—Page 106. Here Major Raverty has hit a real, but not an important blot. The sentence (Vol. II. p. 278), "He restored to the nobles," should read "he confirmed."

XIII.—Page 107. Major Raverty translates the opening sentence of the reign of Malik Arslán as follows: "Malik Arsalán-i 'Abdul Mulúk, son of Sultán Mas'úd, ascended the throne in the year 509 A.H. at Garmsír itself, and assumed the sovereignty of the empire of Ghaznín." He adds the following note: "The original is بر خود گروسیز. The passage is translated in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 278) thus: 'Malik Arslán Abú-l Malik (*sic*) ascended the throne A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115), and brought Garmsír and the kingdom of Ghaznín under his rule.' I wonder what throne he ascended if it was not that of the kingdom of Ghaznín?" The words of the text (p. 22) are

ملک ارسلان ابواللوک (sic) در سنه تسع و خمسمایه بملک نشست
وگروسیزو ممالک غزنین در تصرف خود داشت

These words will bear no other meaning than that assigned to them in Elliot, and Major Raverty might have seen that they accurately represent the text. Adopting for once his own style of criticism, I may say of his translation I wonder of what empire it was that Malik Arslán assumed the sovereignty of, if it was not that of Ghaznín?

XIV.—In page 318 Major Raverty translates the passage rendered in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 284) "the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rásíát, which are in Ghor," by "the natural impregnability of the strong mountains which are in Ghor," and he has a note: "The word *rásíát* is not a proper name, but the plural of *rásíah*, which means 'strong mountains.'" The words of the printed text are

حصانت جبال راسیات

and here the word is treated more like a proper than a common noun. A few lines lower the order of the words is reversed, and we have "*rásíát jibál*." Johnson's definition is "*Rásiyat* (pl. *rawási*), firm (mountain)." He does not give *rásíát*, but he again explains his plural *rawási* by "firm (mountains)." Meninski is fuller. He says

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Rásiyat is the feminine of *Rási*, which he explains: "Firmus ac immotus persistens, *uti mons*." The translation in Elliot was made by a *munshi*, whose rendering was "hills of Rásiát." The *munshi*'s word "hills" has been changed into "mountains" in Sir Henry Elliot's own hand, so that the translation has the weight of his authority. The word *rásiát* is used in a curious way, but Major Raverty's explanation is worthy of consideration.

XV.—In page 319 Major Raverty's MSS. enabled him to correct the words Faj Hanisár, which were given from the printed text in Elliot (page 285), into "Faj (deñle, pass) of Khaesár." He adds, "Khaesár is a well-known place, and is mentioned in a number of places throughout the work." The correction is acceptable, but faults of the text afford no ground for repeated sneers at the translators.

XVI.—Page 351. I willingly accept the rendering "fastened up the skirts of their coats of mail," or rather "threw back (*bás sadand*) the skirts of their coats of mail," instead of the words, "throwing off their coats of mail," which appear in Elliot, page 287. That the heroes should throw off their armour when about to creep under and rip up two elephants is, however, not so improbable as Major Raverty deems it. The Waterloo Life-Guardsman is said to have told the Prince Regent that he "would have liked fighting in his shirt sleeves better than in a cuirass."

XVII.—Page 441. In page 291 of Elliot there is a note as follows: "Sang-i Surkh, a strong fort in Ghor, probably near the Hari river." Major Raverty deems this "impossible." He says, "It is the name of a pass near the Halmand river about N.N.W. of Ghaznín on the route from that city and also from Kabul into Ghúr." This is a matter of opinion, and may be left to the reader's judgment; but Major Raverty's local knowledge must be taken into account.

XVIII.—Page 532. In page 302 of Elliot there is the following passage: "He took the city of Multán, and Hindústán, Dewal, etc., and all as far as the sea." Major Raverty has: "He possessed himself of the city of Multán, and Sindústán and Diwal as far as the sea-coast." A note to Sindústán adds, "That is, Siwastán, also called Shiw-astán, by some Hindu writers. . . . Siwastán is turned into Hindústán in Elliot's India." The printed text has "Hindústán," and again the translator is blamed for being true to his text. I have met with

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xviii

CRITICISMS.

Siwistán in various forms, but I have not seen either “Sindústán” or “Shiw-astán.”

XIX.—Page 534. Here a real error is noted. The words in Elliot (Vol. II. 303): “After the victory of Nandua-tarí, the Mughal prince,” should read, “After the victory of Nandana, Tari (or Tolí), the Mughal prince.” This fault in the punctuation was overlooked by the Editor.

XX.—Page 539. The words لشكر خلیج از جمل لشکر خوارزمیان This is translated in Elliot (p. 303), “The army of Khilj consisting of all the forces of Khwárizm.” Raverty’s rendering is, “a body of [the tribe] of Khalj, a part of the Khwarazmí forces.” In this the first *lashkar* is expunged, and the hypothetical “tribe” is substituted. The words of the text are not precise. Literally they read, “The army of Khilj out of the army of the Khwárizmís.”

XXI.—Page 541. In page 304 of Elliot there is the following: “The Fírozí college at Uch was consigned to the care of the author. On the provocation of the army of Bahrám Sháh in . . . 624, Sultán Sa’íd Shamsu-d dín encamped in sight of Uch.” Major Raverty translates, “The Fírúzí college of Uchchah was committed to the charge of the author, together with the office of Kází of the forces of ’Aláu-d dín Bahrám Sháh.” This is an undoubted improvement, but the words in the printed text (باقنضای) will not allow of it. As, however, Major Raverty makes a note about the “Kází-ship,” it may be assumed that some of his MSS. have قنضای instead of اقتضای, and the amendment may be admitted.

XXII.—Page 556. Here there is a note about the difference between “consenting” and “making peace,” and another concerning the “leg below the knee” (page 308), in preference to the short word “shins” used in Elliot. These are unworthy of further notice.

XXIII.—Page 559. The correction about the *khutba* in page 309 of Elliot had been made, upon the suggestion of Mr. Thomas, before Major Raverty’s book appeared.—*Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 111.

XXIV.—Page 565. Major Raverty here shows that in the last line of page 310 the words “(the author)” should be inserted after “he” to prevent the ambiguity which has arisen from closely following the text.

XXV.—Page 566. In page 153 of the printed text there is the following curious passage—

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و تمامت سلاح آن جماعت از پارهای نی نیزه بود چنانچه جوشن و برگستان و سپر و خود همه قطعه قطعه بریشم خام برهم بسته و دوخت
Major Raverty says that “the printed text is correct, except that برشم is altered to برشم, but بریشم, not رشم, is *silk*.” It is unpleasant to give a flat contradiction, but I am forced to say that the print has بریشم, not رشم. He then gives the translation from Elliot (p. 311) thus italicised :
“The only *weapons* of the enemy were *bamboo spears*; and their *armour, shields* and *helmets* consisted only of *raw silk* strongly fastened and sewed together.’ A ‘shield’ and ‘helmet’ of *raw silk* would be curiosities certainly.” (Not greater perhaps than the cotton-armour described by the author in p. 352 of Raverty, and 287 of Elliot.) Major Raverty’s rendering is, “The whole of the defensive arms of that host were of pieces of the spear-bambu, namely, their cuirasses and body armour, shields and helmets, which were all slips of it, crudely fastened and stitched, overlapping (each other).” This is a paraphrase rather than a translation. Major Raverty is a soldier, still I must assert that *silāh* means offensive not “defensive arms,” and is rightly translated “weapons.” The other part of the passage is open to doubt. *Kita’ kita’*, “*bits and bits*,” but of what? Formerly I took it to mean bits or hanks of silk, now I believe that the words refer to the bamboo mentioned in the previous sentence, and that the whole should read: “The only weapons of the enemy were bamboo spears, and so their armour and shields and helmets consisted entirely of pieces (of bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk.” Major Raverty quotes a letter written by an officer in the Dufflah expedition in December, 1874, which says, “Each man . . . fastens on his cane-work helmet, a sort of close fitting skull cap. . . . Round his loins over the hips he wears a number of thin bamboo or cane rings unattached to one another.” This seems to make the matter clear.

XXVI.—Page 572. Here Major Raverty gives a local name as Nāran-goe (or Nāran-koe), and adds this note: “In Elliot, Vol. II. page 314, it is turned into ‘Kúni’ in one place, and sixteen lines under into ‘Nárkotí.’” This should have been stated thus: “The translation in Elliot scrupulously follows the text in reading ‘Kúni,’ and lower down ‘Nárkotí.’” Against the correctness of Nāran-goe it would be presumptuous to say anything without seeing the MSS., but Major Raverty from his own showing is not very certain.

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XXVII.—Page 574. Major Raverty's rendering is more accurate, and has been placed among the Corrections.

XXVIII.—Page 581. In Elliot (p. 317) there is the following passage: "He had with him some travellers' bread, which he took from a bag on the back of the mule." Major Raverty gives a paraphrase, not a translation, of the passage, and says: "He had along with him on the ass, a few cakes of bread, with some (little) dainty, by way of provision for the journey, after the manner of travellers." To the word "dainty" he adds a note: "Meat, fish, vegetables or the like, eaten with bread to give it a savour: in Elliot it is styled *travellers' bread*," and the ass is turned into a mule!" The rendering in Elliot is literal. The words for the food are *Nân-i khurish-i safriyâna*, literally "bread for travelling food." In the next line it is called *sufrah*, which the dictionaries explain as "travelling provisions." What ground is there here for animadversion, and why are these few simple words amplified into "a few cakes of bread with some (little) dainty by way of provision for the journey after the manner of travellers"? The word for Major Raverty's "ass" and Elliot's "mule" is *darâz-gosh*, "long-ear:" an epithet, not a name. I find that the *munshi* who made the translation first wrote "ass," and afterwards changed it to "mule." He may be credited with a reason for doing so.

XXIX.—Page 583. Upon the last line but one in page 317 of Elliot, Major Raverty quotes and says, "*built a fort for his residence!*" The printed text has 'fortress of Baskot.'" True, but it would have been candid to say that a note gives *ba-sukûnat*, which means "for the residence." Major Raverty adopts "Baskot" or "Basankot," and his MSS. may justify the reading, but he does not venture upon any explanation of its position.

XXX.—Page 583. In Elliot (p. 318) there are the words "he came with a body of men from his native country." Major Raverty quotes the text; allows that the word *ijmâ'* means "collection," and that *ibâ'* means "followers," "dependents," and yet expresses his astonishment (!) at the rendering "body of men." He finds reason apparently in his MSS. for altering the word *ibâ'* into *intijâ'*, and translating "to better his means." This may be right, but it is not so decidedly preferable as to merit adoption. When Major Raverty says

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in support of his view that the individual in question “was merely a priest, and did not travel attended by ‘a body of men,’” he forgets that priests and holy men often have many followers and disciples. “A number of followers” is a preferable rendering.

XXXI.—Page 583. I cannot admit Major Raverty’s improved rendering of the words *در بارگاہ تذکری گفتہ آمد* by: “He was called upon to deliver a discourse in the audience hall,” but I am not satisfied with the *munshi’s* rendering in Elliot (p. 318), “His name was mentioned in the Court.” It says rather, “Having recited a commemorative (speech or ode), he came to Court.” Or perhaps we may express the author’s meaning more clearly by saying, “He came to Court and delivered a eulogistic speech.”

XXXII.—Page 587. Here Major Raverty says there is nothing to warrant the translation of *Atráf i mamálik i Lakhnautí* (the words of the printed text) by “the territories of Lakhnautí.” How came he then, in page 354, to translate *atráf i bilád Lakhnautí* (text, p. 138) by “the different parts of the territories of Lakhnautí”?

XXXIII.—Page 600. This, the last criticism upon Elliot (p. 320) which I have to review, is a gem of its kind. “The word *bázargán* does not mean ‘horse-dealer’ any more than *ass-dealer*, for it signifies a merchant or trader.” True, beyond question. But this particular merchant was at the head of a drove (*galah*) of horses. If, as it appears, he was one of a party of merchants who sold horses, what was he, if not a horse-dealer?

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

[Attention is called also to a short list in each Volume.]

VOLUME I.

- Page 67. *Baladi* is probably "the quality of ginger so called ('country ginger'), which is often mentioned in the mercantile handbook of Balducci Pegolotti (circa 1340) as well as by Nicolo Conti, and at a later date Barbosa."—*Yule*, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. new series.
- „ 67. *Bádrü*.—"A conjectural reading. In a previous passage (p. 66) the word appears in the form of *Báwarüi*. *Bábáküri* is a Turkish word for a chalcedony or agate, and may possibly be identical with *Báwarüi*, which in that case would represent the chalcedonies and agates which have so long been a product of Cambay."—*Yule*.
- „ 69. *Jamálu-d dín*.—"The two *Jamálu-d dín*s mentioned are to be distinguished. The one here called Shaikh *Jamálu-d dín* is called by *Wassáf* *Jamálu-d dín* 'Abdu-r Rahman Ut Thaibi, 'the Great Farmer General and Lord of the Marches of India,' and we see here that he became more or less of a ruling Prince in the Peninsula a good many years before the time when standard histories recognize any Muhammadan rule in those parts. He is, perhaps, the *Tchamalating* whom *Pauthier*'s Chinese extracts show to have gone on a mission from Ma'bar to the court of *Kublai Khán* in or previous to 1281; and the *Silamuting*, whom they show as ruler of Ma'bar in 1314, was, perhaps, his grandson *Nizámu-d dín*, of whom *Wassáf* speaks (see *Pauthier*, pp. 601, 604, and *Hammer's* *History of the Ilkhans*, ii. 206). The other, *Jamálu-d dín* *Ibráhím*, bore the title of *Maliku-l Islám*, and was Farmer General of *Fárs* in the time of *Arghún Khán* and his successors, with great authority in the Persian Gulf. His contract with *Takíu-d dín*, the brother of the Indian *Jamálu-d dín*, is also mentioned by *Wassáf*, who was himself secretary to the Persian official, and conducted his correspondence with India."—*Yule*.
- „ 69. *Sundar Bandi*.—*Marco Polo's* statements are in striking conformity. "When that traveller was in Ma'bar, he found it under the rule of five brothers, of whom one, called *Sender-Bendi Devar*, ruled that province which was near Ceylon, which held supremacy over the pearl fishery, which was the best and noblest province of Southern India, and which was called *Soli* [*Chola* or *Sola*], indications which point to *Tanjore* and *Ramnád*; whilst another brother, called *Asciar* (*Ishwar*?) ruled at *Kail*.

In Ramusio's version of Polo the conformity is even closer, for that version, like Rashîd-u-dîn's account, makes the brother princes not *five*, but four in number. Polo, too, speaks of the horse trade in almost the same terms as the text, though he puts the prices that horses then reached still higher, viz. '500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver.'
 —Yule.

- Page 72. *Ghuris*.—"Read *Ighûrs*. In another place Rashîd says the members of the Kaan's cabinet were *Tajiks*, *Cathayans*, *Ighûrs*, and *Arkaïn* (Nestorian Christians)." —Yule.
- „ 72. *Zardandân*.—"The old friends described precisely under that name by Polo; their head-quarters were at Yunchang, on the Chinese frontier of Burma." —Yule.
- „ 79. "*Shak*, the Kaan's officer. Read *Sing* or *Shing*, as the Sank of the note suggests. *Shing*, i.e. a great city, in which the high and mighty council holds its meetings. 'As the Kaan generally resides at the capital, he has erected a palace for the sittings of the Great Council called *Sing*. . . . *Sing* do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces, which, in fact, form kingdoms, ranking with Baghdad, Shiraz, Iconium and Rûm. In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these *Sing*' (Rashîd-u-dîn, an extract by Klaproth, *Journ. As. ser. ii. tome xi.*)"—Yule.

VOLUME II.

- „ 26, line 2. For "setting" read "shooting" stars.
- „ 197, line 8. For "twenty-two" read "two hundred."
- „ 249. To "*Kandahat*," add note: See Vol. I. p. 249.
- „ 266. See Note No. 1, page xi, *supra*.
- „ 269. To the word *India*, add a note: Some MSS. read "Wahind" instead of "ba-Hind," and "Wahind" no doubt is correct. See *supra* page xiii, Note III.
- „ 271, line 5. For "Mas'ûd ordered him," etc., read "Mas'ûd gave orders so that they took him prisoner and plundered his army."
- „ 271, line 7. For "When Mas'ûd was killed," read "When Mas'ûd was unfortunate, (i.e. when he was defeated)." See *supra* page xiv, Note IV.
- „ 271. Paragraph 2, line 8. For "even an elephant could not stand before him," read "his arrow stuck in any iron target." The doubtful words in the text were *bel-i âhani*, literally "an iron shovel," and the dictionaries afford no further information. So *bel* was taken as a misprint for *pil*, and supposed to mean "an iron-like elephant." Major Raverty says that *bel* signifies "a plate of iron placed on a post used for tilting at, and as a butt for arrows." This gives an intelligible sense to the passage.
- „ 274. No. VII. line 3. To the words "and used to listen," add a note: This would perhaps be more correctly rendered by, "He knew many famous stories which he used to tell." See *supra* page xiv, Note VI.
- „ 276. Note 2, for "words mean," read "word means."
- „ 278. No. XI. line 10, for "He restored to the princes," read "He confirmed, etc."—Raverty.
- „ 284. To "*Râsiât* mountains" add the note: See Vol. VIII. page xvi, Note XIV.
- „ 285, line 2. For "*Faj Hanîsar*," read "*Faj Khaesâr*," and add a note: Major Raverty's MSS. give the correct form "*Khaesâr*." The word *faj* means

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XXV

- “ a broadway especially between two mountains.” See *supra* page xvii, Note XV.
- Page 287, line 19. For “ throwing off their coats of mail,” read “ throwing back the skirts of their coats of mail” (so as to have their legs free). See *supra* page xvii, Note XVI.
- „ 291. To the note on Sang-i Surkh, add: Major Raverty says: “ A pass on the Halmand river about N.N.W. of Ghazní on the route from that city, and also from Kábul into Ghor.”
- „ 302, line 4 from bottom. To the word “ Hindústán,” add a note: Major Raverty states that his MSS. read “ Sindústán,” which he considers to be a form of the name “ Siwistán ” See *supra* page xvii, Note XVIII.
- „ 303, paragraph 2, line 4. For “ Nandua-tari,” read “ Nandana, Tari.” See *supra*, page xviii, Note XIX.
- „ 303, near the end of paragraph 2. To the word *Khwárizm*, add a note: See Vol. VIII. page xviii, Note XX.
- „ 304, line 2. For “ consigned to the care of the author. On the provocation of the army,” read “ consigned to the care of the author, together with the office of *kázi* of the army,” and put a full stop after Bahram Sháh. A new reading of the text requires this alteration. See *supra* page xviii, Note XXI.
- „ 309, paragraph 2. For “ caused his name,” etc., read “ caused the *khutba* and the coins to be established in all the territories.”—*Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 111.
- „ 310. In the last line after the word “ he,” insert “ (the author).”
- „ 311, line 15. For “ consisted only of raw silk,” substitute “ consisted entirely of pieces (of bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk.” See *supra* page xviii, Note XXV.
- „ 314. To the names “ Kúni” and “ Nárkoti” add note: See Vol. VIII. page xix, Note XXVI.
- „ 314, No. 6, line 7. For “ came dutifully to Deokot,” read “ came to Deokot and discharged the duties of mourning.” See *supra* page xx, Note XXVII.
- „ 317, last line but one. “ A fort for his residence,” add note: Major Raverty’s MSS. give “ the fort of Basankot” instead of the words “ *ba-sukúnat*” of the printed text. See *supra* page xx, Note XXIX.
- „ 318, line 11. See Note XXX. *supra* page xx.
- „ 318, middle of page. To “ his name was mentioned in the Court,” add note: The author’s meaning may perhaps be better rendered by “ He came to Court and delivered a eulogistic speech (*tankire*).” See *supra* page xxi, Note XXXI.
- „ 344. “ Infidels of Changiz Khán.” Adopt the variant reading in the text, “ Infidels of Jáj Nagar.”
- „ 358, end of paragraph 3. For “ Sálín-nawín” read “ Sálín Náyín (Mughal).”
- „ 362. To Note 1 add: See Thornton, vol. iii. “ Mewassee,” Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1874, page 240, and *infra*, Vol. III. p. 138.
- „ 375, last line. For “ Tilibhat (Pilibhít),” read “ Talpat.”
- „ 393, to Note 2, add, “ Properly Chol or Chol-jarad. See *infra*, Vol. III. p. 409, Vol. IV. p. 94.”
- „ 398, line 7. Put the semicolon after Darbela, and the comma after Jaisi.
- „ 465. For “ *Kanzu-l Mahpúr*,” read “ *Kanzu-l Mahfúz*.”
- „ 509, in Note 1. For “ *Zanzan*” read “ *Zauzan*.”
- „ 530. Strike out the note. Ajú dhan in the Panjáb must be intended.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOLUME III.

- Page 104, last line, *read*, "In this campaign Yak-lakhi, the private servant of the Sultán, was slain by the Miwattís." Yak-lakhi was a name like Hazár-dinári. See J.A.S.B. 1874, vol. i. p. 287. The passage of Firishta referred to in the note is in Vol. I. p. 256.
- „ 258, 261. "Hasan Kangu." The name is so written here and in other places, but the better known form is "Gangu."
- „ 260, 8 lines from bottom. To the name "Karra," add note: "Kari or Kaira."
- „ 265. For "1350 A.D." *read* "1351."
- „ 287. To Twelfth Mukaddama add note: "Ascended the throne Safar, 745 A.H. (June, 1344 A.D.)."—*Tárikh-i Mubarak-Sháhi*.
- „ 369. "*Ashrafu-l Mamalik*," *read* "*Ishrafu-l Mamalik*."
- „ 400. For "1408" *read* "1398 A.D."
- „ 401. To the note add: "See p. 481 *infra*."
- „ 414. To the word "*Siyawals*," add as a note "Yasawals."
- „ 421, 8 lines from bottom. For "Passing by Rudanah," *read* "not passing over the river," and add note: See *infra*, page 488.
- „ 477. For "Salandoz," *read* "Sildoz."
- „ 481. To the note add reference: "See p. 401."
- „ 545, line 8. To the word "silent," add note: See p. 224, *supra*.
- „ 624, note. "*Shutur-garbah*."—Some light may perhaps be thrown on this passage by referring to the story in which, in consequence of a vow, a camel was offered for sale at two rupees, but not without the cat on its neck at the price of 250. This is referred to in the Bâgh o Babár, in the Story of the First Darwesh, "The two are to be sold together, not the garden alone, like the cat on the camel's neck." As in corrupt boroughs in England a worthless article often brought a high price when a vote went with it, or as, in the high political excitement of former days, straws were offered for sale in the streets and seditious broadsides were given away with them.

VOLUME IV.

- „ 9. "*Sar-burdah-dár*," *read* "*Sar-pardah dár*."
- „ 22, line 2. "Main," *read* "Main," and for the note "Mina?" *substitute* "Main or Munj is a name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rájputís inhabiting Sirhind and the Bahat Doáb."—*Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari*, p. 526.
- „ 54, 11 lines from bottom. For "Main," *read* "Main."
- „ 63, end of paragraph 2. Insert "the" before "Mawás."
- „ 144. Add to Note 1: "Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii. p. 81."
- „ 233. Add to Note 1: "The correct name is Siyurghamish."—*Blochmann*.
- „ 261. To "Maidáni Ráo" add a note: Properly "Medini Ráo."
- „ 289. Add to the Memoir of Shaikh Zain the note given as an Addendum in Vol. V.; also the reference: See Proceedings of As. Soc. of Bengal, 1873, p. 156.
- „ 307. To Fath Khán Hirawí, add a note: "See Proceedings of As. Soc. Bengal for December, 1873."
- „ 321, middle. For "Kutb Sháh, King of Bengal," *read* "Kutb Sháh (or Khán), officer of the King of Bengal," and add note: See *infra*, p. 333.