The History of India as told by its Own Historians

Vol. III

(1871)

Sir H. M. Elliot, K. C. B

THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER AND CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER
1871.

[*All rights reserved.*]

STEPHEN AUSTIN & SONS,



PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

PREFACE.

THIS third volume carries the history of India on from the death of Násiru-d dín, in 1260 A.D., to the inroad of Tímúr the Tátár, in 1398 A.D. It comprises some matter relating to periods not included within these dates; but on the other hand, it is deficient in the history of the reigns intervening between the death of Fíroz Sháh and the irruption of Tímúr. This portion remains to be supplied, in the succeeding volume, from works of a somewhat later date. The period here traversed is not a very long one, but it is illustrated by works of more than usual interest and importance.

Of the first five works included in the present volume, three were noticed in the old volume published by Sir H. Elliot himself. The other two, the *Tárikh-i Wassáf*, and the *Tárikh-i 'Alái* of Amír Khusrú, are now first made accessible to English readers. Part of the History of Wassáf has appeared in a German translation, from the pen of Hammer-Purgstall, but the portions relating to India are now published for the first time. The *Tárikh-i 'Alái* is more of a poem than a history, but it bears the celebrated name of Amír Khusrú, and it enters into de-

tails which the student of history cannot pass over, however diligently and cautiously he may weigh and sift them.

Far different from these are the two *Táríkhs* bearing the title *Fíroz-Sháhí*. Sir H. Elliot was strongly impressed with the value of these histories, and his design was to publish a full translation of both. For the translation of the work of Zíáu-d dín Barní, he had enlisted the services of an eminent member of the Bengal Civil Service; for that of Shams-i Siráj's history, he trusted to a *munshí*. Advancement in the service, and the increasing cares of office, arrested the translation of Barní's work, and the *munshí's* partial translation of that of Shams-i Siráj proved to be entirely useless. Thus there was a complete deficiency of these two important works. Determined to prevent the publication from coming to a standstill, the Editor took in hand the translation of Shams-i Siráj's work, and caused renewed inquiries to be made in India for that of Barní. He completed the former, and still no promise was received of the latter; so he again set to work, and he had all but completed the translation of Barní, when Sir H. Elliot's friend, loyal to his promise, transmitted from India the translations of two reigns, made by friends in whom he had confidence. Unfortunately they arrived too late. The annals of these particular reigns had already been completed; so, without any undue partiality for his own

work, the Editor declined using them; for a translation by one hand seemed preferable to one made up of the work of three different persons.

Barní's work approaches more nearly to the European idea of a history than any one which has yet come under notice. Narrow-minded and bigoted, like Muhammadans in general, he yet has a care for matters besides the interests of his religion and the warlike exploits of the sovereign representatives of his faith. He freely criticizes the actions and characters of the kings and great men of the time, dealing out his praises and censures in no uncertain terms. His style has been criticized as being occasionally tarnished by Hindí idioms, and this is no doubt true, not only of him, but of other historians who wrote in Persian, but whose native language was Hindí. Persian was familiar to them, still it was a foreign language, and their writings could hardly fail of receiving a tinge from the more ready and familiar expressions of their mother-tongue. To Europeans this blemish is of no importance, few can detect it in the original, and it entirely disappears in translation. As a vigorous plain-spoken writer, he may unhesitatingly be indicated as the one most acceptable to a general reader, one whose pages may be read without that feeling of weariness and oppression which the writings of his fellows too commonly produce. The Editor's translation adheres strictly to the text, without being literal; for, as the author has

no pretensions to beauty of style or felicity of diction, a clear representation of his meaning is of more importance than an exact reproduction of his words. So the object aimed at has been to make the translation an accurate but a free and readable version of the original text.[1]

Shams-i Siráj, the author of the other *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, is a writer of a very different character. A painstaking and laborious chronicler, he enters into details of little moment to the general reader, but of importance to the historian and archæologist. Valuable as a recorder of facts and details, he is not an author who will be read for the interest of his narrative, or the excellence of his style.

The short but interesting work of the Sultán Fíroz Sháh, almost as rare in India as in Europe, is now first brought to notice. The Editor has made the translation from a unique copy belonging to Mr. E. Thomas.

Tímúr's irruption into India is fully represented by the extracts from his own memoirs, and from the work of his panegyrist, Sharafu-d dín Yazdí; but there is more matter in store upon this period from other writers.

[1] Lest this statement should excite a feeling of misgiving as to the licence taken with the Text, the Editor refers to Nos. IV., 1869, and I., 1870, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in which a literal translation of the history of 'Alâu-d dín's reign has been published since the present translation has been in print.

In the Appendix there is a careful and exhaustive analysis by Sir H. Elliot of several of the poetical works of Amír Khusrú, from which he has culled all the passages which, in his judgment, have an historical bearing. He has performed the same office for a far inferior poet, Badr Chách. The two succeeding articles are the work of the Editor. The first is taken from an article in the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.;* the other from the Travels of Ibn Batúta. The former is but little known, and in India is almost inaccessible. Both these works were published in French. They afford many curious and interesting illustrations of the period covered by this volume; so to bring them to the knowledge of the many Indian readers who are conversant with our own tongue, copious extracts, translated into English, have been here introduced.

The following is a statement of the various articles in this volume, with the names of their respective authors, and to this the reader is referred if he desires to ascertain the authority for any article or passage. It will be seen that somewhat more than two-thirds of the contents have been supplied by the Editor, and this has made it undesirable to keep up throughout the use of the brackets [ ] to mark the Editor's additions. Where this table shows a translation to have been made by the Editor, the whole of it, notes and all, are to be considered his, and no brackets are used. Sir H. M. Elliot had made preparation, more or less,

for all the bibliographical notices: in these, and in those translations which the table shows to have been made by Sir H. Elliot, or by his coadjutors, the brackets indicate the Editor's additions.

X.—Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh—A *munshí* revised by Editor.
XI.—Táríkh-i Wassáf—Part by Sir H. M. Elliot and part by a *munshí*, revised by him.
XII.—Táríkh-i Binákití—A few lines by Editor.
XIII.—Táríkh-i Guzída—Revised by Editor.
XIV.—Táríkh-i 'Aláí.—Sir H. M. Elliot.
XV.—Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí, of Zíáu-d dín Barní—Editor.
XVI.—Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí, of Shams-i Siráj—Editor.
XVII.—Futuhát-i Fíroz Sháhí.—Editor.
XVIII.—Malfúzát-i Tímúrí—Page 394 to 421 by Mr. C. E. Chapman, B.C.S.; page 422 to 477 by Editor.
XIX.—Zafar-náma—Editor.

APPENDIX.

A.—Poems of Amír Khusrú—Sir H. M. Elliot.
B.—Poems of Badr Chách—Sir H. M. Elliot.
C.—Masáliku-l Absár—Editor.
D.—Travels of Ibn Batúta.—Editor.
E.—Notes on the Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí—Editor.

The Editor much regrets the length of time which the printing of this Volume has occupied. The delay has, in some degree, arisen from causes over which he had no control, but principally from his having had to supply so large a portion of the matter from his own pen. When the extent of this is taken into consideration, the time engaged may not appear excessive.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

PAGE

X. *Jámi'u-t Tawáríkh*, of Rashídu-dín - - - - - - 1

XI. *Tazjiyatu-l Amsár wa Tajriyatu-l A'sár*, of 'Abdu-llah, Wassáf - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 24

XII. *Táríkh-i Binákití*, of Fakhru-d dín, Binákití - - - 55

XIII. *Táríkh-i Guzída*, of Hamdu-lla, Mustaufí - - - - 60

XIV. *Táríkh-i 'Alái;* or, *Khazáinu-l Futúh*, of Amír Khusrú 67

XV. *Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, of Zíáu-d dín, Barní - - - 93

XVI. *Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, of Shams-i Siráj, 'Afíf - - - 269

XVII. *Futuhát-i Fíroz Sháhí*, of Sultán Fíroz Sháh - - - 374

XVIII. *Malfúzát-i Tímúrí*, or *Túzak-i Tímúrí:* The Autobiography of Tímúr - - - - - - - - - - - - 389

XIX. *Zafar-náma*, of Sharafu-d dín, Yazdí - - - - - - 478

APPENDIX.

A.—Poems of Amír Khusrú - - - - - - - - - - - 523

1. *Kiránu-s Sa'dain* - - - - - - - - - - - - - 524

2. *Ghurratu-l kamál; Miftáhu-l futúh* - - - - - - 534

3. *'Ashíka* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 544

4. *Nuh Sipihr* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 557

5. *I'jáz-i Khusruwí* - - - - - - - - - - - - 566

B.—*Kasáid*, of Badr Chách - - - - - - - - - - - 567

C.—*Masáliku-l Absár fí Mamáliku-l Amsár*, of Shahábu-d din Abú-l Abbás Ahmad - - - - - - - - - - - 573

D.—Travels of Ibn Batúta - - - - - - - - - - - - 585

E.—Note to the Translation of the *Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, of Zíáu-d dín Barní - - - - - - - - - - - - 620

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 121, five lines from bottom, omit "(Pilibhit)."

„ 146, omit the note: "Jhâin must be Ujjáin."

„ 158, Gold Stars. See note of Sir Walter Elliot in Thomas's Coins of the Pathán Sultáns, new edition, page 169.

„ 303, para. 3, line 11, omit the word "silver."

„ 311, line 16, to the word "Torábánd," add a note, "Possibly this is a pun on the words *Terá banda*, 'thy slave.'"

„ 400, line 4, for "1408," read "1398."

„ 421, to the word "Rudanah," add a note, "See note in page 488."

„ 427, to the word "Sarsúti," add "Sirsah."

„ 430, to note 1, add, "This is Fíroz Sháh's bridge."

„ 468, line 7, to "*jins* (specie)," add a note, "See note in Appendix, p. 626."

HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

X.

JÁMI'U-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

RASHÍDU-D DÍN.

THE JÁMI'U-T-TAWÁRÍKH RASHÍDÍ was completed in A.H. 710 —A.D. 1310. The author Fazlu-llah Rashíd, or Rashídu-d dín ibn 'Imádu-d daula Abú-l Khair ibn Muwáfiku-d daula,[1] was born in A.H. 645—A.D. 1247, in the city of Hamadán.[2] His practice of the medical art brought him into notice at the court of the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. He passed part of his life in the service of Abáká Khán, the Tartar king of Persia, and one of the descendants of Húlákú Khán. At a subsequent period, Gházán Khán, who was a friend to literature and the sciences, and who appreciated the merits of Rashídu-d dín at their proper value, appointed him to the post of Wazír in A.H. 697—A.D. 1297, in conjunction with Sa'du-d dín. Rashídu-d dín was maintained in his office by Uljáítú, surnamed Khudá-banda, the brother and successor of Gházán Khán, and was treated by him with great consideration and rewarded with the utmost liberality. The author himself

[1] [D'Ohsson says that he was also called Rashídu-d daulat and Rashídu-l hakk wau-d dín. Hist. des Mongols xxxiii.]

[2] [The biographical portion of this article is, for the most part, taken from Mr. Morley's Notice of the Author, in Vol. VI. of the Journal of the R. As. Soc.]

admits that no sovereign ever lavished upon a subject such enormous sums as he had received from Uljáítú Khán.

Rashídu-d dín and his successive colleagues did not manage to conduct the administration with unanimity; but this seems to have arisen less from any infirmity of our author's temper than from the envy and malice which actuated his enemies. In his first rupture with Sa'du-d dín he was compelled, in self-defence, to denounce him, and to cause him to be put to death. 'Alí Sháh Jabalán, a person of low origin, who had managed by his talents and intrigues to raise himself into consideration, was appointed Sa'du-d dín's successor at Rashídu-d dín's request, but with him he had shortly so serious a misunderstanding, that the Sultán was compelled to divide their jurisdiction, assigning the care of the Western provinces to 'Alí Sháh, and the Eastern to Rashídu-d dín.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, the two Wazírs continued at enmity, and shortly after the death of Uljáítú, who was succeeded by his son Abú Sa'íd, 'Alí Sháh so far succeeded in prejudicing the Sultan against the old minister[1] that he was, after many years' faithful service, removed from the Wazárat in A.H. 717—A.D. 1317. A short time afterwards he was recalled, in order to remedy the mal-administration which was occasioned by his absence, but it was not long before he again lost favour at court, and was accused of causing the death of his patron Uljáítú Khán. It was charged against him that he had recommended a purgative medicine to be administered to the deceased chief, in opposition to the advice of another physician, and that under its effects the king had expired. Rashídu-d dín was condemned to death, and his family were, after the usual Asiatic fashion, involved in his destruction. His son Ibráhím, the chief butler, who was only sixteen years old, and by whose hands the potion was said to have been given to the chief, was put to death before the eyes of his parent, who was immediately afterwards cloven in

[1] Mod. Univ. Hist., iv. 401.

twain by the executioner. Rashídu-d dín was 73 years[1] old when he died, and his death occurred in A.H. 718—A.D. 1318. His head was borne through the streets of Tabríz, and proclaimed by the public crier as the head of a Jew, his children and relatives had their property confiscated, and the Rab'a Rashídí, a suburb which he had built at an enormous expense, was given up to pillage, His eldest son, Ghiyásu-d dín, was subsequently raised to the same dignities as his father, and met with an equally tragical death.

"The body of the murdered Wazír was buried near the mosque which he had constructed in Tabríz, but it was not destined to repose quietly in its last asylum. Nearly a century after his death, the government of Tabríz, together with that of the whole province of Ázarbáíján, was given by Tímúr Lang to his son Mírán Sháh. The young prince, naturally of a mild disposition, had become partially deranged, in consequence of an injury of the head occasioned by a fall from his horse, and one day, during a temporary access of madness, he caused the bones of Rashídu-d dín to be exhumed, and they were finally deposited in the cemetery of the Jews,—a renewal of the insult offered by his enemies during his life and at the time of his death, in order to render his name odious amongst Musulmáns."[2]

"Almost all those who had conspired to ruin Rashídu-d dín perished in the course of the following year. 'Alí Sháh, the one most deserving of punishment, alone survived to enjoy the fruits of his crime. He continued by his address to maintain his high honours and the favour of his master for the space of six years, when he died, being the only Wazír, since the establishment of the Mongol monarchy, who had not met with a violent death."

[1] This is the age assigned by M. Quatremère (*Coll. Orientale*, Tom. I. p. xliv.) but these must have been lunar years, if he was born in A.D. 1247.—Hammer-Purgstall says, Rashídu-d dín was 80 years old when he died. (*Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol. ii. p. 260.) Háji Khalfa gives 717 as the year of his death, but Sádik has it right.

[2] ["This calumny was probably grounded upon the particular attention he had paid to the history and customs of the Jews." Morley.]

Rashídu-d dín was endowed with a wonderful degree of ability and industry. "Few men, even of those who have devoted their lives to research, could hope to attain the knowledge acquired by him; and when we recollect that from his youth upwards he was involved in the intrigues and tumults of the court, and that he bore the principal weight of the administration of an immense empire under three successive Sultáns, we cannot but feel the highest respect for his talents. Besides medicine, together with those sciences which are immediately connected with it, he had cultivated with success agriculture, architecture, and metaphysics, and had rendered himself conversant with the most abstruse points of Musulmán controversy and doctrine. He was also an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with the Persian, Arabic, Mongolian, Turkish, and Hebrew languages, and, as it seems from his works, with the Chinese also. Amongst his great natural powers, we may reckon as the most important, the talent of writing with extreme facility; this is attested by the voluminous extent of his works, and by a passage in one of his writings, in which he asserts that he composed three of his greatest works, viz.: the *Kitábu-t tauzíhát*, the *Miftáhu-t tafásír*, and the *Risálatu-s Sultánîat*, in the short space of eleven months, and this not by giving up his whole time to his literary labours, but in the midst of the cares of government, and without reckoning numerous other treatises on various intricate subjects, which were written by him during the same period," such as a book on Rural Economy, and works on Theology, Medicine, and Musulmán Theology.

"It was not till somewhat late in life that Rashídu-d dín turned his thoughts to authorship, and until his master, Gházán Khán, ordered him to compose a history of the Mongols, he had not ventured to commit the results of his learning and meditations to the judgment of the world." This history occupies the first volume of the *Jámi'u-t-Tawárikh*, and has received the highest commendations from European scholars.

"The work was on the point of completion when Gházán Khán

died, A.H. 703—A.D. 1303. Uljáítú Khán, his successor, not only approved of the plan which our author had followed, and the manner in which he had executed his task, but enjoined him to complete it, and to add thereto a general account of all the people known to the Mongols, and a description of all the countries of the globe. Rashídu-d dín undertook this laborious work, and a few years sufficed for its accomplishment, for we find that in A.H. 710—A.D. 1310, the entire history was written, bound, and deposited in the mosque constructed by the author at Tabríz. It is true that the author of the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* affirms, that Rashídu-d dín continued his work till A.H. 712, but this, probably, only applies to that portion of it which gives the history of Uljáítú. Haidar Rází, in his General History, says, that the portion relating to India was completed in A.H. 703, the period when our author received orders to commence his researches." Still it is evident that he copied from Wassáf, who wrote upon his Indian history down to 710 A.H.

The entire work, when completed, received from its author the title of *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, or "Collection of Histories," a very appropriate name, for it is not a general consecutive history, but consists of several independent works, arranged and bound up together in different order according to the fancy of the copyist. Thus the first volume is often considered as a history by itself, and as such is called the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, after the Prince by whose orders it was composed, and to whom it was dedicated.

[The value of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* is unquestionable, but Rashídu-d dín must be ranked as a compiler, or copyist, rather than among historians. He borrows by wholesale from his predecessors, appropriating their productions, with all their errors, and without any critical examination or judgment of his own. It is to his credit, however, that he fairly and openly acknowledges the sources from which he has borrowed; and he occasionally makes additions which may be his own, or which may have been derived from other unknown sources. For the geographical

account of India[1] he is avowedly indebted to Bírúní, though he adds some passages in continuation.[2] In his account of the Ghaznivides "he follows 'Utbí implicitly as far as the *Yamíní* extends, taking out not only the facts, but giving a literal translation even to the images and similes." He makes no attempt to improve or supplement that work, his account of the Ghaznivides closes where that closes, and so he omits all notice of the famous expedition to Somnát.[3] The *Tárikh-i Jahán-Kushá* has also been laid under contribution. D'Ohsson finds that he often copied it word for word, but he adds, "the history of the Wazír Rashíd is the most complete, and that in which the best order and method prevail; his style also has that noble simplicity suitable to historical writings."[4] Wassáf, a contemporary of Rashídu-d dín, is another of those from whom he copied; and further investigation will probably reveal more of the sources of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*.[5]]

It seems to have been doubted whether the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* was originally written in Arabic or Persian. Most authors who have mentioned the work consider it to have been written in Persian, and translated, under the author's direction, into Arabic;[6] but it is certain that no Persian copies were very generally available in Akbar's time, for 'Abdu-l Kádir Badáúní states, under the transactions of A.H. 1000, that he was directed by the Emperor to translate the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* from Arabic into

[1] [Vol. I. p. 44.] [2] [Vol. I. p. 67.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. 430; Jour. R. A. S. New Series, Vol. III. p. 426].

[4] [D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols, I. xlii. and 235.]

[5] [David's Turkish Grammar, p. iii.]

[6] [M. Quartremère concurs, and adds, "Mais ce qu'il y a de sûr, et que l'auteur atteste de la manière la plus formelle, au moment où il déposa dans la grande mosquée construit par lui à Tabriz une collection complète de ses ouvrages, il fit traduire en arabe ce qui avait été primitivement écrit en persan et, en persan ce qui était rédigé en langue arabe.—Ainsi lés deux rédactions ont été éxecutées par l'auteur lui-même, ou, au moins, sous sa direction—Par conséquent elles se trouvent egalement authentiques."—*Jour. des Sav.* Sep. 1850. A further and decisive argument may be drawn from the fact previously noticed, that proper names are occasionally met with in the Arabic version, in which a Persian preposition before a name, or a numeral immediately after it, is taken as being part and parcel of the name itself.—See Vol. I. p. 62.]

Persian. It does not exactly appear from the text whether this was an abridgment or a translation, but the portion which was completed by 'Abdu-l Kádir is distinctly said to have been translated from the Arabic. It is curious that an interlinear translation of a part of the history, executed under the orders of Colonel Francklin, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society, should also bear the name of 'Abdu-l Kádir, who thus appears to have executed a second time what his namesake had done before him more than 250 years ago.

A portion of the *Tárikh-i Gházání* has been admirably translated by M. Quatremère in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*, and we are indebted to him for a full account of our author's biography and his literary merits. M. Erdmann promised an edition of the complete text of the *Jámi'*[1] [which has never appeared, but he has given a short extract therefrom upon "Barkiarok's Regierung" in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (vol. IX. 800)].

The following account of the contents of the entire *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, is taken from a notice in Arabic, by Rashídu-d dín himself, prefixed to a MS. of his theological works, in the Royal Library at Paris.

"The book called the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, comprises four volumes, the first of which contains a preface, an account of the origin of the nations of the Turks, the number of their tribes, and an account of the Kings, Kháns, Amírs, and great men who have sprung from each tribe; also of the ancestors of Changíz Khán, the history of that monarch's actions, and of his children and descendants, who have occupied the throne down to the time of Uljáitú Sultan. To the life of each prince is added his genealogy, an account of his character, and of his wives and children, a notice of the Khalífas, Kings, Sultáns, and Atábaks, who were contemporary with him, and a history of the remarkable events that occurred during his reign.

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322. [The work has been translated into Russian, and a "Tatar translation" has also been made—*Zeitschrif D. M. G.* VI. 125—IX. 800.]

"The second volume contains an introduction and a history of the life of Uljáítú from the time of his birth to the present day; to this portion of the second volume will be added a supplement, comprising an account of the daily actions of this prince, written by me, and afterwards continued by the court historians. This second volume also contains a concise history of the Prophets, Sultáns, and Kings of the universe, from the days of Adam to the present time, together with a detailed account of many people, of whom historians have, till now, given little or no description. All that I have said respecting them I have taken from their own books, and from the mouths of the learned men of each nation; it also gives the history of the People of the Book, viz., the Jews and the Christians, and the histories of the Sultáns and most celebrated Princes of each country; also an account of the Ismaílís, and many curious and instructive particulars.

"The third volume gives, after the preface, a detailed account of the descent of the Prophets, Kings, Khalífas, the Arab tribes, the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, etc., from the time of Adam to the end of the dynasty of the Baní 'Abbás; the genealogy of the ancestors of Muhammad, and of the tribes descended from them; the series of Prophets who have appeared amongst the Baní Isráíl, the Kings of the latter, and an enumeration of their different tribes; the genealogies of the Kaisers and others of the Christian princes, with their names and the number of years of their respective reigns. All these details have been faithfully extracted from the chronicles of these people, and arranged in systematic order.

"The fourth volume comprises a preface and a circumstantial account of the limits of each of the seven climates, the division and extent of the vast countries of the globe, the geographical position and description of the greater part of the cities, seas, lakes, valleys, and mountains, with their longitudes and latitudes. In writing this portion of our work, we have not been satisfied merely with extracts from the most esteemed geographical works, but we have, besides, made inquiries from the most learned men,

and those who have themselves visited the countries described; we have inserted in our relation, particulars obtained from the learned men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, the countries of the Franks, etc., and others which have been faithfully extracted from works written in the languages of those different countries."

This is the account given by our author himself of his work; it must, however, be remarked, that in the preface to the *Tárikh-i Gházání* and in many other passages, he speaks of three volumes only, writing, under the head of the second, the matters which here form the contents of the second and third. The easiest way of accounting for this contradiction is to suppose that he subsequently divided this second volume into two portions, on account of its great bulk and disproportion in size to the others.

In the preface to the *Tárikh-i Gházání* the work is divided, as mentioned above, into three volumes, according to the following distribution:—

The contents of the first volume are the same as given in the preceding description, and it is dedicated to Gházán Khán. It comprises two books and several sections.

The second volume contains the history of Uljáítú Sultán (to whom it was dedicated), from his birth to the time when our author wrote; this forms the first division of the volume. The second division comprises two parts, the first of which is again sub-divided into two sections. The first section contains an abridged history of all the Prophets, Khalífas, and of the different races of men, to the year of the Flight, 700. The second section comprises a detailed chronicle of all the inhabitants of the earth, according to their races, extracted from their various writings, and from the mouths of natives of the different countries. The second part is filled with the remaining portion of the history of Uljáítú, "the Sultán of Islám," as he is styled, and was destined to be continued in chronological order to the time of his death. "The historians who are, or may be, servants of the court, will take care to write this, and add it as a supplement to this second volume."

The third volume comprises the description of the Geographical charts, and the various routes from one place to another, taken from the sources already mentioned. "The author has, as far as was in his power, multiplied and verified his researches from all that was previously known on the subject in this country, whether described in books or drawn in charts. To this he has added all that, during this fortunate epoch, the philosophers and wise men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, Farang, and other countries have written, and has entered it all in this third volume, after having fully ascertained its authority."

The extended notice which is here given to Rashídu-d dín and the *Jámi'u-t-Tawárikh*, is not only due to his merits and to the curious sources of his information on Indian subjects, but to the interest which was excited some years ago by the discovery, under very peculiar circumstances, of a large portion of the work which, up to that time, was supposed to be lost.

A full account of this curious discovery is given in the sixth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. W. Morley, while engaged in making a catalogue of the Society's MSS., met with an imperfect Arabic MS., which proved to be a portion of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*. It was written in a beautiful and very old Naskhí hand, with many pictures very creditably executed. He addressed a letter to the Society, giving an account of his discovery, and before the letter was published Professor Forbes accidentally fell in with a much larger portion of the same MS., comprising one half the original volume, of which the Society's fragment formed about one-fifth. The two fragments proved to be parts of the same original, and were thus brought together after many years, perhaps centuries, of separation. This larger portion of the MS. of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* belonged to Colonel John Baillie, an eminent orientalist. Shortly after his death, his MSS. and books were prepared for transmission to the family seat in Inverness-shire, but before they were actually despatched Professor Forbes obtained a sight of them. He there picked out a fine large historical MS. on the back of which

was written, in a distinct Persian hand, "*Tárikh-i Tabarí*," and as if this were not sufficient, there was a note written in Persian, on a blank page, folio 154, of which the following is a literal translation. "The name of this book is *The Tárikh-i Tabarí*, (the History or Chronicle of Tabarí), the author's autograph. The whole number of leaves, when complete, amounted to 303; now, however, some one has stolen and carried off one half of it, or about 150 leaves. It was written by the author's own hand, in the year of the Hijra 706 (A.D. 1306–7.") This description of the MS. as being the work of Tabarí was, from the date alone, very suspicious and unsatisfactory, and Professor Forbes, in his enquiries, was eventually led to examine the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, when the two MSS. proved to be indubitably portions of one and the same book.

These discoveries were communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a request was made that the Society would interest itself in searching for manuscripts of the work. A circular was in consequence issued to many of the native chiefs and literati of India, but no satisfactory reply was received. Upon that occasion I pointed out to the Society that the work was probably in their own library, for that an anonymous volume purporting to contain precisely the same matter, was brought by Sir J. Malcolm from Persia, and presented to the College of Fort William, as appeared from a notice at the end of Stewart's Catalogue of Típú Sultán's Library. The work was searched for and discovered, in consequence of this information, among those which were transferred from the College to the Asiatic Society.[1]

It was not till some years afterwards that I had the satisfaction of reading the superb French publication, entitled *Collection Orientale*, in the preface to the first volume of which I found that the very same enquiry had been suggested by M. Quatremère, in the following passage: "au nombre des MSS. apportés de Perse par le Major Malcolm et offerts par lui au Collége du Fort William, je trouve un ouvrage ayant pour titre

[1] See Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. X. p. 934.

Djami-altawarikh-kadim. Ce livre ferait-il partie du travail de Rashideldin ? C'est ce que je n'ai pu vérifier."[1] Had this enquiry then attracted the attention of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it would have resulted in an earlier discovery of the missing volume; but when at last it was drawn forth from their library, it had become of comparatively little importance, for, in the mean time, a manuscript of the Persian original had been found in the library of the East India House, of which a full description was shortly after given by Mr. Morley in the seventh volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, from which the following extract is taken :—

"The MS. in question is of a large folio size, and contains in all 1189 pages; but as numerous spaces have been left for the insertion of paintings, the actual volume of the work is not equal to its apparent extent; the character is a small and tolerably clear Nast'alík; the transcriber was evidently both careless and ignorant, and the text abounds with errors,—this is particularly conspicuous in the spelling of the names of places and individuals, the same name being frequently written in two or three different ways in the same page; many considerable omissions also occur in the body of the work, the original from which our MS. was transcribed being, in all probability, damaged or defective in those parts.

"The *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* consists of a collection of histories (as its name imports), each distinct from the other and complete in itself. Those contained in our MS. occur in the following order :—

"I. A general history of Persia and Arabia, from the earliest times to the fall of the Khiláfat; this history comprises a preface and two sections. The preface contains an account of Adam and his children, of Núh and his posterity, of the reign of Kaiúmars, the first of the kings of Fárs, and of the tribes of the Arabs, to the time of the prophet Muhammad. This preface mentions that the history was composed in the year of the Flight 700, from various traditional and written authorities.

[1] *Vie et les ouvrages de Rashideldin*, seconde partie, p. lxxxv.

"Section 1 contains a history of the kings of Fárs, and of the events that occurred in their respective reigns; also accounts of the prophets from the time of Kaiúmars until that of Yazdajird, the last of the kings of 'Ajam.

"Section 2 contains a copious and detailed history of the prophet Muhammad and his Khalífas to the time of Al Mustasim bi-llah. This history, which in our MS. comprises 364 pages, was transcribed in the month of Shawwál, in the year of the Flight 1081. It is contained entire in the MS. of Colonel Baillie, with the absence of forty-six leaves, seven of which are, however, to be found in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"II. A concise history of the Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín, the Ghaznivides, the Sámánides, the Buwaihides, and some others, to the time of Abú-l Fath Maudúd bin Mas'úd, and the year of his death, viz., the 547th of the Flight. This history comprises fifty-six pages, and was transcribed in the month Zi'l hijja, and the 1031st year of the Flight. This is also in Colonel Baillie's MS., of which it forms the third portion.

"III. A history of the Saljúkí kings and of the Atábaks, to the time of Tughril bin Muhammad bin Malik Sháh, the last of the Saljúks, who was slain in the year of Flight 589. It comprises forty-two pages.

"To this history is added a supplement, composed by Abú Hámid Ibn Ibráhím, in the year of the Flight 599; it contains an account of the fall of the Saljúks, and the history of the kings of Khwárizm, to the time of Jalálu-d din, the last of that dynasty. This supplement comprises twenty-five pages, and apparently formed part of the original *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, as Professor Forbes mentions two leaves existing at the end of Colonel Baillie's MS., which are occupied with the history of Khwárizm.

"IV. A history of Ughúz, and of the other Sultáns and Kings of the Turks; it comprises twenty-two pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Kháns of Chín and Máchín.

"V. A history of Khitá, and of the Kings of Chín and

Máchín, to the time of the conquest by the Mongols. It comprises forty-six pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be succeeded by that of the Baní Isráíl. The concluding part of this account of Khitá is contained in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"VI. A history of the children of Israel, comprising forty-eight pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Franks, and the date of transcription is said to be the month Safar, in the year of the Flight 1082. The first portion of this history occurs in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"VII. A history of the Franks, from the creation of Adam to the time when the author wrote, viz., 705th year of the Flight, giving a short account of the various Emperors and Popes, amounting to little more than a list of mis-spelt names. It comprises 122 pages, and bears the date of Rabi'u-l-awwal, in the year of the Flight 1082.

"VIII. A history of the Sultáns of Hind and of the Hindús. It comprises 58 pages. This history exists in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, supplying the lacuna in that M.S, where about six pages are wanting.

"IX. A treatise on metempsychosis, extracted from the *Tauzihát-i Rashídí* by Rashídu-d dín. This treatise comprises 12 pages. The date of transcription is Rabí'u-l-awwal, in the 1082 year of the Flight; the name of the scribe is also here given, viz., Táhir Ibn Al Bákí Aláyí.

"X. The general preface and contents of the whole volume, headed, 'This is the book of the collection of histories.' This preface comprises eight pages. It has been published, with a translation by M. Quatremère, in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale.*

"XI. The first volume of the *Jámi'u-l Tawárikh*, entitled the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, and containing an account of the Turks and Mongols to the time of Uljáítú Khudá-banda, who reigned when the author completed his work. This history comprises 386

pages, and was transcribed in the mouth Sha'bán, and the year of the Flight 1082."

By comparing this table of contents with the one above given by Rashídu-d dín himself, it will be seen that the India-House Manuscript does not contain the entire work; the parts deficient being the first division of the second volume, containing the life of Uljáítú Sultán, with the supplementary journal, and the whole of the third volume, containing the geography.

It is, however, very probable that the last volume was never written, for we nowhere find any mention amongst Eastern authors of Rashídu-d dín as a writer on geography; and what gives greater colour to this probability is that he intersperses some of his narratives with geographical details, which, in many instances, might be considered to supersede the necessity of any further notice in a separate volume. This may be observed in the case of the Geography of India, his account of which has been printed in Vol. I. of this work. In that brief account he exhausts all that was then known to the Western Asiatics of the geography of India, and he could therefore merely have repeated in the third, what he had already given in the second volume.[1]

It does not appear that these successive discoveries of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* in English collections have been followed by others on the Continent of Europe. None have been announced from Paris, or Leyden, and two passages in the preface to the *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde* (p. xv. and xxi.) show that, up to 1840, no copy had been discovered in Germany.[2]

Mr. Morley perhaps attached a little too much importance to his discovery, for he entertained the same opinion as M. Quatremère, that the second portion of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* was

[1] [M. Quatremère, in reply to this opinion, argues in favour of Rashídu-d dín having written the volume on Geography, and says, "On peut donc conclure, avec certitude, que le traité de géographie se trouvait compris parmis les nombreux ouvrages composés par l'auteur."—*J. des Sav.* Sep. 1850.]

[2] [A letter of Dr. Dorn's in 1852 announced the discovery of the "third part of Rashídu-d dín's History" in the Caucasus, but nothing further is known of it.—*Zeitschrift, D. M. G.* vi. 406.]

altogether lost. To him is certainly due the credit of having rescued it from oblivion, but the work is by no means so much unknown as they had been led to suppose. Not only do Mírkhond and the author of the *Kímyá-i Sa'ádat*, notice it, as observed by Professor Forbes, but Sádik Isfahání quotes it under the article "Máchín" in his *Tahkíku-l Írák*, Muslihu-d din-al-Lárí quotes it in his *Mir-átu-l Adwár*, Hamdulla Mustaufí in his *Tárikh-i Guzída*, Táhir in the *Rauzatu-t Táhirín*, Ahmad-al-Ghaffárí in his *Nigáristán*, and Haidár Rází confesses to have extracted from it no less than 40,000 lines, if *bait* may be so translated, when referring to an historical work in prose.

In the library of the British Museum there is a very valuable copy of the Persian original (No. 7628, Addit.) written by different transcribers as early as A.D. 1314, four years before the author's death. This copy was noticed by Dr. Bernhard Dorn in the preface to his "*History of the Afgháns*," before the appearance of the articles above mentioned. It is supposed to have belonged to Uljáítú Khán, and to have come subsequently into the possession of Sháh Rukh, the son of Tímúr. It would indeed have been surprising had the work been so little known as is supposed, for we are informed in the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* and *Rauzatu-s Safá*, that the author expended no less than 60,000 dínárs in the transcription and binding of his own writings. Every precaution was taken by him to secure his labours from destruction, and considerable revenues were set aside for the purpose of copying and disseminating them, both in Arabic and Persian, throughout the most considerable cities of the Muhammadan world.

I know of no copy in India, except the Asiatic Society's volume, which will shortly receive more particular notice; but an exceedingly valuable portion of the Persian version, comprising the account of India, exists in the Royal Library at Lucknow, under the wrong title of *Tárikh-i Subuktigín*. It includes portions of three different books, for it begins with the history of Mahmúd Subuktigín and the dynasty of the

Ghaznivides, and contains the history of the Kings of Khwárizm, the Saljúkians, the Buwaihides, and part of the history of the Khalifs. It is embellished with paintings which are beyond the average degree of Asiatic merit, and the text is written in a clear *naskh* character, comprising one hundred and five folios, with thirty-five lines to a page. It would be useful for the purpose of collation, although in many parts it is written very incorrectly, especially in the names of places, where accuracy is particularly desirable. I know of two copies of the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, but they contain no portion which has not already been made familiar to the public by the French edition of M. Quatremère noticed above.[1]

In inquiries after this work care must be taken not to confound the *Jámi'u-r Rashídí* with the *Tárikh-i Rashídí*, which is common in Hindústán, and derives its name of *Rashídí* chiefly (though other reasons are assigned) from being dedicated to the reigning Khán of the Mughals, 'Abdu-r-Rashíd Khán, by its author, Mírza Haidar Dúghlát Gúrgán. It contains nothing respecting the History of India. There is also a Turkish work of the name of *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, of which there is an account in Von Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs* (Vol. ix. p. 180), and which the same author quotes as one of his authorities in his *Geschichte der Assassinen*. It was composed A.D. 1574, and is said to be compiled chiefly from the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* of Baizáwí, and *Bahjatu-t Tawárikh* of Shukru-lla. There is also an Arabic History, which, from similarity of name, may be mistaken for it, the *Mukhtasar Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, by Ibnu-l-Wárdí, a valuable general History from 1097 to 1543 A.D.

[1] Compare *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. V. pp. 265–272. *Journal des Savants*, 1838, pp. 501–514. Klaproth, *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 393. Von Hammer, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, pp. 12, 242. Dr. Bernhard Dorn, *Hist. of the Afghans*, p. xv. Wilken, *Hist. Ghaznevidarum*, p. xii. *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, Vol. IX. p. 1131; Vol. X. p. 934. *Sádik Isfahání*, p. 45. *Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322; 3rd Series, No. 36, pp. 571–589. *Collection Orientale*, Vol. I. pp. 1–175. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI. pp. 11–41; Vol. VII. pp. 267–272. *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol. II. pp. 150, 219, 243, 259–262. M. Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. I. pp. 138–441. Rampoldi, IX. 484. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* III. 334. *Haj. Khalfa* II. 509–511. Klaproth in Schmidt and Joh. *Actorum erud Supplementa* Tom. IX. 200. D'Herbelot, *v.* "Giame."

I will now proceed to describe the volume in the Asiatic Society's library, premising that it was copied A.H. 1098, and is written in a clear *nasta'lík* character:—

I. A history of the Saljúkí kings, to the last of the dynasty, Abú Tálib Tughril, son of Arslán. This extends to p. 44, where a continuation by Abú Hamid Muhammad, son of Ibráhím, commences, comprising also the history of the Sultáns of Khwárizm, extending from pp. 44 to 64.

II. A history of Úghúz and the Turks. From pp. 65 to 77. The epigraph states that it is followed by a history of China.

III. A history of the kháns and kings of Chín and Máchín, and of the capital called Khitá. The portraits in this book almost all represent the kings with two tails below their caps. At the end it is stated that this chapter is followed by an account of the Baní Isráíl. This history extends from pp. 78 to 114.

IV. A history of the children of Isráíl, said to be succeeded by a history of the Franks and Kaisers. From pp. 115 to 156.

V. This book is divided into two chapters and several sections.

Chapter 1st. Adam and his descendants.—Núh and his descendants.—Ibráhím and his descendants to the Virgin Mary.—Moses.—The kings of Persia.—The Greeks.—The Arabs.—Muhammad.—The Mughals.—The Khalífas to the close of the 'Abbáside dynasty.

Chapter 2nd. On the belief of Christians.—The country of Armenia.—The country, seas, and islands of the Franks.—The birth of the Messiah.—The Emperors of Rúm.—The Popes and Kaisers, with fancy portraits intended to represent each of these two last.

The proper sequence is interrupted by some mistake of the binder, but the whole of this unconnected book extends from pp. 157 to 467.

VI. A history of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín.—The Ghaznivides, Sámánides, and Buwaihides. The subdivisions of this book are as follows:—

Respecting the victory of Bust.—The victory of Kuzdár.—

Account of Sístán.—Regarding Kábús and Fakhru-d daula.—Concerning the restoration of Fakhru-d daula to his government, and his friendship with Hisámu-d daula Tásh.—Respecting Abú-l Hasan, son of Símhúr, and his administration in Khurásán, to the time of his death, and the succession of his son Abú 'Alí.—Regarding Fáik, and his condition after his defeat at Marv.—Retirement of Núh, son of Mansúr, from Bokhárá, and the arrival of Bughrá Khán at Bokhárá.—Regarding Abú-l Kásim, son of Símhúr and brother of Abú 'Alí, and his condition after his separation from his brother.—The Amíru-l Múminín Al Kádir Bi-llah confers a robe of honour on Sultán Yamínu-d Daula.—The return of 'Abdu-l Malik.—Abú Ibráhím Isma'íl and the occurrences between him, Ílak Khán, and Amír Nasr, son of Násiru-d dín.—Regarding the Sámání Amírs, and the occurrences of their reigns.—Relating to the friendship and enmity between Násiru-d dín Subuktigín, and Khalaf, son of Ahmad, and the assumption of the reins of government by the Sultán.—Respecting Shamsu-l Ma'álí Kábús, and his return to his country. The friendship and subsequent enmity between the Sultán and Ílak Khán.—Relating to the sacred war of Bhátiyah.—Respecting the capture of the fort of Bhím.—Regarding the family of the khalif Al Kádir Bi-llah, and his government.—His attachment to the Sultán and Baháu-d Daula, son of 'Azdu-d Daula.—An account of Baháu-d Daula.—Respecting the affair at Nárdín.—Relating to the sacred war of Ghor.—Regarding the traitors after their return from Máwaráu-n Nahr.—Relating to the retirement of Bughrá Khán from Bokhárá, and the return of Núh, son of Mansúr, to his home.—Respecting the Afgháns.—Amír Nasru-d dín, son of Násiru-d dín Subuktigín.—The reign of Muhammad, son of Mahmúd.—The reign of Abú-l Fath Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, son of Mahmúd. From pp. 468 to 523.

VII. On Hind and Sind and Shákmúní, divided into the following chapters and sections:—

Chapter 1st. On eras and revolutions.—The measurement of the earth.—On the four júgs.—The hills and waters of Hind.

—On its countries, cities, and towns.—On the islands.—The Sultáns of Dehli.—The birth of Básdeo, and the kings of India preceding Mahmúd.—On Kashmír, its hills, waters, and cities.—An account of the kings of the Trítá júg.—The kings of the Dwápar júg.—The kings of the Kal júg.

Chapter 2nd. An account of the prophets of the Hindús, of whom there are six of the highest class, Shákmúní being the sixth.—On the birth of Shákmúní.—On the properties and signs of a perfect man.—On the character, conduct, and sayings of Shákmúní.—On the austerities of Shákmúní, and his incorporation with the divine essence.—Further proceedings of Shákmúní.—On his appearance in various forms.—On the knowledge of certain prayers addressed to God.—On the different degrees of metempsychosis, and the number of hells.—How a man can become a god.—How a man can escape from the form of a beast.—How a man can escape from the form of another man.—On the difference between men and angels.—On the questions put to Shákmúní by the angels.—On the information given by Shákmúní respecting another prophet.—On the rewards of paradise and the punishments of hell, and the injunctions and prohibitions of Shákmúní.—On the establishment of his religion in Hind and Kashmír.—On the death of Shákmúní, and the events which followed. From pp. 524 to 572.

VIII. An essay in refutation of the doctrine of transmigration, extracted from the *Tauzihát-i Rashídí*. From pp. 572 to 581.

Size—Large folio, containing 581 pages, of 30 lines to a page.

It appears, therefore, that this volume comprises the same matter as the East India House MS., with the exception of the *Tárikh-i Gházání*, of which that MS. contains the first portion. The arrangement, however, of the several books is very different, as will be evident to any one who feels disposed to compare them.

[The portion of the *Jámi'* which relates to the geography of India has been printed in Vol. I. of this work (page 42); and that which describes the conflict of Jalálu-d dín Khwárizm Sháh with Changíz Khán, upon the banks of the Indus, will be found

in the Appendix to Vol. II. (page 550). The following extract is taken from the commencement of the history of the Ghaznivides (Chap. II. MS. E. I. L. Chap. IV. MS. As. Soc. of Bengal).]

EXTRACT.

It has been before mentioned in the history of Ughúz, son of Díb Yáwaghúí,[1] that his sons and descendants were all kings in succession down to the time of the mission of the chief of the apostles and seal of the prophets — Muhammad, the chosen, (may God bless him and his descendants !)

Tughril ruled in the city of Marv for twenty years, and after his death Túkák sat in his place; he reigned seven years, and was contemporary with the companions of the prophet. When he died, Dúkúz Yáwaghúí was raised to the throne and reigned twelve entire years. After his death, Sámán (or the noble born) was exalted to the sovereignty in the country of Máwaráu-n nahr, and he it is whom the Tázíks (Turks) call Sámán Jadá, since he was the ancestor of all the Sámánians. After him the sovereignty was given to Ughum Yáwaghúí. He was succeeded by Kúkam Yáwaghúí, who was a mere boy near the age of puberty. The nobles managed the administration of the kingdom and the appointment of its governors.

All at once an enemy, by name Faráshíb,[2] brought an army from all parts of the country against him, and oppressed both Turks and Arabs.[3] After some hard fighting the army of

[1] Ughúz was the son of Karà Khán, son of Díb Yáwaghúí, son of Uljáí, son of Yáfit. Díb Yáwaghúí یاوغوی in the history of Ughúz is called Díb Báwakú Khán, and it is stated that Díb signifies a throne and magnificence, and Báwakú a chief of the grandees. It is almost impossible to fix the orthography of the names of the earlier Mongols, as they are spelt differently in the various portions of each MS. where they occur. The reading Yáwaghúí is favoured by the majority of the readings, but the name occurs with ten or a dozen different spellings. [This uncertainty of spelling has already been remarked upon (Vol. II. p. 266). The forms of one well-known name are so numerous and various, from "Altamsh" to "Ilitmish," that they are scarcely to be identified, except by the initiated.]

[2] [Sometimes written Karáshíb.]

[3] [The meaning of this is not obvious. و ترک و تازي سخت کرد]

Kúkam Yáwaghúí was overcome and put to flight. The enemy plundered his house and took his infant brother a prisoner and endeavoured to capture Uljáí.

The forces of Kúkam Yáwaghúí again collected and recovered strength. With a feeling of honour and pride they all, men, women, and children, pursued Faráshíb. They slew and scattered his followers, and, returning victorious and triumphant, occupied themselves in managing the affairs of their government. After a few years the infant brother of Kúkam, whom they called Sarang, and who was kept in abject captivity, when he attained the age of manhood, sent to his brother Kúkam and asked him to despatch an army for his succour. Kúkam Yáwaghúí sent a thousand brave men of war and warriors against Faráshíb. When the two armies confronted each other, Sarang went over and joined his brother's army. A great conflict ensued. At last the battle ceased, and both parties retired to their respective camps. Sarang related his whole story before his brother, and said the enemy had given him the office of Sarhang[1] and porter. Kúkam Yáwaghúí said: "Let this treatment here recoil upon him.[2]"

Kúkam ruled twenty years, when he died suddenly. Sarang kept his brother in a coffin in his house for a whole year, and pretended that he was lying sick. He himself managed and carried on the affairs of government. After the lapse of a year the nobles assembled and told Sarang that he should show his brother to them if living, and if dead he should no longer conceal the fact, but seat himself upon the throne. Sarang wept and confessed that his brother had been dead a year past, but as he had numerous enemies, he had kept his death concealed. After this he brought out the corpse of his brother and buried it. He then mounted the throne and ruled for ten years.

[1] [سرهنکی انجا و دربانی فرمودند. The word *sarhang* must here bear its baser meaning of "serjeant, footsoldier, guardsman," and is probably connected with the name Sarang, which indeed is written "Sarhang" in one instance.]

[2] [بدان راه بکرد (بگرد) اینجاهم]

When he died his son[1] Subuktigín was named king. He was a Turk, in whom the signs of generosity and courage were apparent, and whose actions and sayings gave proofs of his future prosperity. He was a descendant of Díb Yáwaghúí, who belonged to the house of Ughúz.[2]

In the reign of Mansúr bin Núh Sámání, during the chamberlainship of Abú Is'hak, Alptigín was appointed commander of the army of Khurásán, and the management of all the affairs (of that country), and the control of all the servants, officers, and troops were entrusted to his care. Afterwards he was sent to Ghazna, and the government of that place was conferred on him. When Abú Is'hak came to Ghazna, after a short time he died, and as there was no one of his family fitted for the sovereignty, all the nobles[3] assembled and, with one accord and by the general voice, consented to the chiefship and sovereignty of Násiru-d dín Subuktigín.

[1] [چون وفات یافت پسرش سبکتکین‌را بپادشاهي قبول بکردند]

[2] [In both MSS.—E. I. L. and B. M.—Díb is here called the grandson of Ughúz, but at the beginning of this extract he is called the father, and he was in fact the grandfather of Ughúz, از استخواني فاني از نسل دیب باوقوي کنوادة اغوز بود]

[3] *Ham-kundn*, compeers.

XI.

TAZJIYATU-L AMSÁR WA TAJRIYATU-L A'SÁR

OF

'ABDU-LLAH, WASSÁF.[1]

[The author of this history, 'Abdu-llah, son of Fazlu-llah, of Shíráz, is commonly known by his literary name *Wassáf*, the Panegyrist. The title which he has given to his work, "A Ramble through the Regions and the Passing of Ages," is quite in keeping with its florid style. Different readings of the title are common, and, for simplicity's sake, the work is often called *Tárikh-i Wassáf*. The date of the work, as given in the preface, is the last day of Sha'bán 699 (March 1300), and the first four volumes were published about that time, for Rashídu-d dín borrowed from them, as has been already stated. But Wassáf subsequently resumed his labours, and, adding another volume to his history, brought the work down to the year 728 (1328 A.D.)

Rashídu-d dín, the wazír of Uljáítú and author of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*, was, as we have seen, more of a compiler than an author, but he had a just appreciation of those from whom he had borrowed, and was ready to acknowledge and requite his obligations. He extended his patronage to 'Abdu-llah, the author of the history before us, and under his auspices the author presented his work to the Sultán Uljáítú on the 24 Muharram

[1] [Sir H. Elliot, having lost his Biographical Notice of Wassáf, has left only a few notes which come in at the end of this article. The editor has drawn the first part of the article in great part from D'Ohsson.]

712 (June, 1312). This introduction had been long desired by 'Abdu-llah, and when he obtained it he recited an ode on the succession of the Sultán, and another in praise of his city of Sultániya. These productions were so full of metaphors that the sovereign was many times obliged to ask for explanations, but in the end he was so gratified that he conferred on the writer a robe of honour and the title "*Wassáfu-l Hazrat*, Panegyrist of his Majesty." In one of his chapters the writer dilates upon this incident with much self-complacency.

This work takes up the history at the point where the *Jahán Kushá* closes, and was designed as a continuation of that work, of which Wassáf expresses the highest opinion, and on which he expends a laboured panegyric. The facts recorded in the work the author professes to have gathered from the oral accounts of trustworthy persons.

The history opens with the death of Mangú Khán and the accession of Kublai Khán. In the third and fourth volumes it gives some notices of India, from which the following extracts are taken. The fourth volume closes with a summary retrospect of the reigns of Changíz Khán and his immediate successors. The fifth volume, subsequently written, is principally occupied with the reign of Abú Sa'íd. As a history of the Mongol dynasty the work is held in the highest estimation. There is not much in the work directly relating to India, and the extracts which follow this give all that is of importance in respect of that country.

D'Ohsson has made great use of this work in his History of the Mongols, in which he often refers to it and quotes it. Hammer-Purgstall made it the object of his especial attention, and has noticed it in several of his writings. He says "the history of Wassáf, so far as regards style, holds the same position in Persian as the Makámát of Harírí in Arabic, being an unapproachable model of rhetoric, and also, in the opinion of the Persians of historic art." He describes and dilates upon its difficulties, but is enthusiastic upon its merits as a literary com-

position, rating it above Harírí, "because Wassáf has decked the highly-embellished pages of his historical narrative with the choicest flowers of Arabic and Persian poetry, and has worked with equal labour and accuracy on the limited subject of geography and in the wide field of history." Sir H. Elliot, while admitting the style of Wassáf to be highly elaborated, considers Hammer's description of it to be rather overdrawn.] He says Hammer, in his notice of Aibak's reign, makes Wassáf to exceed the *Táju-l Ma-ásir* in ornateness, but this is not possible. In the extracts which follow, and which do not amount to one-fortieth part of Wassáf, there is more real matter on India than in a far greater extent of the *Táj*, though the latter work is specially devoted to that country.

Wassáf's reflections and opinions are judicious and appropriate, as where he speaks of 'Aláu-d dín slaying the ambassadors. He was partial to introducing Arabic words and phrases into his history; indeed some whole chapters are written in Arabic. The extract, for instance, which is given below, respecting the conquest of Somnát, is in Arabic, avowedly in imitation of 'Utbí. The first extract respecting Java has the Arabic words in italics in order to show their prevalence in his ordinary style. Some of the extracts are literal and some are abstract translations, with the omission of all superfluous words; but Wassáf is so full of useful historical matter that, after divesting his volume of all redundancies we should reduce them to only half their size, whereas, were the *Táju-l Ma-ásir* subjected to a similar process, not more than one-hundredth part of it would remain.

[An edition of Wassáf in lithograph, with a vocabulary of difficult words, was published at Bombay in 1853, and in 1856 Hammer-Purgstall published the first book of the text with a German translation, most beautifully printed in the Imperial printing office at Vienna. The further publication of the work has been interrupted by the death of the veteran and hard-working orientalist.

[In Sir H. Elliot's library there is only the 4th book of

Wassáf, and some loose leaves containing the text of the extracts printed below, very badly copied. The work is not rare in Europe, for several libraries contain copies.][1]

EXTRACTS.[2]

Conquest of the Island of Múl Jáva.[3]

Among the *easy conquests* during the *time* of the reign of Kublái Khán was *that of the island* of Múl Jáva, one *of the countries* of Hind, *in the months of the year* 691 H. *Having appointed* "a leader of an army who was a seeker of battle," he despatched him *with extreme splendour and immense preparations* "*upon ships traversing the waves of the sea.*" When *the men of the expedition* had brought *their ships to anchor at the shore of their desire*, they brought under *the bondage of their acquisition*, through fear *of the attack* of their swords, *an island* which could scarcely be called *an island*, as it was no less than two hundred parasangs *long* and one hundred and twenty broad.

The *ruler* of that country, Srí Rám, *intended* to pay his respects *to his majesty* with *offerings and humble representations*, but predestined *death* did not grant him *the power of moving*

[1] See Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schöne Redekünste Persiens. Ges. des Osmanischen Reichs. Die Ländeverwaltung unter dem Chalifate. Ilchane* II. *passim* and *Goldene Horde*, Index. *Nouveau Jour. Asiat.* XII. 1838. Ouseley, *Persian Poets*, p. 230. *Fundgruben des Or.* I. 113, VI. 274. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten* I. 272. *Nouv. Mel. As.* I. 437. Rampoldi, *Annali*, 1849, p. 48.

[2] [All these extracts from Wassáf were either translated or very extensively corrected by Sir H. Elliot himself.]

[3] D'Ohsson (*Histoire des Mongols*, II. 464) does not enter this expedition in his text, but mentions it only in a note. But from other authorities he gives an account of a naval expedition in 1293, against Tché-po or Koua-oua, which he thinks may probably refer to the Isle of Jáva. The "*Kawisprache*" applied to the language of Java gave this supposition great probability, but Wassáf and Rashídu-d dín both ascribe the expedition to 1292. The testimony of Marco Polo (Edinburgh Ed. p. 278), that "on account of the long and difficult navigation, the great Khán never could acquire dominion over Jáva" is of no value, because, as he left China in 1291, he must have reached the island before the expedition sailed for it. Mills considers the island to have been Borneo.—*History of Muhammedanism*, p. 212. See Col. Yule's *Cathay*, p. 518.

from that *place.* *Afterwards* his son came to the foot of the *sublime* throne and acquired *abundant good fortune by the bestowal of favours and kindnesses* without stint; and his majesty, after *fixing* an annual *tribute* in gold and the pearls of that *country, confirmed* him in *the possession* of it.

The true account of that *country* is, that it is *a portion* of the *portions of the ocean* full of *accumulated curiosities and abundant wealth,* with *plenty of all kinds of treasures and precious jewels, and charming products of ingenuity, and honourable gifts of merchandise,* displaying the *contrivances* of the incomparable one. That country *and all around it* is fragrant with *the odours of aloe-wood and cloves, and plains and precincts* are vocal with the notes of parrots, saying, "*I am a garden, the shrubs of which are envied by the freshness of the garden of Paradise,*" etc., and so forth.

* * * * *

Eulogium upon the Countries of Hind.

India, according to the concurrent opinion of all writers, is the most agreeable abode on the earth, and the most pleasant quarter of the world. Its dust is purer than air, and its air purer than purity itself; its delightful plains resemble the garden of Paradise, and the particles of its earth are like rubies and corals.[1]

Some commentators upon the Kurán, in the explanation of the account of Adam—(Peace be to him!)—have stated, that when our first father, having received the order to "go down," was about to descend from the gardens pleasant to the soul and delightful to the eye, to the wretched world below, the all-embracing grace of God made some of the mountains of the

[1] This opening sentence is the same as the one which commences the account of India in the rare Geographical work, called *Bahru-l buldán.* It is a translation of the *Asáru-l bilád* of Zakaríya Kazwíní, with a few alterations and additions, of which this is one. Another passage is taken from Wassáf's Chapter on the history of Dehli. [See Vol. I. of this work, p. 94.].

Isle of Ceylon to be the place of his descent.[1] This land is distinguished from all parts of the globe by its extreme temperateness, and by the purity of its water and air. If he had fallen at once from the best to the worst, the change would have caused the annihilation of his health and the destruction of his limbs. Indeed, the charms of the country and the softness of the air, together with the variety of its wealth, precious metals, stones, and other abundant productions, are beyond description. The leaves, the bark, and the exudations of the trees, the grass, and the woods of that country are cloves, spikenard, aloe-wood, sandal, camphor, and the fragrant wood of Mandal. White amber is the dregs of its sea, and its indigo and red Bakham wood are cosmetics and rouge for the face; the thorns and wormwoods of its fields are regulators of the source of life, and are useful electuaries in the art of healing for the throes of adverse fortune; its icy water is a ball of *múmiya* for the fractures of the world; and the benefits of its commerce display the peculiarities of alchemy; the hedges of its fields refresh the heart like the influence of the stars; and the margins and edges of its regions are bed-fellows of loveliness; its myrobalans impart the blackness of youthful hair; and its peppercorns put the mole of the face of beauty on the fire of envy; its rubies and cornelians are like the lips and cheeks of charming girls; its light-shedding recesses are all mines of coined gold; and its treasuries and depositories are like oceans full of polished gems; its trees are in continual freshness and verdure; and the zephyrs of its air are pure and odoriferous; the various birds of its boughs are sweet-singing parrots; and the pheasants of its gardens are all like graceful peacocks,—

"If it is asserted that Paradise is in India,
Be not surprised because Paradise itself is not comparable to it."

[1] The Oriental tradition runs, that when our first parents were cast out of Paradise, Adam descended in Ceylon, Eve at Jidda, the peacock in Hindústán, the serpent at Ispahán, and Iblís at Multán, or, according to some, Sístán. Respecting the print of Adam's foot, and its veneration equally by Buddhists and Musulmáns, see Reinaud's Geo. d' Aboulféda, Trad. Franc. Tom. II. p. 88.

If any one suppose that these selected epithets exceed all bounds, and think the author indulges in exaggeration and hyperbole, let him, after a deep reflection on this matter, ask his own heart whether, since the days of Adam till the present, from East to West or from North to South, there has ever been a country, to which people export gold, silver, commodities, and curiosities, and from which, in exchange, they bring away only thorns, dregs, dust, pebbles, and various aromatic roots, and from which money has never been sent to any place for the purchase of goods. If, by the will of God, he still deems my narrative to be overcharged with hyperbole, still he must admit these praises to be deservedly and justly applied. With all its diverse qualities and properties, it is reported that the extent of that territory is equal to the breadth of heaven.

Before proceeding further in this matter, I am anxious to give an account of the seven climates, and of the shape of the habitable part of the earth, the measure of the surface of which having been ascertained by geometrical demonstration and the figures of Euclid, has been recorded in the books of that philosopher. Although it has no great connection with this book, yet my desire is that my readers may be acquainted with the extent of these regions and the countries of that inhabited quarter of the world. The whole surface of the planisphere of the earth is divided into four equal parts by the intersection of two great circles, one proceeding east and one west, and the other the meridian, which crosses it at right angles. Two of the quarters lie to the north, one eastern, the other western; and two to the south, one eastern, and one western. Of these four quarters the north-eastern quarter is habitable, and contains the climates; and even within this quarter the high northern latitude, on account of extreme cold, is not habitable by animals, and the southern hemi-planisphere is also not habitable on account of excessive heat. The area of the whole globe (sea and land) is 132,416,400 míls, and the area of the habitable part is 8,143,300 parasangs, which is equal to 24,429,900 míls.[1]

[1] This is again subdivided in the text into yards, into digits, and into barleycorns.

[1] It is related by sufficient informants, experienced travellers, who have long fixed their staff in the country of Hind and raised the standards of enquiry and research, that the length, breadth, and the number of its most celebrated provinces are as follows :— Málibár, from the borders of Khor[2] to the country of Kúlam, is about 300 parasangs; that Búla,[3] from the beginning of Kambáyat to the borders of Málibár, is more than 400 parasangs; that Sawálik contains 125,000 cities and villages; and Málwá 1,893,000 towns and villages. And it may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Málwá died, and dissension arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of a part of that country. In consequence of these disturbances, every year incursions are made into it from most parts of Hind, much property and wealth, and captives, and fine linen (*kirbás*) are carried off, and as yet no change (for the better) has taken place.

Gújarát, which is commonly called Kambáyat, contains 70,000 villages and towns, all populous, and the people abound in wealth and luxuries. In the course of the four seasons of the year seventy different species of beautiful flowers grow within that province. "The purity of its air is so great that if the picture of an animal is drawn with the pen, it is life-like. And it is another matter of wonder that many plants and herbs are found wild and uncultivated there. You may always see the ground full of tulips even in the winter season. The air is healthy and the earth picturesque, neither too warm nor too cool, but in perpetual spring." The winter cultivation is brought about only through the moistness of dew, called *bárasi*. When that harvest is over they begin summer cultivation, which is dependent upon the influence of the rain. The vineyards in this country bring forth blue grapes twice a year; and the strength of the soil is so great

[1] Compare Rashídu-d dín's account in Vol. I. p, 67.]

[2] [See an article by Col. Yule, to appear in the *Jour. R.A.S.* New Series, Vol. IV.]

[3] [This name is so transcribed by Sir H. Elliot. In his Persian extracts the line in which the name occurs has been subsequently added in pencil; the name there reads "Dewal."]

that the cotton plants spread their branches like willows and plane trees, and yield produce for several years successively.

Had the author full leisure to express fully the circumstances of that country, and to ascertain them from trustworthy men and historians, and to devote a long period of his life to explain them, still he would not be able to record even a portion of the marvels and excellences of that country.

* * * * *

Ma'bar extends in length from Kúlam to Níláwar (Nellore), nearly three hundred parasangs along the sea-coast, and in the language of that country the king is called Dewar, which signifies the Lord of Empire. The curiosities of Chín and Máchín, and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from 'Irák and Khurásán as far as Rúm and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind.[1]

A few years since the Dewar was Sundar Pandí,[2] who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country. The eminent prince, the margrave (*marzbán*) of Hind, Takíu-d dín 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of Muhammadu-t Tíbí, whose virtues and accomplishments have for a long time been the theme of praise and admiration among the chief inhabitants of that beautiful country, was the Dewar's deputy, minister, and adviser, and was a man of sound judgment. Fitan, Malí Fitan and Kábil[3] were made over to his possession,

[1] [See Col. Yule's *Cathay*, pp. 218–19.]

[2] Sundar, or Sundara, was a common name among the Pándya Dynasty. The name originally belonged to a king of the north, who vanquished and wedded a princess of the family. Sundara is said to have been Siva in human form, and the tutelary deity of Madura is still Sundareswara, the linga erected by Sundara. See Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. lxxvi. and *Jour. R.A.S.* Vol. III. p. 199.

[3] [See Col. Yule in J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. IV.]

for he is still worthy (*kábil*) of having the Khutba read in his name, and, notwithstanding these high dignities, is not worthy of seditions (*fitna*).

It was a matter of agreement that Maliku-l Islám Jamálu-d dín and the merchants should embark every year from the island of Kais and land at Ma'bar 1,400 horses of his own breed, and of such generous origin that, in comparison with them the most celebrated horses of antiquity, such as the Rukhs of Rustam, etc., should be as worthless as the horse of the chess-board. It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Katíf, Lahsá, Bahrein, Hurmúz and Kulhátú. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dínárs of red gold, on this condition, that if any horses should sustain any injury during the voyage, or should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury. It is related by authentic writers, that in the reign of Atábak Abú Bakr, 10,000 horses were annually exported from these places to Ma'bar, Kambáyat, and other ports in their neighbourhood, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dínárs, which was paid out of the overflowing revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindú temples, and from the tax upon courtezans attached to them, and no charge was incurred by the public treasury. It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink.

Who gives sugar to an owl or crow?
Or who feeds a parrot with a carcase?
A crow should be fed with a dead body,
And a parrot with candy and sugar.
Who loads jewels on the back of an ass?
Or who would approve of giving dressed almonds to a cow?

They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs, in order that they may get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons.

They are equal to Burák in celerity, and are employed either in war or exercise. In a short time the most strong, swift, fresh, and active horses become weak, slow, useless, and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing. In this climate these powerful horses which fly swiftly without a whip (for whips are required for horses, especially if they are to go any distance), should they happen to cover, become exceedingly weak and altogether worn out and unfit for riding. There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually, and, consequently, the merchants of Muhammadan countries bring them to Ma'bar.[1] Their loss is not without its attendant advantage, for it is a providential ordinance of God that the western should continue in want of eastern products, and the eastern world of western products, and that the north should with labour procure the goods of the south, and the south be furnished in like manner with commodities brought in ships from the north. Consequently, the means of easy communication are always kept up between these different quarters, as the social nature of human beings necessarily requires and profits by.

Thou wert called a man because thou wert endowed with love.

In the months of the year 692 H. the above-mentioned Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, died, and left behind him much wealth and treasure. It is related by Maliku-l Islám Jamálu-d dín, that out of that treasure 7,000 oxen, laden with precious stones,

[1] These curious facts regarding the horse trade of Ma'bar are in striking accordance with the statements of Marco Polo, who visited that coast about twenty years before this was written. He says: "In this country no horses are reared, and hence the greater part of the revenue is employed in obtaining them from foreign regions. The merchants of Curmos, of Quisci, of Dufar, of Soer, and of Aden, whose provinces contain many steeds of fine quality, purchase, embark, and bring them to the king and his four princely brothers, selling them for 500 sagi of gold, worth more than 100 marcs of silver. I assure you this monarch buys annually more than 2,000, but by the end of the year they are all dead, from wanting the medicine necessary to keep them in health. The merchants who import them want this to happen, and are careful, therefore, not to introduce the cure."—*Travels*, Murray's Ed. p. 296. The Editor adds: "Count Boni (p. 172) has found in Tavernier and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, that frequent medicine and peculiar care are requisite to keep them in health." See also Marsden.

and pure gold and silver, fell to the share of the brother who succeeded him. Malik-i a'zam Takíu-d dín continued prime minister as before, and, in fact, ruler of that kingdom, and his glory and magnificence were raised a thousand times higher.[1]

Notwithstanding the immense wealth acquired by trade, he gave orders that whatever commodities and goods were imported from the remotest parts of China and Hind into Ma'bar, his agents and factors should be allowed the first selection, until which no one else was allowed to purchase. When he had selected his goods he despatched them on his own ships, or delivered them to merchants and ship owners to carry to the island of Kais. There also it was not permitted to any merchant to contract a bargain until the factors of Maliku-l Islám had selected what they required, and after that the merchants were allowed to buy whatever was suited to the wants of Ma'bar. The remnants were exported on ships and beasts of burden to the isles of the sea, and the countries of the east and west, and with the prices obtained by their sale such goods were purchased as were suitable for the home market; and the trade was so managed that the produce of the remotest China was consumed in the farthest west. No one has seen the like of it in the world.

> Nobility arises from danger, for the interest is ten in forty;
> If merchants dread risk they can derive no profit.

As the eminent dignity and great power of Malik-i a'zam Takíu-d dín, and Maliku-l Islám, and Jamálu-d dín were celebrated in most parts of Hind to even a greater extent than in Ma'bar, the rulers of distant countries have cultivated and been strengthened by their friendship, and continually kept up a correspondence with them, expressing their solicitations and desires. The correspondence, in Arabic, between Jamálu-d dín and Sultán 'Alí bin Huzabbaru-d dín Muwaiyid, will show the consideration in which he was held by contemporary princes.

* * * * *

[1] [See Col. Yule, *Cathay*, p. 218, 219, and *Jour. R. A. S.* (New Series), Vol. IV.]

Brief history of the Sultans of Dehli.

From Book III. of the MS.

Dehli is one of the southern countries, and in honour and in position is like the heart within the body, its provinces being placed around like the limbs and extremities. Its inhabitants are all Musulmáns, and ready for the prosecution of holy war. Its soil is odoriferous, its air temperate, its water pure, its gardens charming, and its plains spacious. Its disciplined armies exceed the number of 300,000 men.

The following are the most celebrated cities and tracts which lie between Khurásán and Hindustán, according to the testimony of eye-witnesses. After crossing the Panjáb, or five rivers, namely, Sind, Jelam, the river of Loháwar, Satlút[1] and Bíyah, there are Banian of the Júd Hills, Sodra, Jálandhar, the Kokar country, Multán, Uchh, Jásí, Sarsutí, Kaithal, Sanám, Tabarhindh,[2] Banadrí, Sámána, Hajnír, Kahrám and Nagor.

On travelling from Dehli to the province of Hind you proceed in this wise—'Iwaz (Oudh), Badáún, Karra Manikpúr, Behár, Silhet, Lakhnautí. Each of these places comprises several subordinate villages, and there are strong forts and towns and other inhabited spots, which cannot be noticed in this narrative on account of their great number.[3]

In the year 512 H. (1118 A.D.) Bahrám Sháh, a descendant of Mahmúd Subuktígín, became Sultán of Ghaznín, and after some time 'Aláu-d dín Husain bin Hasan, the first king of the Ghorians, attacked him and took his country, and seated his nephew on the throne of Ghaznín, after which he again returned to Dehli.

[1] [In the margin "Satlúj:" the Sutlej.]

[2] [Sarhindh—see note in Vol. II. p. 200, 302.]

[3] Some names of places have been omitted as being doubtful. The author's knowledge of the geography of Upper India is very imperfect. From the rivers of the Panjáb he omits the Chináb, and transposes the order of some of the others. He is not more fortunate in the former history of Hindústán, which differs so very much from all other authors, as to inspire little confidence, except, perhaps, in those passages where the proceedings of the Mughals are mentioned.

When Bahrám Sháh saw his hereditary country freed from the lions of Ghor, he again rose in arms and took the nephew of 'Aláu-d dín prisoner, and disgraced him by seating him on a cow and parading him round the walls of Ghaznín.

When 'Aláu-d dín heard this intelligence, he again marched to repel him, but before his arrival Bahrám Sháh had died, having received the order of God, and his son Khusrú had placed the royal crown upon his head, but not being able to oppose 'Aláu-d dín, he fled towards the country of Hind. 'Aláu-d dín plundered and massacred in Ghaznín, and after depopulating the country he took up his abode at Dehli. Khusrú Sháh died in the year 555 H. (1160 A.D.) and the dynasty of the Ghaznivides became extinct.

'Aláu-d dín Husain appointed (to the government of Ghaznín) his nephews, the sons of Sám, son of Hasan, namely Ghiyásu-d dín Abú-l fath Muhammad and Shahábu-d dín Abú-l Muzaffar. When Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín died, the government devolved alone upon Sultán Shahábu-d dín Ghorí, who was slain by some Hindú devotees in the year 602 H. (1205 A.D.)

As he had no son, Kutbu-d dín Aibak, his slave, succeeded him, and several important holy wars were undertaken by him. When he died, leaving no male child, a slave, by name Altamsh, ascended the throne under the name of Shamsu-d dín. He also engaged in many holy wars and conquests. He reigned for a long time in splendour and prosperity.

When he died he left two sons and one daughter, namely, Jalálu-d dín, Násiru-d dín, and Raziya. His slaves, Ulugh Khán, Katlagh Khán, Sankez Khán, Aibak Khitáí, Núr Beg, and Murád Beg 'Ajamí, forgot their gratitude to their old master, attacked Jalálu-d din, and aspired to independence. Jalálu-d dín fled in the year 651 H. (1253 A.D.), and sought the protection of Mangú Káán. Katlagh Khán and Sankez Khán, taking alarm at Ulugh Khán's proceedings, also followed Jalálu-d dín to the same court, upon which Ulugh Khán placed the virtuous Sultán Raziya, the sister of Jalálu-d dín, upon the throne, and himself became administrator, guide, counsellor, and ruler.

Mangú Káán treated Jalálu-d dín with great kindness, and ordered Sálí Bahádur to afford all the assistance which the Mughal army on the border was able to render; to escort him to his hereditary country, and cleanse his garden from the rubbish of the enmity of the slaves, who had realized the proverb of "flies have become rulers."

Jalálu-d dín returned, accompanied by Sálí Bahádur and his army, and reached as far as Hajnír (Ajmír) on the borders of Dehli, but beyond that they were not able to advance, and, therefore, retreated. Jalálu-d dín then took possession of the hills and the passes which led to them and Sodra, which were then in the occupation of the Mughals, and was there compelled to content himself with a small portion of the whole.

After some time, Ulugh Khán slew Sultán Raziya, and his son-in-law Násiru-d dín assumed the crown. After two or three years, during which Násiru-d dín held the name of king, while all substantial power was wielded by Ulugh Khán, he perfidiously cut off his son-in-law. When Ulugh Khán had cleared the country of his opponents, he himself placed his foot upon the throne, and assumed the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín. He took possession of the treasures, and brought the army into subjection to his orders. He flattered himself that the whole world of disobedience would be repressed during his time, and that the country would find security under his protection; but suddenly death, the exposer of ambushes, attacked him and gave a reply to all the schemes which he had contemplated against others, for the arrow of destruction was discharged at him from the hand of one whose power cannot be resisted. His death occurred in the year 686 H. (1287 A.D.)

He was succeeded by his grandson, Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-kobád, the son of Bughrá Khán. Meanwhile Hulákú Khán issued an order to Famlak,[1] who was the ruler of Sind, to bring Násiru-d dín, the son (of Ghiyásu-d dín) into his presence; and on his

[1] [So written in Sir H. Elliot's extract from Wassáf, but the real name is "Karlagh."]

arrival, Shamsu-d dín Kart and Prince Barghandí trumped up some accusation against him, and exposed the impurity of his conduct with such exaggeration, that he, as well as some of his chiefs and adherents, were brought to capital punishment under the law.

On receiving this intelligence, Malik Fíroz, who was governor of Khilj on the part of Násiru-d din, alarmed by his suspicions, went to Dehli, and entered into the service of Kai-kobád, whom he found in occupation of the throne, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself in his favour by the performance of many useful services. As many signs of wisdom and courage were observed in him, he was appointed to the government of Múltán, which is on the frontier of the kingdom, in order that he might preclude the possibility of any invasion by the Mughals. After he had been employed for some time, he was, according to the usual practice of the envious and inimical, accused of entering into a truce with the Mughals. In consequence of this he was recalled from his government, but refused to return, as he was apprehensive of the Sultán's anger.

Notwithstanding the frequent orders he received he made excuses and delayed his return. The Wazír became angry at his dilatoriness and opposition, and by orders of the Sultán, marched with a few followers towards Múltán to enforce his attendance. They met each other on the road, and as the Wazír addressed to him several harsh enquiries respecting the reason of his delay, Malik Fíroz answered his insolence by the tongue of his sharp sword, and slew the Wazír. He then hastened to the capital of the kingdom. The royal servants were alarmed at his approach, and the Sultán himself was disabled by sickness. The opportunity was favourable for Malik Fíroz, so he entered the royal apartments and slew the king. This happened on the night preceding the eighth of Shawwál 689 H. (October, 1290 A.D.).

In order to gratify the people, and silence the opposition of the army, he placed nominally upon the throne an infant son of the late king, by name Shamsu-d dín Kaiomars, and thus satisfied

the army; but a few days afterwards he sent the son to follow the father, and Malik Fíroz ascended an inauspicious throne on Friday, 25th Zí'l hijja (December) of the same year. He sufficiently provided for the defence of the frontier, and married his brother's son, 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad, whom he had himself brought up, to one of the princesses, and bestowed upon him the government of Oudh and Badáún. There 'Aláu-d dín remained for a long time, and, by degrees, collected a large army. It was reported to him that the Rái of Hind, whose capital was Deogir, had immense treasures in money and jewels, and he therefore conceived an intense desire of securing them for himself, as well as of conquering the country. He appointed spies to ascertain when the Rái's army was engaged in warfare, and then he advanced and took the country without the means which other kings think necessary for conquest. The prudent Rái, in order to save his life, gave his daughter to the Sultán, and made over to him his treasures and jewels.

'Aláu-d dín Muhammad, having laden all the beasts he could procure with his spoils, and giving thanks to God, returned to his own province. When Malik Fíroz heard of this, he sent an envoy to communicate the expression of his pleasure and congratulations at the victory, and invited him to the presence. These invitations were frequently repeated, and as often declined, till a suspicion of his rebellion arose, and induced Malik Fíroz to advance against him with an army.

When 'Aláu-d dín learnt his uncle's intentions, he began to entertain evil designs, and went with a few personal attendants to have an interview with him at Dehli; and the two parties met on the banks of the Jumna. Malik Fíroz, abandoning the course which prudence dictated, and relying upon the terror which his frontier and power inspired, as well as the natural affection which he supposed his nephew to entertain towards him, crossed the river with only five attendants, and went to the camp of 'Aláu-d dín.

When news was received of the approach of Malik Fíroz,

'Aláu-d dín advanced to receive him; and when he neared the river he went bare-footed, and, as usual, kissed the earth in the presence of his uncle, assuming a deportment of humility instead of his previous opposition, and behaving towards him as a son does towards a father. They then sat down and held a conversation together, and after a time Malik Fíroz took Sultán 'Aláu-d dín's hand and invited him to come to his camp. When they reached the bank of the river Malik Fíroz wished to enter the boat first, 'Aláu-d dín following him. Two of 'Aláu-d dín's servants, Ikhtiyáru-d dín and Mahmúd Sálim, went behind him and waited their opportunity. As Malik Fíroz had placed one foot on the boat, and was about to lift the other upon it, Ikhtiyáru-d dín struck at him with a sword and wounded his hand. Malik Fíroz, in alarm, tried to throw himself into the boat, but Mahmúd Sálim came up and dealt him such a blow that his head fell into the water and his trunk into the boat. This happened on the 18th Ramazán 695 H. (June 1296 A.D.). The period of his reign was nearly six years.

When the army of Malik Fíroz witnessed these transactions from the opposite bank, they were greatly excited, and to appease them 'Aláu-d dín distributed gold amongst the nobles and officers and thus gained their goodwill. Everyone felt himself compelled to proffer his allegiance, so they all returned to Dehli in company with him, and in the month of Zí-l ka'da 695 H. he arrived at the palace.

The garrison of the fort refused to open the gates, upon which 'Aláu-d dín placed bags filled with gold in his mangonels and discharged them into the fort, which had the effect of persuading them to abandon their resistance.

Two sons of Malik Fíroz, Kadar Khán and Arkalí Khán, who were at Múltán, were brought to Dehli and deprived of their eyes. So it is, that in this world the wise are depressed and the unworthy raised to honour and prosperity.

Sultán 'Aláu-d dín then ascended the throne in perfect security, and protected all the provinces of the empire by his great power.

Towards the beginning of his reign, Prince Katlagh Khwája, son of Dúá,[1] advanced with a large army, like drops of rain, towards Dehli, in order to conquer, massacre, and plunder. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín advanced against him at the head of a large army for the purpose of carrying on a holy war, actuated by pure faith, sincere intentions, the hope of resurrection, and the determination to bring destruction on the infidels. Without placing his troops in array, he attacked the enemy, and put many to the sword; and the remnant, in sorrow, loss, and disappointment, returned to their native country. Pardon go with them!

The rest of the transactions of 'Aláu-d dín's reign shall be recorded in their proper place for the information of my readers. Praise be to God, who hath poured his blessings upon the good, and from whose worship advantages are derived!

* * * * * *

The Conquest of Somnát.[2]

From Book IV. of the MS.

When Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, the Sultán of Dehli, was well established in the centre of his dominion, and had cut off the heads of his enemies and slain them, and had imparted rest to his subjects from the fountain of his kindness and justice, the vein of the zeal of religion beat high for the subjection of infidelity and destruction of idols, and in the month of Zí'l-hijja

[1] Dúá, or Túá, of the Chaghataí branch in Turkistán and Transoxiana, was a celebrated rival of Kublái. He died in 1306. He had several sons, who are spoken of in Mongol history. Among the best known are Gúnjúk, who died in 1308; Guebek, who died in 1321; and Tarmashirín, who died in 1330. See D'Ohsson. *Histoire des Mongols*, Vol. II. p. 520.

[2] [This does not mean the temple of Somnát, but as Zíáu-d dín Barní explains, "an idol to which the Brahmans gave the name of Somnát, after the victory of Mahmúd, and his destruction of their idol Manát" (Text 251). Guzerat was overrun and Nahrwála was taken in this expedition, but there is no special mention of the temple or town of Somnát.]

698 H. (1298 A D.) his brother Malik Mu'izzu-d dín[1] and Nusrat Khán, the chief pillar of the state and the leader of his armies, a generous and intelligent warrior, were sent to Kambáyat, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth. Its air is pure, its water clear, and the circumjacent country beautiful and charming both in scenery and buildings. With a view to holy war, and not for the lust of conquest, he enlisted under their banners about 14,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, which, in their language, are called *dakk*."[2]

They went by daily marches through the hills, from stage to stage, and when they arrived at their destination at early dawn they surrounded Kambáyat, and the idolaters were awakened from their sleepy state of carelessness and were taken by surprise, not knowing where to go, and mothers forgot their children and dropped them from their embrace. The Muhammadan forces began to "kill and slaughter on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islám," and blood flowed in torrents. They plundered gold and silver to an extent greater than can be conceived, and an immense number of brilliant precious stones, such as pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, etc., as well as a great variety of cloths, both silk and cotton, stamped, embroidered, and coloured.

They took captive a great number of handsome and elegant maidens, amounting to 20,000, and children of both sexes, "more than the pen can enumerate," and thirteen enormous elephants, whose motions would put the earth in tremor." In short, the Muhammadan army brought the country to utter ruin, and destroyed the lives of the inhabitants, and plundered the cities, and captured their offspring, so that many temples were deserted and the idols were broken and trodden under foot, the largest of which was one called Somnát, fixed upon stone, polished like a

[1] [In the translation of Firishta he is called "Aluf Khan," but this is an erroneous transcription of his title "Ulugh Khán," or "Great Khán," the same title as was previously borne by Ghiyásu-d dín Balban. The texts of Firishta and Barní both read "Ulugh Khán."]

[2] This, probably, means *dag*, "a pace," just as we say 20,000 foot.

mirror, of charming shape and admirable workmanship. It stood seven yards high. Its position was such as if it was about to move, and its expression such as if it was about to speak. If the introducer of idolatry were to look on it he would become enamoured of its beauty. The infidels objected to people going near it. Its head was adorned with a crown set with gold and rubies and pearls and other precious stones, so that it was impossible for the eyes to trace the redness of the gold on account of the excessive lustre of the jewels, and a necklace of large shining pearls, like the belt of Orion, depended from the shoulder towards the side of the body.

The Muhammadan soldiers plundered all those jewels and rapidly set themselves to demolish the idol. The surviving infidels were deeply affected with grief, and they engaged "to pay a thousand thousand pieces of gold" as a ransom for the idol, but they were indignantly rejected, and the idol was destroyed, and "its limbs, which were anointed with ambergris and perfumed, were cut off. The fragments were conveyed to Dehli, and the entrance of the Jámi' Masjid was paved with them, that people might remember and talk of this brilliant victory." "Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. Amen!"

After some time, among the ruins of the temples, a most beautiful jasper-coloured stone was discovered, on which one of the merchants had designed some beautiful figures of fighting men and other ornamental figures of globes, lamps, etc., and on the margin of it were sculptured verses from the Kurán. This stone was sent as an offering to the shrine of the pole of saints, Shaikh Murshid Abú Is'hák Ibráhím bin Shahriár. At that time they were building a lofty octagonal dome to the tomb. The stone was placed at the right of the entrance. "At this time, that is, in the year 707 H. (1307 A.D.), 'Aláu-d dín is the acknowledged Sultán of this country. On all its borders there are infidels, whom it is his duty to attack in the prosecution of a holy war, and return laden with countless booty."

* * * * *

An Account of some Contemporary Princes.

When Sultán U'ljáitú was fully established upon the throne, Shaikhu-l Islám Jamálu-d dín, towards the close of the year 703 H. (1303 A.D.), came to the court of the Protector of the world, and was received with distinguished honours and kindness. He was nominated to the government of Fárs, but declined the appointment, and returned to his independent principality of Kais.

In the beginning of this year, the Malik-i 'Azam, Margrave of Hind, Takíu-d dín 'Abdu-r rahmánu-t Tíbí, who was endowed with great power and dignity, departed from the country of Hind to the passage (*ma'bar*) of corruption.[1] The king of Ma'bar was anxious to obtain his property and wealth, but Malik Mu'azzam Siráju-d dín, son of the deceased, having secured his goodwill by the payment of two hundred thousand dínárs, not only obtained the wealth, but the rank also of his father.

Embassy to China.

Malik Mu'azzam Fakhru-d dín Ahmad and Búká Elchí were, by order of the just king, Gházán, appointed, in the year 697 H., as ambassadors to Tímúr Káán,[2] with presents of cloths, jewels, costly garments, and hunting leopards, worthy of his royal acceptance, and ten túmáns (one hundred thousand pieces) of gold were given to him from the chief treasury, to be employed as capital in trade. Fakhru-d dín laid in a supply of necessaries for his voyage by ships and junks, and laded them with his own merchandize and immense jewels and pearls, and other commodities suited to Tímúr Khán's country, belonging to his friends and relations, and to Shaikh-l Islám Jamálu-d dín. He was

[1] At the close of the sentence the author contradicts himself, and ascribes this event to the year 702 H.

[2] Mention is made of this interesting embassy by D'Ohsson (*Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. IV. p. 320), but there is no allusion to the voyage by sea, nor to the characteristic reception of the ambassadors.

accompanied on the voyage by an army of expert archers, Turkí and Persian.

The actual distance of the voyage was much augmented by the constant dangers to which their lives and property were exposed on the sea. When, at last, they arrived at the port of the Chinese frontier they were conducted stage by stage, by the deputies and officers of that country according to the Káání institutes, were furnished with supplies and tents, and were not troubled for the payment of any duties. In this manner they reached the Urdú, or Imperial Camp, at Táídú, near Khánbálígh.

The Khán was at that time indisposed, but the four principal ministers and other nobles [1] were present in the assembly and sat beyond the royal carpet on golden seats, with great pomp and dignity. Búká, on his first introduction, considered a salám sufficient, and did not kneel down, to which want of respect they raised objections. Búká, who was a shrewd and eloquent Turk, replied, "It is the royal order, that until I behold the blessed countenance of the Khán, the very abstract of the book of prosperity, I should not look upon any pillars of the state or nobles of his majesty." They were then admitted to a personal interview, and presented the rarities entrusted to them, which were most graciously received. The merchandize also was brought forward and approved. The Khán then presented a cup of wine with his royal hand, and issued orders that the ambassadors, during their stay, should be furnished with residences, food, clothes, and servants appropriate to the four seasons; and forty-five horses were placed at their disposal. * * *

The ambassadors remained four years in China and were dismissed with honour, and a daughter of one of the nobles was bestowed upon Fakhru-d dín. A friendly reply was written to Gházán Khán, and presents were sent in return, together with some valuable silk stuffs, which had fallen to the share of Huláků Khán, but had remained in China since the time of

[1] The titles of these high dignitaries will be found in D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, Tom. IV. p. 637.

Mangú Khán. An ambassador took charge of them on a separate junk, and he was commissioned to deliver expressions of friendship and regard.

Malik Fakhru-d dín departed, much gratified at his reception, accompanied by the embassies and twenty-three junks, and other vessels laden with valuable property. The ambassador of the Khán died on the voyage * * * and when they were only two days distant from Ma'bar, Malik Fakhru-d dín also died. * * * His tomb is in Ma'bar, near that of his uncle. His death occurred towards the close of the year of 704 H.[1] (1305 A.D.). * * *

In the middle of the year 705 H. Shaikhu-l Islam Jamálu-d dín was summoned from the principality of Kais to the capital of Shíráz, the government of which place was conferred upon him. He accepted the office in obedience to the command, although he was ill at the time. * * * He died in the year 706 H. (1306 A.D.) to the great regret of the inhabitants of Shíráz, who raised a handsome tomb over his remains, and composed an elegy upon his death. * * * The author also, in consideration of certain obligations conferred upon him by the deceased, gave vent to his feelings in the following poem.

The History of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín (continued).

When Sultán 'Aláu-d dín had fully established himself in the empire of Dehli, and his conquests and holy wars had proclaimed him universally as the greatest champion of the Muhammadan religion, it happened, that in the year 708, 'Alí Beg Gúrgán, with an army consisting of three túmáns, marched to Hindústán, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of 'Iwaz (Oudh) and Badáún, expecting to make an easy conquest of that country. The Sultan despatched his general Hazár-Dínárí, who was

[1] This does not coincide with the fact that they remained only four years in China.

called Malik Kafúr,[1] with 80,000 formidable and veteran cavalry to expel them; and when the army of Islám was within the distance of a day's journey from the enemy, it made suddenly a night attack on their camp, which was left quite unguarded, and the greater part of the Mughal armies received their retribution (*'iwaz*) from the empire of Dehli, where they met with the silent tomb of entire annihilation. Having surrounded the remnant on the field of battle they deprived them of their arms," and 'Alí Beg and other officers of the Mughals were carried captive to Dehli.

"Sultán 'Aláu-d dín gave orders that the sword of menace and the declaration of unity should be offered to them; when, as they they could not help themselves, they placed their heads on the line of Islám," and repeated the profession of the Muhammadan creed. * * * "'Aláu-d dín honoured and gave preferment to 'Alí Beg, and made him one of his nobles, and the Mughal army was provided for amongst the armies of Islám. After the battle an order was issued by 'Aláu-d dín to gather together the heads of those who had been slain. This matter was specially made over to the Hindús. On counting them after they were thrown at the feet of the holy warrior they were found to amount to 60,000, and, as was done with the Nigúdarí[2] Mughals, a pillar was constructed of these heads before the Badáún gate, in order that it might be a warning and spectacle to future generations. The good tidings of this happy conquest were published throughout all the countries and provinces both of the faithful and the idolatrous.

[1] All the copies I have consulted give this name as Nabú or Nú; probably the former may have been a corruption of Náib, which was his true designation. [In the text of Firishta he is called "Malik Náib Káfúr Hazár-dínárí." The latter title is said to have been derived from his having been originally purchased for 1000 dínárs. See Briggs' Trans. Vol. I. 365.]

[2] Nigúdar, a younger son of Chagatáí, after his disgrace, established himself with his vassals and followers in Sístán, and committed ravages upon the neighbouring provinces. His followers were called "Nigúdarí," or "Karáúnass."

Conquest of Telingána.

In the year 709 (1309 A.D.),—the year arrived in prosperity and the time was propitious,—the lofty mind of the king greatly inclined towards the conquest of the whole of Hindústán, and the subjection of the infidels. Previous to this, Málwa had been conquered; he, therefore despatched Malik Nabú, Zafar Khán, and Nának Hindí,[1] with an army consisting of one hundred thousand horse and foot,—

Oh thou for whom there is an army that obtains victory,—

to conquer the province of Telingána. When they arrived on its frontier, the Rái of that province adopted a prudent resolution, submitted to the Muhammadans, and agreed to pay an annual tribute and receive the royal collectors, and that populous territory, replete with every kind of wealth—

As the cheek of your friend full of excellence,
In which are all desires you are in search of,—

containing more than 30,000 tracts of country, was added to the Muhammadan empire. It is related that 6,000 kharwárs, or loads, of gold were despatched to Dehli,—

Much yellow gold was in the large sacks,—

and in consequence of the abundance of diamonds obtained by plunder, they became so cheap that, one weighing a miskál, could be purchased for three dínárs.

The Conquest of Dúr Samundar.

The royal army marched from this place towards the country of Dúr Samun. Rái Pandyá offered opposition, and begged the assistance of an army from Ma'bar. At that time enmity prevailed between the two brothers, Sundar Pandí and Tíra Pandí,

[1] The reading is doubtful. One copy has Khánka Mandí, and Firishta has Khwája Hájí. As Amír Khusrú speaks prominently of the Hindús who accompanied this expedition, there is no improbability in the reading adopted in the text.

after the murder of their father. The latter sent to his assistance an army of horse and foot. Subsequently, the Ráí, turning to the right rank, declined a contest, and, having proffered his submission, he was left in possession of his country without the necessity of fighting. He delivered up to Malik Kafúr the country of 'Aríkanna, as a proof of his allegiance, and treasure beyond what imagination can conceive, together with 55 large elephants, which were worthy of carrying the great and fortunate heroes of the time, so that the country was restored to him, and, instead of shell-blowing, pyrolatry, and idol-worship, the true faith and the five daily prayers were established. On account of these transactions the fame of the first holy wars which opened Hind under Mahmúd Subuktigín was erased from the page of history.

At the present time the imperial army consists of 475,000 Muhammadan disciplined holy warriors, whose names are recorded by the imperial muster-master, and whose pay and rations are entered in the regulations of the deputy-victualler. They are most obedient to the orders they receive, and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the especial sake of their religion. Four hundred war elephants * * * are kept in the royal stables, and forty swift camels * * * are employed to convey daily reports, with the greatest expedition, from and to the distant provinces of the empire. * * *

Invasion of Ma'bar.

In the month of Rajab of the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were dispatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans. Malik Nabú, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army.

Uljáítú Sultán sends an Embassy to 'Aláu-d dín.

About that period the king of the world, U'ljáítú[1] Sultán,—May his empire last for ever!—sent two ambassadors, named Khálúya and Muhammad Sháh, to the court of Dehli, with a royal mandate to the following purport, that as the rulers of that quarter, both in the reign of the Emperor Changíz Khán, the conqueror of the world, and the most generous U'ktáí Khán, had tendered their friendship and homage, and, through the language of the ambassadors, had occasionally offered their sentiments of goodwill, it is, therefore, strange that, since the imperial throne has been adorned by our auspicious accession, and the sun of the kingdom of Islám has shed its light over the world, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín has never opened the road of ancient friendship by means of an ambassador to our regal court, nor sent a message conveying tidings of himself or congratulations to us; it is, therefore, expected that he will henceforth be willing to apply himself to strengthen the foundations of regard and free intercourse. In connection with this embassy it was also intimated that the Emperor asked in marriage one of the Princesses from behind the veil of the kingdom of Dehli.[2]

Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, notwithstanding all his bravery and conquests, and abundant treasures and obedient armies, combining in himself all personal accomplishments and worldly advantages, was a tyrant, and never used to hesitate at slaughter, burning, restricting the privileges of the army, or reducing the allowances of his servants, and was quite overcome by his disposition towards temerity and oppression. As a proof of this he ordered

[1] It signifies "fortunate" in the Mongol language.

[2] On similar occasions the like delicacy of expression is observed. Thus, when the daughter of Atábak Sa'd of Shíráz was bestowed upon Sultán Jalálu-d dín, 'Atáu-l mulk Juwainí says, in the second volume of the *Jahán Kushá:*

دُری کہ در صدف خاندان کریم در حصن حصانت میان عقل
و رزانت تربیت یافته بود در عقد سلطان منعقد شد

the ambassadors to be imprisoned, and several[1] of their attendants to be trodden under the feet of elephants, and thus he submerged the jewel of his good fame; for to bring trouble on an ambassador is, under every system of religious faith, altogether opposed to the principles of law, social observance, and common sense. With respect to law, an ambassador receives his credentials without even the suspicion of criminality; with respect to social observance, the oppressor and the oppressed, friend and foe, peace and war, are all equally in need of embassies and communications: with respect to common sense, it is abundantly evident that the killing of one man, or even ten, entails no infirmity or injury on a kingdom. Inasmuch, therefore, as 'Aláu-d dín, free to do as he chose, was guilty of a deed from which danger might have resulted, and without any cause exhibited his enmity, he must be considered to have acted contrary to what a peaceful policy and sound prudence dictated.

Continuation of the history of the Kings of Ma'bar.

Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country, nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth, inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardí there were 1,200 crores of gold deposited, every crore being equal to a thousand[2] laks, and every lak to one hundred thousand dínárs. Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises, and emeralds,—more than is in the power of language to express. (Here follows a long string of reflections upon the instability of worldly wealth and grandeur.)

This fortunate and happy sovereign had two sons, the elder

[1] One copy reads eighteen.

[2] Properly only a hundred, if the reading of "crore" be correct; but the copies I have consulted read *kúze*, which might be meant to imply an earthen vessel, or some capacious receptacle calculated to contain a hundred laks.

named Sundar Pandí, who was legitimate, his mother being joined to the Dewar by lawful marriage, and the younger named Tíra Pandí, was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses who continually attended the king in his banquet of pleasure; for it was customary with the rulers of that country that, when the daily affairs of the administration were over, and the crowds that attended the court had gone to their respective homes, a thousand beautiful courtezans used to attend the king in his pleasure. They used to perform the several duties prescribed to each of them; some were appointed as chamberlains, some as interpreters, some as cup-bearers, and day and night both the sexes kept promiscuous intercourse together; and it was usual for the king to invite to his bed that girl upon whom the lot should happen to fall. I have mentioned this in illustration of their customs.

As Tíra Pandí was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity, the ruler nominated him as his successor. His brother Sundar Pandí, being enraged at this supercession, killed his father, in a moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 H. (1310 A.D.), and placed the crown on his head in the city of Márdí.[1] He induced the troops who were there to support his interests, and conveyed some of the royal treasures which were deposited there to the city of Mankúl,[2] and he himself accompanied, marching on, attended in royal pomp, with the elephants, horses, and treasures. Upon this his brother Tíra Pandí, being resolved on avenging his father's blood, followed to give him battle, and on the margin of a lake which, in their language, they call Talácht, the opponents came to action. Both the brothers, each ignorant of the fate of the other, fled away; but Tíra Pandí being unfortunate (*tíra bakht*), and having been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and seven elephant-loads of gold also fell to the lot of the army of Sundar Pandí.

It is a saying of philosophers, that ingratitude will, sooner or later, meet its punishment, and this was proved in the sequel, for

[1] [Madura ?] [2] [Namkúl ?]

Manár Barmúl, the son of the daughter of Kales Dewar, who espoused the cause of Tíra Pandí, being at that time at Karámhattí, near Kálúl,[1] sent him assistance, both in men and money, which was attended with a most fortunate result. Sundar Pandí had taken possession of the kingdom, and the army and the treasure were his own; but, as in every religion and faith, evil deeds produce a life of insecurity, a matter which it is unnecessary to expatiate upon, he, notwithstanding all his treasures and the goodwill of the army, was far from being happy and prosperous, entertaining crude notions, and never awaking from his dream of pride, and at last he met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for in the middle of the year 710 (1310 A.D.) Tíra Pandí, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandí, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of 'Aláu-d dín, of Dehli, and Tíra Pandí became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.

While I was engaged in writing this passage, one of my friends said to me: "The kings of Hind are celebrated for their penetration and wisdom; why then did Kales Dewar, during his lifetime, nominate his younger and illegitimate son as his successor; to the rejection of the elder, who was of pure blood, by which he introduced distraction into a kingdom which had been adorned like a bride."

[1] [Kárúr ?]

XII.

TA'RI'KH-I BINA'KITI'

OF

FAKHRU-D DI'N, BINA'KITI'.

This is the same work as is called *Biná-Gety* by Mr. James Fraser, in his "*Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts;*" and *Bina-i-Gety* by General Briggs, in his translation of the Preface of Firishta, which would seem to imply that the title was considered by them to bear the meaning of "History of the Foundation of the World." It certainly is so understood by native transcribers, for I have seen no copy of Firishta, not even the lithograph edition, in which it is not so written, and it has been so translated by some Continental scholars. Its correct name at full length is "*Rausat úlúu-l Albáb fi Tawárikhu-l Akábir wa-ul Ansáb,*" "the garden of the learned in the histories of great men and genealogies." It is chiefly an abridgment, as the author himself states, of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* of Rashídu-d dín, and was compiled only seven years after that work, in A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317), by Abú-Sulaimán Dáúd, bin Abú-l Fazl, bin Muhammad Fakhr[1] Binákití. He is commonly called Fakhru-d dín Binákití from his having been born at Binákit, or Finákit, a town in Transoxiana, afterwards called Sháhrukhía. He copies Rashídu-d dín closely, without, however, adopting his arrangement, and dedicates his work to Sultán Abú Sa'id, the ninth Mongol king of Persia.

The author was a poet as well as an historian, and was

[1] This is the name he gives in his own Preface. European Orientalists generally call him Fakhru-d dín. [Morley cites several variations in the name and genealogy.]

appointed by Sultán Gházán, poet laureate of his Court. Till the discovery of the lost portions of the *Jami'u-t Tawárikh*, Binákití's work ranked very high both in Europe and Asia, but it must now take its place as a mere abridgment, and can be considered of no value as an original composition. Several good copies of the work exist in European libraries, as in the Rich collection, Nos. 7626, 7627, of the British Museum; in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society; in the Leyden library; and in Hammer-Purgstall's private collection. The work is not common in India. The best copy I know is in the possession of a native gentleman at Lucknow.

The 8th Book of this work is already known to the European public, though ascribed to a different author. In the year 1677, Andreas Müller published at Berlin a small work in Persian, with a Latin translation, under the title of *Abdallæ Beidavæi Historia Sinensis*, ascribing the original to the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* of Baizáwí. It was reprinted by his son in 1689, and Brunet[1] tells us that Stephen Weston published fifty copies of an English translation in 1820. M. Quatremère had the ingenuity to guess, for several reasons which he states in detail, that this was in reality an extract from the History of Binákití, and not from Baizáwí; and by comparing the passage he has given from Müller's printed work with Binákití, of which a copy was not available to M. Quatremère, it proves to be verbatim the 2nd Chapter of the 8th Book of Binákití; and as the same result has been obtained by comparing it with the copy in the British Museum, there can no longer be any doubt on this point, and the *Historia Sinensis* must henceforth be attributed to Binákití.

CONTENTS.

Book I.—The Genealogy and History of the Prophets and Patriarchs from the time of Adam to Abraham, comprising a period of 4838 years. (The use of the word *Ausiyá* shows the writer to be a Shí'a Muhammadan;)—from p. 2 to 25.

[1] *sub voce* Abdalla.

Book II.—The kings of Persia, from Kaiúmars to Yazdajird, together with the celebrated Prophets and Philosophers who were their contemporaries; 4322 years;—from p. 25 to 59.

Book III.—History of Muhammad; the four first Khalifs; twelve Imáms, and later Khalifs, down to Mustasim bi-llah, the last of the 'Abbásides; 626 years;—from p. 60 to 186.

Book IV.—The Sultáns and kings who, in the time of the 'Abbáside Khalifs, rose to power in the kingdom of Írán, including the dynasties of Saffárians, Sámánians, Ghaznivides, Buwaihides Saljúkians, Khwárizmians and the kings of the Forest or Heretics (Assassins); 400 years;—from p. 186 to 208.

Book V.—The history of the Jews, their Kings and Prophets, from Moses to Mutína (Zedekiah, see 2 Kings xxiv. 17), who was slain by Bakhtnassar; 941 years;—from p. 208 to 230.

Book VI.—The history of the Christians and Franks; the descent of the Virgin Mary from David; the kings of the Franks, the Cæsars, and Popes; 1337 years;—from p. 231 to 260.

Book VII.—The Hindús; an account of the country and kings of India from Básdeo to 'Aláu-d dín, and an account of Shákmúní; 1200 years;—from p. 260 to 281.

Book VIII.—History of Khitá. The government lasted, according to local historians, 42,875 years;—from p. 281 to 299.

Book IX.—History of the Mughals; the origin of Changíz Khán, and his conquest of Persia, etc., with an account of his sons and successors; 101 years;—from p. 299 to 402.

SIZE.—Small Folio, containing 402 pages, of 21 lines.

A fuller detail is given in the Vienna Year-book for 1835 by Hammer-Purgstall, who states that our author composed his work in A.H. 718, not 717, though the latter date is expressly mentioned, not only in the Preface, but in other parts of the work. The same author gives the year of his death as A.H. 730 (1329 A.D.), and reads his name Binákatí. [Morley also has given a full notice of the work in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

It will be observed that the seventh Book is devoted to India.

Throughout the whole of it Binákití follows Rashídu-d dín implicitly, copying him even with all his errors, just as Rashídu-d dín follows Bírúní. Nothing shows more completely the ignorance of the western Asiatics with respect to the state of India since Mahmúd's time than to find these two authors, 300 years afterwards, mentioning that Bárí is the capital of the province of Kanauj, of which the kings are the most potent in India, and that Thanesar is in the Dúáb. All this is taken from Abú Ríhán, as may be seen by referring to the extracts in the first volume.

It is needless to translate any passage from this work, but it may be as well to mention, as the Calcutta copy of Rashídí, as well as that of the India House, is deficient in that respect,[1] that the succession of the Kábul kings, who preceded the Ghaznivides, occurs in nearly the same order as in M. Reinaud's edition of Bírúní, and with nearly the same names, but the last of the Turk dynasty, whom M. Reinaud calls Laktouzemán, appears here under the more probable shape of Katorán, or Katormán, "king of the Katores,"[2] It is worthy of remark that the present chief of Chitrál is called Sháh Kator, and claims descent from the Macedonians. Kalar, the first of the Bráhman dynasty, is omitted by Binákití. Anandpál is converted into Andapál, and the nearest approach to M. Reinaud's doubtful name of Nardanjánpála (correctly perhaps Niranjanpál) is Tásdar Jaipál.[3]

[1] [The British Museum MS., and the Arabic MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society have passages upon the subject obviously derived from Bírúní. See Thomas' Prinsep, I. 315.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 404.]

[3] Compare Morley's *Cat.* p. 25. Hammer-Purgstall's *Handschriften*, p. 194. *Recueil des Voyages*, Tom. II. p. 369. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Tom. III. p. 330. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. p. 267. *Coll. Or.* Tom. I. pp. lxxxv.—ci. 424. *Jahrbücher*, No. 69. *Anz. Blatt*, p. 33, and No. 73, p. 26. *Gesch. d. schön. Red. Pers.* p. 241. Elphinstone, *Kingdom of Cabul*, App. C. p. 619. Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol. II. p. 209. *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. IX. p. 194. C. Ritter, *Erd. von As.* Vol. V. p. 207. *Gemäldesaal der Lebensb.* Vol. IV. p. 35. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Or.* 857, 858. *Gesch. d. G. Horde*, pp. xxxi. 343. Jenisch, *Hist. priorum Regum Persarum.* p. 142.

EXTRACT.

[The following is translated from a MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society :—

"After (him) Arjún became king; after him Kank, who was the last of the Katormán kings; after him Bráhma Sámand became king; after him Kamlú; after him Jaipál; after him Andah pál; and after him Tadar Jaipál,[1] who was killed 412 Hijrí (1021 A.D.)."

[1] تدر جسال

XIII.

TA'RI'KH-I GUZI'DA.

OF

HAMDU-LLA MUSTAUFI'.

This work was composed in A.H. 730 (1329) by Hamdu-lla bin Abú Bakr bin Hamd bin Nasr Mustaufí[1] Kazwíní, and was dedicated to the minister Ghiyásu-d dín, the son of Rashídu-d dín, to both of whom our author had been secretary.

It ranks among the best general histories of the East. Reinaud used it for his *Mem. sur l'Inde*. Hammer-Purgstall calls it in different passages of his works the best, the most faithful, and the most brilliant of all the histories which were composed about that period. He remarks that it contains much matter not found elsewhere, and concurs in the praise bestowed upon it by Hájí Khalfa, that implicit confidence is to be placed in its assertions. It is a pity, therefore, that the work is in so abridged a form as to be more useful for its dates than for its details of facts. The authors of the Universal History frequently quote it under the name of "*Tarik Cozidih.*"

Eleven years after the completion of this history, the author composed his celebrated work on Geography and Natural History, entitled *Nuzhatu-l Kulúb*, "the delight of hearts," which is in high repute with oriental scholars.[2]

[1] "President of the Exchequer." Com. le Brun says the *Mustaufí* is chief of the Chamber of Accounts of the Lordships which particularly belong to his Majesty. Price (II. 360) calls him controller or auditor of the Exchequer. In the case of our author the title appears to be a family designation, derived from actual occupation of the office by an ancestor. The title Kazwíní is derived from his native town Kazwín.

[2] [See Reinaud's Aboulfeda Int. clv.]

The author states that he had undertaken to write in verse an universal history from the time of Muhammad, and had already written five or six thousand lines, and hoped to complete it in seventy-five thousand; but being anxious to bring out a work in prose also, in order that he might have the satisfaction of presenting it as soon as possible to his excellent patron Ghiyásu-d dín, whose praises extend throughout two pages, he compiled the present work under the name of *Tárikh-i Guzida*, "Selected History," having abstracted it from twenty four different works, of which he gives the names, and amongst them, the history of Tabarí, the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh* of Ibnu-l Asír Jazarí, the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* of Baizáwí, the *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh* of Jamálu-d dín Káshí, and the *Jahán-kushái* of Juwainí. Besides these twenty-four, he quotes occasionally several other valuable works, many of which are now quite unknown. In its turn the *Tárikh-i Guzida* has been used by later writers. The *Habíbu-s Siyar* quotes largely from it.

The *Tárikh-i Guzida* contains a Preface, six Books, and an Appendix. The only Books useful for the illustration of Indian history are the third and fourth, in which are comprised the account of the early attempts of the Arabs on the Indian frontier and the history of the Ghaznivide and Ghorian monarchs.

[A portion of the work, comprising the history of the Saljukian dynasty, has been translated by M. Defrémery, and published in the *Journal Asiatique*;[1] and another portion, relating to the city of Kazwín, has also been translated by the same writer.[2]]

CONTENTS.

The Preface contains an account of the creation of the world; from p. 1 to p. 8.

Book I.—An account of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Philosophers; in two sections and two subsections;—from p. 8 to 67.

Book II.—The Peshdádians, Kaiánians, Ashkánians (Arsacidæ

[1] [Vols. XI., XII., XIII. Quat., Serie.]

[2] [Ib. 5 Serie. Tome X.]

and Mulúk-i Tawáif) and Sássánians; in four sections;—from p. 68 to 109.

Book III.—Muhammad, the Khalífas and Imáms; in an introduction and six sections;—from p. 109 to 311.

Book IV.—The eastern monarchies, from the beginning of Muhammadanism to A.H. 730 (A.D. 1329); in twelve sections and several subsections, devoted to the following Dynasties:—Bani Láis Saffár, Sámánians, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Búwaihides or Dyálima, Saljúkians, Khwárizmians, Atábaks (2 sections), Ismáilians, Karákhitáis, and Mughals;—from p. 311 to 477.

Book V.—The Saints and Elders of the Muhammadan faith, Philosophers and Poets; in six sections;—from p. 477 to 557.

Book VI.—An account of the author's native place, Kazwín, and its celebrated characters; in eight sections;—from p. 557 to 603.

The Appendix contains Genealogical Trees of Prophets, Princes, Philosophers and others;—from p. 603 to 618.

SIZE.—8vo. containing 618 pages of 14 lines.

This history, though often quoted by oriental writers, is rare in India. The best copy I know is in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 493, but it is unfortunately defective both in the beginning and end. Yár 'Alí Khán, chief native Judge of Jaunpúr, has a good copy, and there is one also in the king of Lucknow's library. Robert Cust, Esq. (B.C.S.), has an admirable copy, written in 864 A.H. In Europe the most celebrated are those of Stockholm, Paris, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Hammer-Purgstall, and Sir W. Ouseley.[1] M. Quatremére also possessed two copies.

A work in so abridged a form can scarcely be expected to

[1] See Haji Khalfa, IV. 176, VI. 7. *Wiener Jahrbb.* No. lxix. p. 10, and *Anzgbl.* p. 31. Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I. p. 1. *Fundgr. d. Or.* Vol. III. p. 331. *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, pp. xvi. xxii. *Coll. Or.* Tom. I. p. liv. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. pp. 268, 320. *Gesch. d. Sch. Red. Pers.* p. 12. *Journ. Asiatique*, III. Ser. Tom. I. p. 581. M. Petis de la Croix, *Hist. de Genghiz Can*, p. 541. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Art. *Tárikh Khozideh*. *Biog. Univ.* v. Kazwyny. Rampoldi, ix. 322. *Gemäldesaal Pref.* xi. Ouseley's *Jehanara*, p. xi. Price, *Mahom. Hist.* I. 464, II. 638, 672. *Shajrat al Atrak*, 303. *Gildemeister*, p. 2. *Journ. des Sav.*, 1851, p. 47.

present any passages worthy of extract, but the following are selected as comprising a few anecdotes which have escaped the notice of some more ponderous chroniclers:—

Sultán Mahmúd.

"The exploits of the Sultán Mahmúd are more conspicuous than the sun, and his exertions in the cause of religon surpass all description and eulogy. The *Tárikh Yamini*, *Makámát Abú Nasr Miskáti*, and the volumes of Abú-l Fazl Baihakí, testify to his achievements.[1]

"He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, insomuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 dínárs. His features were very ugly. One day, regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazír inquired as to the cause of his sorrow, to which he replied, 'It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye, but the form with which I am endowed is enough to strike the beholder blind.' The Wazír replied, 'Scarcely one man in a million looks on your face, but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one. Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be the beloved of all hearts.' Amínu-d-daula Mahmúd was pleased with this admonition, and he paid so much attention to the cultivation of his mental endowments, that he surpassed all other kings in that respect.[2]

"In the first year of his accession to the throne a mine of gold was discovered in Sístán, in the shape of a tree, and the

[1] [See *supra*, Vol. II. pp. 430, 433.]

[2] This anecdote is given in the *Gemäldesaal d. Lebensb.*, but Firishta merely says Mahmúd was marked with the small-pox. In the reign of Mas'úd, that historian ascribes a statement to the *Guzida* which is at variance with the MSS. I have consulted. He says that, according to the *Guzida*, Mas'úd reigned nine years and nine months, whereas the *Guzida* distinctly says that monarch reigned thirteen years. It may be as well to mention here that Briggs, in his translation of Firishta, has, by some oversight, entered the *History of Hamdu-lla Mustaufi* and the *Tárikh-i Guzida*, as two different works.

lower the miners dug the richer and purer it became, till one of the veins attained the circumference of three yards. It disappeared in the time of Sultán Mas'úd, on the occurrence of an earthquake.

* * * * *

"In the month of Muharram of the year 293 he made war upon Jaipál, in Hindustan, and made him prisoner. He spared his life, but exacted tribute. It is a rule among the Hindus that a king who has been twice made prisoner by Musulmáns ought no longer to reign, and that his fault can only be purged by fire. Jaipál, therefore, made the kingdom over to his son, and burnt himself. In this war Yamínu-d-daula Mahmúd obtained the title of Ghází.

"In the year 394, he set out on an expedition to Sístán against Khalaf,[1] the son of Ahmad, because Khalaf, on returning from his pilgrimage, had appointed his son Táhir as his successor, he himself having retired from the world and devoted himself to the worship of God. But he repented this step, and put his son to death by treachery. Yamínu-d-daula, in order to avenge this perfidy, attacked Khalaf, who took shelter in the fort of Ták. Yamínu-d-daula Mahmúd besieged the fort and took it. Khalaf came out in safety, and when he entered the presence of Mahmúd he addressed him as 'Sultán.' Yamínu-d-daula Mahmúd, being pleased with this title, freely pardoned Khalaf, and reinstated him in the government of Sístán. From that period he assumed the title of Sultán. Khalaf, son of Ahmad, after a while, rebelled against Sultán Mahmúd, and sought the protection of Ílak Khán. Sultán Mahmúd, on hearing this, dethroned him from Sístán, and sent him to the fort of Juzján where he remained till the day of his death.

"Sultán Mahmúd, having conquered Bhátiya and Multán as far as the frontiers of Kashmír, made peace with Ílak Khan, who some time after broke faith with him, and advanced to battle

[1] See Jenisch, *Hist. Reg. Pers.* p. 46.

against him; but he was defeated, and took to flight. Many beautiful youths fell into the hands of the Záwuliyáns, who were delighted with their prisoners. Ílak Khán then sought the assistance of the Ghuzz and the Turks of Chín, the descendants of Afrásiyáb, but was again defeated in an action at the gates of Balkh, and took a second time to flight. He again made peace with the Sultán, and went to reside in Máwaráu-n-nahr.

"Sultán Mahmúd then made war with Nawása (the grandson of) the ruler of Multán; conquered that country; converted the people to Islám; put to death the ruler of Multán, and entrusted the government of that country to another chief.

"Sultán Mahmúd now went to fight with the Ghorians, who were infidels at that time. Súrí, their chief, was killed in this war, and his son was taken prisoner; but dreading the Sultán's vengeance, he killed himself by sucking poison which he had kept under the stone of his ring. The country of Ghor was annexed to that of the Sultán, and the population thereof converted to Islám. He now attacked the fort of Bhím, where was a temple of the Hindus. He was victorious, and obtained much wealth, including about a hundred idols of gold and silver. One of the golden images, which weighed a million *miskáls*, the Sultán appropriated to the decoration of the Mosque of Ghazní, so that the ornaments of the doors were of gold instead of iron.

"The rulers of Ghurjistán were at this time called Shár, and Abú Nasr was Shár of the Ghurjis. He was at enmity with Sultán Mahmúd, who sent an army against him, and having taken him prisoner, the Sultán concluded peace with him, and purchased his possessions. From that time he remained in the service of the Sultán to the day of his death.

"The ruler of Márdain,[1] having likewise rebelled against the Sultán, withheld the payment of tribute. The Sultán deputed Abú Sa'íd Tái, with an army, to make war with him, and he himself followed afterwards, and a battle ensuing, the chief of

[1] Other authorities usually say Nárdín or Nárdain. [See Vol. II. pp. 450, 452, 465.]

Márdain took refuge in a fort. The Sultán destroyed its walls by means of elephants, and thus gained possession of the fort. In a house there were found some inscriptions on a stone, giving the date of the erection of the fort, which they carried so far back as 40,000 years. Upon this all were convinced of the folly of the idolaters; as, from the creation of Adam, the age of the world did not (as it is generally understood) reach 7,000 years; nor is it probable, according to the opinion of the learned, that a building could remain in a state of repair so long; but as their ignorance is carried to such a degree that they worship idols instead of the Supreme Being, it is not improbable that they really did entertain such a belief."

XIV.

TA'RÍ'KH-I 'ALÁ'Í.

OR

KHAZÁ'ÍNU-L FUTÚ'H,

OF

AMÍR KHUSRÚ'.

THE history which goes by both these names is a work in prose, by Mír Khusrú, who died in 1325 A.D. It contains an interesting account of the first years of the reign of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí (whom he also styles Muhammad Sháh Sultán), from his accession to the throne in 695 H. (1296 A.D.) to his conquest of Ma'bar at the close of 710 H. (1310 A.D.) It is most probably the same work as that which is quoted by some of the general historians, under the name of *Tárikh 'Aláu-d dín Khilji;* but, if so, it has not been closely examined, for several facts of interest have escaped the compilers.

It will be observed that this small work contains much information on the subject to which it relates. The mode of warfare of that period, especially, receives illustrations such as can be obtained from no other work. The style in which it is composed is for the most part difficult, as the whole is constructed of a series of fanciful analogies, in the same manner as the preface to the *Bakiya Nakiya* and the *I'jáz-i Khusruví* of the same author, and the Odes of Badar-chách'í, and the treatises of Mirzá Katíl and several other works, in which fancy is predominant over sense. Every portion is devoted to a selection of words connected with one particular subject. For instance, among the

passages translated below, one portion, p. 69, is composed of words derived from architecture; another, p. 71, is derived from words descriptive of the powers and anatomy of the hand; another, at p. 73, is composed of words used in the game of chess. I have not thought it necessary to adhere closely to the similes in every part. Those which are used in the passages noted above are of themselves sufficiently tedious in translation, though certainly ingenious in the original.

It may easily be conceived that a work so composed contains much that is forced, trivial, and unnatural; but we can forgive that for the solid information we are occasionally able to extract from it. Indeed, these puns, riddles, and analogies, are even valuable on one account, for the author rarely mentions a date which is not comprised in a sentence containing some kind of enigma, so that we can easily ascertain the correctness of a date, if we have reason to doubt the correctness of the numerals. The following are instances:—"When the boat of the moon's crescent entered the stream of clouds (*abr*)"—of which the initial letter being *alif*, or one, the first day of the month is signified. Again, "When the computation of the month Ramazán had reached that stage, that the first period of the fast (*syám*) had departed, and the last had not yet arrived"—that is, that eleven days of the month had elapsed. Meaning, that by rejecting the first and last letters of *syám*, only *yá* remains, of which the numerical value is eleven.

The Khazáínu-l Futúh contains many Hindí words, shewing how partial the author was to that language compared with his Muhammadan contemporaries. Thus we have *Kath-garh, pardhán, basith, már-á-már*, and others. The work is not written in chronological order, but, as in the case of the Mughal invasion, the author has grouped together the series of events which occurred over several years in one particular part of the empire.[1]

[1] The work is rare, and, being in prose, is not contained in the *Kulyát* or complete (poetical) works of the author. The MS. used is an 8vo. of 188 pages, 15 lines to a page. [Mr. Thomas has a copy, and there is also a copy at King's College, Cambridge, Jour. R.A.S. Vol. III. p. 115, *N.S.*]

Mír Khusrú's authority is great as a narrator, for he was not only contemporary with the events which he describes, but was a participator in many of them; and his friend, the historian Zíá Barní, appeals to him frequently for confirmation of his own assertions.

ABSTRACT.[1]

The Accession of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín to the Throne.

'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, on the 19th of Rabí'u-l-ákhir, 695 H. (Feb. 1295), left Karra Mánikpúr, of which he was then governor, on his expedition to Deogír, and after taking immense booty from Rám Deo, the Rái of that country, he returned to Karra on the 28th of Rajab of the same year. His accession to the throne on the 16th of Ramazán, 695 H. (July, 1296), after murdering his uncle and father-in-law, Sultán Jalálu-d dín. His arrival at Dehli, where he again mounted the throne, on the 22nd of Zí-l hijja of the same year. His rules, regulations, justice, and liberality. The cheapness which prevailed in his time.

Edifices Erected and Repaired by the Sultán.

The Sultán determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid-i Jámi' of Shamsu-d dín, "by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth, with lofty pillars," "and upon the surface of the stones he engraved verses of the Kurán in such a manner as could not be done even on wax; ascending so high that you would think the Kurán was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine-vaulted and thousand-eyed heavens were to fall, as they will, in the universe-quake, on the day of resurrection, an arch of them would not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids, of which the walls were broken or inclining, or of which the roof and domes had fallen."

[1] [Prepared by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

"He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minár of the Jámi' masjid, which minár was then the single (celebrated) one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islám."

"He ordered the circumference of the new minár to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one." The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply. The building of the new fort of Dehli, and the repairs of the old one. "It is a condition that in a new building blood should be sprinkled; he therefore sacrificed some thousands of goat-bearded Mughals for the purpose." He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom.

As the tank of Shamsu-d dín was occasionally dry, 'Aláu-d dín cleaned it out and repaired it, and erected a dome in the middle of it.

Mughal Invasion under Kadar.

"The following is the account of the victory which the champions of the triumphant army obtained, on the first occasion, during the reign of this Sanjar-like Sultán, may God protect his standards! over the soldiers of the accursed Kadar, in the land of Járan Manjúr, when the subtle (*mú-shikáf*) Tátár, accompanied by an army, like an avenging deluge, came as presumptuous as ever from the Júdí mountain, and crossed the Bíáh, and Jelam, and Sutlej,[1] and the advancing wave of the hellites burnt down all the villages[2] of the Khokhars in such a way that

[1] This is the order observed in the original.

[2] The word is *talwárd*, a common name for a village in many parts of the Upper Panjáb. The *talwandí* of the Khokhars is a local word similarly applied.

the flames extended as far as the suburbs of the city, and ruin hurled its ravages upon the houses. Such a wailing arose, that the sound reached his majesty the king of kings.

"He despatched the late Ulugh Khán, the arm of the empire, with the whole of the right wing (hand) of the army, and the powerful chiefs[1] and the officers[1] who were the support[1] of the state, and he named him for the purpose of wielding the sword of holy war; that so, making themselves ready with power, they might go and lay their hands upon the infidel." "The Khan sped swift as an arrow from its bowstring, and made two marches in one until he reached the borders of Járan Manjúr, the field of action, so that not more than a bow-shot remained between the two armies. That was a date on which it became dark when the day declined, because it was towards the close of the month, and the moon of Rabí'u-l ákhir waned till it looked like a sickle above the heavens to reap the Gabrs. Arrows and spears commingled together. Some Mughals were captured on Thursday, the 22nd of Rabí'u-l ákhir, in the year 695 H. (Feb. 1296 A.D.). On this day the javelin-head of the Khán of Islám fell on the heads of the infidels, and the standard-bearers of the holy war received orders to bind their victorious colours firmly on their backs; and for honour's sake they turned their faces towards the waters of the Sutlej, and without the aid of boats they swam over the river, striking out their hands, like as oars impelling a boat."

The Mughals were defeated, "though they were in number like ants and locusts," with a loss of twenty thousand men left dead on the plain. Many took to flight, and many were taken prisoners, "and the iron collars, which were desirous to be so employed, embraced them with all respect." On the return of the Khán to the King, he was received with many thanks and honours, and a festival was held in celebration of the event.

[1] These words also bear respectively the meaning of bones, tendons, wrists; the words in this sentence being intended to bear some relation to the arm and hand.

Invasion under 'Alí Beg, Turták, and Turghí.

"When 'Alí Beg, Turták, and Turghí came with drawn swords from the borders of Turkistán to the river Sind, and, after crossing the Jelam, turned their faces in this direction, Turghí, who already saw his head on the spears of the champions of Islám, who, although he had an iron heart, durst not place it in the power of the anvil-breaking warriors of God, was at last slain by an arrow, which penetrated his heart and passed through on the other side.

"But Turták and 'Alí Beg, as they had never yet come to this country, regarded the swords of the Musulmáns as if they were those of mere preachers, and rushed on impetuously with about fifty thousand horsemen. From the mere dread of that army the hills trembled, and the inhabitants of the foot of the hills were confounded—all fled away before the fierce attack of those wretches, and rushed to the fords of the Ganges. The lightning of Mughal fury penetrated even to those parts, and smoke arose from the burning towns of Hindustán, and the people, flying from their flaming houses, threw themselves into the rivers and torrents. At last from those desolated tracts news reached the court of the protector of the world, and a confidential officer, Malik Akhir Beg, Mubashara, was directed, at the head of a powerful body of thirty thousand horse, to use his best endeavours to attack the accursed enemy, and throw a mighty obstacle in their way." He obtained victory over them on the twelfth of Jumáda-s sání A.H. 705. "In short, immediately on discerning the dust of the army of Islám, the grovelling Mughals became like particles of sand revolving above and below;" and they fled precipitately "like a swarm of gnats before a hurricane." "The enemy made one or two weak attacks, but the army of the second Alexander, which you might well call an iron wall, did not even bend before the foe, but drove before them those doers of the deeds of Gog." "Their fire-coloured faces began to fall on the earth, and in the rout, 'Alí Beg and Turták, the commanders, when they saw destruction

awaiting them, threw themselves under the shade of the standard of Islám, and exclaimed that the splendour of our swords had cast such fire upon them, that they could gain no repose, until they had arrived under the shadow of God."

"He who has been burnt by the heat of misfortune,
Let him seek no rest save under the shadow of God."

"The field of battle became like a chess-board, with the pieces manufactured from the bones of the elephant-bodied Mughals, and their faces (*rukh*) were divided in two by the sword. The slaughtered hoggish Mughals were lying right and left, like so many captured pieces, and were then thrust into the bag which holds the chessmen. The horses which filled the squares were some of them wounded and some taken; those who, like the pawns, never retreated, dismounted, and, advancing on foot, made themselves generals (queens). 'Alí Beg and Turták, who were the two kings of the chessboard, were falling before the fierce opposition which was shown by the gaunt bones of Malik Ákhir Beg, who checkmated them both, and determined to send them immediately to his majesty, that he might order either their lives to be spared, or that they should be píl-mated, or trodden to death by elephants."

Invasion under Kapak.

"Dust arose from the borders of the land of Sind, and the inhabitants fled and threw away their property like leaves dispersed by the wind in autumn; but as that blast of destruction had no power to raise the dust as far as Kuhrám and Sámána, it turned its face towards the deserts of Nágor, and began to sweep away the dwellers of that country." The king despatched Malik Káfúr against them, with orders to advance rapidly without attracting observation. "The kind-hearted Musulmáns, running up from the right and left, took Kapak prisoner," sent him to the sublime court, and made all his followers prisoners.

Invasion under Ikbál Mudbir, and Mudábir Tái Balwi.

"Another army, namely, that of Ikbál Mudbir and Mudábir Tái Balwí, followed close behind Kapak's, thirsty for the blood of the Musulmáns, but well filled with the blood of their own tribes. Suddenly a torrent of blood of the slaughtered infidels flowed towards them," and they had no place to stand on. "Meanwhile, the van of the army of Islám advanced like clouds and rain against them, and fell like a raging storm on those Jíhúnians." Both these leaders were compelled to fly across the river of Sind. Ikbál was taken prisoner, with many of his followers, and those who escaped fled towards the north, and "countless infidels were despatched to hell." A farmán was issued by Sultán 'Aláu-d dín that the surviving prisoners should be massacred, and beaten up into mortar for the fort.

'They hung down from the Tátárí and Chiní fortress,
As Abyssinians with heads inverted hang from a new building;'

And a bastion was formed from an hundred thousand of their heads."

The conquest of Gujarát, Somnát, Nahrwála, and Kambáy.

The Sultán despatched Ulugh Khán to Ma'bar and Gujarát for the destruction of the idol-temple of Somnát, on the 20th of Jumáda-l awwal, 698 H. (1300 A.D.) He destroyed all the idols and temples of Somnát, "but sent one idol, the biggest of all the idols, to the court of his Godlike Majesty, and in that ancient stronghold of idolatry the summons to prayers was pronounced so loud, that they heard it in Misr and Madáin."[1] He conquered also the city of Nahrwála and the city of Khambáíh,[2] and other cities on that sea-shore.

The Conquest of Rantambhor and Jháin.

The king himself went to conduct the siege of Rantambhor. "The Saturnian Hindús, who pretend to relation with that

[1] [*Misr*, Egypt; *Maddín*, the two cities, "Mecca and Medina."] [2] [Cambay.]

planet, had for purposes of defence collected fire in each bastion. Every day the fire of those infernals fell on the light of the Musulmáns, and as there were no means of extinguishing it they filled bags with earth and prepared entrenchments. You might have said that the sewing up of the bags containing the sand looked as if the king of the earth was preparing to invest the fortress with an earthen robe of honour. When the bank of the entrenchment had reached the height of the western bastion of the fortress, the Royal Westerns,[1] shot large earthen balls against that infidel fort, so that the hearts of the Hindus began to quail." "Some newly converted Musulmáns among the ill-starred Mughals had turned their faces from the sun of Islám, and joined those Saturnians;" but they discharged their arrows ineffectually against the party they had deserted. "The victorious army remained encamped under that fort from the month of Rajab to Zí-l ka'da." Every day they collected at the foot of their outwork or entrenchment,[2] and made vigorous attacks, rushing like salamanders through the fire which surrounded them. "The stones which were shot from the catapults and balistas, within and without the fort, encountered each other half, way, and emitted lightning. They fell upon the fort like hailstones, and when the garrison ate them, they became cold and dead." "No provisions remained in the fort, and famine prevailed to such an extent, that a grain of rice was purchased for two grains of gold." One night the Ráí lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair. "On the fortunate date of the 3rd of Zí-l ka'da A.H. 700 (July, 1301 A.D.), this strong fort was taken by the slaughter of the stinking Ráí." Jháín was also captured, "an iron fort, an ancient abode of idolatry, and

[1] A name applied to the catapults and similar instruments of war derived from the West.

[2] The word in the original is *pdshíb*—usually applied to "a footstool, a declivity of a mountain, the bottom of a ladder." A little lower down, in the siege of Warangal, we find it representing a slope to a breach.

was detained for six months, and then released with all honour, and a red umbrella was bestowed upon him.

Conquest of Siwána.

On Wednesday, the 13th of Muharram, A.H. 708 (July, 1308 A.D.), the king set out on his expedition against Siwána, "a fort situated on an eminence, one hundred parasangs from Dehli, and surrounded by a forest occupied by wild men, who committed highway robberies. Sutal Deo, a Gabr, sat on the summit of the hill-fort, like the Simurgh upon Caucasus, and several thousand other Gabrs, were also present, like so many mountain vultures." "The Western mangonels were placed under the orders of Malik Kamálu-d dín Garg (the wolf);

> "For in slaying lions he excelled
> As much as the wolf in killing sheep."

Some of the garrison, in attempting to escape to the jungles, were pursued and killed. "On Tuesday, the 23rd of Rabí'u-l awwal, Sutal Deo, the Savage, was slain. When the affair with those savages was brought to completion, the great king left Malik Kamálu-d dín Garg, to hunt the hogs of that desert," and he himself returned to Dehli.

Conquest of Tilang.

On the 25th of Jumáda-l awwal, A.H. 709, Malik Náib Káfúr, the minister, was despatched on an expedition to Tilang, and "accompanied by the royal red canopy, through the kindness of the Sun of Sultáns, he departed towards the sea and Ma'bar." "The army marched stage by stage for nine days, when the lucky star of the chief of Wazírs, at a fortunate moment, arrived at Mas'údpúr, so called after the son of King Mas'úd. There the army halted for two days, and, on the 6th of the second Jumád, he took his departure with all the chiefs." The difficulties of the road described, through hills and ravines and forests. "The obedient army went through this inhospitable tract, file after file, and regarded this dreadful wilderness as the razor-bridge of hell.

"In six days the army crossed five rivers, the Jún, the Chambal, the Kunwárí, the Niyás,[1] and Bahújí, which were all crossed by fords, and arrived at Sultánpúr, commonly called Ťrijpúr, where the army halted four days." "After thirteen days, on the first of the month of Rajab, they arrived at Khandhár; in such a wilderness, the month of God advanced to meet the army of Islám." Here they remained fourteen days. "At this fortunate season, all the Imáms, Maliks, the pious and celebrated persons in the army, assembled before the royal canopy and offered up prayers for the king.

"The army again advanced, and, like a raging deluge, passed through torrents and water courses—now up, now down. Every day it arrived at a new river." "There were means of crossing all the rivers, but the Nerbadda was such that you might say it was a remnant of the universal deluge. As the miraculous power of the saintly Sultán accompanied the army, all the whirlpools and depths became of themselves immediately dry on the arrival of the army, and the Musulmáns passed over with ease, so that in the space of eight days after crossing that Tigris they arrived at Nílkanth." "As Nílkanth was on the borders of Deogír, and included in the country of the Rái Ráyán, Rám Deo, the minister, acting under the orders of his Majesty, directed that it should be secured against being plundered by the army, which was as destructive as ants and locusts. No one, therefore, was able to carry off doors, enclosures, dwellings, and grain stores, or to cut down the growing crops. The drums which sounded to march were detained here two days, while enquiries were made about the stages in advance, and on Tuesday, the 26th of Rajab, the army again moved forward."

The difficulties of the next sixteen marches described.—Stones, hills, streams, ravines, and pathways "narrower than a guitar-string," "After crossing three plains and hills with fortitude and determination, they arrived at a place within the borders of

[1] [This name may also be read as Bambás. The Kunwárí is the Kuhárí of the maps, and the Niyás and Bahújí must be the rivers now known as the Sind and Betwa.]

Bíjánagar, which was pointed out as containing a diamond-mine." It was in a Doáb, or Interamnia, one river being the Yashar, the other the Barújí.

About this time, he arrived at the fort of Sarbar, "which is considered among the provinces of Tilang." The commander, without delay, "gave orders that the fort should be invested; from without the archers shot arrows, from within the Hindus exclaimed 'strike! strike! (*már már*)'" When, in consequence of the fire-arrows shot by the Musulmáns, the houses in the fort began to burn, "Every one threw himself, with his wife and children, upon the flames, and departed to hell." While the fire was yet blazing, an attack was made on the fort, and those that escaped the flames, became the victims of the sword. The Naíb 'Arz-i mamálik, by name Siráj-i dín, when he saw that the moment of victory had arrived, called upon Anánír, the brother of the commander of the fort, who had made his escape, to surrender the fort with all its treasures. The defenders who still survived fled in terror.

On Saturday, the 10th of Sha'bán, the army marched from that spot, "in order that the pure tree of Islám might be planted and flourish in the soil of Tilang, and the evil tree, which had struck its roots deep, might be torn up by force."

On the 14th of the month, they arrived at Kúnarpal, when Malik Náib Bárbak sent out a detachment of a thousand men to seize some prisoners from whom information might be obtained. As the army had arrived near Arangal, two chiefs were sent on with forty mounted archers to occupy "the hill of Án Makínda, for from that all the edifices and gardens of Arangal can be seen." Here he himself encamped a few days afterwards.

"The wall of Arangal was made of mud, but so strong that a spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball from a western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut which children play with." "At night Khwája Nasíru-l Mulk Siráju-d Daulat distributed the troops to their several destinations, and sent every detachment to occupy its proper place, so that

the fort might be invested in every direction, and that his soldiers might find shelter from the naphtha and fire of those within.

"When the blessed canopy had been fixed about a mile from the gate of Arangal, the tents around the fort were pitched together so closely that the head of a needle could not get between them." "To every *tamin* (tribe or division) was allotted one thousand and two hundred yards of land, and the entire circuit of the wall was twelve thousand and five hundred and forty and six yards." "Orders were issued that every man should erect behind his own tent a *kath-gar*, that is a wooden defence. The trees were cut with axes and felled, notwithstanding their groans; and the Hindús, who worship trees, could not at that time come to the rescue of their idols, so that every cursed tree which was in that capital of idolatry was cut down to the roots; and clever carpenters applied the sharp iron to shape the blocks, so that a wooden fortress was drawn around the army, of such stability, that if fire had rained from heaven their camp would have been unscathed."

A night attack was made on the camp by three thousand Hindú horse, under the command of Bának Deo, the chief (*mukaddam*) of that country. It was unsuccessful, and "the heads of the Ráwats rolled on the plain like crocodiles' eggs," the whole party being slain, or taken prisoners. From the latter it was learnt that "in the town of Damdhúm, six parasangs from Tilang, three powerful elephants were kept." A thousand men, under Karrah Beg, were detached to seize them, and they were brought into camp and reserved for the royal stables.

The Náib Amír gave daily orders to attack the chiefs of Laddar Deo, and he also ordered the "western stone-balls" to be thrown at the wall from every direction "to demolish it, and reduce it to powder." The *manjaniks* from without had more effect than the *arradas* from within; "the stones of the Musulmáns all flew high, owing to the power of the strong cable, but the balls of the Hindús were shot feebly, as from a Brahman's thread."

"When the stories and redoubts (*sábát o gargaj*) were completed, and had attained such a height that the garrison of the fort were placed suddenly on a lower elevation,[1] the ditch of the wall which was in front of the army of Islám," and which was of very great depth, had to be crossed. This was filled to the mouth with earth. "One face of the fort, which was one hundred cubits in length, was so battered down by heavy stones that it no longer covered the Hindús and afforded them protection. On another face also, the balls of the western engines which were in the outwork had, by the breaches they had made, opened several gates. All those breaches were so many gates of victory, which heaven had opened for the royal army.

"As the earth which was battered down from the wall filled up the ditch from the very bottom to the middle of the wall, and the walls of the earthen fortress were pounded into dust by the stones discharged at them, the commander was about to make a sloping ascent to the breach, so wide and open that a hundred men could go on it abreast. But as it would have taken several days to make this slope, and victory was herself urgent that she should be secured by rapid action, the wise minister summoned his prudent Maliks to a council, and it was unanimously determined that, before making an ascent to the breach, an assault should be attempted."

On the night of the 11th of Ramazán, "the minister of exalted rank issued orders that in every division high ladders, with other apparatus, should be kept ready in the middle of the night, and whenever the drum should beat to action every one should advance from his entrenchment and carry the ladders towards the fort—

"That the work of victory might be exalted step by step."

During the attack, the catapults were busily plied on both sides. "If one ball from an engine without the walls was discharged, it fell as two balls within, but from the engines within,

[1] We find this kind of outwork constructed by Changíz Khán, in his siege of Bámíán.

although two balls might be discharged at a time, no misfortune befell the proclaimers of unity. Praise be to God for his exaltation of the religion of Muhammad! It is not to be doubted that stones are worshipped by the Gabrs, but as stones did no service to them, they only bore to heaven the futility of that worship, and at the same time prostrated their devotees upon earth." Three bastions of the outer wall were taken and occupied by the Musulmáns.

On Sunday, the 13th, "a day dedicated to the sun," the attack was renewed, and cries of [1] "*huzza huzz*, and *khuzza khuzz*," the acclamation of the triumph of holy warriors arose. "They took fire with them, and threw it into the places of retreat of the Gabrs, who worshipped fire." By Wednesday, the whole of the outer wall was in possession of the Musulmáns. They then saw the inner fortress, which was built of stone. "You might have said it was the fort of Náí, in which the air is as much lost as in a reed." When the army reached the inner ditch, they swam across it, and commenced a vigorous attack on one of the stone bastions, which so alarmed Ráí Laddar Deo that he offered terms of capitulation. He despatched confidential messengers to offer an annual payment of tribute, and sent a golden image of himself, with a golden chain round its neck, in acknowledgment of his submission. "When the messengers [2] of the Ráí came before the red canopy, which is the honoured harbinger of victory and triumph, they rubbed their yellow faces on the earth till the ground itself acquired their colour, and they drew out their tongues in eloquent Hindúí, more cutting than a Hindí sword, and they delivered the message of the Ráí."

"The idol-breaking Malik comprehended the gilding of the

[1] An early eastern use of Huzza! huzza! The same exclamations occur in the *Miftáhu-l Futúh*.

بهر هوی خزاخز در نهان بود ز هر سوی هزاهز در جهان بود

[2] The Hindí word *basíth* is here used. It is one of those chosen by the author for illustration in his well-known vocabulary called "*Khalik bárí*."

رسول پیغمبر جان بسیتھ یار دوست بولی جا ایتھ

Hindús, and paid no regard to their glozing speech, and would not look towards that golden image;" but he ("a part of the second Alexander") ordered his officers to take the gold that was brought and suspend operations against the fort. He demanded, in reply, everything that the Rái's country produced, from "vegetables, mines, and animals. On this condition the fort-taking Malik stretched forth his right hand, and placed his sword in his scabbard, and struck his open hand, by way of admonition, so forcibly on the backs of the *bastths* that he made them bend under the blow. They hastened to the fort, trembling like quick-silver. The Rái was engaged all night in accumulating his treasures and wealth, and next morning his officers returned with elephants, treasures, and horses, before the red canopy, which is the dawn of the eastern sun; and the Malik, having summoned all the chiefs of the army, sat down in a place which was found in front of the exalted throne, and every other officer found a place in the assembly according to his rank. The common people and servants assembled in a crowd. He then sent for the *bastths* of the Rái, and directed them to place their faces on the ground before the canopy, the shadow of God; and the elephants were placed in front of that assembly, to be exhibited for presentation."

The Malik took the entire wealth of the Rái which was brought, and threatened a general massacre, if it should be found that the Rái had reserved anything for himself. An engagement was then entered into that the Rái should send *jizya* annually to Dehli. The Malik left Arangal on the 16th of Shawwál (March, 1310 A.D.) with all his booty, and "a thousand camels groaned under the weight of the treasure." He arrived at Dehli on the 11th of Muharram, A.H. 710, and on Tuesday, the 24th, in an assembly of all the chiefs and nobles on the terrace of Násiru-d dín, the plunder was presented, and the Malik duly honoured.

"They raised a black pavilion on the Chautara Násira, like the Ka'ba in the navel of the earth, and kings and princes of Arabia and Persia took up their stations around it, while various other

celebrated chiefs, who had fled to the city of Islám, came with pure intentions to offer allegiance, and honoured the dust which adhered to their foreheads when prostrating themselves upon the earth before his majesty." "You would have said that the people considered that day a second 'Íd, when the returning pilgrims, after traversing many deserts, had arrived at the sacred dwelling of the king. The common people went roaming about, and there was no one to prevent their enjoying that blessed sight. They obtained the rewards resulting from pilgrimage, but a greater reward than that attending other pilgrimages was, that, on whatsoever person the fortunate sight of the king fell, that person was a recipient of his kindness and favour."

The Conquest of Ma'bar.

"The tongue of the sword of the Khalífa of the time, which is the tongue of the flame of Islám, has imparted light to the entire darkness of Hindústán by the illumination of its guidance; and on one side an iron wall of royal swords has been raised before the infidel Magog-like Tátárs, so that all that God-deserted tribe drew their feet within their skirts amongst the hills of Ghazní, and even their advance-arrows had not strength enough to reach into Sind. On the other side so much dust arose from the battered temple of Somnát that even the sea was not able to lay it, and on the right hand and on the left hand the army has conquered from sea to sea, and several capitals of the gods of the Hindús, in which Satanism has prevailed since the time of the Jinns, have been demolished. All these impurities of infidelity have been cleansed by the Sultán's destruction of idol-temples, beginning with his first holy expedition against Deogír, so that the flames of the light of the law illumine all these unholy countries, and places for the criers to prayer are exalted on high, and prayers are read in mosques. God be praised!"

"But the country of Ma'bar, which is so distant from the city of Dehli that a man travelling with all expedition could only reach it after a journey of twelve months, there the arrow of any

holy warrior had not yet reached; but this world-conquering king determined to carry his army to that distant country, and spread the light of the Muhammadan religion there." Malik Náib Bárbak was appointed to command the army for this expedition, and a royal canopy was sent with him. The Malik represented that on the coast of Ma'bar were five hundred elephants, larger than those which had been presented to the Sultán from Arangal, and that when he was engaged in the conquest of that place he had thought of possessing himself of them, and that now, as the wise determination of the king had combined the extirpation of idolaters with this object, he was more than ever rejoiced to enter on this grand enterprise.

The army left Dehli on the 24th of Jumáda-l ákhir, A.H. 710 (Nov. 1310 A.D.) and after marching by the bank of the Jún (Jumna) halted at Tankal for fourteen days. While on the bank of the river at that place, the *Díwán* of the *'Ariz-i Mamálik* took a muster of the army. "Twenty and one days the royal soldiers, like swift grey-hounds, made lengthened marches, while they were making the road short, until they arrived at Kanhún; from that, in seventeen more days, they arrived at Gur-gánw. During these seventeen days the Ghâts were passed, and great heights and depths were seen amongst the hills, where even the elephants became nearly invisible." "And three large rivers had to be crossed, which occasioned the greatest fears in their passage. Two of them were equal to one another, but neither of them equalled the Nerbadda."

"After crossing those rivers, hills, and many depths, the Rái of Tilang sent twenty-three powerful elephants for the royal service." "For the space of twenty days the victorious army remained at that place, for the purpose of sending on the elephants, and they took a muster of the men present and absent, until the whole number was counted. And, according to the command of the king, they suspended swords from the standard poles, in order that the inhabitants of Ma'bar might be aware that the day of resurrection had arrived amongst them; and that

all the burnt[1] Hindús would be despatched by the sword to their brothers in hell, so that fire, the improper object of their worship, might mete out proper punishment to them."

"The sea-resembling army moved swiftly, like a hurricane, to Ghurgánw.[2] Everywhere the accursed tree, that produced no religion, was found and torn up by the roots, and the people who were destroyed were like trunks carried along in the torrent of the Jíhún, or like straw tossed up and down in a whirlwind, and carried forward. When they reached the Táwí (Táptí), they saw a river like the sea. The army crossed it by a ford quicker than the hurricane they resembled, and afterwards employed itself in cutting down jungles and destroying gardens."

"On Thursday, the 13th of Ramazán, the royal canopy cast its shadow on Deogír, which under the aid of heaven had been protected by the angels, and there the army determined to make all preparations for extirpating Billál Deo and other Deos (demons). The Rái Ráyán, Rám Deo, who had heard safety to Satan proclaimed by the dreadful Muhammadan tymbals, considered himself safe under the protection secured to him; and, true to his allegiance, forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army sent by the Court, so as to render it available for the extermination of rebels and the destruction of the Bír and Dhúr Samundar."[3] The city was adorned in honour of the occasion, and food and clothes plentifully supplied to the Musulmáns.

Dalwí, a Hindú, who had been sent on to hold the gates of access to the Bír and Dhúr Samundar, was directed by the Rái Ráyán to attend on the Musulmán camp, and "he was anxious to see the conquest of the whole of Dhúr Samundar by the fortunate devotees of the Ka'ba of religion." The Muhammadan army

[1] ["*Sokhta,*" literally "burnt," but also signifying consumed by trouble.]

[2] Here spelt with an *h* in the first syllable.

[3] [Dwára-samudra was the capital of the Bellála rájas, and Víra Narasinha was the name of the prince who was overthrown in this invasion. See Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, Int., p. cxiii.; Buchanan's Mysore, iii., pp. 391, 474; Thomas, Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 276.]

remained for three days, and on the 17th departed "from the Ímanábád Deogír to the Kharábábád of Paras Deo Dalví,[1] in five stages, in which three large rivers were crossed," Síní, Godávarí, and Bínhúr,[2] and other frightful rivers; and "after five days arrived at Bándrí, in the country (*ikta'*) of Paras Deo Dalví, who was obedient to his exalted Majesty, and desired that, by the force of the arms of the victorious Muhammadan soldiers, Bír Dhúl and Bír Pándyá[3] might be reduced, together with the seas which encircle them, into one cup."[4]

Here he stayed to make inquiries respecting the countries in advance, when he was informed that the two Ráís of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bír Pándyá, the youngest Sundar Pándyá,[5] who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions, and that Billál Deo, the Rái of Dhúr Samundar, on learning this fact, had marched for the purpose of sacking their two empty cities, and plundering the merchants; but that, on hearing of the advance of the Muhammadan army, he had returned to his own country.

On Sunday, the 23rd, after holding a council of his chief officers, he took a select body of cavalry with him, and pressed on against Billál Deo, and on the 5th of Shawwál reached the fort of Dhúr Samund,[6] after a difficult march of twelve days over the hills and valleys, and through thorny forests.

[1] Dalwí is perhaps meant for an inhabitant of Tuluva, the modern Canara.

[2] No doubt the present Sína and Bhíma, but the position of the Godávarí is transposed.

[3] [This should signify Bír (Víra) the Rája of Dwára-samudra, and Víra the Rája of Pándya; but there was evidently a confusion in the mind of the writer as to persons and places, as seen in this passage. In another place he says "the fort which is called Bír and Dhúr Samundar." Wassáf calls the Pándya rája "Tíra Pándí," and makes a pun on this name, calling him "*tíra-bakht*," showing that he did not know the real name (*suprá*, p. 53).]

[4] There is great punning here about wells (*bír*) and buckets (*dalví*), which is impossible to render into English so as to make it comprehensible.

[5] See *suprá*, pp. 32, 49, 52.

[6] The author spells it both "*samundar*" and "*samund*,"—here he makes it rhyme with *kund* and *tund*; in another place he puns upon "*samundar*" as the name of a salamander.

"The fire-worshipping" Rái, when he learnt that "his idol temple was likely to be converted into a mosque," despatched Kísú Mal to ascertain the strength and circumstances of the Musulmáns, and he returned with such alarming accounts that the Rái next morning despatched Bálak Deo Náik to the royal canopy, to represent that "your slave Billál Deo is ready to swear allegiance to the mighty emperor, like Laddar Deo and Rám Deo, and whatever the Sulaimán of the time may order, I am ready to obey. If you desire horses like demons, and elephants like *afrits*, and valuables like those of Deogír, they are all present. If you wish to destroy the four walls of this fort, they are, as they stand, no obstacle to your advance. The fort is the fort of the king; take it." The commander replied that he was sent with the object of converting him to Muhammadanism, or of making him a *Zimmí*, and subject to pay tax, or of slaying him, if neither of these terms were assented to. When the Rái received this reply, he said he was ready to give up all he possessed, except his sacred thread.

On Friday, the 6th of Shawwál, the Rái sent Bálak Deo Náik, Náráin Deo, and Jít Mal, with some other *basíths*, to bow before the royal canopy, and they were accompanied by six elephants. Next day some horses followed. On Sunday, "Billál Deo, the sun-worshipper, seeing the splendour of the sword of Islám over his head, bowing down his head, descended from his fortress, and came before the shadow of the shadow of God; and, trembling and heartless, prostrated himself on the earth, and rubbed the forehead of subjection on the ground." He then returned to fetch his treasures, and was engaged all night in taking them out, and next day brought them before the royal canopy, and made them over to the king's treasurer.

The commander remained twelve days in that city, "which is four month's distance from Dehli," and sent the captured elephants and horses to that capital.

On Wednesday, the 18th of Shawwál, the Malik "beat his drums, and loaded his camels for his expedition to Ma'bar, and after five days arrived at the mountains which divide Ma'bar from Dhúr Samundar. In this range there are two passes—one Sarmalí, and the other Tábar. After traversing the passes, they arrived at night on the banks of the river Kánobarí, and bivouacked on the sands. Thence they departed for Bírdhúl, and committed massacre and devastation all around it. The Rái Bír showed an intent of flying for security to his islands in the ocean, but as he was not able to attempt this, his attendants counselled him to fly by land. With a small amount of treasure and property, he deserted the city, and fled to Kandúr, and even there he dare not remain, but again fled to the jungles.

Thither the Malik pursued "the yellow-faced Bír,"[1] and at Kandúr was joined by some Musulmáns who had been subjects of the Hindús, now no longer able to offer them protection. They were half Hindús, and not strict in their religious observances, but "as they could repeat the *kalima*, the Malik of Islám spared their lives. Though they were worthy of death, yet, as they were Musulmáns, they were pardoned."

After returning to Bírdhúl, he again pursued the Rájá to Kandúr, and took one hundred and eight elephants, one of which was laden with jewels. The Rái again escaped him, and he ordered a general massacre at Kandúr. It was then ascertained that he had fled to Jálkota, "an old city of the ancestors of Bír." There the Malik closely pursued him, but he had again escaped to the jungles, which the Malik found himself unable to penetrate, and he therefore returned to Kandúr, where he searched for more elephants. Here he heard that in Brahmastpúrí there was a golden idol, round which many elephants were stabled. The Malik started on a night expedition against this place, and in the morning seized no less than two hundred and fifty elephants. He then determined on razing the beautiful temple to the ground,—"you might say that it was the Paradise of Shad-

[1] The Rái is here frequently called Bír.

dád, which, after being lost, those hellites had found, and that it was the golden Lanka of Rám,"—"the roof was covered with rubies and emeralds,"—"in short, it was the holy place of the Hindús, which the Malik dug up from its foundations with the greatest care," "and the heads of the Brahmans and idolaters danced from their necks and fell to the ground at their feet," and blood flowed in torrents. "The stone idols called Ling Mahádeo, which had been a long time established at that place,—quibus, mulieres infidelium pudenda sua affricant,[1]—these, up to this time, the kick of the horse of Islám had not attempted to break." The Musulmáns destroyed all the lings, "and Deo Narain fell down, and the other gods who had fixed their seats there raised their feet, and jumped so high, that at one leap they reached the fort of Lanka, and in that affright the lings themselves would have fled had they had any legs to stand on." Much gold and valuable jewels fell into the hands of the Musulmáns, who returned to the royal canopy, after executing their holy project, on the 13th of Zí-l ka'da, 710 H. (April, 1311 A.D.). They destroyed all the temples at Bírdhúl, and placed the plunder in the public treasury.

Capture of Southern Mathra (Madura).

After five days, the royal canopy moved from Bírdhúl on Thursday, the 17th of Zí-l ka'da, and arrived at Kham, and five days afterwards they arrived at the city Mathra (Madura), the dwelling-place of the brother of the Rái Sundar Pándyá. They found the city empty, for the Rái had fled with the Ránís, but had left two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnár (Jagganáth)." The elephants were captured and the temple burnt.

When the Malik came to take a muster of his captured elephants they extended over a length of three parasangs, and

[1] Allusive to a practice, which it is unnecessary to particularize more closely, which is said to be still much observed amongst the Khattrís, and which Hindús in general repudiate, attributing it at the same time to the Saráogís.

amounted to five hundred and twelve, besides five thousand horses, Arabian and Syrian, and five hundred *mans* of jewels of every description—diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and rubies.

Return to Dehli.

On Sunday, the 4th of Zí-l hijja, 710 H. Malik Káfúr, accompanied by his army, returned towards Dehli with all the plunder, and arrived in safety on Monday, the 4th of Jumáda-s Sání, 711 H. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín held a public *darbár* in front of the Golden Palace, and all the nobles and chiefs stood on the right and on the left, according to their rank. Malik Náib Káfúr Hazár-dínárí, with the officers who had accompanied him, were presented to the Sultán, before whom the rich booty was exhibited. The Sultán was much gratified, loaded the warriors with honour, and the *darbár* was dissolved.

XV.

TÁRÍKH-I FÍROZ SHÁHÍ

OF

ZÍÁU-D DÍN BARNÍ.

This History is very much quoted by subsequent authors, and is the chief source from which Firishta draws his account of the period. Barní takes up the History of India just where the *Tabakát-i Násirí* leaves it; nearly a century having elapsed without any historian having recorded the events of that interval. In his Preface, after extolling the value of history, he gives the following account of his own work. ["Having derived great benefit and pleasure from the study of history, I was desirous of writing a history myself, beginning with Adam and his two sons. * * * But while I was intent upon this design, I called to mind the *Tabakát-i Násirí*, written with such marvellous ability by the *Sadar-i Jahán*, Minháju-d dín Jauzjání. * * * I then said to myself, if I copy what this venerable and illustrious author has written, those who have read his history will derive no advantage from reading mine; and if I state any thing contradictory of that master's writings, or abridge or amplify his statements, it will be considered disrespectful and rash. In addition to which I should raise doubts and difficulties in the minds of his readers. I therefore deemed it advisable to exclude from this history everything which is included in the *Tabakát-i Násirí*, * * * and to confine myself to the history of the later kings of Dehli. * * * It is ninety-five years since the *Tabakát-i Násirí*, and during that time eight kings have sat upon the throne of Dehli. Three other persons, rightly or wrongfully, occupied the

throne for three or four months each; but in this history I have recorded only the reigns of eight kings, beginning with Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban, who appears in the *Tabakát-i Násirí* under the name of Ulugh Khán.]

"First.—Sultán Ghiyasu-d dín Balban, who reigned twenty years.

"Second.—Sultán M'uizzu-d dín Kai-kubád, son of Sultán Balban, who reigned three years.

"Third.—Sultán Jalálu-d dín Fíroz Khiljí, who reigned seven years.

"Fourth.—Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, who reigned twenty years.

"Fifth.—Sultán Kutbu-d dín, son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, who reigned four years and four days.

"Sixth.—Sultán Ghiyasu-d dín Tughlik, who reigned four years and a few months.

"Seventh.—Sultán Muhammad, the son of Tughlik Sháh, who reigned twenty years.

"Eighth.—Sultán Fíroz Sháh, the present king, whom may God preserve.

"I have not taken any notice of three kings, who reigned only three or four months. I have written in this book, which I have named *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, whatever I have seen during the six years of the reign of the present king, Fíroz Sháh, and after this, if God spares my life, I hope to give an account of subsequent occurrences in the concluding part of this volume. I have taken much trouble on myself in writing this history, and hope it will be approved. If readers peruse this compilation as a mere history, they will find recorded in it the actions of great kings and conquerors; if they search in it the rules of administration and the means of enforcing obedience, even in that respect it will not be found deficient; if they look into it for warnings and admonitions to kings and governors, that also they will find nowhere else in such perfection. To conclude, whatever I have written is right and true, and worthy of all confidence."

Zíáu-d dín Barní, like many others, who have written under the

eye and at the dictation of contemporary princes, is an unfair narrator. Several of the most important events of the reigns he celebrated have been altogether omitted, or slurred over as of no consequence. Thus many of the inroads of the Mughals in the time of 'Aláu-d dín are not noticed, and he omits all mention of the atrocious means of perfidy and murder, by which Muhammad Tughlik obtained the throne, to which concealment he was no doubt induced by the near relationship which that tyrant bore to the reigning monarch. With respect, however, to his concealment of the Mughal irruptions, it is to be remarked, as a curious fact, that the Western historians, both of Asia and Europe, make no mention of some of the most important. It is Firishta who notices them, and blames our author for his withholding the truth. Firishta's sources of information were no doubt excellent, and the general credit which his narrative inspires, combines with the eulogistic tone of Zíáu-d dín Barní's history in proving that the inroads were actually made, and that the author's concealment was intentional. The silence of the authorities quoted by De Guignes, D'Herbelot, and Price, may be ascribed to their defective information respecting the transactions of the Mughal leaders to the eastward of the Persian boundary.

The author did not live to complete his account of Fíroz Sháh, but towards the close of his work lavishes every kind of encomium, not altogether undeserved, upon that excellent prince. Notwithstanding that Firishta has extracted the best part of the *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, it will continue to be consulted, as the reigns which it comprises are of some consequence in the history of India. The constant recurrence of Mughal invasions, the expeditions to the Dekkin and Telingana, the establishment of fixed prices for provisions, and the abortive means adopted to avert the effects of famine, the issue of copper money of arbitrary value, the attempted removal of the capital to Deogír, the wanton massacres of defenceless subjects, the disastrous results of the scheme to penetrate across the Himaláya to China, the public buildings, and the mild administration of Fíroz; all these

measures, and many more, invest the period with an interest which cannot be satisfied from the mere abstract given by Firishta.

[Barní is very sparing and inaccurate in his dates. He is also wanting in method and arrangement. He occasionally introduces divisions into his work, but in such a fitful irregular way that they are useless. In his latter days "he retired to a village in the suburbs of Dehli, which was afterwards the burial place of many saints and distinguished men. He was reduced to such extreme poverty that no more costly shroud than a piece of coarse matting could be furnished for the funeral obsequies." His tomb is not far from that of his friend, the poet Amír Khusrú.[1]

[Sir H. Elliot had marked the whole of Barní's history for translation, intending probably to peruse it and expunge all trivial and uninteresting passages. The translation had been undertaken by a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, but when required it was not forthcoming. After waiting for some time, the editor, anxious to avoid further delay, set to work himself, and the whole of the translation is from his pen.[2] It is somewhat freer in style than many of the others, for although the text has been very closely followed, the sense has always been preferred to the letter, and a discretion has been exercised of omitting reiterated and redundant epithets. All passages of little or no importance or interest have been omitted, and their places are marked with asterisks. The Extracts, therefore, contain the whole pith and marrow of the work, all that is likely to prove in any degree valuable for historical purposes. Barní's history of the eighth king, Fíroz Shah, is incomplete, and is of less interest than the other portions. In the weakness of old age, or in the desire to please the reigning monarch, he has indulged in a strain of adulation which spoils

[1] Col. Lees. Jour., R.A.S., vol. iii., new series, p. 445.

[2] When a portion of the translation was already in type, and the editor was at work on the last reign, a letter arrived from India with translations of the histories of the second and sixth of the eight kings—too late to be of any service.

his narrative. The *Tárikh-i Firoz Sháhi* of Shams-i Siráj, which will follow this work, is specially devoted to the reign of that king. Shams-i Siráj has therefore been left to tell the history of that monarch. But the two writers have been compared, and one or two interesting passages have been extracted from Barní's work.

[The translation has been made from the text printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, and during the latter half of the work two MSS., borrowed by Sir H. Elliot, have been also constantly used,[1] These MSS. prove the print, or the MSS. on which it was based, to be very faulty. A collation would furnish a long list of *errata* and *addenda*. One of the two MSS. gives the original text apparently unaltered;[2] but the other has been revised with some judgment. It sometimes omits and sometimes simplifies obscure and difficult passages, and it occasionally leaves out reiterations; but it is a valuable MS., and would have been of great assistance to the editor of the text.]

EXTRACTS.

Zíá-Barní, the author of this history, and an earnest well-wisher of the Muhammadans, declares that what he has written upon the life and actions of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban he himself heard from his father and grandfather, and from men who held important offices under that sovereign.

Ghiyásu-d dín Balban ascended the throne in 662[3] H. He was one of the *Shamsí* slaves, and belonged to the band of Turk slaves which was known as "The Forty." * * * Before he became king the glory of the State had greatly declined from

[1] These MSS. being carefully secured by Lady Elliot, could not be obtained while she was absent from home. They have since been examined in respect of several passages in the earlier parts of the translation.

[2] This is said to be "a perfect copy, and the autograph of the author. It belongs to the Nawwáb of Tonk, by whose father it was plundered from Boolandshahr." It is a good MS., but, so far from being an autograph, the colophon gives the name of the scribe and the date of the transcription, 1019 (1610 A.D.).

[3] Should be 664 H. (1265-6 A.D.)

what it had been in the days of Sultán Shamsu-d dín, who was the equal of the Sultán of Egypt, and the compeer of the kings of 'Irák, Khurásán, and Khwárizm. For thirty years after him, during the reigns of his sons, the affairs of the country had fallen into confusion through the youth and sensuality (of his immediate successors), and through the mildness and humility of Sultán Násiru-d dín. The treasury was empty, and the royal court had but little in the way of wealth and horses. The *Shamsí* slaves had become Kháns, and divided among them the wealth and power of the kingdom, so that the country was under their control.

During the ten years after the death of Sultán Shamsu-d dín four of his children sat upon the throne. They were young and unequal to the duties of government. Their lives were passed in pleasure and neglect of their duties. The Turk slaves, called "The Forty," thus obtained power in the government of the country, and grew in strength and dignity. The free-born *maliks* and noble officials who had served the *Shamsí* throne with honour and renown were all removed.

After the lapse of ten years, during which three of Sultán Shamsu-d dín's children reigned, his youngest son, Násiru-d dín (after whom the *Tabakát-i Násirí* is named), came to the throne. He was a mild, kind, and devout king, and passed much of his time in making copies of the Holy Book. During the twenty years of his reign Balban was Deputy of the State, and bore the title of Ulugh Khán. He, keeping Násiru-d dín as a puppet (*namúna*), carried on the government, and even while he was only a *Khán* used many of the insignia of royalty.

In the reign of Shamsu-d dín the fear inspired by the slaughter and ravages of Changiz Khán, the accursed Mughal, caused many renowned *maliks* and *amírs*, who had long exercised authority, and many intelligent *waxírs*, to rally round the throne of Shamsu-d dín. * * * His Court thus became the equal of that of Mahmúd or of Sanjar, and the object of universal confidence. After the death of Shamsu-d dín his Forty Turk slaves grew

powerful. The sons of the late Sultán did not bear themselves like princes, and were unfitted for the duties of royalty, which, saving only those of the prophetic office, are the highest and most important in the world. Under the influence of these Turk Slaves all the great men, and the sons of those great men who had been *maliks* and *wazírs*, were upon some pretence or other set aside, and after their removal the *Shamsí* Slaves became the leading men of the State, and acquired the dignity of *Khán*. * * * These *Shamsí* slaves had been fellow slaves, and when they became all at once great and powerful, no one would give precedence or acknowledge inferiority to another. In possessions and display, in grandeur and dignity, they vied with each other, and in their proud vaunts and boasts every one exclaimed to the other, "What art thou that I am not, and what wilt thou be that I shall not be?" The incompetence of the sons of Shamsu-d dín, and the arrogance of the *Shamsí* slaves, thus brought into contempt that throne which had been among the most dignified and exalted in the world.

Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban was a man of experience in matters of government. From being a *malik* he became a *khán*, and from being a *khán* he became king. When he attained the throne he imparted to it new lustre, he brought the administration into order, and restored to efficiency institutions whose power had been shaken or destroyed. The dignity and authority of government were restored, and his stringent rules and resolute determination caused all men, high and low, throughout his dominions, to submit to his authority. Fear and awe of him took possession of all men's hearts, but his justice and his consideration for his people won the favour of his subjects and made them zealous supporters of his throne. During the thirty years from the death of Shamsu-d dín, the incompetency of that monarch's sons and the overweening power of the *Shamsí* slaves had produced a vacillating, disobedient, self-willed feeling among the people, which watched for and seized upon every opportunity. Fear of the governing power, which

is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition. But from the very commencement of the reign of Balban the people became tractable, obedient, and submissive; self-assertion and self-will were thrown aside, and all refrained from insubordination and insolence.

In the first year after his accession, the ripe judgment and experience of Balban was directed in the first place to the organization of his army, for the army is the source and means of government. The cavalry and infantry, both old and new, were placed under the command of *maliks* of experience, of chiefs who held the first rank in their profession, and were brave, dignified, and faithful. * * * * In the first and second year he assumed great state, and made great display of his pomp and dignity. * * * Musulmáns and Hindus would come from distances of one or two hundred *kos* to see the splendour of his equipage, which filled them with amazement. * * * No sovereign had ever before exhibited such pomp and grandeur in Dehli. * * * * For the twenty-two years that Balban reigned he maintained the dignity, honour, and majesty of the throne in a manner that could not be surpassed. Certain of his attendants who waited on him in private assured me that they never saw him otherwise than full-dressed. During the whole time that he was *Khán* and *Sultán*, extending over nearly forty years, he never conversed with persons of low origin or occupation, and never indulged in any familiarity, either with friends or strangers, by which the dignity of the Sovereign could be lowered. He never joked with any one, nor did he allow any one to joke in his presence; he never laughed aloud, nor did he permit any one in his Court to laugh. * * * As long as he lived no officer or acquaintance dared to recommend for employment any person of low position or extraction.

In the administration of justice he was inflexible, showing no favour to his brethren or children, to his associates or attendants; and if any of them committed an act of injustice, he never failed

to give redress and comfort to the injured person. No man dared to be too severe to his slaves or handmaids, to his horsemen or his footmen. Malik Bak-bak, father of Malik Kírá Beg, was a slave of Sultán Balban; he was *Sar-jándár*, and one of the privileged attendants at Court. He held a *jágir* of four thousand horse, and the fief of Badáún. In a fit of drunkenness, while at Badáún, he caused one of his domestic attendants to be beaten to death with scourges. Some time afterwards, the Sultán went to Badáún, and the man's widow complained to the Sultán. He immediately ordered that this Malik Bak-bak, chief of Badáún, should be scourged to death in the presence of the widow. The spies (*barid*) who had been stationed to watch the fief of Badáún, and had made no report, were hanged over the gate of the town. Haibat Khán, father of Malik Kírán 'Ala, was the slave and *kára-beg* of Sultán Balban. He also while intoxicated killed a man. The dead man's friends brought the matter before the Sultán, who ordered that Haibat Khán should receive five hundred lashes in his presence, and should then be given to the widow. Addressing the woman, he said, "This murderer was my slave, I give him to you: with your own hands stab him with a knife till you kill him." Haibat Khán employed some friends to intercede with the woman, and after much humiliation and weeping they succeeded in purchasing his release for 20,000 *tankas*. Haibat Khán never after went out of his house until the day of his death. * * *

In his efforts to secure justice he appointed confidential spies (*barids*) in all the fiefs, and throughout his territories; he also appointed them for great cities, and for important and distant towns. And that they might discharge their duties with efficiency and honesty he did not give them too large a field of observation. He never failed to attend to what came to his knowledge through these spies, and had no respect for persons in administering justice. These spies were greatly feared by the nobles and officials, and neither they nor their sons or dependants dared to distress any innocent person. * * *

Sultán Balban, while he was a *Khán*, was addicted to wine drinking, and was fond of giving entertainments: two or three times in a week he would give banquets and gamble with his guests. * * * But after he came to the throne he allowed himself no prohibited indulgences. He repented of all his former drunken bouts, gave up wine, and never mentioned the name of either wine or wine-drinkers. * * *

The intimate friends of the Sultán, such as 'Ádil Khán, Tabar Khán, and others of the old *Shamsí* Slaves, who, through the protection of the Sultán, still occupied exalted positions, often said to him—Sovereigns, like Kutbu-d dín Aibak and Shamsu-d dín, our former patrons, conquered Jháín,[1] Malwá, Ujjain, Gujarát, and other distant countries, and carried off treasure and valuables, and elephants and horses from the *Ráis* and *Ránas*. "How is it that with your well equipped and disciplined army you do not undertake any distant campaign, and never move out of your territory to conquer other regions?" The Sultán replied, "The thoughts which you have expressed have also been very active in my mind, but you have not considered the hordes of Changíz Khán, and the evil they have brought upon the women and children, the flocks and herds of my frontiers. These Mughals have established themselves in Ghazní, in Turmuz, and in Máwaráu-n Nahr. Hulákú, the grandson of Changíz Khán, with a vast horde, has subdued 'Irák and occupied Baghdád. These accursed wretches have heard of the wealth and prosperity of Hindustán, and have set their hearts upon conquering and plundering it. They have taken and plundered Láhor, within my territories, and no year passes that they do not come here and plunder the villages.[2] They watch the opportunity of my departure on a distant campaign to enter my cities and ravage the whole Doáb. They even talk about the conquest and sack of Dehli. I have devoted all the revenues of my kingdom to the

[1] The printed text always gives this name as "Jahában," but the MSS. have "Jháín," the name used by Firishta.

[2] "*Talwandihá*" villages. See suprà, p. 70.

equipment of my army, and I hold all my forces ready and prepared to receive them. I never leave my kingdom, nor will I go to any distance from it. In the reigns of my patrons and predecessors there was none of this difficulty of the Mughals; they could lead their armies where they pleased, subdue the dominions of the Hindus, and carry off gold and treasures, staying away from their capitals a year or two. If this anxiety, which admonishes me that I am the guardian and protector of Musulmans, were removed, then I would not stay one day in my capital, but would lead forth my army to capture treasures and valuables, elephants and horses, and would never allow the *Ráis* and *Ránas* to repose in quiet at a distance. With the army that I possess I would take all the spirit out of the opponents and enemies of the Faith." * * *

The Sultán frequently observed to his associates that elephants and horses were the strength of Hindustan, and that one elephant was worth five hundred horsemen. * * * In the first year of the reign, sixty-three elephants were sent by Tátár Khán, son of Arslán Khán, from Lakhnauti to Dehli, which greatly pleased the people, and was the occasion of great public rejoicing. * * * He took great pleasure in hunting, and followed it with much zest during the winter. By his orders the country for twenty *kos* round Dehli was preserved, and no one was allowed to take game. * * * He used to go out in the morning, and always returned at night, even if it were midnight. A thousand horsemen belonging to the palace guard, each man of whom was acquainted with his person, accompanied him; besides a thousand old and trusty footmen and archers. Reports of the hunting expeditions of the Sultán were carried to Hulákú, at Baghdád, and he said, "Balban is a shrewd ruler and has had much experience in government. He goes out apparently to hunt * * * but really to exercise his men and horses, so that they may not be wanting when times of danger and war arrive. * * *

Towards the end of the first year of his reign he employed himself in harrying the jungles, and in routing out the *Mi-*

wáttis,[1] whom no one had interfered with since the days of Shamsu-d dín. * * * The turbulence of the *Miwáttis* had increased, and their strength had grown in the neighbourhood of Dehli, through the dissolute habits and negligence of the elder sons of Shamsu-d dín, and the incapacity of the youngest, Násiru-d dín. At night they used to come prowling into the city, giving all kinds of trouble, depriving the people of their rest; and they plundered the country houses in the neighbourhood of the city. * * * In the neighbourhood of Dehli there were large and dense jungles, through which many roads passed. The disaffected in the Doáb, and the outlaws towards Hindustan grew bold and took to robbery on the highway, and they so beset the roads that caravans and merchants were unable to pass. The daring of the *Miwattis* in the neighbourhood of Dehli was carried to such an extent that the western gates[2] of the city were shut at afternoon prayer, and no one dared to go out of the city in that direction after that hour, whether he travelled as a pilgrim or with the display of a sovereign. At afternoon prayer the *Miwáttis* would often come to the Sar-hauz, and assaulting the water-carriers and the girls who were fetching water, they would strip them and carry off their clothes. These daring acts of the *Miwáttis* had caused a great ferment in Dehli.

In the year of his accession, the Sultán felt the repression of the *Miwáttis* to be the first of his duties, and for a whole year he was occupied in overthrowing them and in scouring the jungles, which he effectually accomplished. Great numbers of *Miwáttis* were put to the sword. The Sultán built a fort at Gopál-gír, and established several posts in the vicinity of the city, which he placed in the charge of Afgháns, with assignments of land (for their maintenance). In this campaign one hundred thousand of the royal army[3] were slain by the *Miwáttis*, and the

[1] The printed text and the MSS. say "*Miwáns*," but Firishta has "*Miwáttis*," and he is no doubt correct. The copyists must have misunderstood the name, or possibly they have modified the orthography. [2] [*Darwázahde simat-i Kiblah.*]

[3] یک لکھي بندۂ خاص سلطان از میوان شہید شد Firishta says, with more probability, that he put a hundred thousand men (of the enemy) to the sword.

Sultán with his sword delivered many servants of God from the assaults and violence of the enemy. From this time the city was delivered from the attacks of the *Miwáttis*.

After the Sultán had thus routed out the *Miwáttis*, and cleared away the jungle in the neighbourhood of the city, he gave the towns and country within the Doáb to some distinguished chiefs, with directions to lay waste and destroy the villages of the marauders, to slay the men, to make prisoners of the women and children, to clear away the jungle, and to suppress all lawless proceedings. The noblemen set about the work with strong forces, and they soon put down the daring of the rebels. They scoured the jungles and drove out the rebels, and the *ryots* were brought into submission and obedience.

The Sultán afterwards marched out twice to open the roads to Hindustán, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of Kampil and Pattiálí. There he remained five or six months, putting the rebels to the sword. The roads to Hindustán were thus cleared, so that caravans and merchants could pass, and great spoil in slaves, horses, and cattle was secured. Kampil, Pattiálí, and Bhojpúr, had been the strongholds of the robbers who had infested the roads to Hindustán, so the Sultán erected in these places three strong forts, in which he placed Afghán garrisons. He set apart cultivable lands for the garrisons, and under the protection of these forces robbery was suppressed, and the roads to Hindustán were made safe. Sixty years have passed since these events, but the roads have ever since been free from robbers. In this campaign he also repaired the fort of Jalálí, which he garrisoned with Afgháns, and appropriated the land of the place to its support. The den of the robbers was thus converted into a guard-house, and Musulmans and guardians of the way took the place of highway robbers. It remains standing to this day.

While the Sultán was engaged in these duties news arrived from Kateher[1] that disturbances had broken out in that district,

[1] Variously spelt as كتيهير and كاتهير

that the houses of the ryots had been plundered, and that the districts of Badáún and Amroha were also disturbed. The mutiny had grown so much and had acquired such strength that the chiefs of Badáún and Amroha were in great trouble and were unable to keep order. The Sultán immediately returned from Kampil and Pattiálí to Dehli, where great rejoicings were made. His mind was bent upon suppressing the disturbances at Kateher, so he ordered the main body of his army (*kalb*) to be prepared for service, and he spread the report that he was going to the hills on a hunting excursion. He left the city with his army without the royal tent-equipage, and made all haste to the scene of operations. In two nights and three days he crossed the Ganges at Kateher, and sending forward a force of five thousand archers, he gave them orders to burn down Kateher and destroy it, to slay every man, and to spare none but women and children, not even boys who had reached the age of eight or nine years. He remained for some days at Kateher and directed the slaughter. The blood of the rioters ran in streams, heaps of slain were to be seen near every village and jungle, and the stench of the dead reached as far as the Ganges. This severity spread dismay among the rebels and many submitted. The whole district was ravaged, and so much plunder was made that the royal army was enriched, and the people of Badáún even were satisfied. Woodcutters were sent out to cut roads through the jungles, and the army passing along these brought the Hindus to submission. From that time unto the end of the glorious[1] reign no rebellion made head in Kateher, and the countries of Badáún, Amroha, Sambal, and Kánwarí continued safe from the violence and turbulence of the people of Kateher.

The Sultan having thus extirpated the outlaws, returned victorious to his capital, where he remained some time. After the suppression of the freebooters, and the construction of roads in every direction, by which all fear of highway robbers was removed, the Sultán resolved upon making a campaign in the Júd moun-

[1] "Jaláli," meaning, perhaps, the reign of Jalálu-d dín.

tains. He accordingly marched thither with a suitable force, and inflicted chastisement upon the hills of Júd and the vicinity. The country was plundered, and a large number of horses fell into the hands of the soldiers, so that the price of a horse in the army came to be forty *tankas*. * * *

Two years after the Sultán returned from his Júd expedition he marched to Láhor, and ordered the rebuilding of the fort which the Mughals had destroyed in the reigns of the sons of Shamsu-d dín. The towns and villages of Láhor, which the Mughals had devastated and laid waste, he repeopled, and appointed architects and managers (to superintend their restoration.)

While on this campaign it was again brought to his notice that the old *Shamsi* military grantees of land were unfit for service, and never went out. * * * On returning to Dehli he ordered the muster-master to make out a list of them, with full particulars, and to present it to the throne for instructions. It then appeared that about two thousand horsemen of the army of Shamsu-d dín had received villages in the Doab by way of pay. * * * Thirty or forty years and even more had passed since the establishment of this body, many of the grantees were old and infirm, many more had died, and their sons had taken possession of the grants as an inheritance from their fathers, and had caused their names to be recorded in the records of the *'Ariz* (Muster-master). Some who had no children sent their slaves as their representatives. All these holders of service lands called themselves proprietors, and professed to have received the lands in free gift from Sultán Shamsu-d dín. * * * Some of them went leisurely to perform their military duties, but the greater part stayed at home making excuses, the acceptance of which they secured by presents and bribes of all sorts to the deputy muster-master and his officials.

When the list was brought to the Sultán, in the year of his return from Láhor, he divided the grantees into three classes. The first consisted of the old and worn-out, upon whom he settled pensions of forty or fifty *tankas*, and resumed their villages.

2nd. Those who were in the prime of life, or were young, on whom an allowance proportionate to their service was settled: their villages were not to be taken from them, but the surplus revenues were to be collected by the government revenue officers. 3rd. The children and orphans, who held villages, and sent deputies to perform their military service. The grants were to be taken from these orphans and widows, but a suitable allowance was to be made for their food and raiment.

These orders caused great dismay among the old *Shamsí* grantees, of whom there were many in the city, and a loud outcry arose in every quarter. A number of them assembled and went to the house of Maliku-l umará Fakhru-d dín *kotwál*, weeping, and complaining that more than fifty years had elapsed since the reign of Shamsu-d dín, and that they had regarded the lands granted to them by that sovereign as having been given in free-gift (*in'âm*). * * * The *kotwál* felt for them, * * and, going to the Court, he stood thoughtful and dejected before the Sultán, who, observing his state, inquired what was the matter. The *kotwál* replied, I have heard that the Muster-master is turning off all the old men, and that the officers of the exchequer are resuming the lands which support them. This has filled me with sorrow and fear, for I am an old man and feeble, and if old men are to be rejected in the Day of Judgment, and are to find no place in heaven, what will become of me? * * * The Sultán was moved with compassion, and sending for the revenue officers, he directed that the villages should be confirmed to the grantees, and that the orders passed respecting them should be treated as inoperative. I, the author, very well remember that many of these grantees lived and rendered service at the Court of Sultán Jalálu-d dín, always invoking blessings on Sultán Balban and Malik Fakhru-d dín.

Four or five years after the accession of the Sultán, Sher Khán, his cousin, a distinguished Khán, who had been a great barrier to the inroads of the Mughals, departed this life. I have heard from reliable sources that the Khán did not come to Dehli, and

that the Sultán caused him to be poisoned. A grand tomb was erected to his memory at Bhatnír. He was one of the most distinguished and respected of the Forty *Shamsí* slaves, all of whom bore the title of *Khán*. He repaired the forts of Bhatinda and Bhatnír, and held charge of the districts of Sannám, Lahor, Dípálpur, and other territories exposed to the inroads of the Mughals. He maintained several thousand horse, and had many times utterly routed the Mughals. He had caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of the Sultán Násiru-d dín at Ghazní, and the terror of his name and the greatness of his power detered the Mughals from assailing the frontiers of Hindustán. But notwithstanding his services, he felt a strong apprehension that there was an intention to get rid of all the old *Shamsí* slaves upon some pretext or other, so he kept away from Dehli. He did not even come there when Sultán Balban succeeded, and so the Sultán, although the Khán was his cousin, caused him to be poisoned. After his death the Sultán bestowed Sámána and Sannám on Tamar Khán, who also was one of the Forty *Shamsí* slaves. The other possessions of the late Khán were given to other noblemen. Sher Khán had coerced and brought under his control the Jats, the Khokhars, the Bhattís, the Mínas, the Mandáhars, and other similar tribes; he had also shown himself able to give a good account of the Mughals. The nobles who succeeded him in his territories were unequal to these duties; the Mughals made head against them, and these frontier countries were exposed to their ravages. What the late Khán had effected in one decade, no one of his successors was able to accomplish.

When Sultán Balban had secured himself in his dominions, and had removed all his rivals and opponents, and when he had appointed his own followers to the possessions of Sher Khán, he gave a royal canopy to his eldest son, proclaimed him his heir apparent, and made him governor of all Sind and the other dependent frontier districts. He then sent him with a large body of nobles and officials to Multán. The prince was a young man possessed of many excellent qualities; he was known in those

days by the name of Muhammad Sultán, but the Sultán, on giving him this appointment, bestowed on him the title of Ká'ám-l Mulk. He is commonly known as Khán-i shahíd, "the Martyr Khán." In the early years of his father's reign he had held the territory of Kol and some districts dependent thereto. Here he exhibited many virtues and excellent qualities. Several of the old *Shamsí* slaves had given the name of Muhammad to their sons, and these all became famous. Thus there was Muhammad Kishlí Khán, who had no rival in archery in Khurásán or Hindustán. * * * Among these Muhammads, the son of Sultán Balban, named Muhammad Sultán, was pre-eminently distinguished. His father loved him dearer than his life. The Court of the young prince was frequented by the most learned, excellent, and accomplished men of the time. His attendants used to read (to him) the *Sháh-námah*, the *Díwán-i Sanái*, the *Díwán-i Khákání*, and the *Khamsah* of Shaikh Nizámí. Learned men discussed the merits of these poets in his presence. Amír Khusrú and Amír Hasan were servants at his Court, and attended upon him for five years at Multán, receiving from the prince allowances and grants of land. The Prince fully appreciated the merits and excellencies of these two poets, and delighted to honour them above all his servants. I, the author of this work, have often heard from Amír Khusrú and Amír Hasan that they had very rarely seen a prince so excellent and virtuous as the "Martyr Prince." * * At his entertainments they never heard him indulge in foolish dirty talk, whether wine was drunk or not; and if he drank wine he did so with moderation, so as not to become intoxicated and senseless. * * *

The Martyr Prince twice sent messengers to Shíráz for the express purpose of inviting Shaikh S'adí to Multán, and forwarded with them money to defray the expenses of the journey. His intention was to build a *khánkáh* (monastery) for him in Multán, and to endow it with villages for its maintenance. Khwája S'adí, through the feebleness of old age, was unable to accept the invitations, but on both occasions he sent some

verses in his own hand, and made his apologies also in writing. * * *

Every year the Prince used to come to see his father, bringing treasure and presents, and after staying a few days at Court he returned to his government. On the last occasion of their meeting the Sultán addressed him in private, telling him that he had grown old, * * that he had made him his heir-apparent, and now intended making a will for his guidance. * * He called for pen and ink, and giving them into his son's hands, commanded attention to his dictation. * * * When the Sultán had finished his testament[1] of counsel, he sent the Prince back to Multán.

In the same year that the Sultán made this testament he sent his younger son, Bughrá Khán, also entitled Násiru-d dín, to Sámána, having placed under his charge Sámána, Sannám, and all their dependencies. This prince was a fine young man, but in qualities he was not to be compared with his elder brother. When the Sultán sent him to his government he commanded him to increase the allowances to the old soldiers, and to enlist twice as many more new men. He also ordered him to promote the industrious and faithful officials, and to give them grants of land. He further directed him to be particularly careful in appointing officers for his army, so that he might be ready to repel any advances of the Mughals.

Bughrá Khán was inferior to his elder brother in intelligence; the Sultán therefore directed him not to be hasty in business, but to consult with his officers and trusty followers on all matters of importance concerning the army and country. All matters beyond his capacity were to be referred direct to the Sultán, and all orders upon such questions which the Sultán might pass were to be scrupulously enforced, without failure or excess. The Sultán forbad the use of wine to Bughrá Khán. He observed that Sámána was an important territory, and its army most useful; and he threatened him that if he indulged in wine

[1] An epitome of this Testament is given in Briggs's Firishta.

and in unseemly practices, neglecting the interests of the army and the country under his charge, he would assuredly remove him, and give him no other employment. The Sultán also sent spies (*barid*) to watch over his proceedings, and took great pains to obtain information of his doings. The son accordingly conducted himself honourably and gave up improper indulgences.

At this time the Mughal horse crossed the Biyáh, and the Sultán sent against them the Martyr Prince from Multán, Bughrá Khán from Sámána, and Malik Bárbak Bektars[1] from Dehli. They marched to the Biyáh, driving back the Mughals, and obtaining many victorios over them, so that the enemy were unable to advance beyond the Biyáh. In each of these three armies there were about seventeen or eighteen thousand horse.

Fifteen or sixteen years had passed since the accession of Balban, during which the country had been quiet, and no adversary or disaffected person had disturbed the peace. * * * News at length reached Dehli that the perfidious Tughril had broken out in rebellion at Lakhnautí. Tughril was a Turk, and a very active, bold, courageous, and generous man. Sultán Balban had made him viceroy of Lakhnautí and Bengal. Shrewd and knowing people had given to Lakhnautí the name of Bulghákpúr (the city of strife), for since the time when Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám conquered Dehli, every governor that had been sent from thence to Lakhnautí took advantage of the distance, and of the difficulties of the road, to rebel. If they did not rebel themselves others rebelled against them, killed them, and seized the country. The people of this country had for many long years evinced a disposition to revolt, and the disaffected and evil disposed among them generally succeeded in alienating the loyalty of the governors.

Tughril Khán, on being appointed to Lakhnautí, was successful in several enterprises. He attacked Jájnagar[2] and carried off

[1] Firishta reads this name as "Birlás."

[2] The printed text has Hájínagar, an obvious blunder. The MSS. correctly give "Jájnagar." Briggs, following Dow, says, "Jajnagar is on the banks of the Ma-

great spoil in valuables and elephants. Traitors and rebels then made advances to him, and represented that the Sultán was old, and his two sons were engaged in guarding against the Mughals. That no year passed without the Mughals forcing their way into Hindustan and seizing upon different towns. The Court of Dehli had quite enough to do in repelling these attacks, and neither the Sultán nor his sons could leave this all important duty to come to Lakhnautí. The nobles of Hindustan had no leader, they were wanting in soldiers and retainers, in elephants and wealth, and they were quite incapable of marching to Lakhnautí and opposing Tughril. So they urged him to revolt and make himself king. Tughril listened to and was led astray by these evil advisers. He was young, self-willed, and daring; "ambition had long laid its egg in his head," and he was heedless of the royal revenge and chastisement. The spoil and elephants which he had captured at Jájnagar he kept for himself, and sent none to Dehli. He assumed royal insignia, and took the title of Sultán Mughísu-d dín, which title was used in the *khutba* and on his coins. He was profuse in his liberality, so the people of the city and the environs were his friends. Money closed the eyes of the clear-sighted, and greed of gold kept the more politic in retirement. The army and the citizens lost all fear of the supreme power, and joined heart and soul with Tughril.

The rebellion of Tughril was a sore trouble to Balban, for the rebel had been one of his cherished slaves (*banda*). In his anger and sorrow he lost his rest and appetite; and as the news of Tughril's introducing his name into the *khutba*, his striking of coins, and his largesses reached Dehli, he became more and more incensed. He was so engrossed with this rebellion that no

hanuddi, and was the capital of Orissa," and there is still a town called Jájpur in Cuttack. But the Jájnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra, and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunár-gánw, presently mentioned as on the road to Jájnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra, 13 miles S.E. of Dacca.—*Firishta* I. 260; *Rennell's Memoir; Stewart's Bengal*, 72.

other business received any attention; night and day he was on the alert for further news about it. At first he sent against the rebel Abtagín, "the long haired," who was known as Amír Khán. This chief was an old slave of Balban; he had received his training among military men, and had for many years held the fief of Oudh. He was named Commander-in-chief, and along with him were sent Tamar Khán Shamsí, Malik Táju-d dín, son of Katlagh Khán Shamsí, and other nobles of Hindustán.

Amír Khán, with the army of Hindustán, crossed the Saráú,[1] and marched towards Lakhnautí; and Tughril, with a large force numbering many elephants, advanced to meet him. The two armies came in sight of each other, and a number of people assembled to support the traitor Tughril. His profuse liberality had induced many of the inhabitants of that country to assist him, and had won over also a large number of the troops sent from Dehli against him. He attacked Amír Khán and defeated him. The troops of Dehli fled, and were cruelly treated by the Hindús. The victorious troops of Tughril pursued, and many of the defeated force, being poor and greedy, and unmindful of the Sultán's chastisement, deserted the army of Amír Khán, and joined Tughril. When the news of this defeat reached the Sultán, his rage and shame increased a hundred-fold. All fear of the anger of God left his bosom, and he gave way to needless severity. He ordered Amír Khán to be hanged over the gate of Oudh. This condign punishment excited a strong feeling of opposition among the wise men of the day, who looked upon it as a token that the reign of Balban was drawing to an end.

Next year the Sultán sent another army against Lakhnautí, under a new commander. The defeat of Amír Khán had made Tughril bolder, and his power and state had greatly increased. He marched out of Lakhnautí, attacked the army of Dehli, and totally defeated it. Many of this force also deserted to Tughril, allured by his gold. The news of this second defeat over-

[1] Here written Saráú, and afterwards Sarú, meaning the Sarju or Gogra.

whelmed the Sultán with shame and anger, his life was embittered, and he devoted all his attention and energy to effect the defeat of Tughril. He resolved to march against the rebel in person, and ordered a large number of boats to be collected on the Ganges and the Jumna. He then set forth, as if for a hunting excursion to Sámána and Sannám (the fiefs of his son Bughrá Khán), and, dividing these districts, he placed them under the charge of the chiefs and troops of those districts. Malik Súnj *Sarjándár* was made *Náib* of Sámána, and commander of its forces. Bughrá Khán was directed to collect his own forces, and to follow in the rear of his father's army. The Sultán then left Sámána, and, proceeding into the Doáb, he crossed the Ganges, and took his course to Lakhnautí. He wrote to his son at Multán, directing him to be careful of his country, and to give a good account of the Mughals, adding that he had placed the forces of Sámána at his disposal. The Sultán wrote also to Maliku-l umará *Kotwál* of Dehli, one of his most trusty adherents, appointing him to act as his lieutenant at Dehli during his absence, and placing the whole business of the State and the various officials under his charge. In announcing this appointment the Sultán told him that he had marched against Tughril, and that he was fully resolved to pursue him, and never turn back until he had exacted vengeance.

The Sultán summoned all the forces of the neighbourhood where he was, and marched for Lakhnautí, his rage and shame causing him to disregard the rainy season. Proceeding into Oudh he ordered a general levy, and two lakhs of men of all classes were enrolled. An immense fleet of boats was collected, and in these he passed his army over the Saráú. The rains now came on, and although he had plenty of boats the passage through the low-lying country was difficult, and the army was delayed ten or twelve days, toiling through the water and mud, and the pouring rain. Meantime Tughril had received intelligence of the advance of the Sultán. He then said to his friends and supporters, "If any one besides the Sultán had come against me, I would

have faced him, and fought it out. But as the Sultán has left his duties at Dehli, and has come against me in person, I cannot withstand him." When intelligence of the passage of the Saráú reached Tughril, he immediately prepared for flight, and as the Sultán's march was retarded by the rains he had plenty of time. Many people joined him through fear of the Sultán's vengeance; and he carried off with him treasure and elephants, a picked body of troops, his officers, relations, and adherents, with their wives and children. He also worked upon many people by holding out to them the terrors of the Sultán's vengeance, so that they collected their money and followed him. He took the road to Jájnagar, and halted at a dry place, one day's journey from Lakhnautí. Few persons of importance were left in the city, and the people were all well disposed to him, having the fear of the Sultán on the one hand, and the hope of Tughril's favour on the other. The Sultán was thirty or forty kos from Lakhnautí, and Tughril continued his march to Jájnagar. He deluded the people who accompanied him by telling them that he would stay for a time at Jájnagar, but that the Sultán would be unable to remain long at Lakhnautí. As soon as he should hear of the Sultán's departure they would plunder Jájnagar, and return rich and safe to Lakhnautí, for no one whom the Sultán could leave there would be able to oppose their return. On their approaching the place the Sultán's deputy would retire.

Several days were passed by the Sultán at Lakhnautí in arming and newly organizing his forces; but he set off with all possible speed towards Jájnagar in pursuit of the rebel. The author's maternal grandfather, *Sipáh-sálár* Hisámu-d dín, *wakíl-dar* of Malik Bár-bak, was made governor of Lakhnautí, with directions to send on to the army, three or four times every week, full particulars of the news which might arrive from Dehli. Balban marched with all speed, and in a few days arrived at Sunár-gánw. The Rái of that place, by name Danúj Rái, met the Sultán, and an agreement was made with him that he should guard against the escape of Tughril by water.

The Sultán many times publicly declared that he would never give up the pursuit of the rebel. They were playing for half the kingdom of Dehli; and if Tughril took to the water he would pursue him, and he would never return to Dehli, or even mention it, until the blood of the rebel and his followers had been poured out. The people of the army well knew the fierce temper and implacable resolution of the Sultán. They despaired of ever returning, and many of them drew up their wills and sent them to their homes. * * * The army marched about seventy kos, and arrived in the vicinity of Jájnagar; but Tughril had pursued a different route, and not a man of his army had been seen. The Sultán therefore sent Malik Bárbak Bektars[1] Sultání, at the head of seven or eight thousand horse, who marched ten or twelve kos in advance of the main force, and every day scouts were sent on before this advance party to get intelligence of Tughril. Thus they proceeded. But although scouts were sent out in all directions, no trace could be found of the rebel, till one day Muhammad Sher-andáz, the chief of Kol, his brother Malik Mukaddir, and "Tughril-kush," all brave and renowned soldiers, who had been sent forward ten or twelve kos in advance to reconnoitre and make inquiries, fell in with a party of corn dealers, who were returning home after completing their dealings with Tughril. These men were immediately seized, and Malik Sher-andáz ordered two of them to be beheaded. This act so terrified the rest that they gave the desired information. Tughril was encamped at less than half a kos distance, near a stone-built reservoir,[2] and intended next day to enter the territory of Jájnagar. Malik Sher-andáz sent two of these grain dealers in charge of two Turkí horsemen to Malik Bárbak, announcing the discovery, and urging his advance. The reconnoitring party proceeded and found the tents of Tughril pitched near a *band*, with all his force encamped around. All seemed secure and free

[1] This name is always so given in the Printed Text and in the MSS., but Firishta has "Birlas."

[2] بر سر حوض سنگ بست فرود آمده است

from apprehension; some were washing their clothes, others were drinking wine and singing. The elephants were browsing on the branches of the trees, and the horses and cattle were grazing—everywhere a feeling of security prevailed. The leaders of the reconnoitring force remarked to each other that if they were discovered the traitor would take to flight. His elephants and treasure might fall into their hands, but he himself would escape. If this occurred, what could they say to the Sultán, and what hope would there be of their lives. They therefore resolved that it was best to take the boldest course, to rush at once into the enemy's camp and attack the tent of the traitor. He might possibly be taken and be beheaded before his forces could rally to the rescue; and his army might take to flight, under the impression that they were attacked by the army of the Sultán, and not by a mere handful of thirty or forty horsemen. So the brave fellows drew their swords, and shouting the name of Tughril, dashed into the camp. They reached his tent; but Tughril had heard the clamour, and, passing through his scullery, he mounted a horse without a saddle, and made off to a river which ran near. The whole army of Tughril, under the impression that the Sultán was upon them, fled in terror and dismay. Mukaddir and "Tughril-kush" pursued Tughril, who made all speed to the river. When he reached it, Tughril-kush drew an arrow, shot him in the side and brought him down. Mukaddir instantly dismounting, cut off his head, and cast his body into the river. Concealing the head under his clothes he went to the river and washed his hands. The officers of Tughril came up shouting, "Your Majesty," and seeking for him on every side. Just then Malik Bárbak arrived with his army and dispersed the forces of Tughril. Mukaddir and Tughril-kush placed the head of the traitor before Malik Bárbak, who instantly wrote a despatch of victory to the Sultán. The sons and daughters of Tughril, his attendants, companions, and officers, all fell into the hands of the victors. The men of this victorious force obtained such booty in money, goods, horses, arms, slaves,

and handmaids, as to suffice them and their children for many years. Two or three thousand men and women were taken prisoners.

When news of the victory and of the death of Tughril reached the Sultán, he halted, and Malik Bárbak returned, bringing with him the booty and prisoners that had fallen into his hands. The Malik recounted all the particulars of the victory, and the Sultán was very angry with Muhammad Sher-andáz, saying that he had committed an error, which might have been of serious consequences to him and the army of Dehli. But as all had ended well, the Sultán, after these censures, bestowed robes and rewards upon all the men of the reconnoitring party, according to their rank and position, and raised their dignities. Upon Muhammad Sher-andáz he bestowed especial favour; to the man who shot the arrow he gave the title of "Tughril-kush,"[1] Slayer of Tughril; and to Mukaddir, who had cut off the traitor's head he gave a robe and suitable rewards. * * * This achievement increased a hundred-fold the awe felt of Balban by his subjects.

The Sultán returned to Lakhnautí, and there ordered that gibbets should be erected along both sides of the great *bázár*, which was more than a *kos* in length. He ordered all the sons and sons-in-law of Tughril, and all men who had served him or borne arms for him, to be slain and placed upon the gibbets. Tughril had shown great favour to a certain *kalandar*, * * * and the Sultán went so far as to kill him and gibbet him, with all his followers. The punishments went on during the two or three days that the Sultán remained at Lakhnautí, and the beholders were so horrified that they nearly died of fear. I, the author, have heard from several old men that such punishment as was inflicted on Lakhnautí had never been heard of in Dehli, and no one could remember anything like it in Hindustán. A number

[1] The Text in every instance speaks of Malik Mukaddir *and* Tughril-kush as two distinct persons, and this passage is decisive as to the author's opinion. Firishta, however, who evidently used Barní's account, is just as distinct in saying that Mukaddir was the man who shot and killed Tughril, and that it was he who was called "Tughril-kush."

of prisoners who belonged to Dehli and its neighbourhood were ordered to be put in fetters and carried to Delhi, there to receive their punishment.

The Sultán remained some days longer at Lakhnautí. He placed the country under the charge of his younger son, Bughrá Khán, to whom he granted a canopy and other royal insignia. He himself appointed the officials and feudatories (*iktá'dárs*); but he gave to Bughrá Khán all the spoils of Tughril Khán, excepting the elephants and gold which he took with him to Dehli. He called his son to him in private, and made him take an oath that he would recover and secure the country of Bengal, and that he would not hold convivial parties, nor indulge in wine and dissipation. He then asked his son where he was lodging, and he replied in the palace of the old kings near the great *bázár*. Bughrá Khán was also called Mahmúd, and the Sultán said to him, "Mahmúd, didst thou see?" The prince was surprised at the question, and made no answer. Again the king said, "Mahmúd, didst thou see?" The prince was amazed, and knew not what answer to give. The Sultán repeated the question a third time, and then added, "You saw my punishments in the *bázár*?" The prince bowed and assented. The Sultán went on to say, "If ever designing and evil-minded persons should incite you to waver in your allegiance to Dehli, and to throw off its authority, then remember the vengeance which you have seen exacted in the *bázár*. Understand me and forget not, that if the governors of Hind or Sind, of Malwa or Gujarat, or Lakhnautí, or Sunár-gánw shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Dehli, then such punishment as has fallen upon Tughril and his dependents will fall upon them, their wives and children, and all their adherents. Another day he spoke to his son in private before some of his principal associates [*impressing upon him the responsibilities of his station, and warning him against pleasure and dissipation*].

The Sultán then took his departure for Dehli, and Bughrá Khán accompanied him for some marches. On the day before

Bughrá Khán was to return the Sultán halted, and after morning prayer he called several of his old friends and Bughrá Khán into his presence. He directed the latter to summon his secretary to come with writing materials, and told them to sit down before him, for he was about to deliver some counsels to his son. Then addressing his friends he said, "I know that whatever principles of government I may enforce upon this my son, he, through his devotion to pleasure, will disregard. Still, my paternal affection impels me to write down some counsels for him, in the presence of you who are old men, who have seen much, and have gained great experience. God give my son grace to act upon some of my words."

* * * * *

After the Sultán had concluded his counsels to his son, and the secretary had committed them to writing, he gave him a robe of honour, tenderly embraced him, and shedding tears over him bade him farewell. Bughrá Khán then returned to Lakhnautí, and the Sultán, with his army, pursued his journey towards Dehli. On reaching the Sarú he halted, and he issued an order that no one who had gone with the army from Dehli to Lakhnautí should remain at the latter place without permission, and that no one should proceed from Lakhnautí to Delhi without his consent. After an inspection of the men of his army, he crossed the river and continued his journey. * * * He passed through Badáún, and crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Ghanúr. The people of Dehli of all classes came forth to meet him * * * and he entered his capital after being absent three years. [*Rejoicings, public thanks, and rewards.*]

After the rewards were distributed, the Sultán ordered a row of gibbets to be erected on both sides of the road from Badáún to Talpat (Pilibhít ?), and that the inhabitants of Dehli and its environs, who had joined Tughril, and had been made prisoners at Lakhnautí, should be suspended thereon. This direful order spread dismay in the city; for many of the inhabitants of the town and environs had relations and connections among the

prisoners. * * * The public sorrow became known to the *kázi* of the army, who was greatly shocked. He proceeded on the evening of the Sabbath, and throwing himself at the feet of the Sultan interceded for the unhappy prisoners. The Sultán was moved by his importunity, and ordered that the majority of the prisoners, who were of no name and repute, should be set at liberty; that some of the better known should be banished to the neighbouring towns, and that those belonging to the city should be retained in prison for a time. The most notorious among them were ordered to be mounted on buffalos, and to be paraded round the city for an exemplary punishment. After a while, through the intercession of the *kázi*, they all obtained their release. * * *

The Sultán's eldest son, who was called Khán of Multán, and ruled over Sind, brought to Dehli the tribute money and horses for the whole three years during which the Sultán had been absent, and presented his reports to his father. The Sultán was greatly pleased, his affection and kindness to his son was increased tenfold, and he sent him back to his government loaded with honours. * * *

In the year 684 H. (A.D. 1285) the Khán of Multán, the eldest son and heir apparent of the Sultán, and the mainstay of the State, proceeded to Lahor and Deobálpur (Dípálpúr) to oppose the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changíz Khán. By the will of fate, the prince with many of his nobles and officers fell in battle, and a grievous disaster thus happened to the throne of Balban. Many veteran horsemen perished in the same battle. This calamity caused great and general mourning in Multán. * * * From that time the deceased prince was called "the Martyr Prince." Amír Khusrú was made prisoner by the Mughals in the same action, and obtained his freedom with great difficulty. He wrote an elegy on the death of the prince. * * *

When the news of this defeat and the death of the prince reached the Sultán, he was quite broken down with sorrow. The army was a well-appointed one, and "the Martyr Prince" was

the son whom he had loved dearer than his life, and whom he had destined to be his successor. The Sultán was now more than eighty years old, and although he struggled hard against the effects of his bereavement, they day by day became more apparent. By day he held his court, and entered into public business as if to show that his loss had not affected him; but at night he poured forth his cries of grief, tore his garments, and threw dust upon his head. When the particulars of the prince's death arrived, the Sultán bestowed Multán, with the other territories, the canopy, and all the ensigns of royalty which he had given to the late prince, on Kai-Khusrú, his son. This prince was very young, but he was greatly favoured by the Sultán, who sent him to Multán with a large retinue of nobles and officers. The reign of Balban now drew to a close, and he gradually sank under his sorrow.

Biographical notices of the nobles and great men of the reign of Balban.

To return to my history. When the Sultán grew weak and ill from grief for his lost son, he summoned his younger son, Bughrá Khán, from Lakhnautí, and said to him, "Grief for your brother has brought me to my dying bed, and who knows how soon my end may come? This is no time for you to be absent, for I have no other son to take my place. Kai-Khusrú and Kai-Kubád, your sons,[1] whom I have cherished, are young, and have not experienced the heat and cold of fortune. Youthful passions and indulgence would make them unfit to govern my kingdom, if it should descend to them. The realm of Dehli would again become a child's toy, as it was under the successors of Shamsu-d dín. If you are in Lakhnautí when another mounts the throne in Dehli, you must be his subordinate; but if you are established in Dehli, whoever rules in Lakhnautí must submit to you. Think over this; do not leave my side; cast away all desire of going to Lakhnautí." Bughrá Khán was a heedless prince;

[1] "*Pisardn i shumd.*"

he did not know that in the management of a kingdom questions are constantly arising and dangers threatening. He had been two or three months in Dehli, and his father's health had slightly improved. He wanted to go to Lakhnautí, so he found a pretext for doing so, and set off thither without leave from his father.

Bughrá Khán had a son named Kai-Kubád, who had been brought up by the Sultán, and now stayed by his side. The Khán had not reached Lakhnautí when the Sultán became worse. He knew that he was stricken by death, and gave up all hope of surviving. Three days before his death, he summoned to his presence Maliku-l-umara Kotwal of Dehlí, Khwája Husain Basrí the *wazír*, and some other of his favourite servants, and said, You are old and are versed in matters of government: you know how things go on when kings die, and I know that my end is near. * * * After I am gone, you must set upon the throne Kai-Khusrú, son of my eldest son, the martyr prince, whom, after his father's death, I named as my successor, and who is worthy of the throne. He is young and incapable of ruling as yet, but what can I do? Mahmúd (Bughrá Khán) has shrunk from the work, and people shut their eyes at him. He is gone to Lakhnautí, intent upon other views. The throne will not stand without a king, and I see no course but that of my making my will in favour of Kai-Khusrú. He dismissed his friends, and three days afterwards he died. The *kotwal* and his people were strong, and, as confidants of the late king, had great power in the city. For a private reason, which it would be unseemly to expose,[1] they had been unfriendly to the martyr prince, and they were apprehensive of danger if Kai-Khusrú succeeded, so they sent him at once to Multán. They then took Kai-Kubád, the son of Bughrá Khán, and placed him on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d dín. The corpse of Sultán Balban was taken out of the Red Palace at night, and was buried in the house of rest, and thus ended one who for so many years had ruled with dignity, honour, and vigour. * * *

[1] از جهتی کہ آن بکشف احوال عورات دارد

From the day that Balban, the father of his people, died, all security of life and property was lost, and no one had any confidence in the stability of the kingdom. Mu'izzu-d dín had not reigned a year before the chiefs and nobles quarrelled with each other; many were killed upon suspicion and doubt; and the people, seeing the troubles and hardships which had befallen the country, sighed for a renewal of the reign of Balban.

Sultánu-l Karam Mu'izzu-d Dunyá wau Dín Kai-Kubád.

The author of this history, Zíá-Barní, was a child in the reign of Sultán Mu'izzu-d din Kai-Kubád, grandson of Sultán Balban, and the details which he has written he learned from his father, Muyidu-l Mulk, and from his preceptors, who were men of note at the time. Kai-Kubád[1] ascended the throne in the year 685 H. (1286 A.D.)[2] He was then seventeen or eighteen years old, and was a young man of many excellent qualities. He was of an equable temper, kind in disposition, and very handsome; but he was fond of pleasure and sensual gratifications. From his childhood till the day he came to the throne, he had been brought up under the eye of the Sultán, his grandfather. Such strict tutors had been placed over him that he never had the idea of indulging in any pleasure, or the opportunity of gratifying any lust. His tutors, in fear of the Sultán, watched him so carefully that he never cast his eyes on any fair damsel, and never tasted a cup of wine. Night and day his austere guardians watched over him. Teachers instructed him in the polite arts and in manly exercises, and he was never allowed to do any unseemly act, or to utter any improper speech. When, all at once, and without previous expectation, he was elevated to such a mighty throne, * * * all that he had read, and heard, and learned, he immediately forgot; his lessons of wisdom and self-restraint

[1] Barní generally uses the title Mu'izzu-d dín, but I have preferred the shorter and more distinctive name.

[2] Properly 686, as proved in the Printed Text by a verse quoted from Amír Khusrú's *Kirdnu-s Sadain.*

were thrown aside, and he plunged at once into pleasure and dissipation of every kind. * * * His ministers, likewise, the young nobles of his court, and his companions and friends, all gave themselves up to pleasure. The example spread, and all ranks, high and low, learned and unlearned, acquired a taste for wine drinking and amusements.

Kai-Kubád gave up residing in the city, and, quitting the Red Palace, he built a splendid palace, and laid out a beautiful garden at Kílu-garhí, on the banks of the Jumna. Thither he retired, with the nobles and attendants of his court, and when it was seen that he had resolved upon residing there, the nobles and officers also built palaces and dwellings, and, taking up their abode there, Kílu-garhí became a populous place [*and the resort of all the votaries and ministrants of pleasure.*] Night and day the Sultán gave himself up entirely to dissipation and enjoyment.

Malik Nizámu-d dín, nephew and son-in-law of Maliku-l umará Kotwal of Dehlí, now rose to the highest offices. He became *Dád-bak*, or chief administrator of justice, and *Náib-i mulk*, or deputy ruler of the State, and the government of the country was in his hands. Malik Kiwámu-d dín, who held the office of secretary, an accomplished and eloquent man, thoroughly versed ni correspondence and the duties of secretary, was made *'Umdatu-l mulk* and *Náib-wakíldar*. Nizámu-d dín was an active, ready, and crafty man, and his rise to power gave great offence to the nobles and servants of the late king, who were strong and numerous, and still held important positions. His head was filled with ambitious designs, while the Sultán was engrossed with pleasure and conviviality. The old and experienced courtiers, who had felt the heat and cold of varying fortune, perceived that the minister bore them no good will, and formed themselves into various parties. The nobles, heads of great families, found their position at court shaken, and some of them conceived a craving for an extension of their power. Nízámu-d dín sharpened his teeth in the pursuit of his ambition, and argued with himself thus: "Sultán Balban was a wary old

wolf, who held possession of Dehlí for sixty years, and kept down the people of the kingdom with a firm grasp. He is gone, and his son, who was fitted to be a king, died before him; Bughrá Khán remains contented at Lakhnautí, and the roots of empire which the old man planted are day by day growing weaker. The Sultán, in his devotion to pleasure, has not a thought for his government. If I get rid of Kai-Khusrú, the son of "the Martyr Prince," and can remove some of the old nobles from the person of the sovereign, the realm of Dehlí will fall with ease into my hands." With such thoughts and crooked designs, he began to play his game against Kai-Khusrú; so he said to the Sultán, "Kai-Khusrú is your partner in the kingdom, and is endued with many kingly virtues. The nobles are very friendly towards him, and look upon him as the heir-apparent of Sultán Balban. If several of Balban's nobles support him, one day they will set you aside and raise him to the throne. It would therefore be politic for you to summon him from Multán, and to make away with him on the road. This truculent suggestion was adopted, and messengers were sent for Kai-Khusrú. Nizámu-d dín took advantage of the Sultán's drunkenness to obtain his sanction for the murder of the prince. He then despatched his emissaries, who murdered the prince at Rohtak.

This murder excited great dread of the minister among all those nobles who remained in office. The glory and honour of the *maliks* was shattered, and fear seized upon them all. Nizámu-d dín became more overbearing. He brought a charge against Khwája Khatír, *wázir* of the Sultán, and had him placed upon an ass, and paraded through the whole city. This punishment increased the terror which all the nobles and officers felt. He next resolved upon removing the chief nobles and heads of illustrious families; so he said to the Sultán, "These newly-made Musulmáns, who hold offices and appointments near your majesty, are in league together. You have made them your companions and associates, but they intend to deal treacherously with you; and, introducing themselves by degrees into the

palace, they will turn you out and seize upon the kingdom. These Mughal nobles hold meetings in their houses and consult together. They are all of one race, their followers are numerous, and they have grown so strong that they will raise a rebellion. Shortly after he reported to the Sultán some words which had come to his ears, as having been uttered by these Mughals while in a state of intoxication, and he obtained from him permission to seize and kill them. One day he had them all seized in the palace, the principal of them were slain and cast into the Jumna, and their houses and property were plundered. Several descendants of slaves,[1] also, who were men of high rank in the time of Balban, having formed acquaintances and friendship with these new Musulmáns, were made prisoners and confined in distant forts. Their families, which had long taken root in the land, were scattered.

Next after these Malik Sháhik, *amír* of Multán, and Malik Túzakí, who was the holder of the fief of Baran, and held the office of Muster-master-general—men of high rank and importance in the reign of Balban—were both of them got rid of by stratagem. These proceedings made the designs of Nizámu-d dín sufficiently clear to all men of the court and city; and his house became the resort of the principal men of the place. He had obtained such an ascendancy over Kai-Kubád, that whenever any one belonging to the city or otherwise made allusion to the ambitious designs of Nizámu-d dín, or, in a fair and open way, brought any evil practice to his notice, the Sultán used to say to his minister, "So and so has spoken this about you;" or he would have the person seized, and giving him over to Nizámu-d dín, would say, "This man wanted to make mischief between us."

The ascendancy of Nizámu-d dín reached such a pitch that his wife, who was the daughter of Maliku-l umará, became known as "honorary mother" of the Sultán, and the directress of his female apartments. The sight of his power caused all the

[1] "*Maula zádagán.*"

great men and chiefs of the city and country to anxiously watch his proceedings and guard against his hostility with all caution. With every device in their power, they endeavoured to obtain his favour, and to be reckoned among his adherents. Kotwál Maliku-l Umará Fakhru-d dín, father-in-law and uncle of Nizámu-d dín, often spoke to him in private, and remonstrated with him on his ambitious designs and his destruction of the nobles, saying, "I and my father have been *kotwáls* of Dehlí for eighty years, and as we have never meddled with affairs of State, we have remained in safety, * * * banish this vision of royalty from your mind, for royalty has no relation with us. * * * Supposing you kill this drunken insensate king by some villainous contrivance, the infamy of such an action will remain upon you and your children till the day of judgment." * * * This admonition of the *kotwál's* became generally known, * * * and raised him very high in public estimation.

Nizámu-d dín profited nothing by these counsels; his ambition to acquire the regal power made him blind and deaf. Every day he made some new move in the game, and sought to remove the Khiljís, who were obstacles in his road to sovereignty. Fate, however, derided these crude designs, and smiled upon the Khiljís. The Sultán himself became aware that Nizámu-d dín desired to remove him, and in fact his designs were patent to every one in Dehlí.

While Kai-Kubád was sitting on the throne in Dehlí, his father, Bughrá Khan, at Lakhnautí, had assumed the title of Násiru-d dín, and had struck coins and caused the *khutba* to be read in his own name. A correspondence was kept up between the father and son, and messengers were constantly passing, carrying presents from one to the other. The father was informed of his son's devotion to pleasure, and of Nizámu-d dín's designs, * * * so he wrote letters of advice and caution to his son, * * * but the Sultán, absorbed in his pleasures, * * * paid no heed to his father's remonstrances, and took no notice of his minister's designs. Neither did he give the least attention to the business of the kingdom.

When Bughrá Khán[1] heard that his son * * * paid no heed to his letters, he resolved to go and see him, and he wrote him a letter announcing his intention. * * * This letter awakened the Sultán's affection * * * and several letters passed. * * * It was at length arranged that the Sultán would go to Oudh, and that his father should come from Lakhnautí and meet him on the banks of the Sarú. The Sultán's intention was to proceed privately (*jaridah*) to the Sarú, but his minister opposed this, * * * observing that "the journey was long, and that he ought to travel in state with an army. * * * Old writers had said that in pursuit of dominion fathers will slay their sons, and sons their fathers. Ambition for rule stifles both paternal and filial affection. * * * The Sultán's father had struck coins and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name—besides, he was the rightful heir to the kingdom, and who could foresee what would happen at the interview. The Sultán ought to proceed with his army in all state and grandeur. * * * The Ráís and Ránas would then come to pay their respects; but if he travelled with haste, all reverence for the kingly office would be lost." * * * His advice was taken by the Sultán, and he directed his army and travelling equipage to be prepared.

In due time the Sultán set out in all regal state, with a suitable army, and marching into Oudh he pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarú. When Bughrá Khán heard that the Sultán had brought a large army, he understood that Nizámu-d dín had instilled fear into the heart of his son; but he set forth from Lakhnautí with an army and elephants, and arrived at the Sarú, where the two armies encamped on opposite sides of the river, within sight of each other. For two or three days officers passed from both sides, carrying messages between father and son. The order of the interview was at length settled. Bughrá Khán was to pay honour and homage to the king of Dehlí. He was to cross the river to see his son seated on his throne, and to kiss his hands (in token of inferiority). The Khán said, "I have no

[1] He is now called "Násiru-d dín," but it seems preferable to retain his old name.

inclination to pay homage to my own son; but he sits upon the throne of Dehlí in my father's seat, and that exceeds in grandeur all the thrones of the earth. * * * If I do not show it due honour, its glory will be shattered, and evil will come both upon me and my son. * * * I will therefore fulfil all the requirements of etiquette." He directed the astrologers to fix upon an auspicious hour for the interview. On the appointed day the Sultán's court was arranged, and he sat upon his throne to hold a levée. Bughrá Khán alighted, and came within the privileged circle. He bowed his head to the earth, and three times kissed the ground, as required by the ceremonial of the court. But when he approached the throne, the Sultán could no longer bear the degradation of his father; he threw aside all kingly grandeur, and, descending from the throne, cast himself at his father's feet. * * * Father and son burst into tears and embraced each other; * * * and the Sultán rubbed his eyes upon his father's feet. This sight drew tears also from the eyes of the beholders. The father took his son's hand and led him to the throne, intending himself to stand before it for awhile; but the Sultán came down, and conducting his father to the throne, seated him there on his own right hand. Then, coming down, he bent his knees, and sat respectfully before him. * * * Afterwards they had some conversation together in private, and then Bughrá Khán retired across the river to his own camp. * * *

One day, Bughrá Khán, after telling his son a story about Jamshíd, said, "Oh, my dear son, how far wilt thou carry thy addiction to pleasure and dissipation, and how long wilt thou disregard the sayings of great and powerful kings?" * * * When the Khán had finished his counsels he wept, and pressing his son to his bosom bade him farewell; and as he did so, he secretly whispered to him his advice that he should remove Nizámu-d dín as soon as possible, otherwise that man would one day seize an opportunity to remove him from the throne. So saying, and shedding many tears, he parted from his son. * * * When he reached his own camp he said to his friends, "I have

was seated on the throne, under the title of Sultán Shamsu-d dín. The old Balbaní officers were his supporters, and they received offices, titles, and grants of land. The young Sultán was taken to the *Chabútara-i Násirí*, which became his Court, and there the nobles and great men attended upon him.

Sultán Kai-Kubád was lying sick and powerless at Kílughará, attended by his doctors. At the same time Jalálu-d dín, who was *'Áriz-i mamálik* (Muster-master-general), had gone to Bahár-púr, attended by a body of his relations and friends. Here he held a muster and inspection of the forces. He came of a race different from that of the Turks, so he had no confidence in them, nor would the Turks own him as belonging to the number of their friends. Aitamur Kachhan and Aitamur Surkha *wakíl-dar* conspired to denounce and remove several nobles of foreign extraction. They accordingly drew up a list, at the head of which they placed the name of Jalálu-d dín. The latter very prudently collected his adherents, and all the Khiljí *maliks* and *amírs*, drew together, and formed a camp at Bahár-púr. Several other nobles joined him. Aitamur Kachhan now proceeded to Bahár-púr, in order to entice Jalálu-d dín to the Shamsí palace, where he intended to kill him. Jalálu-d dín was aware of the plot, and intercepted and slew Aitamur Kachhan, as he was on the way to invite him. The sons of Jalálu-d dín, who were all daring fellows, went publicly at the head of 500 horse to the royal palace, seized upon the infant Sultán, and carried him off to their father. Aitamur Kachhan[1] pursued them, but he was wounded with an arrow, and fell. The sons of Maliku-l umará Kotwal were captured and taken to Bahár-púr, where they were kept as hostages. Great excitement followed in the city; the people, high and low, small and great, poured out of the twelve gates of the city, and took the road for Bahár-púr to the rescue of the young prince. They were all troubled by the ambition of the Khiljís, and were strongly opposed to Jalálu-d dín's ob-

[1] So says the Text, and the two MSS. agree: but as Kachhan was dead, Surkha must be here intended, and Firishta has it so.

taining the crown ; but the *kotwál*, on account of his sons, allayed the popular excitement, and brought back the citizens. The crowd dispersed at the Badáún gate.

Several *maliks* and *amirs* of Turk extraction now joined Jalálu-d dín at his camp, and the Khiljí force increased. Two days after these occurrences a *malik*, whose father had been put to death by order of Sultán Kai-Kubád, was sent to Kílú-gharí, with instructions to make an end of him. This man entered Kílú-gharí, and found the Sultán lying at his last gasp in the room of mirrors. He despatched him with two or three kicks, and threw his body into the Jumna. Malik Chhajú, brother's son of Sultán Balban, and rightful heir to the throne, received the grant of Karra, and was sent off thither.

Friends and opponents now came to terms with Jalálu-d dín, who was escorted from Bahárpúr by a large body of horse, and was seated on the throne in Kílú-gharí. He immediately proceeded to strengthen his position by bringing in his friends, and distributing the offices. But the majority of the people of Dehlí was opposed to him, and through fear of the populace he did not go to the city, there to take his seat upon the old throne of his predecessors. Some time elapsed before he ventured there, or before the people went to Kílú-gharí to offer their congratulations. They hated the Khiljí *maliks*, and would not look upon them. There were many officers and nobles, representatives of old families in Dehlí at that time. By the death of Sultán Kai-Kubád M'uizzu-d dín the Turks lost the empire.

SULTÁNU-L HALÍM JALÁLU-D DUNYÁ WAU-D DÍN FÍROZ SHÁH KHILJÍ.

Zíá-Barní, the author of this history, declares that the events and affairs of the reign of Jalálu-d dín, and the other matters about which he has written from that period unto the end of his work, all occurred under his own eyes and observation.

Sultán Jalálu-d dín Fíroz Khiljí ascended the throne in the

palace of Kílú-gharí, in the year 688 H.[1] (1289 A.D.). The people of the city (of Dehlí) had for eighty years been governed by sovereigns of Turk extraction, and were averse to the succession of the Khiljís; for this reason the new Sultán did not go into the capital. The great men and nobles, the learned men, the officials, and the celebrities with whom the city was then filled, went out to pay their respects to the new Sultán, and to receive robes. In the course of the first year of the reign the citizens and soldiers and traders, of all degrees and classes, went to Kílú-gharí, where the Sultán held a public *darbár*. They were struck with admiration and amazement at seeing the Khiljís occupying the throne of the Turks, and wondered how the throne had passed from the one to the other.

The Sultán, not being able to go into Dehlí, made Kílú-gharí his capital, and fixed his abode there. He ordered the palace, which Kai-Kubád had begun, to be completed and embellished with paintings; and he directed the formation of a splendid garden in front of it on the banks of the Jumna. The princes and nobles and officers, and the principal men of the city, were commanded to build houses at Kílú-gharí. Several of the traders were also brought from Dehlí, and bázárs were established. Kílú-gharí then obtained the name of "New-town." A lofty stone fort was commenced, and the erection of its defences was allotted to the nobles, who divided the work of building among them. The great men and citizens were averse to building houses there, but as the Sultán made it his residence, in three or four years houses sprung up on every side, and the markets became well supplied.

Some time passed, and still the Sultán did not go into the city, but the authority of his government acquired strength. The excellence of his character, his justice, generosity, and devotion, gradually removed the aversion of the people, and

[1] The editors of the text again correct the date by quoting the *Miftáhu-l Futúh* of Amír Khusrú, which makes the year to be 689. Firishta gives it 687.

hopes of grants of land assisted in conciliating, though grudgingly and unwillingly, the affections of his people.

The eldest son of the Sultán was styled Khán-i Khánán, the second son Arkalí Khán, and the youngest Kadar Khán. For each of these a palace was provided. The Sultán's brother was entitled Yaghrish Khán, and he was made *'Ariz-i mamálik* (Muster-master-general); 'Aláu-d dín and Ulugh Khán, brother's sons and sons in law of the Sultán, were made, one Amír Túzak, and the other Akhur-bakí (master of the horse). * * * Khwája Khatír, the best of ministers, was made prime minister, and Malikul-l umará, of long standing renown, was confirmed as *kotwál*. The populace was appeased and gratified, and the Sultán, with great pomp and a fine retinue, went into the city and alighted at the palace (*daulat-khána*). He offered up his thanksgivings and took his seat upon the throne of his predecessors. He then called his nobles and friends around him and addressed them [*in terms of thanksgiving and gratulation.*] * * *

In the second year of the reign, Malik Chhajú, nephew of Balban, raised the white canopy in Karra, and had the *khutba* read in his name. Malik 'Alí, *sar-jándár*, son of a slave (*maulá-záda*) of Sultán Balban, who held the grant of Oudh, joined him. Several other old adherents of Balban, who held territories towards Hindustán, also supported him. He assumed the title of Sultán Mughísu-d dín, and the *khutba* was read in his name throughout Hindustán. Assembling an army, he marched towards Dehlí to claim the throne of his uncle, with the expectation that the people of the city would join him. Many of the inhabitants of Dehlí and the environs, mindful of the benefits they had received from his ancestors, heard of his approach with satisfaction and joy, and recognized him as the rightful heir to the throne; for they said that no Khiljí had ever been a king, and that the race had no right or title to Dehlí.

The Sultán marched from Kílú-gharí, attended by his adherents and the Khiljí nobles, who rallied thick around him. Taking with him an army in whose fidelity he had confidence,

he advanced towards Chhajú. When he approached Badáún, he deputed his eldest son, Khán-i Jahán, to be his deputy in Dehlí during his absence; and he placed his second son, Arkalí Khán, one of the most renowned warriors of the time, at the head of a force, and sent him on in advance against the insurgents. Arkalí Khán marched ten or twelve kos before the Sultán and crossed the river of Kulaibnagar(?)[1] The Sultán remained at Badáún. Malik Chhajú continued to advance. The *ráwats* and *páiks* of Hindustan flocked around him like ants or locusts, and the most noted of them received *betel* from him, and promised to fight against the standards of the Sultán. When the two armies came in sight, the royal forces discharged their arrows. The spiritless rice-eating Hindustánís made a great noise, but lost all their powers; and the valiant soldiers of the royal army drew their swords and rushed upon them. Malik Chhajú, his nobles and all the Hindustánís, took to flight and dispersed. There was a *mawás*[2] in the neighbourhood into which Chhajú crept, and a few days after the chief of that *mawás* sent him to Sultán Jalálu-d dín. The chiefs, adherents, and officers of Chhajú, and the *páiks* who had been the leaven of his army, were all taken prisoners. Arkalí Khán put yokes upon their necks and sent them bound to the Sultán. I, the author of this *Tárikh-i Firoz-Sháhí*, heard from Amír Khusrú, who was an attendant of the Court, that when the rebellious *maliks* and *amirs* were brought before the Sultán, he held a public *darbár*. Malik Amír 'Alí, *sar-jándár*, Malik Ulughchí, and other nobles were conducted into his presence, riding upon camels, with yokes upon their shoulders, their hands tied behind their necks, covered with dust and dirt, and their garments all soiled. It was expected that the Sultán would have them paraded in this state all through the army as examples, but as soon as he saw them he

[1] So in the print—"*db-Kuldb* (*Guldb ?*) *tagar*" in one MS., and "*Kúldik*" in the other.

[2] A natural stronghold or fortress. See Thornton "Mewassee;" and vol. ii. of this work, p. 362.

put his handkerchief before his eyes and cried with a loud voice, "What is this!" He ordered them to be dismounted and unfastened immediately. Those among them who had held offices in former reigns were separated from the rest, and were conducted into an empty tent, where they were washed, perfumed, and dressed in clean garments by the Sultán's attendants. The Sultán went into his private apartments and ordered wine to be set out. He then called these captive nobles in as his guests, and they were so overwhelmed with shame that they kept their eyes fixed on the ground and did not speak a word. The Sultán spoke kindly to them and endeavoured to console them, telling them that, in drawing their swords to support the heir of their old benefactor, they had taken an honest rather than a dishonest course.

This leniency of the Sultán towards the captive nobles did not please the Khiljí nobles, and they whispered to each other that the Sultán did not know how to rule, for instead of slaying the rebels he had made them his companions. Malik Ahmad Chap, deputy lord chamberlain, a personal attendant and counsellor of the Sultán, told him that a King should reign and observe the rules of government, or else be content to relinquish the throne. He had shown great attention to those prisoners who deserved death, and had made them his guests. He had removed the fetters of rebels who all deserved punishment, and had set them free. Malik Chhajú, who for several months had caused the *khutba* to be read in his name in Hindustan, and who had struck coins, he had sent in a litter to Multán, with orders to keep him secluded, but to supply him with wine, fruit, food, and garments, and whatever he required. When such an offence, the worst of all political offences, had been passed over without punishment, how could it be expected but that other rebellions would break out and disturbances arise. The punishments awarded by kings are warnings to men. Sultán Balban, who never forgot his dignity and power, visited rebellious and political offences with the greatest severity, and how much blood

did he shed? If the Sultán and his followers were to fall into their hands, no name or trace of the Khiljís would be left in Hindustan.

The Sultán replied, "Oh Ahmad, I am aware of what you say. I have seen the punishment of rebellion before you saw it, but what can I do? I have grown old among Musulmáns, and am not accustomed to spill their blood. My age exceeds seventy, and I have never caused one to be killed; shall I now, in my old days, for the short life that remains, which has never continued to others and will not be prolonged for me, act against the principles of the law and bring Muhammadans to the block? * * * As regards these nobles who have been made prisoners, I have reflected, and have come to the conclusion that if I look over their rebellion and spare their lives, they are men, and will be ashamed before God and man for the course they have pursued. I am sure they will feel their obligation to me, and will never again form designs against my throne or excite rebellion. * * * If I go to Multán, I will, like Sher Khán, fight against and give a good account of the Mughals, because they have invaded Musulmán territory; but if I cannot reign without shedding the blood of Musulmáns, I renounce the throne, for I could not endure the wrath of God."

When the Sultán returned from Badáún after the suppression of the rebellion of Malik Chhajú, he bestowed Karra on 'Alau-d dín his nephew (brother's son) and son in law, whom he had brought up. 'Alau-d dín proceeded to his territory, and in the same year he found there many of the officers and friends of Malik Chhaju who had taken part in his rebellion. Them he set free and took into his service. These disaffected persons began at once to suggest to 'Aláu-d dín, that it was quite possible to raise and equip a large force in Karra, and through Karra to obtain Dehlí. Money only was needed: but for want of that Malik Chhaju would have succeeded. Get only plenty of money, and the acquisition of Dehlí would be easy. 'Aláu-d dín was at variance with his mother in law, Malika-i Jahán, wife

of Sultán Jalálu-d dín, and also with his wife, so he was anxious to get away from them. The crafty suggestions of the Karra rebels made a lodgment in his brain, and, from the very first year of his occupation of that territory, he began to follow up his design of proceeding to some distant quarter and amassing money. To this end he was constantly making inquiries about other countries from travellers and men of experience.

On the Sultán's returning to Kílú-gharí, public rejoicings were held * * * after which he devoted himself assiduously to the business of his kingdom. * * * But the nobles and great men spoke of him with disparagement, saying that he knew not how to rule, and had none of the awe and majesty of kings. * * * His business was to fight against the Mughals, and such work would suit him, for he was not wanting in courage and warlike accomplishments. But he knew nothing about government. * * * Two things were required in kings. 1. Princely expenditure and boundless liberality. * * 2. Dignity, awe, and severity, by which enemies are repulsed and rebels put down. * * * These two qualities were wanting in him. * * * Thieves were often brought before him, from whom he took an oath that they would never steal again, and he then set them free, observing to those around him that he could not slay a bound man, and although he could do it in battle, it was against his feelings. * * * In his reign some *thags* were taken in the city, and a man belonging to that fraternity was the means of about a thousand being captured. But not one of these did the Sultán have killed. He gave orders for them to be put into boats and to be conveyed into the Lower country to the neighbourhood of Lakhnautí, where they were to be set free. The *thags* would thus have to dwell about Lakhnautí, and would not trouble the neighbourhood (of Dehlí) any more. * * *

Men complained of the clemency and humanity of the Sultán * * * and a party of wicked, ungrateful nobles used to talk over their cups of killing him and setting him aside. This was all reported to the Sultán, but he sometimes dismissed it

lightly, and at others used to say, "Men often drink too much, and then say foolish things; do not report drunken stories to me." One day a party was held in the house of Malik Táju-d dín Kúchí, a nobleman of some distinction. When the wine had got into the heads of the guests and they were intoxicated, they said to Táju-d dín: "You are fit to be a king, but the Sultán is not. If there is any Khiljí fit to be a king, it is Ahmad Chap, not Jalálu-d din." This and similar absurdities they uttered. All who were present promised to aid Táju-d dín in acquiring the crown. One of them said he would finish the Sultán with a hunting knife,[1] and another drew his sword and said he would make mince-meat of him. Many other foolish vaunts were uttered, all of which were duly reported to the Sultán. He had heard a good deal of these proceedings before, and had made light of them; but on the present occasion, when he learned the extravagant boasts which had been uttered at Táju-d dín's party, he could endure no longer, and had all the topers brought before him. He upbraided them severely, and while men were wondering where it would end, he grew hot, and, drawing a sword, threw it down before them, and exclaimed, "Ah drunken negroes, who brag together, and talk, one of killing me with an arrow, and another of slaying me with a sword! Is there one among you who is man enough to take this sword and fight it out fairly with me? See! here I sit ready for him, let him come on!" Malik Nusrat Sabáh, principal inkstand bearer, a witty nobleman, was among them, who had uttered many absurd things. He now replied, and said, "Your Majesty knows that topers in their cups utter ridiculous sayings. We can never kill a Sultán who cherishes us like sons, as you do, nor shall we ever find so kind and gracious a master; neither will you kill us for our absurd drunken ravings, because you will never find other nobles and gentlemen like us." The Sultán himself had been drinking wine. His eyes filled with tears at these words of

[1] *Nim-shikárí.*" *Tír* is sometimes substituted for *ním*, as in the next place where it is mentioned.

Nusrat Sabáh, and he pardoned them all. He gave Nusrat Sabáh a cup of wine and made him his guest. The other evil-minded and evil-speaking nobles he dismissed to their estates, commanding them to stay there for a year and not to enter the city. * * * Jalálu-d dín always treated his nobles, officers, and subjects, with the greatest kindness and tenderness. He never visited their offences with blows, confinement, or other severity, but treated them as a parent does his children. If he got angry with any of them, he threatened them with his second son, Arkalí Khán, who was a hot-tempered man. * * * In the reign of Balban, while Jalálu-d dín was *Sar-jándár*, he held the territory of Kaithal[1] and the deputyship of Sámána. His officers in Sámána demanded revenue from a village belonging to Mauláná Siráju-d dín Sáwí. * * * The Mauláná was very angry, and wrote a work which he called *Khilji-náma*, in which he lampooned Jalálu-d dín. * * * On the latter becoming sovereign, the Mauláná * * * came to court with a rope round his neck, despairing of his life, * * * but the Sultán called him forward, embraced him, gave him a robe, enrolled him among his personal attendants, restored his village, and added another, confirming them both to him and his descendants. * * *

After he became Sultán, he reflected that he had warred many years against the Mughals, and so he might be appropriately called in the *khutba* "*al Mujáhid fi sabil-alláh.*" He accordingly instructed Malika-i Jahán, the mother of his children, to suggest to the *Kázis* and heads of religion, when they came to pay their respects to her, that they should ask the Sultán to allow this title to be used. * * * Soon after they came to offer congratulations * * * and Malika-i Jahán sent a message to the heads of religion. * * * Shortly afterwards they made the proposition to the Sultán. His eyes filled with tears, and he acknowledged that he had directed Malika-i Jahán to make the suggestion, but he had since reflected that he was

[1] Here written "Kathal."

not worthy of the title * * * as he had fought for his own gratification and vanity; * * * and so he refused to accept it.

Jalálu-d dín was a great appreciator and patron of talent. * * * On the day that he was made *'Á'riz-i mamálik*, he presented Amír Khusrú with twelve hundred *tankas* * * * and when he became Sultán, he made the *amír* one of his chosen attendants, and appointed him keeper of the Kurán. He invested him with such robes as are given to great nobles, and girded him with a white sash.

But for all the gentleness and kindness and mercy of Sultán Jalálu-d dín, in his reign Sídí Maula was cast under the feet of an elephant: after which event the Jalálí throne and family began to decline. Sídí Maula was a *darwesh* from the Upper country (*wiláyat-i mulk-i bálá*), who came to Dehlí in the reign of Balban. He had peculiar notions about religion, and was remarkable for his expenditure and for his food. He did not go to public prayers in the mosque, though he offered prayers. * * * He kept no servant or handmaid, and indulged no passion. He took nothing from any one, but yet he expended so much that people were amazed, and used to say that he dealt in magic. On the open ground in front of his door he built a magnificent *khánkáh*, and expended thousands upon it. There great quantities of food were distributed, and travellers resorted thither. Twice a day, such bounteous and various meals were provided as no *khán* or *malik* could furnish. * * * He went to pay a visit to Shaikh Farid at Ajodhan * * * and when he was about to leave, the Shaikh said, "I give thee a bit of advice, which it will be well for thee to observe. Have nothing to do with *maliks* and *amírs*, and beware of their intimacy as dangerous; no *darwesh* ever kept up such an intimacy, but in the end found it disastrous." * * * In the reign of Jalálu-d dín, his expenditure and his society grew larger. The Sultán's eldest son, Khán-i Khánán, was his friend and follower, and called himself the Sídí's son. * * * Kází Jalál Káshání, a *Kází* of some repute, but a mischievous

man, used to stay for two or three nights together at the *khánkáh*, and converse in private with the Sídí. * * * It at length became known that this *Kázi* and several (discontented and needy) nobles used to go to the *khánkáh* and sit with the Sídí in the evening and talk sedition. They resolved that when the Sultán went in state to the mosque on the Sabbath he should be killed, and that Sídí Maula should then be proclaimed *khalífa*, and should marry the daughter of Sultán Násiru-d dín. Kází Jalál Káshání was to have the territory of Multán [*and the other conspirators were to be provided for*]. One of the persons present carried information to the Sultán. The Sídí and all the other conspirators were arrested and brought before the Sultán. They strenuously denied the charge, and it was not the custom in those days to extort confession by beating. The Sultán and the people were satisfied of their guilt, but they denied it, and so nothing could be done. Orders were given for the preparation of a large fire in the plain of Bahár-púr. * * * The Sultán (with a large following) went there, and orders were given for placing the accused upon the pile, so that fire might elicit the truth. Before carrying out the order the opinion of the learned lawyers was asked, and they replied that the ordeal by fire was against the law * * * and that the evidence of one man was not sufficient to convict any one of treason. The Sultán accordingly set aside the ordeal. Kází Káshání, the chief of the conspiracy, was sent as Kází to Badáún. The nobles were banished to different countries, and their properties were confiscated. Hatya Páík, the destined assassin, was sentenced to suitable punishment, and Sídí Maula was carried bound to the front of the palace, where the Sultán expostulated with him. Shaikh Abú Bakr Túsí was present with a number of his followers, and the king turned to them and said, "Oh *darweshes* avenge me of the Maula." One of them fell upon the Sídí and cut him several times with a razor. Arkalí Khán was on the top of the palace, and he made a sign to an elephant driver, who drove his elephant over the Sídí and killed him.

This most humane King could not endure the plotting of a *darwesh*, and gave an order which broke through their prestige and sanctity. I, the author, well remember that on the day of the Sídí's death, a black storm arose which made the world dark. Troubles afterwards arose in the State. * * * In the same year there was a scarcity of rain, there was dearth in Dehlí, and grain rose to a *jital* per *sír*. In the Siwálik also the dearth was greatly felt. The Hindus of that country came into Dehlí with their families, twenty or thirty of them together, and in the extremity of hunger drowned themselves in the Jumna. The Sultán and nobles did all they could to help them. In the following year such rain fell as but few people could remember.

I now return to my narrative of the events of Jalálu-d dín's reign. In the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.), the Sultán led an army to Rantambhor. Khán-i Jahán his eldest son was then dead, and he appointed his second son Arkalí Khán to be his vicegerent at Kílu-gharí in his absence. He took the [1] of Jháín, destroyed the idol temples, and broke and burned the idols. He plundered Jháín and Málwa, and obtained great booty, after which his army rested. The Rái of Rantambhor, with his *Ráwats* and followers, together with their wives and children, all took refuge in the fort of Rantambhor. The Sultán wished to invest and take the fort. He ordered *manjaníks*[2] to be erected, tunnels (*sábát*) to be sunk, and redoubts (*gargach*) to be constructed, and the siege to be pressed. He arrived from Jháín, carefully reconnoitred the fort, and on the same day returned to Jháín. Next day he called together his ministers and officers, and said that he had intended to invest the fort, to bring up another army, and to levy forces from Hindustán. But after reconnoitring the fort, he found that it could not be taken without sacrificing the lives of many Musulmáns * * *

[1] It is difficult to say what is here intended. The printed text has رفتنان. One MS. says درصبا, and the other سرفتنه. Jháín must be Ujjáin.

[2] The word used is "*maghribiha*" western (engines).

and that he did not value the fort so much as the hair of one Musulmán. If he took the place and plundered it after the fall of many Muhammadans, the widows and orphans of the slain would stand before him and turn its spoils into bitterness. So he raised the siege, and next day departed for Dehlí. When he announced his intention of retreating, Ahmad Chap protested and said. * * * * The Sultán replied at length. * * * He concluded by saying "I am an old man. I have reached the age of eighty years, and ought to prepare for death. My only concern should be with matters that may be beneficial after my decease." * * *

In the year 691 H. (1292 A.D.), 'Abdu-llah, grandson of the accursed Halú (Hulákú), invaded Hindustán with fifteen *tumáns* of Mughals (150,000 !). The Sultán assembled his forces, and marched from Dehlí to meet them, with a large and splendid army. When he reached Bar-rám,[1] the outposts of the Mughals were descried, and the two armies drew up in face of each other with a river between them. Some few days were passed in arraying their forces, and the advanced parties of the opposing forces had several skirmishes in which the Musulmáns were victorious, and made some prisoners, who were conducted to the Sultán. Shortly after the van of the Mughal army crossed the river. The van of the Musulmáns hastened to meet them, and a sharp conflict ensued, in which the Musulmán forces were victorious. Many Mughals were put to the sword, and one or two commanders of thousands, and several centurions were made prisoners. Negotiations followed, and it was agreed that war was a great evil, and that hostilities should cease. The Sultán and 'Abdu-llah, grandson of Halú the accursed, had an interview. The Sultán called him son, and he addressed the Sultán as father. Presents were exchanged, and after hostilities had ceased, buying and selling went on between the two armies. 'Abdu-llah departed with the Mughal army, but Ulghú, grandson of Changíz Khán, the accursed, with several nobles, commanders

[1] Briggs says "Beiram," but thinks it an error.

of thousands and centurions, resolved to stay in India. They said the creed and became Muhammadans, and a daughter of the Sultán was given in marriage to Ulghú. The Mughals who followed Ulghú, were brought into the city with their wives and children. Provision was made for their support, and houses were provided for them in Kílú-gharí, Ghiyáspur, Indarpat, and Talúka. Their abodes were called Mughalpúr. The Sultán continued their allowances for a year or two, but the climate and their city homes did not please them, so they departed with their families to their own country. Some of their principal men remained in India, and received allowances and villages. They mixed with and formed alliances with the Musulmáns, and were called "New Musulmáns."

Towards the end of the year, the Sultán went to Mandúr, reduced it to subjection, plundered the neighbourhood, and returned home. Afterwards he marched a second time to Jháín, and after once more plundering the country, he returned in triumph.

'Aláu-d dín at this time held the territory of Karra, and with permission of the Sultán he marched to Bhailasán (Bhílsa). He captured some bronze idols which the Hindus worshipped, and sent them on cars with a variety of rich booty as presents to the Sultán. The idols were laid down before the Badáún gate for true believers to tread upon. 'Aláu-d dín, nephew and son-in-law of the Sultán, had been brought up by him. After sending the spoils of Bhailasán to the Sultán, he was made *'Ariz-i mamálik*, and received the territory of Oudh in addition to that of Karra. When 'Aláu-d dín went to Bhailasán (Bhílsa), he heard much of the wealth and elephants of Deogír. He inquired about the approaches to that place, and resolved upon marching thither from Karra with a large force, but without informing the Sultán. He proceeded to Dehlí and found the Sultán more kind and generous than ever. He asked for some delay in the payment of the tribute for his territories of Karra and Oudh, saying that he had heard there were countries about Chanderí where peace and security reigned, and where no appre-

hension of the forces of Dehlí was felt. If the Sultán would grant him permission he would march thither, and would acquire great spoil, which he would pay into the royal exchequer, together with the revenues of his territories. The Sultán, in the innocence and trust of his heart, thought that 'Aláu-d dín was so troubled by his wife and mother-in-law that he wanted to conquer some country wherein he might stay and never return home. In the hope of receiving a rich booty, the Sultán granted the required permission, and postponed the time for the payment of the revenues of Karra and Oudh.

'Aláu-d dín was on bad terms with his mother in law, Malika-i Jahán, wife of the Sultán, and with his wife, the daughter of the Sultán. He was afraid of the intrigues of the Malika-i Jahán, who had a great ascendancy over her father. He was averse to bringing the disobedience of his wife before the Sultán, and he could not brook the disgrace which would arise from his derogatory position being made public. It greatly distressed him, and he often consulted with his intimates at Karra about going out into the world to make a position for himself. When he made the campaign to Bhailasán, he heard much about the wealth of Deogír. * * * He collected three or four thousand horse, and two thousand infantry, whom he fitted out from the revenues of Karra, which had been remitted for a time by the Sultán, and with this force he marched for Deogír. Though he had secretly resolved upon attacking Deogír, he studiously concealed the fact, and represented that he intended to attack Chanderí. Malik 'Aláu-l mulk, uncle of the author, and one of the favoured followers of 'Aláu-d dín, was made deputy of Karra and Oudh in his absence.

'Alau-d dín marched to Elichpur, and thence to Ghatilájaura. Here all intelligence of him was lost. Accounts were sent regularly from Karra to the Sultán with vague statements,[1] saying that he was engaged in chastising and plundering

[1] "*Ardjíf*"—"false rumours," but here and elsewhere it seems to rather mean, vague unsatisfactory news.

rebels, and that circumstantial accounts would be forwarded in a day or two. The Sultán never suspected him of any evil designs, and the great men and wise men of the city thought that the dissensions with his wife had driven him to seek his fortune in a distant land. This opinion soon spread. When 'Aláu-d dín arrived at Ghati-lájaura, the army of Rám-deo, under the command of his son, had gone to a distance. The people of that country had never heard of the Musulmáns; the Mahratta land had never been punished by their armies; no Musulmán king or prince had penetrated so far. Deogír was exceedingly rich in gold and silver, jewels and pearls, and other valuables. When Rám-deo heard of the approach of the Muhammadans, he collected what forces he could, and sent them under one of his ránas to Ghati-lájaura. They were defeated and dispersed by 'Aláu-d dín, who then entered Deogír. On the first day he took thirty elephants and some thousand horses. Rám deo came in and made his submission. 'Aláu-d dín carried off an unprecedented amount of booty. * * *

In the year 695 H. (1296 A.D.), the Sultán proceeded with an army to the neighbourhood of Gwalior, and stayed there some time. Rumours (*arájíf*) here reached him that 'Aláu-d dín had plundered Deogír and obtained elephants and an immense booty, with which he was returning to Karra. The Sultán was greatly pleased, for in the simplicity of his heart he thought that whatsoever his son and nephew had captured, he would joyfully bring to him. To celebrate this success, the Sultán gave entertainments, and drank wine. The news of 'Aláu-d dín's victory was confirmed by successive arrivals, and it was said that never had so rich a spoil reached the treasury of Dehlí. Afterwards the Sultán held a private council, to which he called some of his most trusty advisers * * * and consulted whether it would be advisable to go to meet 'Aláu-d dín or to return to Dehlí. Ahmad Chap, *Naíb-bárbak*, one of the wisest men of the day, spoke before any one else, and said, "Elephants and wealth when held in great abundance are the cause of much strife.

Whoever acquires them becomes so intoxicated that he does not know his hands from his feet. 'Aláu-d dín is surrounded by many of the rebels and insurgents who supported Malik Chhajú. He has gone into a foreign land without leave, has fought battles and won treasure. The wise have said 'Money and strife; strife and money'—that is the two things are allied to each other. * * * My opinion is that we should march with all haste towards Chanderí to meet 'Aláu-d dín and intercept his return. When he finds the Sultán's army in the way, he must necessarily present all his spoils to the throne whether he likes it or not. The Sultán may then take the silver and gold, the jewels and pearls, the elephants and horses, and leave the other booty to him and his soldiers. His territories also should be increased, and he should be carried in honour to Dehlí." * * * The Sultán was in the grasp of his evil angel, so he heeded not the advice of Ahmad Chap * * * but said "what have I done to 'Aláu-d dín that he should turn away from me, and not present his spoils?" The Sultán also consulted Malik Fakhru-d dín Kúchí (and other nobles). The Malik was a bad man; he knew that what Ahmad Chap had said was right, but he saw that his advice was displeasing to the Sultán, so he advised * * * that the Sultán should return to Dehlí to keep the Ramazán. * * *

The guileless heart of the Sultán relied upon the fidelity of 'Aláu-d dín, so he followed the advice of Fakhru-d dín Kúchí, and returned to Kílú-gharí. A few days after intelligence arrived that 'Aláu-d dín had returned with his booty to Karra. 'Aláu-d dín addressed a letter to the Sultán announcing his return with so much treasure and jewels and pearls, and thirty-one elephants, and horses, to be presented to his majesty, but that he had been absent on campaign without leave more than a twelve-month, during which no communications had passed between him and the Sultán, and he did not know, though he feared the machinations of his enemies during his absence. If the Sultán would write to reassure him, he would present himself with his brave officers and spoils before the throne. Having despatched

this deceitful letter, he immediately prepared for an attack upon Lakhnautí. He sent Zafar Khán into Oudh to collect boats for the passage of the Sarú, and, in consultation with his adherents, he declared that as soon as he should hear that the Sultán had marched towards Karra, he would leave it with his elephants and treasure, with his soldiers and all their families, and would cross the Sarú and march to Lakhnautí, which he would sieze upon, being sure that no army from Dehlí would follow him there. * * * No one could speak plainly to the Sultán, for if any one of his confidants mentioned the subject he grew angry, and said they wanted to set him against his son. He wrote a most gracious and affectionate letter with his own hand, and sent it by the hands of some of his most trusted officers. When these messengers arrived at Karra, they saw that all was in vain, for that 'Aláu-d dín and all his army were alienated from the Sultán. They endeavoured to send letters informing the Sultán, but they were unable to do so in any way. Meanwhile the rains came on, and the roads were all stopped by the waters. Almás Beg, brother of 'Aláu-d dín, and like him a son-in-law of the Sultán, held the office of Akhur-bak (Master of the horse). He often said to the Sultán "People frighten my brother, and I am afraid that in his shame and fear of your majesty he will poison or drown himself." A few days afterwards 'Aláu-d dín wrote to Almás Beg, saying that he had committed an act of disobedience, and always carried poison in his handkerchief. If the Sultán would travel *jarída* (*i.e.* speedily, with only a small retinue), to meet him, and would take his hand, he should feel re-assured; if not, he would either take poison or would march forth with his elephants and treasures to seek his fortune in the world. His expectation was that the Sultán would desire to obtain the treasure, and would come with a scanty following to Karra, when it would be easy to get rid of him. * * * Almás Beg showed to the Sultán the letter which he had received from his brother, and the Sultán was so infatuated that he believed this deceitful and treacherous letter. Without further consideration he ordered

Almás Khán to hasten to Karra, and not to let his brother depart, promising to follow with all speed. Almás Beg took a boat and reached Karra in seven or eight days. When he arrived, 'Aláu-d dín ordered drums of joy to be beaten, saying that now all his apprehensions and fears were removed.

The crafty counsellors of 'Aláu-d dín, whom he had promoted to honours, advised the abandonment of his designs upon Lakhnautí, saying that the Sultán, coveting the treasure and elephants, had become blind and deaf, and had set forth to see him in the midst of the rainy season—adding, "after he comes, you know what you ought to do." The destroying angel was close behind the Sultán, he had no apprehension, and would listen to no advice. He treated his advisers with haughty disdain, and set forth with a few personal attendants, and a thousand horse from Kílú-gharí. He embarked in a boat at Dhamaí, and proceeded towards Karra. Ahmad Chap, who commanded the army, was ordered to proceed by land. It was the rainy season, and the waters were out. On the 15th Ramazán, the Sultán, arrived at Karra, on the hither side of the Ganges.

'Aláu-d dín and his followers had determined on the course to be adopted before the Sultán arrived. He had crossed the river with the elephants and treasure, and had taken post with his forces between Mánikpur and Karra, the Ganges being very high. When the royal ensign came in sight he was all prepared, the men were armed, and the elephants and horses were harnessed. 'Aláu-d dín sent Almás Beg in a small boat to the Sultán, with directions to use every device to induce him to leave behind the thousand men he had brought with him, and to come with only a few personal attendants. The traitor Almás Beg, hastened to the Sultán, and perceived several boats full of horsemen around him. He told the Sultán that his brother had left the city, and God only knew where he would have gone to if he, Almás Beg, had not been sent to him. If the Sultán did not make more haste to meet him he would kill himself, and his treasure would be plundered. If his brother were to see these armed men with the

Sultán he would destroy himself. The Sultán accordingly directed that the horsemen and boats should remain by the side of the river, whilst he, with two boats and a few personal attendants and friends, passed over to the other side. When the two boats had started, and the angel of destiny had come still nearer, the traitor, Almás Beg, desired the Sultán to direct his attendants to lay aside their arms, lest his brother should see them as they approached nearer, and be frightened. The Sultán, about to become a martyr, did not detect the drift of this insidious proposition, but directed his followers to disarm. As the boats reached mid-stream, the army of 'Aláu-d dín was perceived all under arms, the elephants and horses harnessed, and in several places troops of horsemen ready for action. When the nobles who accompanied the Sultán saw this, they knew that Almás Beg had by his plausibility brought his patron into a snare, and they gave themselves up for lost. * * * Malik Khúram *wakíldar* asked * * * what is the meaning of all this? and Almás Beg, perceiving that his treachery was detected, said his brother was anxious that his army should pay homage to his master.

The Sultán was so blinded by his destiny, that although his own eyes saw the treachery, he would not return; but he said to Almás Beg, "I have come so far in a little boat to meet your brother, cannot he, and does not his heart induce him to advance to meet me with due respect." The traitor replied, "My brother's intention is to await your majesty at the landing place, with the elephants and treasure and jewels, and there to present his officers." * * * The Sultán trusting implicitly in them who were his nephews, sons-in-law, and foster-children, did not awake and detect the obvious intention. He took the Kurán and read it, and proceeded fearless and confiding as a father to his sons. All the people who were in the boat with him saw death plainly before them, and began to repeat the chapter appropriate to men in sight of death. The Sultán reached the shore before afternoon prayer, and disembarked with a few followers. 'Aláu-d dín

advanced to receive him, he and all his officers showing due respect. When he reached the Sultán he fell at his feet, and the Sultán treating him as a son, kissed his eyes and cheeks, stroked his beard, gave him two loving taps upon the cheek, and said "I have brought thee up from infancy,[1] why art thou afraid of me?" * * * * The Sultán took 'Aláu-d din's hand, and at that moment the stony-hearted traitor gave the fatal signal. Muhammad Sálim, of Sámána, a bad fellow of a bad family, struck at the Sultán with a sword, but the blow fell short and cut his own hand. He again struck and wounded the Sultán, who ran towards the river, crying, "Ah thou villian, 'Aláu-d din! what hast thou done?" Ikhtiyáru-d dín Húd ran after the betrayed monarch, threw him down, and cut off his head, and bore it dripping with blood to 'Aláu-d dín. * * * * Some of those persons who accompanied the Sultán had landed, and others remained in the boats, but all were slain. Villainy and treachery, and murderous feelings, covetousness and desire of riches, thus did their work.[2] * * * *

The murder was perpetrated on the 17th Ramazán, and the venerable head of the Sultán was placed on a spear and paraded about. When the rebels returned to Karra-Mánikpúr it was also paraded there, and was afterwards sent to be exhibited in Oudh. * * * * While the head of the murdered sovereign was yet dripping with blood, the ferocious conspirators brought the royal canopy and elevated it over the head of 'Aláu-d dín. Casting aside all shame, the perfidious and graceless wretches caused him to be proclaimed king by men who rode about on elephants. Although these villains were spared for a short time, and 'Aláu-d dín for some years, still they were not forgotten, and their punishments were only suspended. At the end of three or four years Ulugh Khán (Almás Beg), the deceiver, was gone, so was Nusrat Khán, the giver of the

[1] The Sultán's exact words are expressive enough, but are somewhat too precise and familiar for European taste.

[2] The writer goes on condemning the murder in strong terms.

signal, so also was Zafar Khán, the breeder of the mischief, my uncle, 'Aláu-l Mulk, *kotwál*, and * * * and * * * The hell-hound Sálim, who struck the first blow, was a year or two afterwards eaten up with leprosy. Ikhtiyáru-d dín, who cut off the head, very soon went mad, and in his dying ravings cried that Sultán Jalálu-d dín stood over him with a naked sword, ready to cut off his head. Although 'Aláu-d dín reigned successfully for some years, and all things prospered to his wish, and though he had wives and children, family and adherents, wealth and grandeur, still he did not escape retribution for the blood of his patron. He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of. Fate at length placed a betrayer in his path, by whom his family was destroyed, * * * and the retribution which fell upon it never had a parallel even in any infidel land. * * *

When intelligence of the murder of Sultán Jalálu-d dín reached Ahmad Chap, the commander of the army, he returned to Dehlí. The march through the rain and dirt had greatly depressed and shaken the spirits of the men, and they went to their homes. The Malika-i Jahan, wife of the late Sultán, was a woman of determination, but she was foolish and acted very imprudently. She would not await the arrival from Multán of Arkalí Khán, who was a soldier of repute, nor did she send for him. Hastily and rashly, and without consultation with any one, she placed the late Sultán's youngest son, Ruknu-d dín Ibráhím, on the throne. He was a mere lad, and had no knowledge of the world. With the nobles, great men, and officers she proceeded from Kílú-gharí to Dehlí, and, taking possession of the green palace, she distributed offices and fiefs among the *maliks* and *amirs* who were at Dehlí, and began to carry on the government, receiving petitions and issuing orders. When Arkalí Khán heard of his mother's unkind and improper proceedings, he was so much hurt that he remained at Multán, and did not go to Dehlí. During the life of the late Sultán there had been dissensions between mother and son, and when 'Aláu-d dín, who

remained at Karra, was informed of Arkalí Khán's not coming to Dehlí, and of the opposition of the Malika-i Jahán, he saw the opportunity which this family quarrel presented. He rejoiced over the absence of Arkalí Khán, and set off for Dehlí at once, in the midst of the rains, although they were more heavy than any one could remember. Scattering gold and collecting followers, he reached the Jumna. He then won over the *maliks* and *amírs* by a large outlay of money, and those unworthy men, greedy for the gold of the deceased, and caring nothing for loyalty or treachery, deserted the Malika-i Jahán and Ruknu-d dín and joined 'Aláu-d dín. Five months after starting, 'Aláu-d dín arrived with an enormous following within two or three kos of Dehlí. The Malika-i Jahán and Ruknu-d dín Ibráhím then left Dehlí and took the road to Multán. A few nobles, faithful to their allegiance, left their wives and families and followed them to Multán. Five months after the death of Jaláłu-d dín at Karra, 'Aláu-d dín arrived at Dehlí and ascended the throne. He scattered so much gold about that the faithless people easily forgot the murder of the late Sultán, and rejoiced over his accession. His gold also induced the nobles to desert the sons of their late benefactor, and to support him. * * *

Iskandar-i sání Sultánu-l'azam 'Aláu-d dunyá wau-d dín Muhammad Sháh Tughlik.

Sultán 'Aláu-d dín ascended the throne in the year 695 H. (1296 A.D.). He gave to his brother the title Ulugh Khán, to Malik Nusrat Jalesarí that of Nusrat Khán, to Malik Huzabbaru-d dín that of Zafar Khán, and to Sanjar, his wife's brother, who was *amír-i majlis*, that of Alp Khán. He made his friends and principal supporters *amírs*, and the *amírs* he promoted to be *maliks*. Every one of his old adherents he elevated to a suitable position, and to the *Kháns*, *maliks*, and *amírs* he gave money, so that they might procure new horses and fresh servants. Enormous treasure had fallen into his hands, and he had committed a deed unworthy of his religion and position, so he deemed

it politic to deceive the people, and to cover his crime by scattering honours and gifts upon all classes of people.

He set out on his journey to Dehlí, but the heavy rains and the mire and dirt delayed his march. His desire was to reach the capital after the rising of Canopus, as he felt very apprehensive of the late Sultán's second son, Arkalí Khán, who was a brave and able soldier. News came from Dehlí that Arkalí Khán had not come, and 'Aláu-d dín considered this absence as a great obstacle to his (rival's) success. He knew that Ruknu-d dín Ibráhím could not keep his place upon the throne, for the royal treasury was empty and he had not the means of raising new forces. 'Aláu-d dín accordingly lost no time, and pressed on to Dehlí, though the rains were at their height. In this year, through the excessive rain, the Ganges and the Jumna became seas, and every stream swelled into a Ganges or a Jumna; the roads also were obstructed with mud and mire. At such a season 'Aláu-d dín started from Karra with his elephants, his treasures, and his army. His *kháns*, *maliks*, and *amírs* were commanded to exert themselves strenuously in enlisting new horsemen, and in providing of all things necessary without delay. They were also ordered to shower money freely around them, so that plenty of followers might be secured. As he was marching to Dehlí a light and moveable *manjaník* was made. Every stage that they marched five *mans* of gold stars[1] were placed in this *manjaník*, which were discharged among the spectators from the front of the royal tent. People from all parts gathered to pick up "the stars," and in the course of two or three weeks the news spread throughout all the towns and villages of Hindustán that 'Aláu-d dín was marching to take Dehlí, and that he was scattering gold upon his path and enlisting horsemen and followers without limit. People, military and unmilitary, flocked to him from every side, so that when he reached Badáún, notwithstanding the rains, his force amounted to fifty-six thousand horse and sixty thousand foot. * * * *

[1] پنجمن اخترزر

When 'Aláu-d dín arrived at Baran, he placed a force under Zafar Khán, with orders to march by way of Kol, and to keep pace while he himself proceeded by way of Badáún and Baran. Táju-d dín Kúchi, and * * and * * other *maliks* and *amírs* who were sent from Dehlí to oppose the advancing forces, came to Baran and joined 'Aláu-d dín, for which they received twenty, thirty, and some even fifty *mans* of gold. All the soldiers who were under these noblemen received each three hundred *tankas*, and the whole following of the late Jalálu-d dín was broken up. The nobles who remained in Dehlí wavered, while those who had joined 'Aláu-d dín loudly exclaimed that the people of Dehlí maligned them, charging them with disloyalty, with having deserted the son of their patron and of having joined themselves to his enemy. They complained that their accusers were unjust, for they did not see that the kingdom departed from Jalálu-d dín on the day when he wilfully and knowingly, with his eyes wide open, left Dehlí and went to Karra, jeopardizing his own head and that of his followers. What else could they do but join 'Aláu-d dín?

When the *maliks* and *amírs* thus joined 'Aláu-d dín the Jalálí party broke up. The Malika-i Jahán, who was one of the silliest of the silly, then sent to Multán for Arkalí Khán. She wrote to this effect—"I committed a fault in raising my youngest son to the throne in spite of you. None of the *maliks* and *amírs* heed him, and most of them have joined 'Aláu-d dín. The royal power has departed from our hands. If you can, come to us speedily, take the throne of your father and protect us. You are the elder brother of the lad who was placed upon the throne, and are more worthy and capable of ruling. He will acknowledge his inferiority. I am a woman, and women are foolish. I committed a fault, but do not be offended with your mother's error. Come and take the kingdom of your father. If you are angry and will not do so, 'Aláu-d dín is coming with power and state; he will take Dehlí, and will spare neither me nor you." Arkalí Khán did not come, but wrote a letter of excuse to his mother,

saying, "Since the nobles and the army have joined the enemy, what good will my coming do?" When 'Aláu-d dín heard that Arkalí Khán would not come, he ordered the drums of joy to be beaten.

'Aláu-d dín had no boats, and the great height of the Jumna delayed his passage. While he was detained on the banks of the river, Canopus rose, and the waters as usual decreased. He then transported his army across at the ferries, and entered the plain of Júdh.[1] Ruknu-d dín Ibráhím went out of the city in royal state with such followers as remained to oppose 'Aláu-d dín, but in the middle of the night all the left wing of his army deserted to the enemy with great uproar. Ruknu-d dín Ibráhím turned back, and at midnight he caused the Badáún gate (of Dehlí) to be opened. He took some bags of gold *tankas* from the treasury, and some horses from the stables. He sent his mother and females on in front, and in the dead of the night he left the city by the Ghazní gate, and took the road to Multán. Malik Kutbu-d dín 'Alawí, with the sons of Malik Ahmad Chap Turk, furnished the escort, and proceeded with him and the Malika-i Jahán to Multán. Next day 'Aláu-d dín marched with royal state and display into the plain of Sírí,[2] where he pitched his camp. The throne was now secure, and the revenue officers, and the elephant keepers with their elephants, and the *kotwáls* with the keys of the forts, and the magistrates and the chief men of the city came out to 'Aláu-d dín, and a new order of things was established. His wealth and power were great; so whether individuals paid their allegiance or whether they did not, mattered little, for the *khutba* was read and coins were struck in his name.

Towards the end of the year 695 H. (1296) 'Aláu-d dín entered Dehlí in great pomp and with a large force. He took his seat upon the throne in the *daulat-khána-i julús*, and proceeded to the *Kúshk-i l'al* (red palace), where he took up his abode.

[1] The print has "Júdh." One MS. writes "Khúd;" the other omits the name.
[2] See Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1862-3, page 38.

The treasury of 'Aláu-d dín was well filled with gold, which he scattered among the people, purses and bags filled with *tankas* and *jitals* were distributed, and men gave themselves up to dissipation and enjoyment. [*Public festivities followed.*] 'Aláu-d dín, in the pride of youth, prosperity, and boundless wealth, proud also of his army and his followers, his elephants and his horses, plunged into dissipation and pleasure. The gifts and honours which he bestowed obtained the good will of the people. Out of policy he gave offices and fiefs to the *maliks* and *amirs* of the late Sultán. Khwája Khatír, a minister of the highest reputation, was made *wazir*, etc., etc. * * * Malik 'Aláu-l Mulk, uncle of the author, was appointed to Karra and Oudh, and Muyidu-l Mulk, the author's father, received the deputyship and *khwájagi* of Baran. * * * People were so deluded by the gold which they received, that no one ever mentioned the horrible crime which the Sultán had committed, and the hope of gain left them no care for anything else. * * * *

After 'Aláu-d dín had ascended the throne, the removal of the late king's sons engaged his first attention. Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán, with other *maliks* and *amirs*, were sent to Multán with thirty or forty thousand horse. They besieged that place for one or two months. The *kotwál* and the people of Multán turned against the sons of Jaláu-d dín, and some of the *amirs* came out of the city to Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán. The sons of the late Sultán then sent Shaikhu-l Islám Shaikh Ruknu-d dín to sue for safety from Ulugh Khán, and received his assurances. The princes then went out with the Shaikh and their *amirs* to Ulugh Khán. He received them with great respect and quartered them near his own dwelling. News of the success was sent to Dehlí. There the drums were beaten. *Kabas*[1] were erected, and the despatch was read from the pulpit and was circulated in all quarters. The *amirs* of Hindustán then became submissive to 'Aláu-d dín, and no rival remained. Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán returned triumphant towards

[1] Booths erected for the distribution of food and drink on festive occasions.

Dehlí, carrying with them the two sons of the late Sultán, both of whom had received royal canopies. Their *maliks* and *amirs* were also taken with them. In the middle of their journey they were met by Nusrat Khán, who had been sent from Dehlí, and the two princes, with Ulghú Khán, son in law of the late Sultán, and Ahmad Chap, *Náib-amir-i hájib*, were all blinded. Their wives were separated from them, and all their valuables and slaves and maids, in fact everything they had was seized by Nusrat Khán. The princes[1] were sent to the fort of Hánsí, and the sons of Arkalí Khán were all slain. Malika-i Jahán, with their wives, and Ahmad Chap were brought to Dehlí and confined in his house.

In the second year of the reign Nusrat Khán was made *wazir*. 'Aláu-l Mulk, the author's uncle, was summoned from Karra, and came with the *maliks* and *amirs* and one elephant, bringing the treasure which 'Aláu-d dín had left there. He was become exceedingly fat and inactive, but he was selected from among the nobles to be *kotwál* of the city. In this year also the property of the *maliks* and *amirs* of the late Sultán was confiscated, and Nusrat Khán exerted himself greatly in collecting it. He laid his hands upon all that he could discover, and seized upon thousands, which he brought into the treasury. Diligent inquiry was made into the past and present circumstances of the victims. In this same year, 696 H. (1296), the Mughals crossed the Sind and had come into the country. Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán were sent with a large force, and with the *amirs* of the late and the present reign, to oppose them. The Musulmán army met the accursed foe in the vicinity of Jálandhar[2] and gained a victory. Many were slain or taken prisoners, and many heads were sent to Dehlí. The victory of Multán and the capture of the two princes had greatly strengthened the authority of 'Aláu-d dín; this victory over the Mughals made it still more secure. * * * The *maliks* of the late king, who deserted their benefactor and joined 'Aláu-d dín, and received gold by *mans* and obtained employ-

[1] Both the MSS. say "sons," while the print incorrectly uses the singular.

[2] So in the print; but the MSS. have "Jádawa o Manjúr" and "Járat-mahúd."

ments and territories, were all seized in the city and in the army, and thrown into forts as prisoners. Some were blinded and some were killed. The wealth which they had received from 'Aláu-d dín, and their property, goods, and effects were all seized. Their houses were confiscated to the Sultán, and their villages were brought under the public exchequer. Nothing was left to their children; their retainers and followers were taken in charge by the *amírs* who supported the new régime, and their establishments were overthrown. Of all the *amírs* of the reign of Jalálu-d dín, three only were spared by 'Aláu-d dín. * * * These three persons had never abandoned Sultán Jalálu-d dín and his sons, and had never taken money from Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. They alone remained safe, but all the other Jalálí nobles were cut up root and branch. Nusrat Khán, by his fines and confiscations, brought a kror of money into the treasury.

At the beginning of the third year of the reign, Ulugh Khán and Nusrat Khán, with their *amírs*, and generals, and a large army, marched against Gujarát. They took and plundered Nahrwála and all Gujarát. Karan, Rái of Gujarát, fled from Nahrwála and went to Rám Deo of Deogír. The wives and daughters, the treasure and elephants of Rái Karan, fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. All Gujarát became a prey to the invaders, and the idol which, after the victory of Sultán Mahmúd and his destruction of (the idol) Manát, the Brahmans had set up under the name of Somnáth, for the worship of the Hindus, was removed and carried to Dehlí, where it was laid down for people to tread upon. Nusrat Khán proceeded to Kambáya[1] (Cambay), and levied large quantities of jewels and precious articles from the merchants of that place, who were very wealthy. He also took from his master (a slave afterwards known as) Káfúr Hazár-dínárí, who was made *Malik-náib*, and whose beauty captivated 'Aláu-d dín. Ulugh Khán and Nusrat Khán returned with great booty; but on their way they provoked their

[1] The printed text has كپهايت, but there can be no doubt that Cambay is the place.

soldiers to revolt by demanding from them a fifth of their spoil, and by instituting inquisitorial inquiries about it. Although the men made returns (of the amount), they would not believe them at all, but demanded more. The gold and silver, and jewels and valuables, which the men had taken, were all demanded, and various kinds of coercion were employed. These punishments and prying researches drove the men to desperation. In the army there were many *amírs* and many horsemen who were "new Muhammadans." They held together as one man, and two or three thousand assembled and began a disturbance. They killed Malik A'zzu-d dín, brother of Nusrat Khán, and *amír-i hájib* of Ulugh Khán, and proceeded tumultuously to the tent of Ulugh Khán. That prince escaped, and with craft and cleverness reached the tent of Nusrat Khán; but the mutineers killed a son of the Sultán's sister, who was asleep in the tent, whom they mistook for Ulugh Khán. The disturbance spread through the whole army, and the stores narrowly escaped being plundered. But the good fortune of the Sultán prevailed, the turmoil subsided, and the horse and foot gathered round the tent of Nusrat Khán. The *ámírs* and horsemen of "the new Musulmáns" dispersed; those who had taken the leading parts in the disturbance fled, and went to join the Ráís and rebels. Further inquiries about the plunder were given up, and Ulugh Khán and Nusrat Khán returned to Dehlí with the treasure, and elephants, and slaves, and spoil, which they had taken in Gujarát.

When intelligence of this outbreak of the new Muhammadans reached Dehlí, the crafty cruelty which had taken possession of 'Alau-d dín induced him to order that the wives and children of all the mutineers, high and low, should be cast into prison. This was the beginning of the practice of seizing women and children for the faults of men. Up to this time no hand had ever been laid upon wives and children on account of men's misdeeds. At this time also another and more glaring act of tyranny was committed by Nusrat Khán, the author of many acts of violence at Dehlí. His brother had been murdered, and in revenge he ordered the

wives of the assassins to be dishonoured and exposed to most disgraceful treatment; he then handed them over to vile persons to make common strumpets of them. The children he caused to be cut to pieces on the heads of their mothers. Outrages like this are practised in no religion or creed. These and similar acts of his filled the people of Dehlí with amazement and dismay, and every bosom trembled.

In the same year that Ulugh Khán and Nusrat Khán were sent to Gujarát, Zafar Khán was sent to Siwistán, which Saldí,[1] with his brother and other Mughals, had seized upon. Zafar Khán accordingly proceeded to Siwistán with a large army, and besieged the fort of Siwistán, which he took with the axe and sword, spear and javelin, without using either Westerns (*maghribe*), *manjaníks* or balistas (*'arádah*), and without resorting to mines (*sábat*), mounds (*páshíb*), or redoubts (*gargaj*). This fort had been taken by the Mughals, and they maintained such a continuous discharge of arrows that no bird could fly by. For all this Zafar Khán took it with the axe and sword. Saldí and his brother, with all the Mughals and their wives and children, were taken prisoners, and sent in chains to Dehlí. This victory inspired awe of Zafar Khán in every heart, and the Sultán also looked askance at him in consequence of his fearlessness, generalship, and intrepidity, which showed that a Rustam had been born in India. Ulugh Khán, the Sultán's brother, saw that he had been surpassed in bravery and strategy, and so conceived a hatred and jealousy of Zafar Khán. In the same year he (Zafar Khán) received the fief of Sámána, and as he had become famous the Sultán, who was very jealous, began to revolve in his mind what was best to be done. Two modes of dealing with him seemed open for the Sultán's choice. One was to send him, with a few thousand horse, to Lakhnautí to take that country, and leave him there to supply elephants and tribute to the Sultán; the other was to put him out of the way by poison or by blinding.

At the end of this year Katlagh Khwája, son of the accursed

[1] So in the print, and supported by one MS. The other has "Sadarí."

Zúd,[1] with twenty *tumáns* of Mughals, resolved upon the invasion of Hindustán. He started from Máwaráu-n Nahr, and passing the Indus with a large force he marched on to the vicinity of Dehlí. In this campaign Dehlí was the object of attack, so the Mughals did not ravage the countries bordering on their march, nor did they attack the forts. * * * Great anxiety prevailed in Dehlí, and the people of the neighbouring villages took refuge within its walls. The old fortifications had not been kept in repair, and terror prevailed, such as never before had been seen or heard of. All men, great and small, were in dismay. Such a concourse had crowded into the city that the streets and markets and mosques could not contain them. Everything became very dear. The roads were stopped against caravans and merchants, and distress fell upon the people.

The Sultán marched out of Dehlí with great display and pitched his tent in Sírí. *Maliks*, *amirs*, and fighting men were summoned to Dehlí from every quarter. At that time the author's uncle, 'Aláu-l Mulk, one of the companions and advisers of the Sultán, was *kotwál* of Dehlí, and the Sultán placed the city, his women and treasure, under his charge. * * * * 'Aláu-l Mulk went out to Sírí to take leave of the Sultán, and in private consultation with him [*advised a temporising policy.*] The Sultán listened and commended his sincerity. He then called the nobles together and said * * * you have heard what 'Aláu-l Mulk has urged * * * now hear what I have to say. * * * If I were to follow your advice, to whom could I show my face? how could I go into my harem? of what account would the people hold me? and where would be the daring and courage which is necessary to keep my turbulent people in submission? Come what may I will to-morrow march into the plain of Kílí. * * *

'Aláu-d dín marched from Sírí to Kílí and there encamped. Katlagh Khwája, with the Mughal army, advanced to encounter

[1] Firishta (vol. i., p. 329) says "son of Amír Dáúd Khán, king of Máwaráu-n nahr."

him. In no age or reign had two such vast armies been drawn up in array against each other, and the sight of them filled all men with amazement. Zafar Khán, who commanded the right wing, with the *amírs* who were under him, drew their swords and fell upon the enemy with such fury that the Mughals were broken and forced to fall back. The army of Islám pursued, and Zafar Khán, who was the Rustam of the age and the hero of the time, pressed after the retreating foe, cutting them down with the sword and mowing off their heads. He kept up the pursuit for eighteen *kos*, never allowing the scared Mughals to rally. Ulugh Khán commanded the left wing, which was very strong, and had under him several distinguished *amírs*. Through the animosity which he bore to Zafar Khán he never stirred to support him.

Targhí, the accursed, had been placed in ambush with his *tumán*. His Mughals mounted the trees and could not see any horse moving up to support Zafar Khán. When Targhí ascertained that Zafar Khán had gone so far in pursuit of the Mughals without any supporting force in his rear, he marched after Zafar Khán, and, spreading out his forces on all sides, he surrounded him as with a ring, and pressed him with arrows. Zafar Khán was dismounted. The brave hero then drew his arrows from the quiver and brought down a Mughal at every shaft. At this juncture, Katlagh Khwája sent him this message, "Come with me and I will take thee to my father, who will make thee greater than the king of Dehlí has made thee." Zafar Khán heeded not the offer, and the Mughals saw that he would never be taken alive, so they pressed in upon him on every side and despatched him. The *amírs* of his force were all slain, his elephants were wounded, and their drivers killed. The Mughals thus, on that day, obtained the advantage, but the onslaught of Zafar Khán had greatly dispirited them. Towards the end of the night they retreated, and marched to a distance of thirty *kos* from Dehlí. They then continued their retreat by marches of twenty *kos*, without resting, until they reached their own

confines. The bravery of Zafar Khán was long remembered among the Mughals, and if their cattle refused to drink they used to ask if they saw Zafar Khán.[1] No such army as this has ever since been seen in hostile array near Dehlí. 'Alau-d dín returned from Kílí, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughals had been put to flight, and the brave and fearless Zafar Khán had been got rid of without disgrace.

In the third year of his reign 'Aláud-d dín had little to do beyond attending to his pleasures, giving feasts, and holding festivals. One success followed another; despatches of victory came in from all sides; every year he had two or three sons born, affairs of State went on according to his wish and to his satisfaction, his treasury was overflowing, boxes and caskets of jewels and pearls were daily displayed before his eyes, he had numerous elephants in his stables and seventy thousand horses in the city and environs, two or three regions were subject to his sway, and he had no apprehension of enemies to his kingdom or of any rival to his throne. All this prosperity intoxicated him. Vast desires and great aims, far beyond him, or a hundred thousand like him, formed their germs in his brain, and he entertained fancies which had never occurred to any king before him. In his exaltation, ignorance, and folly, he quite lost his head,[2] forming the most impossible schemes and nourishing the most extravagant desires. He was a man of no learning and never associated with men of learning. He could not read or write a letter. He was bad tempered, obstinate, and hard-hearted, but the world smiled upon him, fortune befriended him, and his schemes were generally successful, so he only became the more reckless and arrogant.

During the time that he was thus exalted with arrogance and presumption, he used to speak in company about two projects that he had formed, and would consult with his companions and asso-

[1] See D'Ohsson Hist. des Mongols, iv., 560.

[2] Lit., "hands and feet." Here, and occasionally elsewhere, I have been obliged to prune the exuberant eloquence of the author.

ciates upon the execution of them. One of the two schemes which he used to debate about he thus explained, "God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the Law and Religion were established, and through this establishment of law and religion the name of the Prophet will endure to the day of judgment. Every man who knows himself to be a Musulmán, and calls himself by that name, conceives himself to be of his religion and creed. God has given me also four friends, Ulugh Khán, Zafar Khán, Nusrat Khán, and Alp Khán, who, through my prosperity, have attained to princely power and dignity. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these four friends, establish a new religion and creed; and my sword, and the swords of my friends, will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion, my name and that of my friends will remain among men to the last day like the names of the Prophet and his friends." * * * Upon this subject he used to talk in his wine parties, and also to consult privately with his nobles. * * * His second project he used to unfold as follows; "I have wealth, and elephants, and forces, beyond all calculation. My wish is to place Dehlí in charge of a vicegerent, and then I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitable world." Over-elated with the success of some few projects, he caused himself to be entitled "the second Alexander" in the *khutba* and on his coins. In his convivial parties he would vaunt, "Every region that I subdue I will intrust to one of my trusty nobles, and then proceed in quest of another. Who is he that shall stand against me?" His companions, although they saw his * * * folly and arrogance, were afraid of his violent temper, and applauded him. * * * These wild projects became known in the city; some of the wise men smiled, and attributed them to his folly and ignorance; others trembled, and said that such riches had fallen into the hands of a Pharaoh who had no knowledge or sense. * * *

My uncle 'Aláu-l Mulk, *kotwál* of Dehlí, through his extreme corpulence, used to go (only) at the new moon to wait upon the

Sultán, and to take wine with him. On one occasion the Sultán began to consult him about these two extravagant delusions. 'Alau-l Mulk had heard how the king used to talk about these projects at his feasts, and how the guests used to coincide with him, and refrain from speaking the truth through fear of his hot temper and violence. When the questions were put to him by the Sultán, he said, "If your Majesty will order the wine to be removed, and all persons to withdraw except the four nobles, Ulugh Khán, Zafar Khán, Nusrat Khán, and Alp Khán, I will then open my mind to your Majesty." The Sultán gave the order * * * and 'Aláu-l Mulk, after apologizing for his boldness, said "Religion, and law, and creeds, ought never to be made subjects of discussion by your Majesty, for these are the concerns of prophets, not the business of kings. Religion and law spring from heavenly revelation; they are never established by the plans and designs of man. From the days of Adam till now they have been the mission of Prophets and Apostles, as rule and government have been the duty of kings. The prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some prophets have discharged the functions of royalty. My advice is that your Majesty should never talk about these matters. * * * Your Majesty knows what rivers of blood Changíz Khán made to flow in Muhammadan cities, but he never was able to establish the Mughal religion or institutions among Muhammadans. Many Mughals have turned Musulmáns, but no Musulmán has ever become a Mughal." * * * The Sultán listened, and hung down his head in thought. His four friends heartily approved what 'Aláu-l Mulk had said, and looked anxiously for the Sultán's answer. After awhile he said * * * "From henceforth no one shall ever hear me speak such words. "Blessings be on thee and thy parents, for thou hast spoken the truth, and hast been loyal to thy duty. But what dost thou say about my other project?" 'Aláu-l Mulk said, "The second design is that of a great monarch, for it is a rule among kings to seek to bring the whole world under their sway * * * but these are

not the days of Alexander * * * and where will there be found a *wazír* like Aristotle?" * * * The Sultán replied, "What is the use of my wealth, and elephants and horses, if I remain content with Dehlí, and undertake no new conquests? and what will be said about my reign?" 'Aláu-l Mulk replied that "there were two important undertakings open to the King, which ought to receive attention before all others * * * One is the conquest and subjugation of all Hindustán, of such places as Rantambhor, Chitor, Chanderí, Málwa, Dhár, and Ujjain, to the east as far as the Sarú, from the Siwálik to Jálor, from Multán to Damríla,[1] from Pálam to Lohor and Deopalpúr; these places should all be reduced to such obedience that the name of rebel should never be heard. The second and more important duty is that of closing the road of Multán against the Mughals." * * * Before closing his speech, 'Aláu-l Mulk said "What I have recommended can never be accomplished unless your Majesty gives up drinking to excess, and keeps aloof from convivial parties and feasts. * * * If you cannot do entirely without wine, do not drink till the afternoon, and then take it alone without companions." * * * When he had finished the Sultán was pleased, and commending the excellence of the advice which he had given, promised to observe it. He gave him a brocaded robe of honour with a gold waistband weighing half a *man*, ten thousand *tankas*, two horses fully caparisoned, and two villages in *in'ám*. The four Kháns who were present added to these gifts three or four thousand *tankas*, and two or three horses with trappings. The advice which 'Aláu-l Mulk had given was greatly praised by all the *wazírs* and wise men of the city. This happened while Zafar Khán was alive, upon his return from Siwistán, before he went to fight with Katlagh Khwája.

'Aláu-d dín now first resolved upon the capture of Rantambhor, which was near Dehlí. This fort had been taken, and was held by Hamír Deo, grandson of Ráí Pithaurá of Dehlí.[2] Ulugh

[1] "Maríla" in the print.

[2] Pithaurá was killed in 1192, and here we are in 1299 A.D. *Nabasa*, the word used, probably here means loosely "descendant."

Khán, who held Bayána, was ordered to Rantambhor, and Nusrat Khán, who held Karra that year, was ordered to collect all the forces of Karra, and that part of Hindustán, and to march to the assistance of Ulugh Khán. They captured Jháín,[1] and invested Rantambhor. One day Nusrat Khán approached the fort to direct the construction of a mound (*páshíb*), and a redoubt (*gargaj*). A stone discharged from a *Maghribí* in the fort struck him, and so wounded him that he died two or three days after. When this intelligence was brought to the Sultán, he departed from Dehlí in great state for Rantambhor.

The Sultán proceeded from Dehlí towards Rantambhor, and halted for some days at Til-pat.[2] He went out daily to hunt and a *nargah*[3] was drawn. One day he was benighted, and alighted with only ten horsemen at the village of Bádih, where he remained for the night. Next day before sunrise he gave orders to close up the circle. The huntsmen and horsemen went forth to draw it together, and the Sultán remained sitting on a stool with only a few attendants, waiting until the beasts were driven up. At this time Akat Khán, the Sultán's brother's son, who held the office of *Wakíldar*, rose up against the Sultán. Conceiving that if he killed the monarch he might, as his nephew, aspire to the throne, he plotted with sundry new Musulmán horsemen, who had been long in his service. These men now approached the Sultán, shouting tiger! tiger! and began to discharge arrows at him. It was winter, and the Sultán was wearing a large over-coat. He jumped up just as he was, and seizing the stool on which he had been sitting, he made a shield of it. He warded off several arrows; two pierced his arm, but none reached his body. A slave of the Sultán, by name Mánik, threw himself before his master, and made his own body a shield. He was struck by three or four arrows, The *páiks* (foootmen) who stood behind the Sultán now covered him with their bucklers. Akat Khán galloped up with his confede-

[1] Here it is evident that Jháín was close to Rantambhor, so that it cannot be Ujjain as suggested in p. 146 *supra*.

[2] See Elliot's Glossary, II., 122.

[3] A large circle or sweep made by hunters for driving the game together.

rates, intending to cut off the Sultán's head; but finding the *páiks* standing firm with their swords drawn, they dared not alight to lay hands on him. The *páiks* cried out that the Sultán was dead. Akat Khán was young, rash, and foolish. He had made a violent attack on his sovereign, but he lacked the decision and resolution to carry it through, and cut off the Sultán's head. In his folly and rashness he took another course. Believing what the *páiks* said, he went with all speed to the plain of Til-pat, and seated himself on the throne of 'Aláu-d dín, proclaiming to the people of the court with a loud voice that he had slain the Sultán. The people could not believe that the horsemen would have come to the royal residence, or that Akat Khán would have dared to seat himself on the throne and hold a court if the Sultán had not been killed. A tumult broke out in the army, and everything was getting into confusion. The elephants were accoutred and brought before the royal tent. The attendants of the court assembled and took up their respective positions, * * * and the chief men of the army came to pay their respects to the new sovereign. They kissed the hand of that evil doer and did homage. Akat Khán, in his egregious folly, attempted to go into the harem, but Malik Dínár armed himself and his followers, and, taking his stand at the door, told Akat Khán that he should not enter until he produced the head of 'Aláu-d dín.

When 'Aláu-d dín was wounded his Turk horsemen dispersed, raising a clamour. About sixty or seventy men, horse and foot, remained with him. After Akat Khán had left, the Sultán recovered his senses; he was found to have received two wounds in the arm, and to have lost much blood. They bathed the wounds and placed his arm in a sling. When he reflected on what had happened, he came to the conclusion that Akat Khán must have had many supporters among the *maliks, amírs*, and soldiers, for he would never have ventured on such a step without strong support. He therefore determined to leave his army, and to proceed with all speed to his brother, Ulugh Khán, at Jháín, in order to concert with him measures for securing his position.

Malik Hamídu-d dín, *náib-wakíl-dar*, son of Umdatu-l Mulk, opposed this plan, and advised the Sultán to proceed at once to his army. * * * The Malik's reasoning convinced the Sultán, and he started at once for the army. As he went along every trooper whom he fell in with joined him, so that on reaching the army he had an escort of five or six hundred men. He immediately showed himself on a rising ground, and being recognized, the assembly at the royal tent broke up, and his attendants came forth with elephants to receive him. Akat Khán rushed out of the tents and fled on horseback to Afghánpúr. The Sultán then came down, entered his tents, and, seating himself upon the throne, held a public court. He sent two officers in pursuit of Akat Khán, who came up with him at Afghánpúr, and beheaded him. His head was carried to the Sultán, who ordered it to be exhibited to the army on a spear, and then to be sent to Dehlí for exhibition, after which it was to be sent to Ulugh Khán at Jháín, with an account of the Sultán's escape. Katlagh Khwája, younger brother of Akat Khán, was also killed. * * * The Sultán remained some days with the army, diligently seeking out all who had connived at or had been aware of Akat Khán's attempt. Those who were discovered were scourged to death with thongs of wire, their property was confiscated, and their wives and children sent prisoners to various forts. The Sultán then proceeded to Rantambhor, and after punishing the rest of those who were concerned in Akat Khán's conspiracy, he devoted himself to the business of the siege. Bags were made and distributed to the soldiers, who filled them with sand and threw them into the holes (*ghár*). The traverses of the *páshíb* were formed, the redoubts (*gargaj*) raised, and stones were discharged from the *maghribís*. The besieged[1] battered the *páshíb* with stones from their *maghribís*, and

[1] There is a line omitted from the print here. The following is a literal translation of Firishta's account: ("The Sultán) having assembled numerous forces from all quarters distributed bags among them. Each man filled his bag with sand, and cast it into the trench (*darra*), which they call *rárau*, until they obtained command (over the walls), and struck down the defenders inside."

scattered fire from the summit of the fort. Many men were killed on both sides. The territories of Jháín were attacked and subdued as far as Dhár.

After the conspiracy of Akat Khán was suppressed, news was brought to the army that 'Umar Khán and Mangú Khán, taking advantage of the Sultán's absence and the difficulties of the siege of Rantambhor, had broken out in revolt and had obtained a following among the people of Hindustán. The Sultán sent some officers against them, who made them prisoners before they had effected anything, and carried them to Rantambhor. The Sultán's cruel implacable temper had no compassion for his sister's children, so he had them punished in his presence. They were blinded by having their eyes cut out with knives like slices of a melon. Their families and dependants were overthrown. Of the horse and foot who had supported them, some fled, and others fell into the hands of the *amírs* of Hindustán and were imprisoned.

While the Sultán was prosecuting the siege of Rantambhor, a revolt of some importance broke out at Dehlí. * * * There was a person named Hájí, a *maula* or slave of the late *Kotwál*, Amíru-l umará Fakhru-d dín. He was a man of violent, fearless, and malignant character * * * and he was charged with the guard of the exchequer.[1] A man called Turmuzí was *kotwál* of the city and greatly oppressed the people. * * * 'Aláu-d dín Ayáz, father of Ahmad Ayáz, was *kotwál* of the New Fort. Hájí Maula, seeing the city empty, and the inhabitants distressed by the violence and tyranny of Turmuzí the *kotwál* * * * knowing also that not a man could be spared from the army * * * he thought the people would support him. He secured the support of the old *kotwáli* officers, and excited a somewhat formidable revolt. It was the month of Ramazán, and

[1] The words are صحنگي خالصه برتول. The two MSS., however, read برتول. This word is not intelligible. The context seems to imply that the Maula was stationed in the city, otherwise *Khálsah-i ratol* might signify "the government lands of Ratol."

the sun was in Gemini. The weather was very hot, and at mid-day people kept indoors taking their siesta, so there were few in the streets. At this time Hájí Maula, with several armed followers, went to the house of *kotwál*, carrying with them as a blind a letter which he pretended to have received from the Sultán. The *kotwál* was taking his nap, and had none of his men with him. When he was called he roused himself, put on his slippers, and came to the door. Hájí Maula instantly gave the signal, and his followers cut off the unsuspecting victim's head. He then brought out the pretended royal *farmán*, and, showing it to the crowd, he said that he had killed the *kotwál* in obedience to orders received from the Sultán. The people were silent. The keepers of the gates were creatures of Hájí Maula, so they closed them. After killing *kotwál* Turmuzí, he sent to summon 'Aláu-d dín Ayáz, intending to kill him also. * * * But Ayáz had been informed of the outbreak, so, instead of coming out, he gathered his followers round him, placed guards, and refused to open the gates of the New Fort. Hájí Maula then proceeded with his riotous followers to the Red Palace, seated himself upon a balcony, and set free all the prisoners, some of whom joined his followers. Bags of gold *tankas* were brought out of the treasury and scattered among the people. Arms also were brought from the armoury, and horses from the royal stables, and distributed among the rioters. Every one that joined them had gold *tankas* thrown into his lap. There was an 'Alawí (descendant of 'Alí) in Dehlí who was called the grandson of Shah Najaf,[1] who, by his mother's side, was grandson of Sultán Shamsu-d dín. The Maula set off from the Red Palace with a party of horse, and went to the house of the poor 'Alawí. They carried him off by force and seated him on the throne in the Red Palace. The principal men of the city were brought by force and made to kiss his hand. * * * These riotous proceed-

[1] A very doubtful passage. The print says: نجف گفتندي شه نبسه اورا كـ. One MS. writes محتسب گفتندي شد مي نبسه اورا. The other MS. omits the words.

ings went on for seven or eight days, and intelligence was several times conveyed to the Sultán, but he kept it secret, and it did not become known to the army.

On the third or fourth day of the riot, Malik Hamídu-d dín, Amir of Koh, with his sons and relations, all valiant men, opened the Ghazní gate and went into the city. They proceeded towards the gate of Bhandar-kál, and arrows began to fly between them and the rioters, who became desperate and obtained gold from Hájí Maula. After Hamídu-d dín, the Amir of Koh, had been in the city two days, he and his loyal followers prevailed over the rebels. A party of the friends of Zafar Khán, who had come from Amroha, joined him. He then entered the gate of Bhandar kál, and a struggle ensued between him and the shoemakers, and between him and Hájí Maula. The Amir of Koh alighted from his horse, dashed Hájí Maula to the ground, and sat upon his breast. Swords and clubs were aimed at him all round and he was wounded, but he never quitted his fallen foe till he had despatched him. After this the victors proceeded to the Red Palace. They decapitated the miserable 'Alawí and carried his head about the city on a spear.

A despatch announcing the death of Hájí Maula was sent to the Sultán at Rantambhor. Intelligence of the revolt and of the anarchy prevailing at Dehlí had in several ways reached the Sultán, but he had resolved upon the reduction of the fort, and so he would not be shaken from his purpose and leave it to go to Dehlí. All his forces were engaged in pressing the siege, and were severely tried and distressed. But such was the fear felt for the Sultán that no one dared to set off for Dehlí or any other place. In the course of five or six days every one in the city who had supported Hájí Maula, or had taken money from him, was cast into prison. The gold which had been distributed among the people was brought back again to the treasury. A few days after, Ulugh Khán arrived from Rantambhor and took up his residence in the Múizzí palace. The rioters were brought before him and he decreed their punishments, so that blood ran in

streams. The sons and grandsons of the old *kotwál* Maliku-l umará had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death. No name or trace of them was left—a sad warning to politicians.

From the revolt of the "new Musulmáns" in Gujarát to that of Hájí Maula, four insurrections had successively troubled Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. These roused him from his dreams of security and pride, and he exerted all his powers for the reduction of Rantambhor. He held privy consultations with * * * arguing with them and inquiring into the causes of the insurrections, declaring that if the real reasons could be ascertained he would remove them, so that no revolt should afterwards occur. After considering for some nights and days, these great men agreed that the causes were four. 1. The Sultán's disregard of the affairs (both) of good and bad people. 2. Wine. Parties are formed for wine-drinking, and those who attend them talk openly of what passes in these meetings. They strike up friendships and excite disturbances. 3. The intimacy, affection, alliances, and intercourse of *maliks* and *amirs* with each other. So that if anything happens to one of them, a hundred others get mixed up in it. 4. Money, which engenders evil and strife, and brings forth pride and disloyalty. If men had no money, they would attend to their own business, and would never think of riots and revolts. And if rioters and rebels had no money, they could never count upon the assistance of low and turbulent people.[1]

Some time after this revolt, the Sultán succeeded in reducing

[1] These "counsels of the wise," which so frequently appear, are, in most cases, only expositions of the author's own opinions. I have translated these replies in order that it may be seen how a subsequent writer deals with them. Firishta uses the passage. The first reason he quotes verbatim, but the other three he modifies and embellishes. The fourth reason, as he gives it, is: "Abundance of money and wealth. For whenever men of low origin acquire the material means of greatness, vain imaginations spring up in them, and they lay pretensions to royalty." This is further improved by Firishta's translator, who says, "The last, and not the least, cause they thought arose from the unequal division of property: they considered that the wealth of a rich empire, if confined to a few persons, only rendered them, as governors of provinces, more like independent princes than subjects of the state." —Briggs, I., 345.

Rantambhor, but with much bloodshed and difficulty. He slew Hamír deo, the Rái, and all the "new Musulmáns" who had fled from the rebellion in Gujarát, and had taken refuge with him. The fort and all its territories and appurtenances were placed under the charge of Ulugh Khán, and the Sultán returned to Dehlí. He was angry with the citizens and had exiled many of their chiefs; so he did not enter the city, but stopped in the suburbs (*'umránát*).

Four or five months after the Sultán left Rantambhor, Ulugh Khán collected a large force with the intention of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar, but his time was come, and the angel of destiny took him to the blessed city. His corpse was conveyed to Dehlí and buried in his own house. The Sultán grieved for him and made many offerings for his soul.

The Sultán next directed his attention to the means of preventing rebellion, and first he took steps for seizing upon property. He ordered that, wherever there was a village held by proprietary right (*milk*), in free gift (*in'ám*), or as a religious endowment (*wakf*), it should by one stroke of the pen be brought back under the exchequer. The people were pressed and amerced, money was exacted from them on every kind of pretence. Many were left without any money, till at length it came to pass that, excepting *maliks* and *amirs*, officials, Multánís, and bankers, no one possessed even a trifle in cash. So rigorous was the confiscation that, beyond a few thousand *tankas*, all the pensions, grants of land (*in'ám wa mafrúz*), and endowments in the country were appropriated. The people were all so absorbed in obtaining the means of living, that the name of rebellion was never mentioned. Secondly, he provided so carefully for the acquisition of intelligence, that no action of good or bad men was concealed from him. No one could stir without his knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of nobles, great men, and officials, was communicated to the Sultán by his reporters. Nor were the reports neglected, for explanations of them were demanded. The system of reporting went to such a length, that nobles dared not speak

aloud even in the largest palaces,[1] and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs. In their own houses, night and day, dread of the reports of the spies made them tremble. No word or action which could provoke censure or punishment was allowed to transpire. The transactions in the *bázárs*, the buying and selling, and the bargains made, were all reported to the Sultán by his spies, and were kept under control. Thirdly, he prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling, as also the use of beer and intoxicating drugs. Dicing also was forbidden. Many prohibitions of wine and beer were issued. Vintners and gamblers and beer-sellers were turned out of the city, and the heavy taxes which had been levied from them were abolished. The Sultán directed that all the china and glass vessels of his banqueting room should be broken, and the fragments of them were thrown out before the gate of Badáún, where they formed a heap. Jars and casks of wine were brought out of the royal cellars, and emptied at the Badáún gate in such abundance, that mud and mire was produced as in the rainy season. The Sultán himself entirely gave up wine parties. He directed the *maliks* to mount elephants and to go to the gates of Dehlí, through the streets and wards, *bázárs* and *saráis*, proclaiming the royal command that no one should drink, sell, or have anything to do with wine. Those who had any self-respect immediately gave up drinking; but the shameless, the dissolute, and vile characters used to make and distil wine[2] in the distilleries, and to drink and sell it clandestinely at a great price. They put it into leather bottles, and conveyed it hidden in loads of hay, firewood, and such like. By hundreds of tricks and devices, and by all sorts of collusion, wine was brought into the city. Informers searched diligently, and the city gate-keepers and spies exerted themselves to seize the wine, and apprehend the contrabandists. When seized, the wine was sent to the elephant-stables and given to those animals. The sellers, the

[1] "*Hazár-sutún*," a palace of 1000 columns.

[2] *Sharáb*, wine; but it evidently includes spirits.

importers, and drinkers of wine, were subjected to corporal punishment, and were kept in prison for some days. But their numbers increased so much that holes for the incarceration of offenders were dug outside the Badáún gate, which is a great thoroughfare. Wine-bibbers and wine-sellers were placed in these holes, and the severity of the confinement was such that many of them died. Many others were taken out half dead, and were long before they recovered their health and strength. The terrors of these holes deterred many from drinking. Those who were unable to give up their habit went out to the fords of the Jumna, and to villages ten or twelve kos distant to procure their liquor. In Ghiyáspur, Indarpat, Kílúgharí, and towns four or five *kos* from Dehlí, wine could not be sold or drunk publicly. Still some desperate men used to keep it, drink it, and even sell it privately. They thus disgraced themselves and got confined in the pits. The prevention of drinking being found to be very difficult, the Sultán gave orders that if the liquor was distilled privately, and drunk privately in people's own houses; if drinking parties were not held, and the liquor not sold, then the informers were not to interfere in any way, and were not to enter the houses or arrest the offenders. After the prohibition of wine and beer in the city, conspiracies diminished, and apprehension of rebellion disappeared.

Fourthly, the Sultán gave commands that noblemen and great men should not visit each other's houses, or give feasts, or hold meetings. They were forbidden to form alliances without consent from the throne, and they were also prohibited from allowing people to resort to their houses. To such a length was this last prohibition carried that no stranger was admitted into a nobleman's house. Feasting and hospitality fell quite into disuse. Through fear of the spies, the nobles kept themselves quiet; they gave no parties and had little communication with each other. No man of a seditious, rebellious, or evil reputation was allowed to come near them. If they went to the *saráís*, they could not lay their heads together, or sit down cosily and tell their troubles. Their communications were brought

down to a mere exchange of signs. This interdict prevented any information of conspiracy and rebellion coming to the Sultán, and no disturbance arose.

After the promulgation of these interdicts, the Sultán requested the wise men to supply some rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus, and for depriving them of that wealth and property which fosters disaffection and rebellion. There was to be one rule for the payment of tribute applicable to all, from the *khúta* to the *baláhar*,[1] and the heaviest tribute was not to fall upon the poorest. The Hindú was to be so reduced as to be left unable to keep a horse to ride on, to carry arms, to wear fine clothes, or to enjoy any of the luxuries of life. To effect these important objects of government two regulations were made. The first was that all cultivation, whether on a small or large scale, was to be carried on by measurement at a certain rate for every *biswa*. Half (of the produce) was to be paid without any diminution, and this rule was to apply to *khútas* and *baláhars*, without the slightest distinction. The *khútas* were also to be deprived of all their peculiar privileges. The second related to buffaloes, goats, and other animals from which milk is obtained. A tax for pasturage, at a fixed rate, was to be levied, and was to be demanded for every inhabited house, so that no animal, however wretched, could escape the tax. Heavier burdens were not to be placed upon the poor, but the rules as to the payment of the tribute were to apply equally to rich and poor. Collectors, clerks, and other officers employed in revenue matters, who took bribes and acted dishonestly, were all dismissed. Sharaf Káí *naib wazír-i mamálik*, an accomplished scribe and a most honest and intelligent man, who had no rival either in capacity or integrity, exerted himself strenuously for some years in enforcing these regulations in all the villages and towns. * * * They were so strictly carried out that the *chaudharis* and *khúts* and *mukaddims* were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes, or to indulge in betel. The same rules for

[1] خوطه و بلاهر.

the collection of the tribute applied to all alike, and the people were brought to such a state of obedience that one revenue officer would string twenty *khúts, mukaddims,* or *chaudharis* together by the neck, and enforce payment by blows. No Hindu could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold or silver, *tankas* or *jitals*, or of any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found. Driven by destitution, the wives of the *khúts* and *mukaddims* went and served for hire in the houses of the Musulmáns. Sharaf Káí, *náib-wazír*, so rigorously enforced his demands and exactions against the collectors and other revenue officers, and such investigations were made, that every single *jital* against their names was ascertained from the books of the *patwáris* (village accountants). Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains, were all employed to enforce payment. There was no chance of a single *tanka* being taken dishonestly, or as bribery, from any Hindu or Musulmán. The revenue collectors and officers were so coerced and checked that for five hundred or a thousand *tankas* they were imprisoned and kept in chains for years. Men looked upon revenue officers as something worse than fever. Clerkship was a great crime, and no man would give his daughter to a clerk. Death was deemed preferable to revenue employment. Ofttimes fiscal officers fell into prison, and had to endure blows and stripes.

'Aláu-d dín was a king who had no acquaintance with learning, and never associated with the learned. When he became king, he came to the conclusion that polity and government are one thing, and the rules and decrees of law are another. Royal commands belong to the king, legal decrees rest upon the judgment of *kázis* and *muftis*. In accordance with this opinion, whatever affair of state came before him, he only looked to the public good, without considering whether his mode of dealing with it was lawful or unlawful. He never asked for legal opinions about political matters, and very few learned men visited him. * * Kází Mughísu-d dín, of Bayánah, used to go to

court and sit down in private audience with the *amírs*. One day, when the efforts were being made for the increase of the tribute and of the fines and imposts, the Sultán told the *Kázi* that he had several questions to ask him, and desired him to speak the plain truth. The *Kázi* replied, "The angel of my destiny seems to be close at hand, since your Majesty wishes to question me on matters of religion; if I speak the truth you will be angry and kill me." The Sultán said he would not kill him, and commanded him to answer his questions truly and candidly. The *Kázi* then promised to answer in accordance with what he had read in books. The Sultán then asked, "How are Hindus designated in the law, as payers of tribute (*kharáj-guzár*) or givers of tribute (*kharáj-dih*)?" The *Kázi* replied, "They are called payers of tribute, and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should, without question and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the officer throws dirt into their mouths, they must without reluctance open their mouths wide to receive it. By doing so they show their respect for the officer. The due subordination of the *zimmí* (tribute-payer) is exhibited in this humble payment and by this throwing of dirt into their mouths. The glorification of Islám is a duty, and contempt of the Religion is vain. God holds them in contempt, for he says, 'Keep them under in subjection.' To keep the Hindus in abasement is especially a religious duty, because they are the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet, and because the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them, and make them captive, saying, 'Convert them to Islám or kill them, enslave them and spoil their wealth and property.' No doctor but the great doctor (Hanífa), to whose school we belong, has assented to the imposition of the *jizya* (poll tax) on Hindus. Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but 'Death or Islám.'"

The Sultán smiled at this answer of the *Kázi's*, and said, "I do not understand any of the statements thou hast made; but this I have discovered, that the *khúts* and *mukaddims* ride upon fine horses, wear fine clothes, shoot with Persian bows, make war

upon each other, and go out hunting; but of the *kharáj* (tribute), *jizya* (poll tax), *kart* (house tax), and *chart* (pasture tax), they do not pay one *jítal*. They levy separately the *Khút's* (land-owner's) share from the villages, give parties and drink wine, and many of them pay no revenue at all, either upon demand or without demand. Neither do they show any respect for my officers. This has excited my anger, and I have said to myself, 'Thou hast an ambition to conquer other lands, but thou hast hundreds of leagues of country under thy rule where proper obedience is not paid to thy authority. How, then, wilt thou make other lands submissive?' I have, therefore, taken my measures, and have made my subjects obedient, so that at my command they are ready to creep into holes like mice. Now you tell me that it is all in accordance with law that the Hindus should be reduced to the most abject obedience." Then the Sultán said, "Oh, doctor, thou art a learned man, but thou hast had no experience; I am an unlettered man, but I have seen a great deal; be assured then that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have, therefore, given orders that just sufficient shall be left to them from year to year, of corn, milk, and curds, but that they shall not be allowed to accumulate hoards and property."

Secondly.—The Sultán next put the following question: "Is there any reference made in the Law to revenue officers and clerks who are guilty of dishonesty, peculation, or receiving bribes?" The *Kázi* answered, "There is no mention made of this, nor have I read of it in any book; but if revenue officers are insufficiently paid,[1] and they appropriate the revenue belonging to the treasury, or receive bribes, then the ruler can inflict punishment upon them, either by fine or imprisonment; but it is not allowable to cut off hands for robbing the treasury." The Sultán said, "I have given orders to recover from the various revenue officers whatever they have misappropriated or received in excess, pun-

[1] *Kadar i kifáyat na-yáband.* The negative seems superfluous, and it is rejected by Nizámu-d dín and by Firishta.

ishing them with sticks, pincers, the rack, imprisonment, and chains. I now hear that alienations of the revenue[1] and bribery have diminished. I have ordered such stipends to be settled on the various revenue officers as will maintain them in respectability, and if, notwithstanding, they resort to dishonesty and reduce the revenue, I deal with them as thou hast seen."

Thirdly, The Sultán put this question, "That wealth which I acquired while I was a *malik*, with so much bloodshed at Deogír, does it belong to me or to the public treasury?" The *Kázi* replied, "I am bound to speak the truth to your Majesty. The treasure obtained at Deogír was won by the prowess of the army of Islám, and whatever treasure is so acquired belongs to the public treasury. If your Majesty had gained it yourself alone in a manner allowed by the law, then it would belong to you." The Sultán was angry with the *Kázi* and said, "What sayest thou? Let thy head beware of what thou utterest. That wealth which I won at the risk of my own life and of the lives of my servants, from Hindus whose names had never been heard of in Delhí, and before I became king, that wealth I have retained and have not brought it into the public treasury. How can treasure won like this belong to the state?" The *Kázi* answered, "Your Majesty has put to me a question of law; if I were not to say what I have read in the book, and your Majesty, to test my opinion, were to ask some other learned man, and his reply, being in opposition to mine, should show that I had given a false opinion, to suit your Majesty's pleasure, what confidence would you have in me, and would you ever afterwards consult me about the law?"

Fourthly, The Sultán asked the *Kázi* what rights he and his children had upon the public treasury. The *Kázi* replied, "The time of my death is at hand," and upon the Sultán inquiring what he meant, he said, "If I answer your question honestly you will slay me, and if I give an untrue reply I shall hereafter go to hell." The Sultán said, "State whatever the law decrees, I will not kill thee." The *Kázi* replied, "If your Majesty will

[1] *Dihhdí*, lit: villages.

follow the example of the most enlightened *Khalifas*, and will act upon the highest principle, then you will take for yourself and your establishment the same sum as you have allotted to each fighting man: two hundred and thirty-four *tankas*. If you would rather take a middle course and should think that you would be disgraced by putting yourself on a par with the army in general, then you may take for yourself and your establishment as much as you have assigned to your chief officers, such as Malik Kírán, etc. * * If your Majesty follows the opinions of politicians,[1] then you will draw from the treasury more than any other great man receives, so that you may maintain a greater expenditure than any other and not suffer your dignity to be lowered. I have put before your Majesty three courses, and all the *krors* of money and valuables which you take from the treasury and bestow upon your women you will have to answer for in the day of account." The Sultán was wroth, and said, "Fearest thou not my sword when thou tellest me that all my great expenditure upon my harem is unlawful?" The *Kázi* replied, "I do fear your Majesty's sword, and I look upon this my turban as my winding-sheet; but your Majesty questions me about the law, and I answer to the best of my ability. If, however, you ask my advice in a political point of view, then I say that whatever your Majesty spends upon your harem no doubt tends to raise your dignity in the eyes of men; and the exaltation of the king's dignity is a requirement of good policy."

After all these questions and answers, the Sultán said to the Kázi, "You have declared my proceedings in these matters to be unlawful. Now see how I act. When troopers do not appear at the muster, I order three years pay to be taken from them.[2] I place wine-drinkers and wine-sellers in the pits of incarceration. If a man debauches another man's wife, I effectually prevent him

[1] *'Ulamd-i dunyd*, wise-men of the world.

[2] سه سال مواجب استدراک بستانند حکم کردهٔ ام Firishta's version of this is سه ساله مواجب بازیافت میکنم, which Briggs translates, "I am in the habit of stopping one month's pay for three successive years."

from again committing such an offence, and the woman I cause to be killed.[1] Rebels, good and bad, old hands or novices (*tar o khusk*), I slay; their wives and children I reduce to beggary and ruin. Extortion I punish with the torture of the pincers and the stick, and I keep the extortioner in prison, in chains and fetters, until every *jital* is restored. Political prisoners I confine and chastise. Wilt thou say all this is unlawful?" The *Kázi* rose and went to the entrance of the room, placed his forehead on the ground, and cried with a loud voice, "My liege! whether you send me, your wretched servant, to prison, or whether you order me to be cut in two, all this is unlawful, and finds no support in the sayings of the Prophet, or in the expositions of the learned."

The Sultán heard all this and said nothing, but put his slippers on and went into his harem. Kází Mughísu-d dín went home. Next day he took a last farewell of all his people, made a propitiatory offering, and performed his ablutions. Thus prepared for death he proceeded to the court. The Sultán called him forward, and showed him great kindness. He gave him the robe he was wearing, and presented him with a thousand *tankas*, saying, "Although I have not studied the Science or the Book, I am a Musulmán of a Musulmán stock. To prevent rebellion, in which thousands perish, I issue such orders as I conceive to be for the good of the State, and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful, and disobey my commands; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful; whatever I think to be for the good of the State, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree. * * *

After the Sultán returned from Rantambhor to Dehlí, he dealt very harshly with the people, and mulcted them. Shortly afterwards Ulugh Khán died while on his journey to the city. Malik 'Azzu-d dín Búrkhán became *wazír* in the New City (*shahr-i nau*), and the tribute of the New City was assessed by measurement at a certain rate per *biswa*, as in the environs of the capital. The Sultán

[1] می کشانم

then led forth an army and laid siege to Chítor, which he took in a short time, and returned home. New troubles now arose on account of the Mughals in Máwaráu-n nahr. They had learned that the Sultán had gone with his army to lay siege to a distant fort, and made but slow progress with the siege, while Dehlí remained empty. Targhí assembled twelve *tumáns* of cavalry, with which he marched with all speed to Dehlí, and reached that neighbourhood very soon. At this time the Sultán was engaged in the siege of Chítor. Malik Fakhru-d dín Júná, *dádbak-i hazrat*, and Malik Jhaju of Karra, nephew of Nusrat Khán, had been sent with all the officers and forces of Hindustán against Arangal. On their arrival there the rainy season began, and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing, and in the beginning of winter returned, greatly reduced in numbers, to Hindustán.

The Sultán now returned from the conquest of Chítor, where his army had suffered great loss in prosecuting the siege during the rainy season. They had not been in Dehlí a month, no muster of the army had been held, and the losses had not been repaired, when the alarm arose of the approach of the Mughals. The accursed Targhí, with thirty or forty thousand horse,[1] came on ravaging, and encamped on the banks of the Jumna, preventing all ingress and egress of the city. Affairs were in this extraordinary position; the Sultán had just returned from Chítor, and had had no time to refit and recruit his army after his great losses in the siege; and the army of Hindustán had returned from Arangal to the districts of Hindustán dispirited and reduced in numbers. The Mughals had seized the roads, and were so encamped that no reinforcements could reach the city from the army of Hindustán. There were no forces in Multán, Sámána, and Deopalpúr sufficient to cope with the Mughals, and join the Sultán at Sírí. The army of Hindustán was pressed to advance; but the enemy was too

[1] سي چهل هزار. Firishta says "120,000," and our author has above rated them at the same number, viz. "twelve *tumáns*." Perhaps he here intended to say, "three times forty thousand."

strong, and they remained in Kol and Baran. All the passages of the Jumna were in the hands of the enemy. The Sultán, with his small army of horse, left the capital and encamped at Sírí, where the superior numbers and strength of the enemy compelled him to entrench his camp. Round the entrenchments he built block houses, and other erections, to prevent the enemy from forcing a way in, and he kept his forces constantly under arms and on the watch to guard against the dreaded attack, and to delay any great engagement. In every division of the army, and in each line of entrenchment, there were five elephants fully armed, supported by a body of infantry. The Mughals came up on every side, seeking opportunity to make a sudden onslaught and overpower the army. Such fear of the Mughals and anxiety as now prevailed in Dehlí had never been known before. If Targhí had remained another month upon the Jumna, the panic would have reached to such a height that a general flight would have taken place, and Dehlí would have been lost. It was difficult to procure water, fodder, and fuel from without, for the convoys of grain were prevented from reaching the city, and the utmost terror prevailed. The enemy's horse approached the suburbs, and quartered themselves in the neighbourhood, where they drank wine, and sold at a low price grain and other articles plundered from the royal stores, so that there was no great scarcity of grain.[1] Two or three times the advanced guards met and combats ensued, but without advantage to either party. By the mercy of God the Mughal was unable to find any means of forcing the camp, and overpowering the royal army. After two months the prayers of the wretched prevailed, and the accursed Targhí retreated towards his own country.

This escape of the royal army and the preservation of Dehlí seemed, to wise men, one of the wonders of the age. The Mughals had sufficient forces to take it; they arrived at the most opportune time; they made themselves masters of the roads, and hemmed in the royal army and its appurtenances. The Sultán's

[1] غله‌را چندان شکنجه نبود

army had not been replenished, and no reinforcements reached it. But for all this the Mughals did not prevail.[1]

After this very serious danger, 'Aláu-d dín awoke from his sleep of neglect. He gave up his ideas of campaigning and fort-taking, and built a palace at Sírí. He took up his residence there, and made it his capital, so that it became a flourishing place. He ordered the fort of Dehlí to be repaired, and he also ordered the restoration of the old forts which lay in the track of the Mughals. Additional forts were directed to be raised wherever they were required. To these forts he appointed veteran and prudent commandants. Orders were given for the manufacture of *manjaníks* and *'arádas* (balistas), for the employment of skilful engineers, for a supply of arms of every kind, and for the laying in of stores of grain and fodder. Sámána and Deobalpúr were ordered to be garrisoned with strong selected forces, and to be kept in a state of defence; the fiefs in the track of the Mughals were placed under *amírs* of experience, and the whole route was secured by the appointment of tried and vigilant generals.

The Sultán next turned his attention to the increase of his forces, and consulted and debated with wise men by night and by day as to the best means of opposing and overcoming the Mughals. After much deliberation between the Sultán and his councillors, it was decided that a large army was necessary, and not only large, but choice, well armed, well mounted, with archers, and all ready for immediate service. This plan, and this only, seemed to recommend itself as feasible for opposing the Mughals. The Sultán then consulted his advisers as to the means of raising such a force, for it could not be maintained without heavy expenditure, and what was arranged for one year might not be continuous. On this point he said, "If I settle a large amount of pay on the army, and desire to maintain the pay at the same rate every year, then, although the treasury is now full, five or six years will clear it out, and nothing will be left. Without

[1] Barní was evidently deeply impressed with the peril of Dehlí, and is fond of recounting the odds against it. See D'Ohsson, iv. 561.

money government is impossible. I am very desirous of having a large army, well horsed, well accoutred, picked men and archers, ready for service year after year. I would pay them 234 *tankas* regularly, and I would allow seventy-eight *tankas* to those who keep two horses, requiring in return the two horses, with all necessary appointments. So also as regards the men of one horse, I would require the horse and his accoutrements. Inform me, then, how this large army can be regularly maintained on the footing I desire." His sagacious advisers thought carefully over the matter, and after great deliberation made a unanimous report to the Sultán. "The ideas which have passed through your Majesty's mind as to maintaining a large and permanent army upon a low scale of pay are quite impracticable. Horses, arms, and accoutrements, and the support of the soldier and his wife and family, cannot be provided for a trifle. If the necessaries of life could be bought at a low rate, then the idea which your Majesty has entertained of maintaining a large army at a small expense might be carried out, and all apprehension of the great forces of the Mughals would be removed." The Sultán then consulted with his most experienced ministers as to the means of reducing the prices of provisions without resorting to severe and tyrannical punishments. His councillors replied that the necessaries of life would never become cheap until the price of grain was fixed by regulations and tariffs. Cheapness of grain is a universal benefit. So some regulations were issued, which kept down the price for some years.

REGULATION I.—*Fixing the price of grain.*

Wheat,	per *man*	7½	*jitals.*
Barley,	,, ...	4	,,
Rice,	,, ...	5	,,
Másh (a vetch),	,, ...	5	,,
Nukhúd (a vetch),	,, ...	5	,,
Moth (a vetch),	,, ...	3	,,

This scale of prices was maintained as long as 'Aláu-d dín lived, and grain never rose one *dáng*, whether the rains were abundant

or scanty. This unvarying price of grain in the markets was looked upon as one of the wonders of the time.

REGULATION II.—To secure the cheapness of grain,[1] Malik Kabúl Ulugh Khán, a wise and practical man, was appointed controller of the markets. He received a large territory and used to go round (the markets) in great state with many horse and foot. He had clever deputies, friends of his own, who were appointed by the crown. Intelligent spies also were sent into the markets.

REGULATION III.—*Accumulation of corn in the king's granaries.* —The Sultán gave orders that all the *Khálsa* villages of the Doáb should pay the tribute in kind. The corn was brought into the granaries of the city (of Dehlí). In the country dependent on the New City half the Sultán's portion (of the produce) was ordered to be taken in grain. In Jháín also, and in the villages of Jháín, stores were to be formed. These stores of grain were to be sent into the city in caravans. By these means so much royal grain came to Dehlí that there never was a time when there were not two or three royal granaries full of grain in the city. When there was a deficiency of rain, or when for any reason the caravans did not arrive, and grain became scarce in the markets, then the royal stores were opened and the corn was sold at the tariff price, according to the wants of the people. Grain was also consigned to the caravans from New City. Through these two rules, grain never was deficient in the markets, and never rose one *dáng* above the fixed price.

REGULATION IV.—*The Caravans.*—The Sultán placed all the carriers[2] of his kingdom under the controller of the markets. Orders were given for arresting the head carriers and for bringing them in chains before the controller of the markets, who was directed to detain them until they agreed upon one common mode of action and gave bail for each other. Nor were they to be released until they brought their wives and children, beasts of

[1] "To maintain the tariff." *Tabakát-i Akbarí.*

[2] *Kárawánniyán*, here used as the Persian equivalent of the Hindustani *banjárá*, corn dealers and carriers.

burden and cattle, and all their property, and fixed their abodes in the villages along the banks of the Jumna. An overseer was to be placed over the carriers and their families, on behalf of the controller of the markets, to whom the carriers were to submit. Until all this was done the chiefs were to be kept in chains. Under the operation of this rule, so much grain found its way into the markets that it was unnecessary to open the royal stores, and grain did not rise a *dáng* above the standard.[1]

Regulation V.—*Regrating.*—The fifth provision for securing the cheapness of grain was against regrating. This was so rigidly enforced that no merchant, farmer, corn-chandler, or any one else, could hold back secretly a *man* or half a *man* of grain and sell it at his shop for a *dáng* or a *diram* above the regulated price. If regrated grain were discovered, it was forfeited to the Sultán, and the regrater was fined. Engagements were taken from the governors and other revenue officers in the Doáb that no one under their authority should be allowed to regrate, and if any man was discovered to have regrated, the deputy and his officers were fined, and had to make their defence to the throne.

Regulation VI.—Engagements were taken from the provincial revenue officers and their assistants, that they would provide that the corn-carriers should be supplied with corn by the *raiyats* on the field at a fixed price. The Sultán also gave orders that engagements should be taken from the chief *diwán*, and from the overseers and other revenue officers in the countries of the Doáb, near the capital, that they should so vigorously collect the tribute that the cultivators should be unable to carry away any corn from the fields into their houses and to regrate. They were to be compelled to sell their corn in the fields to the corn-carriers at a low price, so that the dealers should have no excuse for neglecting to bring the corn into the markets. A constant

[1] The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* gives these rules very succinctly and clearly. This fourth Regulation is thus given :—"Malik Kabúl was commanded to summon all the grain-sellers of the kingdom and to settle them in the villages on the banks of the Jumna, so that they might convey grain to Dehlí from all parts of the country, and prevent the price rising above the royal standard."

supply was thus secured. To give the villagers a chance of profit, they were permitted to carry their corn into the market and sell it at the regulation price.

REGULATION VII.—Reports used to be made daily to the Sultán of the market rate and of the market transactions from three distinct sources. 1st. The superintendent made a report of the market rate and of the market transactions. 2nd. The *barids*, or reporters, made a statement. 3rd. The *manhis*, or spies, made a report. If there was any variance in these reports, the superintendent received punishment. The various officials of the market were well aware that all the ins and outs of the market were reported to the Sultán through three different channels, and so there was no opportunity of their deviating from the market rules in the smallest particular.

All the wise men of the age were astonished at the evenness of the price in the markets. If the rains had fallen (regularly), and the seasons had been (always) favourable, there would have been nothing so wonderful in grain remaining at one price; but the extraordinary part of the matter was that during the reign of 'Aláu-d dín there were years in which the rains were deficient, but instead of the usual scarcity ensuing, there was no want of corn in Dehlí, and there was no rise in the price either in the grain brought out of the royal granaries, or in that imported by the dealers. This was indeed the wonder of the age, and no other monarch was able to effect it. Once or twice when the rains were deficient a market overseer reported that the price had risen half a *jítal*, and he received twenty blows with the stick. When the rains failed, a quantity of corn, sufficient for the daily supply of each quarter of the city, was consigned to the dealers every day from the market, and half a *man* used to be allowed to the ordinary purchasers in the markets. Thus the gentry and traders, who had no villages or lands, used to get grain from the markets. If in such a season any poor reduced person went to the market, and did not get assistance, the overseer received his punishment whenever the fact found its way to the king's ears.

For the purpose of securing low prices for piece goods, garments, sugar, vegetables, fruits, animal oil, and lamp oil, five Regulations were issued. * * *

For securing a cheap rate for the purchase of horses, slaves, and cattle, four Regulations were issued. * * *

REGULATION IV.—* * * The price of a serving girl was fixed from 5 to 12 *tankas*, of a concubine at 20, 30, or 40 *tankas*. The price for a male slave was 100 or 200 *tankas*, or less. If such a slave as could not in these days be bought for 1000 or 2000 *tankas* came into the market, he was sold for what he would fetch, in order to escape the reports of the informers. Handsome lads fetched from 20 to 30 *tankas;* the price of slave-labourers was 10 to 15 *tankas*, and of young domestic slaves 17 or 18 *tankas*. * * * *

Great pains were taken to secure low prices for all things sold at the stalls in the markets, from caps to shoes, from combs to needles, etc., etc. Although the articles were of the most trifling value, yet the Sultán took the greatest trouble to fix the prices and settle the profit of the vendors. Four Regulations were issued. * * *

The fourth Regulation for securing cheapness provided severe punishments; blows, and cutting off flesh from the haunches of those who gave short weight. * * * The market people, however, could not refrain from giving short weight. They sold their goods according to the established rate, but they cheated the purchasers in the weight, especially ignorant people and children. When the Sultán turned his attention to the subject, he discovered that the market people, as usual, were acting dishonestly * * * He therefore used to send for some of the poor ignorant boys, who attended to his pigeon-houses, and to give them ten or twenty *dirams* to go into the market and buy bread and various other articles for him. * * * When the boys had purchased the articles, and brought them to the Sultán, the inspector of the market was sent for, and he had to weigh the things in the presence of the Sultán. If the weight was less than required by the Sultán's

scale of prices, the inspector took the lad and went to the shop of the dealer who had given short weight, and placed the purchased article before him. The inspector then took from his shop whatever was deficient, and afterwards cut from his haunches an equal weight of flesh, which was thrown down before his eyes. The certainty of this punishment kept the traders honest, and restrained them from giving short weight, and other knavish tricks. Nay, they gave such good weight that purchasers often got somewhat in excess.[1]

The various Regulations * * * of 'Aláu-d dín came to an end at his death, for his son, Kutbu-d dín, was not able to maintain a thousandth part of them.

After the prices of goods and provisions were brought down, the pay of the soldier was fixed at the rate of 234 *tankas*, and the man of two horses at seventy-eight *tankas* more. All the men were inspected by the *'áriz-i mamálik* (Muster-master); those who were skilled in archery and the use of arms passed, and they received the price for their horse, and the horse was branded according to rule.

When the tariffs had been settled and the army had been increased and newly organized, the Sultán was ready for the Mughals. Whenever they made an attack upon Dehlí and its vicinity, they were defeated, driven back, and put to the sword. The arms of Islám were everywhere triumphant over them. Many thousands were taken prisoners, and were brought into Dehlí with ropes round their necks, where they were cast under the feet of elephants. Their heads were piled up in pyramids, or built into towers. So many thousands were slain in battle and in the city that horrid stenches arose. Such was the superiority of the men of Islám over the Mughals, that one or two horsemen would tie by the neck and bring in ten Mughal prisoners, and one Musulmán horseman would drive a hundred Mughals before him.

[1] Here the printed text differs from, and is inferior in accuracy to, the MSS. in several particulars.

On one occasion 'Alí Beg and Tarták[1] were the leaders of the Mughal forces, men who had acquired some repute. 'Alí Beg was said to be a descendant of Changíz Khán, the accursed. With thirty or forty thousand horse they skirted the mountains and advanced into the territory of Amroha. The Sultán sent against them Malik Náyak Akhur-beg. The opposing forces met in the territory of Amroha, and God gave the victory to the army of Islám. 'Alí Beg and Tarták were both taken alive, and many thousand Mughals were put to the sword. The force was entirely routed, and the battle-field was covered with heaps of slain like shocks of corn. Ropes were fastened round the necks of 'Alí Beg and Tarták, and they were conducted to the Sultán with many other Mughal prisoners. Twenty thousand horses belonging to the slain Mughals were taken into the royal stables. A grand court was held by the Sultán in the Chautara Subhání. From the court at this place a double row of soldiers was formed as far as Indarpat. Such numbers of men were assembled on that day that a pitcher of water fetched twenty *jítals* to half a *tanka*. 'Alí Beg, Tarták, and other Mughal prisoners, were brought forward with their accoutrements. The prisoners were cast under the feet of elephants in the presence of the court, and streams of blood flowed.

In another year a battle was fought in Khíkar between the army of Islám and the Mughals, under the accursed Kank. The Mughals were defeated, and Kank was brought prisoner to 'Aláu-d dín, and thrown under the feet of elephants. On another occasion great numbers of Mughals were slain, partly in battle, partly afterwards in the city. A tower was built of their heads in front of the gate of Badáún, and remains to this day a memento of 'Aláu-d dín. At another time three or four Mughal *amírs*, commanders of *tumáns*, with thirty or forty thousand horse, broke into the Siwálik, and engaged in slaughter and plunder.

[1] The MSS. have "Taryák" and "Ziyák." In the text of Firishta he is called "Taryál," but in the translation "Khwája Tash," which is in accordance with D'Ohsson (Hist. des Mongols, iv. 571). The *Tabakát-i Akbarí* has "Rasmák."

An army was sent against them with orders to seize upon the road by which the Mughals must return to the river, and there to encamp, so that when the thirsty Mughals attempted to approach the river they would receive their punishment. These orders were carried out. The Mughals having wasted the Siwálik, had moved some distance off. When they and their horses returned weary and thirsty to the river, the army of Islám, which had been waiting for them some days, caught them as they expected. They begged for water, and they and all their wives and children were made prisoners. Islám gained a great victory, and brought several thousand prisoners with ropes on their necks to the fort of Nárániya. The women and children were taken to Dehlí, and were sold as slaves in the market. Malik Khass-hájíb was sent to Nárániya, and there put every Mughal prisoner to the sword. Streams ran with their foul blood.

In another year Ikbálmanda came with a Mughal army, and the Sultán sent an army against him from Dehlí. The army of Islám was again victorious, and Ikbálmanda was slain with many thousands of his followers. The Mughal commanders of thousands and hundreds, who were taken prisoners, were brought to Dehlí, and thrown under the feet of elephants. On the occasion when Ikbálmanda was slain no man returned alive, and the Mughals conceived such a fear and dread of the army of Islám, that all fancy for coming to Hindustán was washed clean out of their breasts. Till the end of the reign of Kutbu-d dín the name of Hindustán was never mentioned among them, nor did they venture to approach it. Fear of the army of Islám prevented them from attaining their heart's desire, even in their dreams; for in their sleep they still saw the sword of Islám hanging over them. All fear of the Mughals entirely departed from Dehlí and the neighbouring provinces. Perfect security was everywhere felt, and the *raiyats* of those territories, which had been exposed to the inroads of the Mughals, carried on their agriculture in peace.

Ghází Malik, who afterwards became Sultán Tughlik Sháh,

had obtained great renown in Hindustán and Khurásán. He held the territories of Debálpúr and Láhor, and, until the end of the reign of Kutbu-d dín, he proved a barrier to the inroads of the Mughals, occupying, in fact, the position formerly held by Shír Khán. Every winter he led out a chosen force from Debálpúr, and marching to the frontiers of the Mughals he challenged them to come forth. The Mughals were so dispirited that they dared not even make any military display upon their frontiers. No one now cared about them, or gave them the slightest thought. * * *

Wherever Sultán 'Aláu-d dín looked around upon his territories, peace and order prevailed. His mind was free from all anxiety. The fort of Sírí was finished, and it became a populous and flourishing place. Devoting his attention to political matters, he made ready his army for the destruction of the *Ráis* and *zamíndárs* of other lands, and for the acquisition of elephants and treasure from the princes of the South. He withdrew several divisions of his army, which had been employed in guarding against the advance of the Mughals, and formed them into an army, which he sent against Deogír, under the command of Malik Náib Káfúr Hazár-dínárí, accompanied by other *maliks* and *amírs*, and the red canopy. He also sent Khwája Háji, deputy *'áriz-i mamálik*, to attend to the administration of the army, the collection of supplies, and the securing of elephants and the spoil. No army had marched from Dehlí to Deogír since the Sultán himself attacked it before he ascended the throne. Rámdeo had rebelled, and for several years had not sent his tribute to Dehlí. Malik Náib Káfúr reached Deogír and laid the country waste. He made Rámdeo and his sons prisoners, and took his treasures, as well as seventeen elephants. Great spoil fell into his hands, * * * and he returned with it triumphant to Dehlí, carrying with him Rámdeo. The Sultán showed great favour to the Rái, gave him a canopy, and the title of *Rái-ráyán* (King of kings). He also gave him a *lak* of *tankas*, and sent him back in great honour, with his children, wives, and

dependents to Deogír, which place he confirmed in his possession. The Rái was ever afterwards obedient, and sent his tribute regularly as long as he lived.

Next year, in the year 709 H. (1309 A.D.), the Sultán sent Malik Náib Káfúr with a similar force against Arangal. The Sultán gave him instructions to do his utmost to capture the fort of Arangal, and to overthrow Rái Laddar Deo.[1] If the Rái consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Náib Káfúr was to accept these terms and not press the Rái too hard. He was to come to an arrangement and retire, without pushing matters too far, lest Rái Laddar Deo should get the better of him. If he could not do this, he was, for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the Rái with him to Dehlí. * * *

Malik Náib Káfúr and Khwája Hájí took leave of the Sultán and marched to Rábarí, a village in the fief of the Malik. There the army assembled, and marched towards Deogír and Arangal. The *maliks* and *amírs* of Hindustán, with their cavalry and infantry, joined at Chanderí, where a review was held. On approaching Deogír, Rái-ráyán Rámdeo came forth to meet the army, with respectful offerings to the Sultán and presents to the generals. While the army was marching through the territories of Deogír, Rámdeo attended every day at head quarters. So long as it remained encamped in the suburbs of the city, he showed every mark of loyalty, and to the best of his ability supplied Náib Káfúr and his officers with fodder, and the army with *matériel*. Every day he and his officers went out to the camp, rendering every assistance. He made the *bázár* people of Deogír attend the army, and gave them strict orders to supply the wants of the soldiers at cheap rates. The army remained in the suburbs of Deogír for some days, resting from its fatigues. When it marched, Rámdeo sent men forward to all the villages on the route, as far

[1] A whole line is here omitted from the printed text, and there are other minor errors. The date is given as 909 instead of 709.

as the borders of Arangal, with orders for the collection of fodder and provisions for the army, and giving notice that if a bit of rope[1] was lost they would have to answer for it. He was as dutiful as any *raiyat* of Dehlí. He sent on all stragglers to rejoin the army, and he added to it a force of Mahrattas, both horse and foot. He himself accompanied the march several stages, and then took leave and returned. All wise and experienced men noticed and applauded his devotion and attention.

When Malik Náib Káfúr arrived in Tilang, he found the towns and villages in his way laid waste. The *mukaddims* and *ráis* perceived the superiority of the army of Islám, and so they abandoned their forts and went and took refuge in Arangal.

The fort of Arangal was of mud, and tolerably large. All the active men of the country had assembled there. The *Rái*, with the *mukaddims* and (inferior) *ráis* and connections,[2] went with their elephants and treasure into the stone fort. Malik Náib Káfúr invested the mud fort, and there were fights every day between the besiegers and the besieged. The *Maghribis* (western *manjaniks*) were played on both sides, and on both sides many were wounded. This went on for some days, till the daring and adventurous men of the army of Islám planted their scaling ladders and fixed their ropes. Then, like birds, they escaladed the towers of the mud fort, which was stronger than the stone one, and, cutting down the defenders with their swords, spears, and axes, they made themselves masters of the fort. They next invested the stone fort most closely. Laddar Deo perceived that all hope was gone, and that the fort was tottering to its fall. He therefore sent some great *brahmans* and distinguished *basiths*,[3]

[1] رشتهٔ قابي in the printed text. One MS. has for the latter word تالي, and the other has تاري.

[2] راي با مقدمان و رايگان و نزديكان

[3] The printed text has "*bhatán*," but one of the MSS. has *bhasíthán*, which agrees with Amír Khusrú (*suprà* p. 83). The other MS. omits the word.

with presents to Malik Káfúr, to beg for quarter, promising to give up all the treasures and elephants and horses, jewels and valuables, that he had, and to send regularly every year a certain amount of treasure and a certain number of elephants to Dehlí. Malik Káfúr agreed to these terms, and raised the siege of the fort. He took from Laddar Deo all the treasure which he had accumulated in the course of many years,—a hundred elephants, seven thousand horse, and large quantities of jewels and valuables. He also took from him a writing, engaging to send annually treasure and elephants. In the early part of the year 710 he started to return, loaded with booty, and, passing through Deogír, Dhár and Jháin, he at length arrived in Dehlí. * * *

It was the practice of the Sultán, when he sent an army on an expedition, to establish posts on the road, wherever posts could be maintained, beginning from Tilpat, which is the first stage. At every post relays of horses were stationed, and at every half or quarter *kos* runners were posted, and in every town or place where horses were posted, officers and report writers were appointed. Every day, or every two or three days, news used to come to the Sultán reporting the progress of the army, and intelligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army. False news was thus prevented from being circulated in the city or in the army. The securing of accurate intelligence from the court on one side, and the army on the other, was a great public benefit. * * *

Towards the end of the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the Sultán sent an army under Malik Náib Káfúr against Dhúr-samundar and Ma'bar. The Malik, with Khwája Hájí, *Náib-i 'áriz*, took leave of the Sultán and proceeded to Rábarí, where the army collected. They then proceeded to Deogír, where they found that Rámdeo was dead, and from Deogír to the confines of Dhúr-samundar. At the first onslaught Billál Rái fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, and Dhúr-samundar was captured. Thirty-six elephants, and all the treasures of the

place, fell into the hands of the victors. A despatch of victory was then sent to Dehlí, and Malik Náib Káfúr marched on to Ma'bar, which he also took. He destroyed the golden idol temple (*but-khánah-i zarín*) of Ma'bar, and the golden idols which for ages (*karnhá*) had been worshipped by the Hindus of that country. The fragments of the golden temple, and of the broken idols of gold and gilt, became the rich spoil of the army. In Ma'bar there were two Ráís, but all the elephants and treasure were taken from both, and the army turned homewards flushed with victory. A despatch of victory was sent to the Sultán, and in the early part of 711 H. (1311 A.D.) the army reached Dehlí, bringing with it six hundred and twelve elephants, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and twenty thousand horses. Malik Náib Káfúr presented the spoil to the Sultán in the palace at Sírí on different occasions, and the Sultán made presents of four *mans*, or two *mans*, or one *man*, or half a *man* of gold to the *maliks* and *amirs*. The old inhabitants of Dehlí remarked that so many elephants and so much gold had never before been brought into Dehlí. No one could remember anything like it, nor was there anything like it recorded in history.

At the end of this same year twenty elephants arrived in Dehlí from Laddar Deo Rái of Tilang, with a letter stating that he was ready to pay at Deogír, to any one whom the Sultán would commission to receive it, the treasure which he had engaged to pay, thus fulfilling the terms of the treaty made with Malik Káfúr.

In the latter part of the reign of 'Aláu-d dín several important victories were gained, and the affairs of the State went on according to his heart's desire, but his fortune now became clouded and his prosperity waned. Cares assailed him on many sides. His sons left their places of instruction and fell into bad habits. He drove away his wise and experienced ministers from his presence, and sent his councillors into retirement. He was desirous that all the business of the State should be concentrated in one office,

and under the officers of that office;[1] and that the control of all matters, general or special, should be in the charge of men of his own race (*zát*). Mistakes were now made in political matters; the Sultán had no Aristotle or Buzurjmihr to point out the *pros* and *cons* of any question, and to make the true course clear to him.

At the time when the Sultán so resolutely opposed himself to the inroads of the Mughals, several of the *amírs* of the "New Musulmáns" who had no employ, and whose bread and grants of revenue had been resumed or curtailed by the revenue officers, grumbled, and conceived certain crude ideas. The Sultán heard that some of the chiefs of the New Musulmáns were complaining of their poverty and wretchedness, and were talking about him with ill feeling, saying that he dealt harshly with his people, oppressing them with fines and exactions to fill his own treasury, that he had forbidden the use of wine, beer, and strong drinks, and that he had levied heavy tribute from the country, and reduced the people to distress. They thought, therefore, that if they raised a revolt all the New Musulmáns, their countrymen, would join them, and that the prospect of escaping from the severity and oppression of 'Aláu-d dín would be pleasing to others as well. There had been no revolt for some time, and so none would be expected. Their plan was to seek an opportunity when the Sultán went out hawking in a light dress, and when he and his followers were eager in pursuit of the game, with their arms thrown aside. Two or three hundred New Musulmáns in one compact band were then to rush upon the Sultán, and carry off him and his personal attendants. This conspiracy became known to the Sultán. He was by nature cruel and implacable, and his only care was the welfare of his kingdom. No consideration for religion, no regard for the ties of brotherhood or the filial rela-

[1] One MS. here omits about ten lines; the other differs a little from the printed text, and runs: امر و امارت تمامي ممالک بيکخانه او و بندگان خانه او باز گردد. It is evident that the Sultán sought to establish a centralizing system.

tion, no care for the rights of others, ever troubled him. He disregarded the provisions of the law, even in the punishments which he awarded, and was unmoved by paternity or sonship. He now gave his commands that the race of "New Musulmáns," who had settled in his territories, should be destroyed, and they were to be so slain that they all perished on the same day, and that not one of the stock should be left alive upon the face of the earth. Upon this command, worthy of a Pharaoh or a Nimrod, twenty or thirty thousand "New Musulmáns" were killed, of whom probably only a few had any knowledge (of the intended revolt). Their houses were plundered, and their wives and children turned out. In most of the years which have been noticed disturbances (*ibáhatiyán*) broke out in the city; but by the Sultán's command every rioter was most perseveringly pursued, and put to death with the most severe punishment. Their heads were sawn in two and their bodies divided. After these punishments breaches of the peace were never heard of in the city.

The generals and ministers of 'Aláu-d dín, by their courage, devotion, and ability, had secured the stability of the State during his reign, and had made themselves remarkable and brilliant in the political and administrative measures of that time, such as * * *.

* * * During the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, either through his agency or the beneficent ruling of Providence, there were several remarkable events and matters which had never been witnessed or heard of in any age or time, and probably never will again. 1. The cheapness of grain, clothes, and necessaries of life. * * * 2. The constant succession of victories. * * * 3. The destruction and rolling back of the Mughals. * * * 4. The maintenance of a large army at a small cost. * * * 5. The severe punishment and repression of rebels, and the general prevalence of loyalty. * * * 6. The safety of the roads in all directions. * * * 7. The honest dealings of the *bázár* people. * * * 8. The erection and repair of mosques, minarets, and forts, and the excavation of tanks. * * * 9. That during the last ten years of the

reign the hearts of Musulmáns in general were inclined to rectitude, truth, honesty, justice, and temperance. * * * 10. That without the patronage of the Sultán many learned and great men flourished. * * * [*Notices of some of the most distinguished men*; 26 *pages.*]

The prosperity of 'Aláu-d dín at length declined. Success no longer attended him. Fortune proved, as usual, fickle, and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him. The overthrow of his throne and family arose from certain acts of his own. First, He was jealous and violent in temper. He removed from his service the administrators of his kingdom, and filled the places of those wise and experienced men with young slaves who were ignorant and thoughtless, and with eunuchs without intelligence. He never reflected that eunuchs and worthless people cannot conduct the business of government. Having set aside his wise and able administrators, he turned his own attention to discharging the duties of minister, a business distinct from that of royalty. His dignity and his ordinances hence fell into disrespect. Secondly, He brought his sons prematurely, before their intelligence was formed, out of their nursery.[1] To Khizr Khán he gave a canopy and a separate residence, and he caused a document to be drawn up, appointing Khizr Khán his heir apparent, and he obtained the signatures of the nobles thereto. He did not appoint any wise and experienced governors over him, so the young man gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery, and buffoons and strumpets obtained the mastery over him. In the case of this son, and of his other sons, the Sultán was precipitate, and they gave entertainments and had uproarious parties in his private apartments. Many improper proceedings thus became the practice under his rule. Thirdly, He was infatuated with Malik Náib Káfúr, and made him commander of his army and *wazír*. He distinguished him above all his other helpers and friends, and this eunuch and minion held the chief place in his regards. A deadly enmity arose between this

[1] *Kdbuk*, dovecot.

Malik Náib Káfúr and Alp Khán,[1] the father-in-law and maternal uncle of Khizr Khán. Their feud involved the whole State, and day by day increased. Fourthly, The Regulations of the government were not enforced. His sons gave themselves up to dissipation and licentious habits. Malik Náib Káfúr and Alp Khán struggled against each other; and the Sultán was seized with dropsy, that worst of diseases. Day by day his malady grew worse, and his sons plunged still deeper into dissipation. Under his mortal disorder the violence of his temper was increased tenfold. He summoned Malik Náib Káfúr from Deogír, and Alp Khán from Gujarát. The traitor, Malik Náib Káfúr, perceived that the feelings of the Sultán were turned against his wife and Khizr Khán. He acted craftily, and induced the Sultán to have Alp Khán killed, although he had committed no offence and had been guilty of no dishonesty. He caused Khizr Khán to be made prisoner and sent to the fort of Gwalior, and he had the mother of the prince turned out of the Red Palace. On the day that Alp Khán was slain and Khizr Khán was thrown into bonds, the house of 'Aláu-d dín fell. A serious revolt broke out in Gujarát, and Kamálu-d dín Garg, who was sent to quell it, was slain by the rebels. Other risings occurred and were spreading, and the rule of the Sultán was tottering when death seized him. Some say that the infamous[2] Malik Náib Káfúr helped his disease to a fatal termination. The reins of government fell into the hands of slaves and worthless people; no wise man remained to guide, and each one did as he listed. On the sixth Shawwál, towards morning, the corpse of 'Aláu-d dín was brought out of the Red Palace of Sírí, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jámi' Masjid.

On the second day after the death of 'Aláu-d dín, Malik Náib

[1] Firishta gives the name as "Ulugh Khán" (Aluf Khán in the translation), but Alp Khán is right. See *suprà*, p. 157.

[2] The author's words are too explicit to be reproduced. The filthy practices alluded to are everywhere spoken of in plain terms, without the slightest attempt at disguise. They, or rather the perpetrators of them, are condemned, but the many familiar names for them, show that they were but too common.

Káfúr assembled the principal nobles and officers in the palace, and produced a will of the late Sultán which he had caused to be executed in favour of Malik Shahábu-d dín, removing Khizr Khán from being heir apparent. With the assent of the nobles he placed Shahábu-d dín upon the throne, but as the new sovereign was a child of only five or six years old, he was a mere puppet in the hands of schemers. Malik Náib Káfúr himself undertook the conduct of the government. * * * In the earliest days of his power he sent the traitor, Malik Sumbul, to put out the eyes of Khizr Khán at Gwalior, and he promoted this villain to be *Bár-bak*. He also sent his barber to blind Shádí Khán, full brother of Khizr Khán, in the palace of Sírí, by cutting his eyes from their sockets with a razor, like slices of melon. He took possession of the palace of the heir apparent, Khizr Khán, and sent his mother, the Malika-i Jahán, into miserable retirement. Then he seized all her gold, silver, jewels and valuables, and exerted himself to put down the partisans of Khizr Khán, who were rather numerous. He ordered Mubárak Khán, afterwards Sultán Kutbu-d dín, who was of the same age as Khizr Khán, to be confined to his room, and intended to have him blinded. It never occurred to this wretched man, nor did any one point out to him that his setting aside of the queen and princes would alienate all the old supporters of the throne, and that no one would put any trust in him. * * * His great object was to remove all the children and wives of the late Sultán, all the nobles and slaves who had claims upon the throne, and to fill their places with creatures of his own. * * *

While he was thus engaged in endeavouring to remove all the family of the late Sultán, he resolved that when the chief nobles of the throne came together from different parts of the country, he would seize them in their houses and kill them. But God be thanked that it entered into the hearts of some *páiks*, slaves of the late king, who had charge of the Hazár-sutún, that they ought to kill this wicked fellow. The officers had observed that every night after the company had retired, and the doors of the

palace were shut, Malik Náib Káfúr used to sit up all night, plotting with his creatures the destruction of the late Sultán's family; they therefore resolved that they would slay the rascal, and thus obtain an honourable name. So one night, when the people were gone, and the doors were locked, these *páiks* went with drawn swords to his sleeping room, and severed his wicked head from his foul body. They also killed all his confederates who were in concert with him. Thus thirty-five days after the death of 'Aláu-d dín, Malik Náib Káfúr was decapitated, and Khizr Khán and Shádí Khán were avenged.

In the morning, when the nobles and officers attended at the palace and learned that the wretch was dead, and saw that he was mere clay, they gave thanks to God, and with a feeling of renewed life congratulated each other. The same *páiks* who had done the deed brought forth Mubárak Khán from the chamber in which Malik Káfúr had confined him, and had intended to blind him, and placed him in the situation of director (*náib*) to Shahábu-d dín, instead of Malik Káfúr. They thought and boasted to themselves that they could remove and kill one of the two princes, and make the other one Sultán. Mubárak Khán acted as director for Shahábu-d dín several months, and managed the government. He was seventeen or eighteen years old, and he made friends of many of the *maliks* and *amírs*. He then seated himself upon the throne with the title of Kutbu-d dín, and sent Shahábu-d dín a prisoner to Gwalior, where he had him deprived of sight. The *páiks* who had killed Malik Káfúr now talked in vaunting tones at the door of the palace, boasting of having slain the Malik, and of having raised Kutbu-d dín to the throne. They claimed to have seats below the *maliks* and *amírs*, and to receive robes before them. * * * They collected at the door of the palace, and went in before all to the audience chamber. Sultán Kutbu-d dín, at the very beginning of his reign, was therefore compelled to give orders that these *páiks* should be separated, and sent to different places, where they were killed, and an end put to their pretensions. * * *

SULTÁNU-S SHAHÍD KUTBU-D DUNYÁ WAU-D DÍN.

Sultán Kutbu-d dín, son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, ascended the throne in the year 717[1] H. (1317 A.D.). He gave to Malik Dínár, the keeper of the elephants, the title Zafar Khán, to Muhammad Maulánáá, his maternal uncle, the title Sher Khán. * * * There was a young Parwárí, named Hasan, who had been brought up by Malik Shádí, the *Náib-hájib*. The Sultán took an inordinate liking for this youth. In the very first year of his reign he raised him to distinction, and gave him the title of Khusrú Khán. He was so infatuated and so heedless of consequences, that he placed the army of the late Malik Náíb Káfúr under this youth, and gave to him the fiefs held by that *malik*. His passion and temerity carried him so far that he raised the youth to the office of *wazír*, and he was so doting that he could never endure his absence for a moment. The trouble which had prevailed in the land, from the beginning of the sickness of 'Aláu-d dín to the death of Malik Náíb Káfúr, began to abate on the accession of Kutbu-d dín. People felt secure, and were relieved from the apprehension of death, and the nobles were released from the dread of death and punishment.

When Kutbu-d dín came to the throne he was much given to dissipation and pleasure. Still he was a man of some excellent qualities. When he escaped from the danger of death and blinding, and was delivered from evils of many kinds; when he was relieved from despair of the future and became ruler, on the day of his accession he gave orders that the (political) prisoners and exiles of the late reign, amounting to seventeen or eighteen thousand in number, should all be released in the city and in all parts of the country. The amnesty was circulated by couriers in every direction, and the miserable captives broke forth in praises of the new sovereign. Six months' pay was given to the army, and the allowances and grants to the nobles were increased. * * * The Sultán from his good nature relieved the people of

[1] Note in the text. Amír Khusrú, in his Masnawí *Nuh sipihr*, makes the year to be 716.

the heavy tribute and oppressive demands; and penalties, extortion, beating, chains, fetters, and blows were set aside in revenue matters. Through his love of pleasure, and extravagance, and ease,[1] all the regulations and arrangements of the late reign fell into disuse; and through his laxity in business matters all men took their ease, being saved from the harsh temper, severe treatment, and oppressive orders of the late king. Gold and gilt, silver and silver-gilt, again made their appearance indoors and out of doors in the streets. Men were no longer in doubt and fear of hearing, "Do this, but don't do that; say this, but don't say that; hide this, but don't hide that; eat this, but don't eat that; sell such as this, but don't sell things like that; act like this, but don't act like that." * * * After the accession of Kutbu-d dín all the old Regulations were disregarded, the world went on to the content of men of pleasure, and an entirely new order of things was established; all fear and awe of the royal authority vanished. * * * The Sultán plunged into sensual indulgences openly and publicly, by night and by day, and the people followed his example. Beauties were not to be obtained. * * * The price of a boy, or handsome eunuch, or beautiful damsel, varied from 500 to 1000 and 2000 *tankas.*

Of all the Regulations of the late Sultán, that prohibiting wine was the one maintained by the new sovereign. But such was the disregard of orders and contempt of restrictions that wine-shops were publicly opened, and vessels of wine by hundreds came into the city from the country. The necessaries of life and grain rose in price, the old regulations and tariffs were unheeded, and piece goods were sold at prices fixed by the vendors. The Multánís engaged in their own business, and in every house drums and tabors were beaten, for the *bázár* people rejoiced over the death of 'Aláu-d dín. They now sold their goods at their own price, and cheated and fleeced people as they listed. They reviled the late Sultán, and lauded the new one. The wages of labourers rose twenty-five per cent., and servants who had re-

[1] "*Sahal-girí,*" lit. taking it easy.

ceived ten or twelve *tankas* now got seventy, eighty, and a hundred *tankas*. The doors of bribery, extortion, and malversation were thrown open, and a good time for the revenue officers came round. Through the diminution of their tribute, the Hindus again found pleasure and happiness, and were beside themselves with joy. They who had plucked the green ears of corn because they could not get bread, who had not a decent garment, and who had been so harassed by corporal punishments that they had not even time to scratch their heads, now put on fine apparel, rode on horseback, and shot their arrows. Through all the reign of Kutbu-d dín, not one of the old Rules and Regulations remained in force, no order was maintained, new practices sprung up, the doors were kept closed and spies were useless, and no regularity or authority was maintained in the revenue department. The people were delivered from their distress, and every man engaged in pleasure according to the extent of his means. * * *

Through the indolence and liberality of Kutbu-d dín, and through the abeyance of the old Regulations, licentiousness spread among the Musulmáns, and disaffection and rebellion appeared among the Hindus. He plunged deeply into pleasure and debauchery; the world likewise sported in the same. * * * During (his reign of) four years and four months, the Sultán attended to nothing but drinking, listening to music, debauchery and pleasure, scattering gifts, and gratifying his lusts. If the Mughals had come up during his reign; if a rival had made pretensions to the throne; if any serious rebellion or sedition had broken out in any quarter, no one can tell what might have happened to Dehlí through the Sultán's negligence, heedlessness, and dissipation. But in his reign there was no deficiency in the crops, no alarm from the Mughals, no irreparable calamity from above visited the earth, no revolt or great disturbance arose in any quarter, not a hair of any one was injured, and the name of grief or sorrow never entered the breast, or passed from the tongue of any one. His whole life was passed in extreme dis-

sipation and utter negligence: debauchery, drunkenness, and shamelessness proved his ruin. * * *

In the first year of the reign a numerous army was sent to put down the revolt of Alp Khán, who had slain Kamálu-d dín Garg, and had stirred up such a disturbance that Gujarát had shaken off its allegiance. 'Ainu-l Mulk Multání was sent with an army to Gujarát. This officer was a very intelligent, experienced, and practical man. He marched with the army of Dehlí and several distinguished *amírs* to Gujarát, and defeated the forces of the revolters. They were entirely subdued, and the management of 'Aínu-l Mulk, and the valour of the army of Dehlí, once more reduced Nahrwála and all the country of Gujarát to obedience. This army took the field again, and defeated several of the promoters and leaders of this revolt, who were compelled to flee to Hindus in distant parts.

Sultán Kutbu-d dín married the daughter of Malik Dínár, to whom he had given the title of Zafar Khán. The Khán was one of the old servants (*bandagán*) of 'Aláu-d dín, an intelligent and prudent man, who had seen changes of fortune, and had drawn experience from them. He was now made governor (*wálí*) of Gujarát, and proceeded thither with *amírs*, officers, and a veteran army. In four months he brought the country into such subjection, that the people forgot Alp Khán and his ascendency. All the *ráis* and *mukaddims* of the country waited upon him, much money was acquired, and a select army was maintained always ready for service.

Although the Sultán did not maintain the Rules and Regulations of the late reign, the old servants of the State continued in their various posts, and retained their great fiefs. Hence all the territories of the State were made secure in the first year of the reign, no sedition or rebellion occurred in any quarter, nor did any distress or anarchy make its appearance. The accession of the new king was universally accepted.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) the Sultán marched with his *maliks* and *amírs* at the head of an army against Deogír, which,

upon the death of Malik Náib Káfúr, had thrown off its subjection, and had been taken possession of by Harpál Deo and Rám Deo. In the heedlessness of youth he did not nominate a wise and experienced man to act as his vicegerent during his absence; but he selected a youthful slave, named Sháhín, who had been called Baríldá during the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, and whom he now entitled Wafá-e Mulk. In his extreme rashness and utter disregard of appearances, he placed Dehlí and the treasures of Dehlí under this lad, without giving a moment's thought to disturbances or other things that might happen in his absence. On arriving at Deogír, Harpál Deo and the other Hindus who had joined him were unable to withstand the army of Islám, and they and all the *mukaddims* dispersed, so that the Sultán recovered the fort without fighting and spilling of blood. The Sultán then sent some officers in pursuit of Harpál Deo, who was the leader of the rebels, and had excited the revolt. He was captured, and the Sultán ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogír. The rains came on and the Sultán remained with the army for a time at Deogír. All the Mahrattas were once more brought into subjection. The Sultán selected as governor of Deogír, Malik Yak Lakhí, an old servant (*banda*) of 'Aláu-d dín, who for many years was *náib* of the *barids* (spies); and he appointed feudatories, rulers, and revenue-collectors over the territories of the Mahrattas.

When Canopus appeared the Sultán resolved upon returning to Dehlí. He then granted a canopy to Khusrú Khán, and raised him to a dignity and distinction higher than had ever been attained by Malik Náib Káfúr. In fact, his infatuation for this infamous and traitorous Parwárí exceeded that of 'Aláu-d dín for Malik Náib Káfúr. He sent him at the head of an army with *maliks* and *amírs* into Ma'bar; and as 'Aláu-d dín gave full powers to Náib Káfúr, sent him with an army into a distance, and placed in his hands the means of conquest, so, in like manner, Kutbu-d dín sent the vile Malik Khusrú into Ma'bar. Malik Khusrú was a base, designing, treacherous, low-born fellow. * * He rose from

one dignity to another, and received the title of Khusrú Khán. He was also made commander-in-chief, and all the affairs of the army were in his hands. * * * But the vile wretch had often thought of cutting down the Sultán with his sword when they were alone together. * * * When he marched from Deogír to Ma'bar, he used to hold secret councils at night with some of his fellow Hindus, and with several disaffected adherents of Malik Náib Káfúr, whom he had taken as friends, about making a revolt; and thus intriguing, he arrived in Ma'bar. The Sultán himself returned towards Dehlí, drinking and indulging in dissipation.

Malik Asadu-d dín, son of Malik Yagharsh Khán, uncle of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, was a brave and renowned warrior. He saw the king given up to debauchery, and utterly regardless of the affairs of his kingdom. Youths of new-made fortunes, without experience, and knowing nothing of the world, were chosen by the Sultán as his advisers, and men of wisdom and counsel were set aside. All alike were heedless, haughty, and unsuspicious. Malik Asad, seeing all this, conspired with some malcontents of Deogír, and formed a plot to seize the Sultán, at Ghatí-sákún, when drinking in his harem, unattended by guards. Some horsemen with drawn swords were to rush in and kill him, and after that the royal canopy was to be raised over Malik Asad, as brother and heir of 'Aláu-d dín. It was presumed that after the death of the Sultán there would be no opposition to Malik Asad's elevation, but that all people would support him. This was the plot which the conspirators had conceived and matured. While on the march they saw that ten or twelve resolute horsemen might enter the harem and kill the Sultán, but his time was not yet come; * * * and one evening one of the conspirators came in to the Sultán and gave full information of the plot. The Sultán halted at Ghatí-sákún, and there arrested Malik Asad and his brothers, with all the party of conspirators who were leagued with them. After some investigation, they were all beheaded in front of the royal tent. Following the custom of his father, the Sultán, in

his ruthlessness, ordered the arrest at Dehlí of twenty-nine individuals, sons of Yagharsh Khán. These were all of tender years, and had never left their homes. They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but they were all seized and slaughtered like sheep. Their wealth, which their father, the uncle of the late Sultán, had amassed in a long course of time, was brought into the royal treasury, and the women and girls of the family were turned into the streets and left homeless.

The Sultán escaped from this plot by the decree of God; but he learned no wisdom from it, made no change in his conduct, and gave up none of his dissolute drunken habits. As he pursued his journey homewards, he arrived at Jháín, from whence he sent Shádí Kath, chief of his guards (*silahdár*), to the fort of Gwalior, with orders to put to death at one fell swoop Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, and Malik Shahábu-d dín, sons of the late 'Aláu-d dín, who had been deprived of sight, and were dependent on him for food and raiment. According to his orders Shádí Kath slew the poor blind wretches, and carried their mothers and wives to Dehlí. Acts of violence and tyranny like this became the practice. * * * The good qualities which the Sultán had possessed were now all perverted. He gave way to wrath and obscenity, to severity, revenge, and heartlessness. He dipped his hands in innocent blood, and he allowed his tongue to utter disgusting and abusive words to his companions and attendants. * * * After he returned from Deogír, no human being, whether friend or stranger, dared to boldly advise him upon the affairs of his realm. The violent, vindictive spirit which possessed him led him to kill Zafar Khán, the governor of Gujarát, who had committed no offence; and thus with his own hands to uproot the foundation of his own supremacy. A short time after, he caused to be decapitated Malik Sháhín, one of his vile creatures, to whom he had given the title of Wafá-e Mulk, and whom he had once made his vicegerent. * * He cast aside all regard for decency, and presented himself decked out in the trinkets and apparel of a female before his assembled com-

pany. He gave up attendance on public prayer, and publicly broke the fast of the month of Ramazán. Malik 'Aínu-l Mulk Multání was one of the greatest nobles of the time; but he caused him and Malik Karábeg, who held no less than fourteen offices, to be assailed with such filthy and disgusting abuse, by low women, from the roof of the palace of the Hazár-sutún, as the occupants of that palace had never heard before. In his recklessness he made a Gujarátí, named Tauba, supreme in his palace, and this low-born *bhand* would call the nobles by the name of wife or mother, would defile and befoul their garments, and sometimes made his appearance in company stark naked, talking obscenity. * * *

After the execution of Zafar Khán, he conferred the government of Gujarát upon his favourite Hisámu-d dín,[1] maternal uncle of the traitor Khusrú Khán, and sent him to Nahrwála with *amírs*, officers, and men of business. All the army and attendants of Zafar Khán were placed under this fellow, an ill-conditioned Parwárí slave, whom the Sultán had often thrashed. This base-born upstart proceeded to Gujarát, and collecting his kindred and connections among the Parwárís, he stirred up a revolt. But the nobles of Gujarát collected their forces and adherents, made him prisoner, and sent him to Dehlí. The Sultán, in his infatuation for his brother, gave him a slap on the face, but soon after set him at liberty, and made him one of his personal attendants. When the nobles of Gujarát heard of this they were confounded, and felt disgusted with the Sultán. After the removal of this brother of Khusrú Khán, the government of Gujarát was given to Malik Wahídu-d dín Kuraishí, who, in comparison, was a worthy and fit person; and he received the title of Sadaru-l Mulk. * * *

Malik Yak Lakhí, governor of Deogír, revolted; but when the intelligence reached the Sultán, he sent a force against him, from Dehlí, which made him and his confederates prisoners. When they were brought to the Sultán, he had the ears and nose of Yak

[1] Here he is called "*barddar i mddar*," elsewhere "*barddar*," of Khusrú.

Lakhí cut off, and publicly disgraced him. His confederates also received punishment. Malik 'Aínu-l Mulk, Táju-l Mulk, and Yamkhíru-l Mulk were sent as governor and assistants to Deogír, and these being good men, their appointments excited surprise. They soon settled the district, regulated the forces, and made arrangements for the payment of the tribute. * * *

When Khusrú Khán marched from Deogír to Ma'bar, it was seen that he acted in the same way as Malik Náib Káfúr had done. The Ráís of Ma'bar fled with their treasures and valuables; but about a hundred elephants, which had been left in two cities, fell into the hands of Khusrú Khán. On his arriving in Ma'bar the rains came on, and he was compelled to remain. There was in Ma'bar a merchant, named Takí Khán, a Sunní by profession, who had acquired great wealth, which he had purified by paying the alms prescribed by his religion. Relying on the fact of the invading army being Musulmán, he did not flee. Khusrú Khán, who had nothing in his heart but rapacity and villany, seized this Musulmán, took his money from him by force, and put him to death, declaring the money to belong to the treasury. Whilst he remained in Ma'bar he did nothing but plot with his confidants as to the best means of seizing and putting to death those nobles who supported the reigning dynasty; and he consulted with them as to the course he should pursue, whom of the army he should make his friends, and whom he should get rid of. He fixed his attention upon certain of the old Maliks, such as Malik Tamar of Chanderí, Malik Afghán, and Malik Talbagha Yaghda of Karra, who had considerable forces at their command, and he made some advanços to them. His treacherous designs and rebellious intentions reached the ears of the old nobles, and they perceived, from many other signs and appearances, that the flames of rebellion were about to break forth. So the loyal nobles Malik Tamar and Malik Talbagha Yaghda sent to tell him that they had heard of his doing his utmost to get up a rebellion, and that he wished to remain where he was, and not return to Dehlí; but

they added that they would not allow him to remain, and that he had better make up his mind to return whilst there remained a show of amity between them, and without their having to seize him. By many devices and menaces they induced him to return, and did all they could think of and contrive to bring him and his army to Dehlí. Their expectation was that the Sultán, on learning the facts, would show them great favour, and would punish Khusrú Khán and his fellow-conspirators. The Sultán was so infatuated, and so strongly desired the presence of Khusrú Khán, that he sent relays of bearers with a litter to bring him with all haste from Deogír in the course of seven or eight days. * * * Khusrú Khán told the Sultán that some *maliks*, who were his enemies, had charged him with treason, and were weaving a tissue of lies against him. Then he insinuated some counter-charges into the ears of the Sultán, who was so deluded as to believe what he represented. * * * The army afterwards arrived, and Malik Tamar and Malik Talbagha made a report of the designs of the Khán. * * * Fate blinded the Sultán, and he would not believe. * * * He grew angry with the accusers. He ordered Malik Tamar to be degraded, and not to be allowed to enter (the palace); and he took from him the territory of Chanderí, and gave it to the Parwárí boy. Malik Talbagha Yaghda, who had spoken more plainly about the plans of the traitor, was deprived of sight, beaten on the mouth, stripped of his offices, territories, and retainers, and put in prison. Whoever spoke of their fidelity, or testified to the treachery of Khusrú Khán, received condign punishment, and was imprisoned or banished. All the attendants of the court plainly perceived that to speak against him would be to court the same chastisement. The wise men of the court and city saw that the Sultán's end was approaching. * * *

After Khusrú Khán had crushed his accusers, he prosecuted his schemes with all his energy. The Sultán had quarrelled with Baháu-d dín, his secretary, about a woman, and this man, eager for revenge, was won over by the traitor. Before proceeding fur-

ther with his designs, Khusrú represented to the Sultán that he had been made a great man by his Majesty's favour, and had been sent on an important command into a distant country. The *maliks* and *amírs* had their relations and friends and adherents around them, but he had none; he therefore begged that he might be allowed to send unto Bahlawál and the country of Gujarát for some of his own connections. The Sultán, in his doting and heedlessness, gave the permission. Khusrú then brought some Gujarátís, called Parwáris,[1] and, pretending they were his kinsfolk, kept them near him, giving them horses and clothes, and entertaining them in grand state. The villain, in prosecution of his designs, used to call the chiefs of these Parwáris and some other conspirators round him every night, in the rooms of Malik Náib Káfúr, to plot with him, and each of them used to propose the plan which his malignity suggested for killing the Sultán. Just at this time the Sultán went on a hunting excursion to Sarsáwa, and the Parwáris proposed to execute their design in the field; but some of their leaders opposed this, arguing that if they slew the Sultán in the field, all his armed followers would collect and destroy the assassins. * * It seemed preferable to accomplish their purpose in the palace, and make that building their protection. They might then, after the deed was done, call the *maliks* and *amírs* together and make them accomplices, or kill them on their refusal. * * *

After the Sultán returned from his excursion, the favourite made another request. He said that when he returned home from the palace at early dawn, the doors were locked, and those kinsfolk who had come from Gujarát to enjoy his society could not then see him. If some of his men were entrusted with the key of the postern gate (*dar-i chák*), he might bring his friends into the lower apartments and hold converse with them. The Sultán, in his infatuation, did not perceive the design, and the keys were given over. Every night, after the first or second watch, armed Parwáris, to the number of 300, used to enter by the postern, and

[1] *Barddrán* in the print, but *Barawán* and *Bardwan* in the MSS.

assemble in the lower apartments. The guards of the palace saw the entry of armed men, and had their suspicions; and men of sense all perceived that this entry of the Parwáris boded evil. * * * But no human being dared to utter a word to the Sultán, even to save his life. * * * Kázi Ziáu-d dín, generally called Kázi Khán, * * venturing his life, spoke to the Sultán [*acquainting him with the facts, and urging him to make an investigation*]. The Sultán was incensed at the words of the Kázi, grossly abused him, and spurned his honest counsels. Just then Khusrú came in, and the Sultán [*told him what the Kázi had said*]. The infamous wretch then began to weep and lament, saying, that the great kindness and distinction which the Sultán had bestowed upon him had made all the nobles and attendants of the Court his enemies, and they were eager to take his life. The Sultán * * * said that if all the world were turned upside down, and if all his companions were of one voice in accusing Khusrú, he would sacrifice them all for one hair of his head. * * * When a fourth of the night was past and the first watch had struck, * * Randhol, the maternal uncle (*niyá*) of Khusrú, and several Parwáris, entered the *Hazár-sutún* with their swords, which they hid under a sheet. * * * A Parwárí named Jáhariyá, who had been appointed to kill the Sultán, approached Kázi Ziáu-d dín, and pierced him with a spear, which he drew from under the sheet. * * An outcry arose in the palace, and Jáhariyá hastened, with some other armed Parwáris, to the upper rooms. The whole palace was filled with Parwáris, and the uproar increased. The Sultán heard it, and asked Khusrú what it was. * * He went and looked, and told the Sultán that his horses had broken loose, and were running about in the court-yard, where men were engaged in catching them. Just at this time Jáhariyá, with his followers, came to the upper story, and despatched the officers and door-keepers. The violent uproar convinced the Sultán that treason was at work, so he put on his slippers and ran towards the harem. The traitor saw that if the Sultán escaped to the women's apartments, it would be difficult to consummate the plot.

Prompt in his villany, he rushed after the Sultán and seized him behind by the hair, which he twisted tightly round his hand. The Sultán threw him down and got upon his breast, but the rascal would not release his hold. They were in this position when Jáhariyá entered at the head of the conspirators. Khusrú called out to him to be careful. The assassin stuck the Sultán in the breast with a spear, dragged him off Khusrú, dashed him to the ground, and cut off his head. All persons that were in the palace or upon the roof were slain by the Parwáris, who filled all the upper story. The watchmen fled and hid themselves. The Parwáris lighted torches; they then cast the headless trunk of the Sultán into the court-yard. The people saw it, and knew what had happened. Every one retired to his home in fear. Randhol, Jáhariyá, and other of the assassins, proceeded to the harem. They killed the widow of 'Aláu-d dín, mother of Farid Khán and 'Umar Khán, and committed atrocities which had never been paralleled among infidels and heathens. * * * After killing all there were to kill, the whole palace was in the hands of the Parwáris. Lamps and torches were lighted in great numbers, and a Court was held. Though it was midnight, Malik 'Ainu-d dín Multání, Malik Wáhidu-d dín Kuraishí, Malik Fakhru-d dín Júná afterwards Sultán Muhammad Tughlik, and other nobles and great men were sent for, and were brought into the palace and made accomplices in what passed. When day broke the palace was full inside and out with Parwáris and Hindus. Khusrú Khán had prevailed, the face of the world assumed a new complexion, a new order of things sprung up, and the basis of the dynasty of 'Aláu-d dín was utterly razed. * * *

As morning broke, Khusrú, in the presence of those nobles whom he had brought into the palace, mounted the throne under the title of Sultán Násiru-d dín. * * * He had no sooner begun to reign, than he ordered all the personal attendants of the late Sultán, many of whom were of high rank, to be slain. Some were despatched in their houses, others were brought to the palace and were beheaded in private. Their wives, women, children,

and handmaids were all given to the Parwáris and Hindus. The house of Kází Zíáu-d dín, with all that it contained, was given to Randhol, the maternal uncle of Khusrú. The wife and children of the Kází had fled in the early part of the night. The brother of Khusrú received the title of Khán-i Khánán, Randhol was made Rái-ráyán, * * * and Baháu-d dín received the title of 'Azamu-l Mulk. To keep up a delusive show, and to implicate the great men of the preceding reigns, 'Ainu-l Mulk Multání, who had no kind of connection with the usurper, was entitled 'Álam Khán; the office of *diwán* was conferred on Táju-l Mulk. * * * In the course of four or five days preparations were made for idol worship in the palace. Jáhariyá, the murderer of Kutbu-d dín was decked out in jewels and pearls; and horrid Parwáris sported in the royal harem. Khusrú married the wife of the late Sultán Kutbu-d dín; and the Parwáris, having gained the upper hand, took to themselves the wives and handmaids of the nobles and great men. The flames of violence and cruelty reached to the skies. Copies of the Holy Book were used as seats, and idols were set up in the pulpits of the mosques. * * * It was Khusrú's design to increase the power and importance of the Parwáris and Hindus, and that their party should grow; he therefore opened the treasury and scattered money about. * * * Calling himself Sultán Násiru-d dín, the base-born slave had his title repeated in the *khutba*, and impressed upon coins. For the few months (that he reigned) he and his satellites thought only of overthrowing the adherents of the late Sultáns, and they had no awe of any *malik* or *amir* except of Ghází Malik, afterwards Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh.

This nobleman held the territory of Deobálpur, and dwelt there in his palace. When he heard of the overthrow of the dynasty of 'Aláu-d dín, he writhed like a snake. To induce him to come into the city and into their toils, they tried every art with his son (Muhammad Fakhru-d dín Júná, afterwards) Sultán Muhammad Tughlik. They made Júná master of the horse, and gave him *in'áms* and robes of honour. But he

had been a friend of the late Sultán, and was deeply wounded by his death. He was also sorely annoyed by the ascendancy of the Parwáris, and by having to meet Hindus who patronized him. But he could do nothing, for Khusrú had deluded the people, and had made them his own by scattering his gold. Ghiyásu-d dín in Deobálpúr * * * deplored the fate of the sons and ladies of his patron, 'Aláu-d dín, and pondered night and day over the means of exacting vengeance from the Parwáris and Hindus. But he was afraid of the Hindus hurting his son Fakhru-d dín Júná, and so could not move out of Deobálpúr to destroy them. In those dreadful days the infidel rites of the Hindus were highly exalted, the dignity and the importance of the Parwáris were increased, and through all the territory of Islám the Hindus rejoiced greatly, boasting that Dehlí had once more come under Hindu rule, and that the Musulmáns had been driven away and dispersed. * * *

When more than two months had passed after the overthrow of the house of 'Aláu-d dín, and the degradation of all its connections and dependents before the eyes of several of its great nobles, Malik Fakhru-d dín began to take heart, and courageously to resolve upon exacting vengeance. One afternoon he mounted his horse, and, with a few slaves, confiding himself to God, he fled from Khusrú. * * * At evening his flight became known, * * * and filled Khusrú and his followers with dismay. * * * A body of horse was sent after him, but Fakhru-d dín, the hero of Irán and Turán, reached Sarsutí, and his pursuers, not being able to overtake him, returned dispirited to Dehlí. Before he reached Sarsutí,[1] his father, Ghází Malik (afterwards Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín), sent Muhammad Sartaba with two hundred horse, and he had taken possession of the fort of Sarsutí. With these horsemen Fakhru-d dín proceeded to his father, whom, to his great joy, he reached in safety at Deobálpúr. Malik Ghází's hands were now free to wreak vengeance on the Parwáris and Hindus for the murder of his patron, and

[1] "Sarbarhindh" in one MS.; "Narainah" in the other—perhaps for Tabarhindh.

he immediately prepared to march against the enemy. Khusrú appointed his brother, whom he had made Khán-i Khánán, and Yúsuf Súfí, now Yúsuf Khán, to command his army. He gave his brother a royal canopy, and sent them with elephants and treasure towards Deobálpúr. So these two foolish ignorant lads went forth, like newly-hatched chickens just beginning to fly, to fight with a veteran warrior like Malik Ghází, whose sword had made Khurásán and the land of the Mughals to tremble. * * * They reached Sarsutí; but such was their inexperience and want of energy, that they could not drive out Malik Ghází's horse. So they turned their backs upon the place, and in their folly, * * * marched to encounter the hero, who twenty times had routed the Mughals. Like children in their parents' laps, they went on helplessly all in confusion. * * *

On the other hand, Ghází Malik had called in the assistance of Malik Bahrám Abiya of Uch, one of the faithful, and he arrived at Deobálpúr with his horse and foot, and joined Ghází. When intelligence of the enemy's march from Sarsutí reached them, * * * Ghází drew his forces out of Deobálpúr, and passing the town of Daliyá,[1] he left the river behind, and came face to face with the enemy. Next day he gave battle. * * * The enemy broke at the first charge, and was thrown into utter confusion. The canopy and baton of Khusrú's brother, and the elephants and horses and treasure, fell into the hands of the victors. Many chiefs and officers were killed, and many were wounded and made prisoners. The two lads who called themselves Kháns * * * fled, without stopping, to Khusrú. This defeat so terrified Khusrú and his followers that hardly any life was left in their bodies. * * *

For a week after the victory Malik Ghází remained on the field of victory, and after collecting the spoils and arranging his forces, he proceeded towards Dehlí. * * * Khusrú Khán and his followers, in dismay, left Sírí, and marched out into the field to the Hauz-i 'Alái, where he posted himself op-

[1] "Dalili" in the print.

posite Lahráwat, with gardens in front and the citadel in his rear. He brought out all the royal treasures from Kílúgharí and Dehlí, making a clean sweep of the whole, like one spurned by fortune or worsted in gambling. The records and accounts he caused to be burned, * * * and everything in the public treasury he distributed as pay or gifts to his forces. Furious at the thought of anything valuable falling into the hands of the chief of Islám, he did not leave a *dáng* or *diram* behind. * * * The soldiers, who were faithful to their creed, and had no thought of drawing a sword against Malik Ghází and the army of Islám, took the money of the wretched fellow, heaped hundreds of curses upon him, and then went to their homes. * * * Ghází Malik, with his army and friends, arrived near Dehlí, and encamped in the suburb of Indarpat. On the night preceding the expected battle, 'Ainu-l Mulk Multání deserted Khusrú Khán, and went towards Ujjain and Dhár. This defection quite broke down the spirits of Khusrú and his followers.

On Friday, a day of joy and victory to the Musulmáns, but of woe to the Hindus and infidels, Ghází Malik led forth his forces from Indarpat against the foe. Khusrú, on the other side, sent forward his elephants, and, with his Parwáris, Hindus, and the Musulmáns who stood by him, advanced to the plain of Lahráwat, where both armies drew up in order of battle. Skirmishes ensued, in which the side of Ghází Malik had the advantage. Malik Talbagha Nágorí, who had attached himself heart and soul to Khusrú Khán, and drew his sword against the army of Islám, was overthrown, and his severed head was brought to Ghází Malik. Sháyista Khán, formerly known as the son of Karrat Kímár, and now *'ariz-i mamálik*, seeing all was over, led away his force towards the desert, but plundered the baggage of Ghází Malik at Indarpat as he pursued his flight. The main armies still confronted each other, but in the afternoon * * * Ghází Malik advanced against the centre of Khusrú's force. The effeminate wretch could not bear the attack of men. He

fled, and, leaving his army, he took the road to Tilpat. * * * His Parwáris were separated from him, and not one remained with him when he reached that place. He fell back from thence and concealed himself for the night in a garden which formerly belonged to Malik Shádí, his patron. After the defeat and dispersion of the Parwáris and Hindus, they were cut down wherever they were found, and their arms and horses were seized. Those who, in parties of three or four, fled from the city towards Gujarát, were likewise slain and plundered. On the day after the battle Khusrú was brought out of the garden of Malik Shádí and was beheaded.

That night, while Ghází Malik was at Indarpat, most of the nobles and chief men and officers came forth from the city to pay their respects, and the keys of the palace and of the city gates were brought to him. On the second day after the battle he proceeded with a great following from Indarpat to the palace of Sírí. He seated himself in the Hazár-sutún, and, in the presence of the assembled nobles, wept over the unhappy fate which had befallen Kutbu-d dín and the other sons of 'Aláu-d dín, his patron, * * and gave thanks to God for the victory he had gained. Then he cried with a loud voice, "I am one of those who have been brought up under 'Aláu-d dín and Kutbu-d dín, and the loyalty of my nature has roused me up against their enemies and destroyers. I have drawn my sword, and have taken revenge to the best of my power. Ye are the nobles of the State! If ye know of any son of our patron's blood, bring him forth immediately, and I will seat him on the throne, and will be the first to tender him my service and devotion. If the whole stock has been clean cut off, then do ye bring forward some worthy and proper person and raise him to the throne; I will pay my allegiance to him. I have drawn my sword to avenge my patrons, not to gain power and ascend a throne." * * * The assembled nobles unanimously replied that the usurpers had left no scion of the royal stock in existence. The murder of Kutbu-d dín and the supremacy of Khusrú and the Parwáris had caused disturbances,

and had stirred up rebels in every direction. Affairs were all in confusion. They then added, "Thou, O Ghází Malik, hast claims upon us. For many years thou hast been a barrier to the Mughals and hast prevented their coming into Hindustán. Now thou hast done a faithful work, which will be recorded in history; thou hast delivered the Musulmáns from the yoke of Hindus and Parwáris; thou hast avenged our benefactors, and hast laid every one, rich and poor, under obligation. * * * All we who are here present know no one besides thee who is worthy of royalty and fit to rule." All who were present agreed with one acclaim, and, taking him by the hand, they conducted him to the throne. He then took the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín, * * * and every one paid him due homage. * * *

Sultánu-l Ghází Ghiyásu-d dunyá wau-d dín Tughlik Sháhu-s Sultán.

Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh ascended the throne in the palace of Sírí in the year 720 H. (1320 A.D.) * * * In the course of one week the business of the State was brought into order, and the disorders and evils occasioned by Khusrú and his unholy followers were remedied. * * * The people in all parts of the country were delighted at his accession. Rebellion and disaffection ceased, peace and obedience prevailed. * * * On the day of his accession, he ordered all the surviving relatives of 'Aláu-d dín and Kutbu-d dín to be sought out, and he treated these ladies with all due respect and honour. The daughters of 'Aláu-d dín he married into suitable families. He severely punished the men who unlawfully married Khusrú to the widow of Kutbu-d dín three days after her husband's murder. The *maliks*, *amirs*, and other officers of his predecessors, he confirmed in their possessions and appointments. When he attained the throne, his nobleness and generosity of character made him distinguish and reward all those whom he had known and been connected with, and all those who in former days had showed him

kindness or rendered him a service. No act of kindness was passed over. * * * His eldest son[1] showed great elevation of character. To him he gave the title of Ulugh Khán, with a royal canopy, and he declared him his heir apparent. To his four other sons he gave the titles respectively of Bahrám Khán, Zafar Khán, Mahmúd Khán, and Nusrat Khán. Bahrám Abiya he honoured with the name of brother, and the title Kishlú Khán. To him also he entrusted Multán and Sindh. Malik Asadu-d dín, his brother's son, he made Náib Bárbak, and Malik Baháu-d dín, his sister's son, he made *'ariz-i mamálik* (muster-master), with the territory of Sámána. * * * The excellence of his government is said to have inspired this verse of Amír Khusrú's—

"He never did anything that was not replete with wisdom and sense.
He might be said to wear a hundred doctors' hoods under his crown."

* * * In the generosity of his nature, he ordered that the land revenues of the country should be settled upon just principles with reference to the produce. * * * The officers of the Exchequer were ordered not to assess more than one in ten, or one in eleven upon the *iktá's*, and other lands, either by guess or computation, whether upon the reports of informers or the statements of valuers. They were to be careful that cultivation increased year by year. Something was to be left over and above the tribute, so that the country might not be ruined by the weight of taxation, and the way to improvement be barred. The revenue was to be collected in such a way that the *raiyats* should increase their cultivation; that the lands already in cultivation might be kept so, and some little be added to them every year. So much was not to be exacted at once that the cultivation should fall off, and no increase be made in future. Countries are ruined and are kept in poverty by excessive taxation and the exorbitant demands of kings. The Hindus were to be taxed so that they might not be blinded with wealth, and so become discontented

[1] Barní follows the general practice of using the regal title by anticipation.

and rebellious; nor, on the other hand, be so reduced to poverty and destitution as to be unable to pursue their husbandry.[1] * * *

In the year 721 H. (1321 A.D.) the Sultán sent his eldest son, Ulugh[2] Khán, with a canopy and an army against Arangal and Tilang. Several of the nobles and officers, both of the old and new dynasty, were sent with him. The prince set out with great pomp, and when he arrived in Deogír, the officers and forces of that place joined, and marched with him to Tilang. Awe of the majesty of the Sultán, and fear of Ulugh Khán, drove Laddar Deo and all the *ráis* and *mukaddims* to seek shelter in the fortresses; they never dreamed of opposing the Khán (in the field). He arrived at Arangal, and invested the mud fort. He then sent some of his officers to spoil the land of Tilang, to collect plunder, and bring in forage. They brought in spoil and fodder in abundance, and the army pushed on the siege in full confidence. The mud fort and the stone fort of Arangal were both garrisoned with numerous Hindus, who had gathered in muniments from all quarters. *Maghribis*, *'arádas*, and *manjaniks* were brought into use. Sharp conflicts daily occurred. Fire was discharged[3] from the fort, and many were killed on both sides; but the army of Islám had the advantage, the garrison was reduced to distress, and the mud fort was on the point of being taken. They resolved to surrender, and Laddar Deo the Rái, with *mukaddims*, sent *basiths* to Ulugh Khán to make terms. They offered treasure and elephants and jewels and valuables, and begged that the Khán would accept these with tribute, as Malik Náib Káfúr had done in the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, and would then retire. The Khán would grant no terms, but resolutely determined to reduce the fort and capture the Rái. So the *basiths* returned disappointed and dejected.

When the besieged were thus reduced to extremities, and

[1] Many pages follow in eulogy of the character and government of Ghiyásu-d dín, but these are expressed in such general terms as not to be of much interest.

[2] The printed text and one of the two MSS. here fall into the error of writing this title, "Alaf Khán," as it always appears in Briggs and Elphinstone.

[3] *Atashbd mi-rekhtand.*

were suing for peace, very nearly a month had passed since any couriers had arrived from the Sultán, although the Khán had previously received two or three letters every week. This want of intelligence from the court caused some uneasiness in the minds of the Khán and his officers; they imagined that some of the posts on the road had been destroyed, and that consequently the couriers had been unable to prosecute their journeys with the news. It also caused apprehension and misgivings to spread among the troops, and stories were carried from one to another. 'Ubaid the poet, and Shaikh Záda-i Dimashkí, two evil-disposed, turbulent fellows, who by some means had been introduced to the Khán, fanned the strife, and spread false reports among the soldiers, to the effect that the Sultán was dead, that the government had been overthrown, that a new prince now sat upon the throne of Dehlí, and that the way was quite closed against all couriers and messengers. So every man took his own course. These two malicious men trumped up another false story. They went to Malik Tamar, Malik Tigín, Malik Mall Afghán, and Malik Káfúr, keeper of the seal, and told these nobles that Ulugh Khán looked upon them with envy and suspicion, as generals and nobles of the reign of Aláu-d dín, and as obstacles to his attaining the throne; that their names were written down in a list as men to be disposed of, and that they would be all seized at once and beheaded. These nobles were aware that these two treacherous men were constantly about Ulugh Khán, and so they credited their statements. They therefore agreed to take flight, and, joining together their followers, they left the camp. Through this defection a panic fell upon the army, trouble and tumult arose, and no man thought of another. This event was very opportune for the besieged Hindus, and saved them. They sallied forth and plundered the baggage of the army, and Ulugh Khán with his immediate followers retreated to Deogír. The soldiers were worn out, and fell in all directions. As they retreated, couriers arrived from the court, bringing news of the health and safety of the Sultán.

Differences arose among those 'Alái nobles who had fled from the army, each of them pursued his own course. Their soldiers and servants perished, and their horses and arms fell into the hands of the Hindus. Ulugh Khán reached Deogír in safety. Malik Tamar, with a few horsemen, plunged into the Hindu territories, and there perished. Malik Tigín of Oudh was killed by the Hindus, and his skin was sent to Ulugh Khán at Deogír. Malik Mall Afghán, 'Ubaid the poet, and other revolters, were made prisoners, and were also sent to Deogír. The prince sent them on alive to his father. The wives and children of the revolters had been already seized. The Sultán held a public *darbár* in the plain of Sírí, when 'Ubaid, the poet, and Káfúr, the seal-keeper, and other rebels, were impaled alive;[1] some of the others, with their wives and children, were thrown under the feet of elephants. Such a terrible punishment was inflicted as long inspired terror in the breasts of the beholders. All the city trembled at the vengeance taken by the Sultán.

Four months afterwards the Sultán sent strong reinforcements to the prince, and directed him to march against Arangal once more. He accordingly entered the country of Tilang, took the fort of Bidr, and made its chief prisoner. From thence he proceeded to Arangal for the second time. He invested the mud fort, and after plying it for a few days with arrows from the *náwaks*, and stones from the *maghribís*, he captured the whole place. Rái Laddar Deo, with all his *ráis* and *mukaddims*, their wives and children, elephants and horses, fell into the hands of the victors. A despatch of victory was sent to Dehlí, and at Tughlikábád and Sírí there were great rejoicings. The prince sent Laddar Deo Rái, of Arangal, with his elephants and treasures, relations and dependents, to the Sultán, under the charge of Malik Bedár, who had been created Kadar Khán, and Khwája Hájí, *náib* of the *'ariz-i mamálik*. The name of Arangal was changed to Sultánpúr, and all the country of Tilang was conquered. Officers

[1] *Zindah bardár kardand*,—that is, crucified or impaled alive. Firishta says they were buried alive.

were appointed to manage the country, and one year's tribute was taken. The prince then marched towards Jájnagar,[1] and there took forty elephants, with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father.

At the time when Arangal was taken, and the elephants arrived from Jájnagar, several Mughal armies attacked the frontiers, but the armies of Islám defeated them and sent their two generals as prisoners to the court. The Sultán had made Tughlikábád his capital, and the nobles and officials, with their wives and families, had taken up their abode there, and had built houses.

About this time certain noblemen came from Lakhnautí, complaining of the oppressive laws under which they were suffering, and informing the Sultán of the distress and tyranny under which they and other Musulmáns laboured. So the Sultán resolved to march against Lakhnautí, and he sent couriers to summon Ulugh Khán from Arangal. He made him his vicegerent, and placed all the affairs of the kingdom under his management during his own absence. He then marched to Lakhnautí, and so conducted his forces through the deep waters and mire and dirt, on this distant march, that not a hair of any man's head was hurt. Fear and respect for the Sultán had spread through Khurásán and Hindustán, and all the countries of Hind and Sindh, and the chiefs and generals of east and west, had trembled in fear of him for many a year (*karn*). When the Sultán reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnautí, Sultán Násiru-d dín, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultán; and without the sword being called into requisition, all the *ráis* and *ránas* of the country made their submission. Tátár Khán, foster-son (*pisar i khwánda*) of the Sultán, held the territory of Zafarábád; and a force having been assigned to him, he brought the whole country under the imperial rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw made some resistance; but a cord was thrown upon his neck, and he was conducted to the Sultán.

[1] The Jájnagar on the Mahanadi in Cuttack referred to by Briggs. Firishta, I., 260.

All the elephants of the country were sent to the royal stables, and the army acquired great spoil in the campaign. Sultán Násiru-d dín had shown great respect and submission, so the Sultán gave him a canopy and a baton, sent him back, and placed Lakhnautí under his rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw, was sent to Dehlí with a rope round his neck, and the Sultán returned towards his capital triumphant. * * *

When Ulugh Khán received information of the Sultán's hastening homewards to Tughlikábád, he ordered a temporary erection to be raised at Afghánpúr, about three or four *kos* from the city, where the Sultán might stay for the night and take rest, before marching on the following day into the city with pomp and triumph. * * * Sultán Tughlik Sháh arrived in the afternoon and stopped. Ulugh Khán, and all the great nobles and officers, had gone forth to meet him, and had conducted him thither with great ceremony. The Sultán's table had been spread, and he took food; the nobles came out to wash their hands. A thunderbolt from the sky descended upon the earth, and the roof under which the Sultán was seated fell down, crushing him and five or six other persons, so that they died.[1]

Sultánu-l Mujáhid Abú-l Fath Muhammad Sháh ibn Tughlik Sháh.

Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlik Sháh, the heir apparent, succeeded his father, and ascended the throne at Tughlikábád in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). On the fortieth day after, he proceeded from Tughlikábád to Dehlí, and there in the ancient palace took his seat upon the throne of the old Sultáns. * * *[2]

In the caligraphy of books and letters Sultán Muhammad abashed the most accomplished scribes. The excellence of his hand-writing, the ease of his composition, the sublimity of his

[1] The reticence of Barní upon this catastrophe favours the suspicion that it was the work of design; not an accident. Firishta, however, notices this suspicion, but to discredit it.

[2] A long strain of eulogy follows, from which one or two passages have been selected.

style, and the play of his fancy, left the most accomplished teachers and professors far behind. He was an adept in the use of metaphor. If any teacher of composition had sought to rival him, he would have failed. He knew by heart a good deal of Persian poetry, and understood it well. In his epistles he showed himself skilled in metaphor, and frequently quoted Persian verse. He was well acquainted with the *Sikandar náma*, and also with the *Búm-i salím Námah* and the *Tárikh-i Mahmúdí*. * * * No learned or scientific man, or scribe, or poet, or wit, or physician, could have had the presumption to argue with him about his own special pursuit, nor would he have been able to maintain his position against the throttling arguments of the Sultán. * * *

The dogmas of philosophers, which are productive of indifference and hardness of heart, had a powerful influence over him. But the declarations of the holy books, and the utterances of the Prophets, which inculcate benevolence and humility, and hold out the prospect of future punishment, were not deemed worthy of attention. The punishment of Musulmáns, and the execution of true believers, with him became a practice and a passion. Numbers of doctors, and elders, and *saiyids*, and *súfis*, and *kalandars*, and clerks, and soldiers, received punishment by his order. Not a day or week passed without the spilling of much Musulmán blood, and the running of streams of gore before the entrance of his palace. * * *

In the course of twenty-seven years, a complete *karn*, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords made him to prevail over the dominions of several kings, and brought the people of many countries under his rule in Hindustán, Gujarát, Málwa, the Mahratta (country), Tilang, Kampila, Dhúr-samundar, Ma'bar, Lakhnautí, Sat-gánw (Chittagong), Sunár-gánw, and Tirhut. If I were to write a full account of all the affairs of his reign, and of all that passed, with his faults and shortcomings, I should fill many volumes. In this history I have recorded all the great and important matters of his reign, and the beginning and the end of

every conquest; but the rise and termination of every mutiny, and of events (of minor importance), I have passed over. * * *

Sultán Muhammad planned in his own breast three or four projects by which the whole of the habitable world was to be brought under the rule of his servants, but he never talked over these projects with any of his councillors and friends. Whatever he conceived he considered to be good, but in promulgating and enforcing his schemes he lost his hold upon the territories he possessed, disgusted his people, and emptied his treasury. Embarrassment followed embarrassment, and confusion became worse confounded. The ill feeling of the people gave rise to outbreaks and revolts. The rules for enforcing the royal schemes became daily more oppressive to the people. More and more the people became disaffected, more and more the mind of the king was set against them, and the numbers of those brought to punishment increased. The tribute of most of the distant countries and districts was lost, and many of the soldiers and servants were scattered and left in distant lands. Deficiencies appeared in the treasury. The mind of the Sultán lost its equilibrium. In the extreme weakness and harshness[1] of his temper he gave himself up to severity. Gujarát and Deogír were the only (distant) possessions that remained. In the old territories, dependent on Dehlí, the capital, disaffection and rebellion sprung up. By the will of fate many different projects occurred to the mind of the Sultán, which appeared to him moderate and suitable, and were enforced for several years, but the people could not endure them.[2] These schemes effected the ruin of the Sultán's empire, and the decay of the people. Every one of them that was enforced wrought some wrong and mischief, and the minds of all men, high and low, were disgusted with their ruler. Territories and districts which had been securely settled

[1] نازكي و درشتي

[2] The two MSS. differ slightly from each other, but both contain many words not in the printed text. I have taken what appears to be the general sense of what was evidently deemed an obscure and doubtful passage.

were lost. When the Sultán found that his orders did not work so well as he desired, he became still more embittered against his people. He cut them down like weeds and punished them. So many wretches were ready to slaughter true and orthodox Musulmáns as had never before been created from the days of Adam. * * * If the twenty prophets had been given into the hands of these minions, I verily believe that they would not have allowed them to live one night. * * *

The first project which the Sultán formed, and which operated to the ruin of the country and the decay of the people, was that he thought he ought to get ten or five per cent. more tribute from the lands in the Doáb. To accomplish this he invented some oppressive *ábwábs*[1] (cesses), and made stoppages from the land-revenues until the backs of the *raiyats* were broken. The cesses were collected so rigorously that the *raiyats* were impoverished and reduced to beggary. Those who were rich and had property became rebels; the lands were ruined, and cultivation was entirely arrested. When the *raiyats* in distant countries heard of the distress and ruin of the *raiyats* in the Doáb, through fear of the same evil befalling them, they threw off their allegiance and betook themselves to the jungles. The decline of cultivation, and the distress of the *raiyats* in the Doáb, and the failure of convoys of corn from Hindustán, produced a fatal famine in Dehlí and its environs, and throughout the Doáb. Grain became dear. There was a deficiency of rain, so the famine became general. It continued for some years, and thousands upon thousands of people perished of want. Communities were reduced to distress, and families were broken up. The glory of the State, and the power of the government of Sultán Muhammad, from this time withered and decayed.

The second project of Sultán Muhammad, which was ruinous to the capital of the empire, and distressing to the chief men of the country, was that of making Deogír his capital, under the

[1] This is the first time that this word, since so well known, has come under my observation in these histories.

title of Daulatábád. This place held a central situation: Dehlí, Gujarát, Lakhnautí, Sat-gánw, Sunár-gánw, Tilang, Ma'bar, Dhúr-samundar, and Kampila were about equi-distant from thence, there being but a slight difference in the distances. Without any consultation, and without carefully looking into the advantages and disadvantages on every side, he brought ruin upon Dehlí, that city which, for 170 or 180 years, had grown in prosperity, and rivalled Baghdad and Cairo. The city, with its *sáráis*, and its suburbs and villages, spread over four or five *kos*. All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs. Troops of the natives, with their families and dependents, wives and children, men-servants and maid-servants, were forced to remove. The people, who for many years and for generations had been natives and inhabitants of the land, were broken-hearted. Many, from the toils of the long journey, perished on the road, and those who arrived at Deogír could not endure the pain of exile. In despondency they pined to death. All around Deogír, which is an infidel land, there sprung up graveyards of Musulmáns. The Sultán was bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival; but they were tender, and they could not endure the exile and suffering. They laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of all the multitudes of emigrants, few only survived to return to their home. Thus this city, the envy of the cities of the inhabited world, was reduced to ruin. The Sultán brought learned men and gentlemen, tradesmen and landholders, into the city (Dehlí) from certain towns in his territory, and made them reside there. But this importation of strangers did not populate the city; many of them died there, and more returned to their native homes. These changes and alterations were the cause of great injury to the country.

The third project also did great harm to the country. It increased the daring and arrogance of the disaffected in Hin-

dustán, and augmented the pride and prosperity of all the Hindus. This was the issue of copper money.[1] The Sultán, in his lofty ambition, had conceived it to be his work to subdue the whole habitable world and bring it under his rule. To accomplish this impossible design, an army of countless numbers was necessary, and this could not be obtained without plenty of money. The Sultán's bounty and munificence had caused a great deficiency in the treasury, so he introduced his copper money, and gave orders that it should be used in buying and selling, and should pass current, just as the gold and silver coins had passed. The promulgation of this edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint, and the Hindus of the various provinces coined krors and lacs of copper coins. With these they paid their tribute, and with these they purchased horses, arms, and fine things of all kinds. The *ráis*, the village headmen and landowners, grew rich and strong upon these copper coins, but the State was impoverished. No long time passed before distant countries would take the copper *tanka* only as copper. In those places where fear of the Sultán's edict prevailed, the gold *tanka* rose to be worth a hundred of (the copper) *tankas*. Every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop, and the treasury was filled with these copper coins. So low did they fall that they were not valued more than pebbles or potsherds. The old coin, from its great scarcity, rose four-fold and five-fold in value. When trade was interrupted on every side, and when the copper *tankas* had become more worthless than clods, and of no use, the Sultán repealed his edict, and in great wrath he proclaimed that whoever possessed copper coins should bring them to the treasury, and receive the old gold coins in exchange. Thousands of men from various quarters, who possessed thousands of these copper coins, and caring nothing for them, had flung them into corners along with their copper pots, now brought them to the treasury, and received in exchange gold *tankas* and silver *tankas*, *shash-gánis*

[1] The printed text adds, "his interference with buying and selling," but this is not to be found in either of my MSS., and is certainly superfluous.

and *dú-gánis*, which they carried to their homes. So many of these copper *tankas* were brought to the treasury, that heaps of them rose up in Tughlikábád like mountains. Great sums went out of the treasury in exchange for the copper, and a great deficiency was caused. When the Sultán found that his project had failed, and that great loss had been entailed upon the treasury through his copper coins, he more than ever turned against his subjects.

The fourth project which diminished his treasure, and so brought distress upon the country, was his design of conquering Khurásán and 'Irák. In pursuance of this object, vast sums were lavished upon the officials and leading men of those countries. These great men came to him with insinuating proposals and deceitful representations, and as far as they knew how, or were able, they robbed the throne of its wealth. The coveted countries were not acquired, but those which he possessed were lost; and his treasure, which is the true source of political power, was expended.

The fifth project * * * was the raising of an immense army for the campaign against Khurásán. * * * In that year three hundred and seventy thousand horse were enrolled in the muster-master's office. For a whole year these were supported and paid; but as they were not employed in war and conquest and enabled to maintain themselves on plunder, when the next year came round, there was not sufficient in the treasury or in the feudal estates (*iktá*) to support them. The army broke up; each man took his own course and engaged in his own occupations. But *lacs* and *krors* had been expended by the treasury.

The sixth project, which inflicted a heavy loss upon the army, was the design which he formed of capturing the mountain of Karâ-jal.[1] His conception was that, as he had undertaken the conquest of Khurásán, he would (first) bring under the dominion of Islám this mountain, which lies between the territories of

[1] The printed text has "Farâjal," and this is favoured to some extent by one MS., but the other is consistent in reading Karâ-jal. See *suprâ*, Vol. I., p. 46, note 2.

Hind and those of China, so that the passage for horses and soldiers and the march of the army might be rendered easy. To effect this object a large force, under distinguished *amirs* and generals, was sent to the mountain of Karâ-jal, with orders to subdue the whole mountain. In obedience to orders, it marched into the mountains and encamped in various places, but the Hindus closed the passes and cut off its retreat. The whole force was thus destroyed at one stroke, and out of all this chosen body of men only ten horsemen returned to Dehlí to spread the news of its discomfiture. * * *

Revolts.— * * The first revolt was that of Bahrám Abiya at Multán. This broke out while the Sultán was at Deogír. As soon as he heard of it he hastened back to his capital, and collecting an army he marched against Multán. When the opposing forces met, Bahrám Abiya was defeated. His head was cut off and was brought to the Sultán, and his army was cut to pieces and dispersed. * * * The Sultán returned victorious to Dehlí, where he stayed for two years. He did not proceed to Deogír, whither the citizens and their families had removed. Whilst he remained at Dehlí the nobles and soldiers continued with him, but their wives and children were at Deogír. At this time the country of the Doáb was brought to ruin by the heavy taxation and the numerous cesses. The Hindus burnt their corn stacks and turned their cattle out to roam at large. Under the orders of the Sultán, the collectors and magistrates laid waste the country, and they killed some landholders and village chiefs and blinded others. Such of these unhappy inhabitants as escaped formed themselves into bands and took refuge in the jungles. So the country was ruined. The Sultán then proceeded on a hunting excursion to Baran, where, under his directions, the whole of that country was plundered and laid waste, and the heads of the Hindus were brought in and hung upon the ramparts of the fort of Baran.

About this time the rebellion of Fakhrá broke out in Bengal, after the death of Bahrám Khán (Governor of Sunár-gánw).

Fakhrá and his Bengalí forces killed Kadar Khán (Governor of Lakhnautí), and cut his wives and family and dependents to pieces. He then plundered the treasures of Lakhnautí, and secured possession of that place, and of Sat-gánw and Sunárgánw. These places were thus lost to the imperial throne, and, falling into the hands of Fakhrá and other rebels, were not recovered. At the same period the Sultán led forth his army to ravage Hindustán. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalamú, and every person that fell into his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultán had the jungles surrounded, and every individual that was captured was killed.

While he was engaged in the neighbourhood of Kanauj a third revolt broke out. Saiyid Hasan, father of Ibráhím, the purse-bearer, broke out into rebellion in Ma'bar, killed the nobles, and seized upon the government. The army sent from Dehlí to recover Ma'bar, remained there. When the Sultán heard of the revolt he seized Ibráhím and all his relations. He then returned to Dehlí for reinforcements, and started from thence to Deogír, in order to prepare for a campaign against Ma'bar. He had only marched three or four stages from Dehlí when the price of grain rose, and famine began to be felt. Highway robberies also became frequent in the neighbourhood. When the Sultán arrived at Deogír he made heavy demands upon the Musulmán chiefs and collectors of the Mahratta country, and his oppressive exactions drove many persons to kill themselves. Heavy *abwábs* also were imposed on the country, and persons were specially appointed to levy them. After a short time he sent Ahmad Ayyáz (as lieutenant) to Dehlí, and he marched to Tilang. When Ayyáz arrived in Dehlí he found that a disturbance had broken out in Lahor, but he suppressed it. The Sultán arrived at Arangal, where cholera (*wabá*) was prevalent. Several nobles and many other persons died of it. The Sultán also was attacked. He then appointed Malik Kabúl, the *náib-wazír*, to be ruler over Tilang, and himself returned homewards with all

speed. He was ill when he reached Deogír, and remained there some days under treatment. He there gave Shaháb Sultání the title of Nusrat Khán, and made him governor of Bidar and the neighbourhood, with a fief of a *lac* of *tankas*. The Mahratta country was entrusted to Katlagh Khán. The Sultán, still ill, then set off for Dehlí, and on his way he gave general permission for the return home of those people whom he had removed from Dehlí to Deogír. Two or three caravans were formed which returned to Dehlí, but those with whom the Mahratta country agreed remained at Deogír with their wives and children.

The Sultán proceeded to Dhár, and being still indisposed, he rested a few days, and then pursued his journey through Málwa. Famine prevailed there, the posts were all gone off the road, and distress and anarchy reigned in all the country and towns along the route. When the Sultán reached Dehlí, not a thousandth part of the population remained. He found the country desolate, a deadly famine raging, and all cultivation abandoned. He employed himself some time in restoring cultivation and agriculture, but the rains fell short that year, and no success followed. At length no horses or cattle were left; grain rose to 16 or 17 *jítals* a *sír*, and the people starved. The Sultán advanced loans from the treasury to promote cultivation, but men had been brought to a state of helplessness and weakness. Want of rain prevented cultivation, and the people perished. The Sultán soon recovered his health at Dehlí.

Whilst the Sultán was thus engaged in endeavouring to restore cultivation, the news was brought that Sháhú Afghán had rebelled in Multán, and had killed Bihzád, the *náib*. Malik Nawá fled from Multán to Dehli. Sháhú had collected a party of Afgháns, and had taken possession of the city. The Sultán prepared his forces and marched towards Multán, but he had made only a few marches when Makhdúma-i Jahán, his mother, died in Dehlí. * * The Sultán was much grieved. * * He pursued his march, and when he was only a few marches from Multán, Sháhú

submitted, and sent to say that he repented of what he had done. He fled with his Afgháns to Afghánistán, and the Sultán proceeded to Sannám. From thence he went to Agroha, where he rested awhile, and afterwards to Dehlí, where the famine was very severe, and man was devouring man. The Sultán strove to restore cultivation, and had wells dug, but the people could do nothing. No word issued from their mouths, and they continued inactive and negligent. This brought many of them to punishment.

The Sultán again marched to Sannám and Sámána, to put down the rebels, who had formed *mandals* (strongholds ?), withheld the tribute, created disturbances, and plundered on the roads. The Sultán destroyed their *mandals*, dispersed their followers, and carried their chiefs prisoners to Dehlí. Many of them became Musulmáns, and some of them were placed in the service of noblemen, and, with their wives and children, became residents of the city.[1] They were torn from their old lands, the troubles they had caused were stopped, and travellers could proceed without fear of robbery.

While this was going on a revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal. Kanyá Náik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makbúl, the *náib-wazír*, fled to Dehlí, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kanyá Náik, whom the Sultán had sent to Kambala,[2] apostatized from Islám and stirred

[1] The work is not divided into chapters, or other divisions, systematically, in a way useful for reference, so the occasional headings have not been given in the translation. But the heading of the section in which this passage occurs is more explicit than the narrative; it says—"Campaign of Sultán Muhammad in Sannám, Sámána, Kaithal and Kuhram, and devastation of those countries which had all become rebellious. Departure of the Sultán to the hills; subjugation of the *ránas* of the hills; the carrying away of the village chiefs and head men, Bírâhas, Mandâhars, Jats, Bhats, and Manhís to Dehlí. Their conversion to Islám, and their being placed in the charge of the nobles in the capital."

[2] Kampala is the name given in the print, but both MSS. read "Kambala," making it identical with the place mentioned directly afterwards. I have not been able to discover the place. The author probably took the name to be identical with that of Kampila in the Doáb.

up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus. Deogír and Gujarát alone remained secure. Disaffection and disturbances arose on every side, and as they gathered strength the Sultán became more exasperated and more severe with his subjects. But his severities only increased the disgust and distress of the people. He stayed for some time in Dehlí, making loans and encouraging cultivation; but the rain did not fall, and the *raiyats* did not apply themselves to work, so prices rose yet higher, and men and beasts died of starvation. * * * Through the famine no business of the State could go on to the Sultán's satisfaction.

The Sultán perceived that there was no means of providing against the scarcity of grain and fodder in the capital, and no possibility of restoring cultivation without the fall of rain. He saw also that the inhabitants were daily becoming more wretched; so he allowed the people to pass the gates of the city and to remove with their families towards Hindustán, * * * so many proceeded thither. The Sultán also left the city, and, passing by Pattiálí and Kampila,[1] he halted a little beyond the town of Khor, on the banks of the Ganges, where he remained for a while with his army. The men built thatched huts, and took up their abode near the cultivated land. The place was called Sargdwárí (Heaven's gate). Grain was brought thither from Karra and Oudh, and, compared with the price at Dehlí, it was cheap. While the Sultán was staying at this place 'Ainu-l Mulk held the territory of Oudh and Zafarábád. His brothers had fought against and put down the rebels, thus securing these territories, * * and the Malik and his brothers sent to Sargdwárí and to Dehlí money, grain and goods, to the value of from seventy to eighty *lacs* of *tankas*. This greatly increased the Sultán's confidence in 'Ainu-l Mulk, and confirmed his opinion of his ability. The Sultán had just before been apprized that the officials of Katlagh Khán at Deogír had, by their rapacity, reduced the revenues; he therefore proposed to make 'Ainu-l Mulk

[1] Towns in Farrukhábád.

governor of Deogír, and to send him there with his brothers and all their wives and families, and to recall Katlagh Khán with his adherents. When 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers heard of this design, they were filled with apprehension, and attributed it to the treachery of the Sultán. They had held their present territories for many years, and many nobles and officials of Dehlí, through fear of the Sultán's severity, had left the city, alleging the dearness of grain as the reason, and had come to Oudh and Zafarábád, with their wives and families. Some of them became connected with the Malik and his brothers, and some of them received villages. * * The Sultán was repeatedly informed of this, and it made him very angry, but he kept this feeling to himself, until one day, while at Sarg-dwárí, he sent a message to 'Ainu-l Mulk, ordering that all the people of note and ability, and all those who had fled from Dehlí to escape punishment, should be arrested and sent bound to Dehlí. * * * This message, so characteristic of the Sultán's cruelty, enhanced the fears of the Malik and his brothers, and they felt assured that the Sultán's intention was to send them to Deogír and there perfidiously destroy them. They were filled with abhorrence, and began to organize a revolt.

About this time, during the Sultán's stay at Dehlí and his temporary residence at Sarg-dwárí, four revolts were quickly repressed. *First.* That of Nizám Má-ín at Karra. * * * 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers marched against this rebel, and having put down the revolt and made him prisoner, they flayed him and sent his skin to Dehlí. *Second.* That of Shaháb Sultání, or Nusrat Khán, at Bidar. * * * In the course of three years he had misappropriated about a *kror* of *tankas* from the revenue. * * The news of the Sultán's vengeance reached him and he rebelled, but he was besieged in the fort of Bidar, * * * which was captured, and he was sent prisoner to Dehlí. *Third.* That of 'Alísha, nephew of Zafar Khán, which broke out a few months afterwards in the same district. * * * He had been sent from Deogír to Kulbarga to collect the revenues, but finding the country without soldiers and without any great men, he and his

brothers rebelled, treacherously killed Bhairan, chief of Kulbarga, and plundered his treasures. He then proceeded to Bidar and killed the *náib*, after which he held both Bidar and Kulbarga, and pushed his revolt. The Sultán sent Katlagh Khán against him * * * from Deogír, and the rebel met him and was defeated. * * * He then fled to Bidar, where he was besieged and captured. He and his brothers were sent to the Sultán, * * * who ordered them to Ghazní. They returned from thence, and the two brothers received punishment. *Fourth.* The revolt of 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers at Sarg-dwárí. The Malik was an old courtier and associate of the Sultán, so he feared the weakness of his character and the ferocity of his temper. Considering himself on the verge of destruction, he, by permission of the Sultán, brought his brothers and the armies of Oudh and Zafarábád with him when he went to Sarg-dwárí, and they remained a few *kos* distant. One night he suddenly left Sarg-dwárí and joined them. His brothers then passed over the river with three or four hundred horse, and, proceeding towards Sarg-dwárí, they seized the elephants and horses which were grazing there, and carried them off. A serious revolt thus arose at Sarg-dwárí. The Sultán summoned forces from Sámána, Amroha, Baran, and Kol, and a force came in from Ahmadábád. He remained a while at Sarg-dwárí to arrange his forces, and then marched to Kanauj and encamped in its suburbs. 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers knew nothing of war and fighting, and had no courage and experience. They were opposed by Sultán Muhammad, * * * who had been victorious in twenty battles with the Mughals. In their extreme ignorance and folly they crossed the Ganges below Bangarmú, * * * and thinking that the Sultán's severity would cause many to desert him, they drew near to offer battle. * * * In the morning one division of the Sultán's forces charged and defeated them at the first attack. 'Ainu-l Mulk was taken prisoner, and the routed forces were pursued for twelve or thirteen *kos* with great loss. The Malik's two brothers, who were the commanders, were killed in the fight.

Many of the fugitives, in their panic, cast themselves into the river and were drowned. The pursuers obtained great booty. Those who escaped from the river fell into the hands of the Hindus in the *Mawás* and lost their horses and arms. The Sultán did not punish 'Ainu-l Mulk, for he thought that he was not wilfully rebellious, but had acted through mistake. * * * After a while he sent for him, treated him kindly, gave him a robe, promoted him to high employment, and showed him great indulgence. His children and all his family were restored to him.

After the suppression of this revolt, the Sultán resolved on going to Hindustán, and proceeded to Bahráich, where he paid a visit, and devoutly made offerings to the shrine of the martyr Sipáh-sálár Mas'úd,[1] one of the heroes of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín. * * *

When the Sultán returned to Dehlí, it occurred to his mind that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the *Khalífa* of the race of 'Abbás, and that every king who had, or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation, had been or would be overpowered. The Sultán made diligent inquiries from many travellers about the *Khalífas* of the line of 'Abbás, and he learned that the representatives of the line of 'Abbás were the *Khalífas* of Egypt. So he and his ministers and advisers came to an understanding with the *Khalífa* that was in Egypt, and while the Sultán was at Sarg-dwárí he sent despatches to Egypt about many things. When he returned to the city he stopped[2] the prayers of the Sabbath and the *'Íds*. He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the *Khalífa* substituted; and his flatteries of the *Khalífa* were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing. In the year 744 H. (1343 A.D.) Hájí Sa'íd Sarsarí came to Dehlí, from Egypt, bringing to the Sultán honours and a robe from the *Khalífa*.

[1] The tomb of Mas'úd had thus become a place of sanctity at this time. See Vol. II. App., pp. 513, 549.

[2] *Dar tawakkuf dásht*, probably meaning that he substituted the name of the *Khalífa* of Egypt for that of the *Khalífa* of Baghdad.

The Sultán, with all his nobles and *saiyids* and * * *, went forth to meet the Hájí with great ceremony, * * * and he walked before him barefoot for the distance of some long bow-shots. * * * From that date permission was given, that out of respect the *Khalífa's* name should be repeated in the prayers for Sabbaths and holydays, * * * and it was also ordered that in mentioning the names of the kings in the *khutba*, they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the 'Abbásí *Khalífas*. The names of those kings who had not received such confirmation were to be removed from the *khutba*, and the kings were to be declared to be superseded (*mutaghallab*). * * * The name of the *Khalífa* was ordered to be inscribed on lofty buildings, and no other name besides. * * * The Sultán directed that a letter acknowledging his subordination to the *Khalífa* should be sent by the hands of Hájí Rajab Barka'i, * * * and after two years of correspondence the Hájí returned from Egypt, bringing a diploma in the name of the Sultán, as deputy of the *Khalífa*.[1] * *

After the Sultán returned from Sarg-dwárí, he remained for three or four years at Dehlí, where he devoted himself to sundry matters which he considered to be for the good of the State. *Firstly.* He did his best for the promotion of agriculture, and for the encouragement of building. * * * The officers entrusted with the distribution of the loans from the public treasury took care of themselves, and appropriated the money to their own wants and necessities. Much of the pasture land being unfit for cultivation remained uncultivated, and the superintendents were in dread of punishment. In the course of two years about seventy *lacs* of *tankas* had been issued from the treasury to the superintendents of the cultivation of waste lands, and not one hundredth or a thousandth part of what was disbursed was reproduced in agriculture. If the Sultán had returned from his campaign against Thatta, not one of these superintendents and managers

[1] In the translation of Firishta it is made to appear that it was the *Khalífa* of Arabia who was thus recognized: the text, however, says correctly that it was he of Egypt.

would have remained alive. *Secondly.* The Sultán supported and patronized the Mughals. Every year at the approach of winter, the *amirs* of *tumans* (of men) and of thousands etc., etc., received *krors* and *lacs*, and robes, and horses, and pearls. During the whole period of two or three years, the Sultán was intent upon patronizing and favouring the Mughals. *Thirdly.* * * * He was diligently engaged in drawing out plans and schemes for increasing his revenue and army, and for promoting agriculture. *Fourthly.* He applied himself excessively to the business of punishment, and this was the cause of many of the acquired territories slipping from his grasp, and of troubles and disturbances in those which remained in his power. * * * The more severe the punishments that were inflicted in the city, the more disgusted were the people in the neighbourhood, insurrections spread, and the loss and injury to the State increased. Every one that was punished spoke evil of him. * * * *Fifthly.* The exertions which he made in the latter part of these years to promote the settlement and prosperity of Deogír and the country of the Mahrattas. The Sultán and the evil counsellors who found favour in his sight came to the conclusion that vast sums of the revenues of Deogír were lost through the peculations of Katlagh Khán's officials. * * * He divided the Mahratta country into four provinces (*shikk*). * * * The officers who were sent thither received orders to exterminate all those who had revolted or were inimical to the Sultán's rule. * * * Towards the end of the year Katlagh Khán, with his family and suite, were recalled to Dehlí, and 'Azíz Himár, a low fellow, depraved and foolish, was sent to Dhár, and made governor of all Málwa. The recall of Katlagh Khán quite disheartened the people of Deogír, and they saw themselves upon the very brink of ruin. They had enjoyed tranquility under the just and benevolent rule of that nobleman, and they had looked to him as their defence against the cruel punishments of the Sultán. The accounts which they heard of his severity had disgusted all the people of Deogír, both Hindus and Musulmáns, and many of them broke out into rebellion. * * * Maulánd

Nizámu-d dín, a simple inexperienced man, and brother of Katlagh Khán, was sent from Bahrúj (Broach) to succeed him. * * * The cash raised from the revenues under Katlagh Khán had been accumulated at Deogír, for it was not possible to convey it to Dehlí in consequence of the badness of the roads, the distress in Málwa, and the disaffection of the village chiefs. Orders were therefore given to secure it in Dháragír, a strong fort. * * *

The Sultán having thus appointed the base-born 'Azíz Himár to Dhár and Málwa, gave him several *lacs* of *tankas* on his departure, in order that he might proceed thither with befitting state and dignity. * * * He said to him, "Thou seest how that revolts and disturbances are breaking out on every side, and I am told that whoever creates a disturbance does so with the aid of the foreign *amírs*.[1] * * * Revolts are possible, because these *amírs* are ready to join any one for the sake of disturbance and plunder. If you find at Dhár any of these *amírs*, who are disaffected and ready to rebel, you must get rid of them in the best way you can." 'Azíz arrived at Dhár, and in all his native ignorance applied himself to business. The vile whoreson one day got together about eighty of the foreign *amírs* and chiefs of the soldiery, and, upbraiding them with having been the cause of every misfortune and disturbance, he had them all beheaded in front of the palace. * * * This slaughter of the foreign *amírs* of Dhár, on the mere ground of their being foreigners, caused those of Deogír, and Gujarát, and every other place to unite and to break out into insurrection. * * * When the Sultán was informed of this punishment, he sent 'Azíz a robe of honour and a complimentary letter. * * *

I, the author of this work, have been for seventeen years and three months at the court of Sultán Muhammad, and have re-

[1] The printed text, the MSS., and the text of Firishta all agree in this word امیر صدہ, in the plural امیر صدگان. It is the Mughal title for a centurion or commander of a hundred. Briggs converts it into "*Amír Judeeda*," and translates it "foreign chiefs." He is probably not far wrong in the popular meaning he has assigned to it, but he is not justified in his alteration of the original word.

ceived many favours and gifts from him, * * * and I have often heard him speak with contempt of low-born, mean men. * * * Now when I see him promoting and honouring low and unworthy persons, I am lost in amazement. * * *

About the time when this horrid tragedy was perpetrated by 'Azíz Himár, the *náib-wazír* of Gujarát, Mukbil by name, having with him the treasure and horses which had been procured in Gujarát for the royal stables, was proceeding by way of Díhúí and Baroda to the presence of the Sultán. When he came near Díhúí and Baroda, the foreign *amírs* of those places, who, alarmed by the act of 'Azíz, had been impelled into rebellion, attacked Mukbil, and carried off all the horses and treasure. They also destroyed all the goods and stuffs which the merchants of Gujarát were carrying under his convoy. Mukbil returned to Nahrwála, and his party was dispersed. The *amírs* having acquired so many horses and so much property grew in power and importance. Stirring up the flames of insurrection, they gathered together a force and proceeded to Kanháyat (Cambay). The news of their revolt spread throughout Gujarát, and the whole country was falling into utter confusion. At the end of the month of Ramazán, 745 H. (Feb. 1345), the intelligence of this revolt and of the defeat and plunder of Mukbil was brought to the Sultán. It caused him much anxiety, and he determined to proceed to Gujarát in person to repress the revolt.

Katlagh Khán, who had been his preceptor, sent a communication to the Sultán by Zíá Barní, the author of this history, saying, "What are these *amírs* of Díhúí and Baroda, and in what position are they that the Sultán should proceed in person against them?" * * "If permission is granted I am willing to raise an army from the resources which I have received through the Sultán's bounty, and to march to Gujarát, to repress this revolt." * * * The author of this work delivered the letter, * * * but it did not meet with the Sultán's approval, and he vouchsafed no answer. He gave orders, however, for pressing on the preparations for his campaign. Before the news of the revolt arrived,

he had appointed Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dín, son of Shaikh 'Aláu-d dín Ajodhaní, to be *náib* of Gujarát. He now ordered three *lacs* of *tankas* to be given to the Shaikh for enabling him to raise in two or three days a thousand horse to accompany the royal army. He appointed Fíroz, afterwards Sultán, Malik Kabír, and Ahmad Ayyáz to be vicegerents in the capital during his absence. He commenced his march and proceeded to Sultánpúr, about fifteen *kos* from Dehlí, where he remained a short time. This was just at the end of Ramazán. Here a letter reached him from Dhár from 'Azíz Himár, stating that * * * as he was nearer to the rebels, and was ready with the forces of Dhár, he had marched against them. The Sultán was not very pleased with this movement, and became very anxious, for 'Azíz knew nothing of warfare, and the Sultán feared that he might be cut up by the rebels. This letter was followed immediately by the news that 'Azíz had engaged the enemy, and, having lost his head during the battle, he had fallen from his horse, and being senseless and helpless he had been taken by the rebels and put to an ignominious death.

Insurrection followed upon insurrection. During the four or five days of Ramazán that the Sultán halted at Sultánpúr, late one evening he sent for the author of this work, Zíá Barní. When he arrived the Sultán said, "Thou seest how many revolts spring up. I have no pleasure in them, although men will say that they have all been caused by my excessive severity. But I am not to be turned aside from punishment by observations and by revolts. You have read many histories; hast thou found that kings inflict punishments under certain circumstances?" I replied, "I have read in royal histories that a king cannot carry on his government without punishments, for if he were not an avenger God knows what evils would arise from the insurrections of the disaffected, and how many thousand crimes would be committed by his subjects. Jamshíd was asked under what circumstances punishment[1] is ap-

[1] "*Siyásat.*" Capital punishment is evidently meant, in a limited sense of the word.

proved. He replied, 'under seven circumstances, and whatever goes beyond or in excess of these causes, produces disturbances, trouble, and insurrection, and inflicts injury on the country: 1. Apostasy from the true religion, and persistence therein; 2. Wilful murder; 3. Adultery of a married man with another's wife; 4. Conspiracy against the king; 5. Heading a revolt, or assisting rebels; 6. Joining the enemies or rivals of the king, conveying news to them, or aiding and abetting them in any way; 7. Disobedience, productive of injury to the State. But for no other disobedience, as detriment to the realm is an essential. The servants of God are disobedient to him when they are disobedient to the king, who is his vicegerent; and the State would go to ruin, if the king were to refrain from inflicting punishment in such cases of disobedience as are injurious to the realm.'" The Sultán then asked me if the Prophet had said anything about these seven offences in respect of their punishment by kings. I replied "that the Prophet had declared his opinion upon three offences out of these seven—viz., apostasy, murder of a Musulmán, and adultery with a married woman. The punishment of the other four offences is a matter rather of policy and good government. Referring to the benefits derivable from the punishments prescribed by Jamshíd, it has been remarked that kings appoint *wazírs*, advance them to high dignity, and place the management of their kingdoms in their hands in order that these *wazírs* may frame regulations and keep the country in such good order that the king may be saved from having to stain himself with the blood of any mortal." The Sultán replied, "Those punishments which Jamshíd prescribed were suited to the early ages of the world, but in these days many wicked and turbulent men are to be found. I visit them with chastisement upon the suspicion or presumption of their rebellious and treacherous designs, and I punish the most trifling act of contumacy with death. This I will do until I die, or until the people act honestly, and give up rebellion and contumacy. I have no such *wazír* as will make rules to obviate my shedding

blood. I punish the people because they have all at once become my enemies and opponents. I have dispensed great wealth among them, but they have not become friendly and loyal. Their temper is well known to me, and I see that they are disaffected and inimical to me."

The Sultán marched from Sultánpúr towards Gujarát, and when he arrived at Nahrwála he sent Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dín, with some officials, into the city, whilst he, leaving it on the left, proceeded into the mountains of Abhú,[1] to which Díhúí and Baroda were near. The Sultán then sent an officer with a force against the rebels, and these being unable to cope with the royal army, were defeated. Many of their horsemen were killed, the rest were dispersed, and with their wives and children fled to Deogír. The Sultán then proceeded from the mountains of Abhú to Broach, from whence he sent Malik Makbúl,[2] *náib-wazír-i mamálik*, with some of the soldiers from Dehlí, some of the foreign *amírs* of Broach, and the soldiers of Broach, in pursuit of the fugitives. Malik Makbúl accordingly followed the fugitives as far as the Nerbudda, where he attacked and utterly routed them. Most of them were killed, and their wives, children, and goods fell into the hands of the victors. Some of the most noted of the rebels fled upon bare-backed horses to Mán Deo, chief of the mountains of Sálír and Málír. Mán Deo made them prisoners, and plundered them of all the valuables they possessed. Their evil influence in Gujarát was thus put an end to. Malik Makbúl remained for some days on the banks of the Nerbudda, and under royal commands he seized most of the foreign *amírs* of Broach who had been sent to him, and put them to death. Of those who escaped the sword, some fled to Deogír, others to the chiefs (*mukaddims*) of Gujarát.

The Sultán remained for some time at Broach, busily engaged in collecting the dues of Broach, Kanháyat (Cambay), and

[1] Mount Abú. Print ابهو بر. MS. 1. caret; 2. اسود نکر. Firishta, Aboogur.

[2] He is called Kabúl in page 243 and Mukbil in page 253.

Gujarát, which were several years in arrear. He appointed sharp collectors, and rigorously exacted large sums. At this period his anger was still more inflamed against the people, and revenge filled his bosom. Those persons at Broach and Cambay, who had disputed with Malik Makbúl, or had in any way encouraged insurrection, were seized and consigned to punishment. Many persons of all descriptions thus met their ends.

While the Sultán was at Broach he appointed Zín-banda and the middle son of Rukn Thánesarí, two men who were leaders in iniquity and the most depraved men in the world, to inquire into the matters of the disaffected at Deogír. Pisar Thánesarí, the vilest of men, went to Deogír; and Zín-banda, a wicked iniquitous character, who was called Majdu-l Mulk, was on the road thither. A murmuring arose among the Musulmáns at Deogír that two vile odious men had been deputed to investigate the disaffection, and to bring its movers to destruction. One of them was before their eyes, and they heard that the other had arrived at Dhár. It so happened that just about the same time the Sultán sent two well-known noblemen to Deogír with an order to the brother of Katlagh Khán, directing him to send to Broach fifteen hundred horsemen from Deogír with the most noted of the "foreign *amírs*." They accordingly proceeded to Deogír, and presented the order to Nizámu-d dín, brother of Katlagh Khán. In accordance therewith, he commissioned fifteen hundred horse, and despatched with them the chief foreign *amírs* under the conduct of the two nobles who had been sent for them. They marched toward Broach, but at the end of the first stage the foreign *amírs*, who were attended by their own horsemen, considered that they had been summoned to Broach in order to be executed, and if they proceeded thither not one would return. So they consulted together and broke out into open resistance, and the two nobles who had been sent for them were killed in that first march. They then turned back with loud clamour and entered the royal palace, where they seized Maulánú Nizámu-d dín, the governor, and put him in confinement. The officials, who had

been sent by the Sultán to Deogír, were taken and beheaded. They cut Pisar Thánesarí to pieces, and brought down the treasure from (the fort of) Dhárágír. Then they made Makh Afghán, brother of Malik Yak Afghán, one of the foreign *amírs*, their leader, and placed him on the throne. The money and treasure were distributed among the soldiers. The Mahratta country was apportioned among these foreign *amírs*, and several disaffected persons joined the Afgháns. The foreign *amírs* of Díhúí and Baroda left Mán Deo and proceeded to Deogír, where the revolt had increased and had become established. The people of the country joined them.

The Sultán, on hearing of this revolt, made ready a large force and arrived at Deogír, where the rebels and traitors confronted him. He attacked them and defeated them. Most of the horsemen were slain in the action. Makh Afghán, their commander, who had received a royal canopy, and had called himself Sultán, escaped, with his confederates and his wives and children, to the fort of Dhárágír, and there took refuge. Hasan Kángú, and the rebels of Bidar, and the brethren of Makh Afghán, fled before the royal forces to their own countries. The inhabitants of Deogír, Hindus and Musulmáns, traders and soldiers, were plundered. 'Imádu-l Mulk, *Sar-tez i Sultání*, with several other *amírs*, was sent by the Sultán to Kulbarga, with instructions to occupy that place and to secure the neighbouring country. He was also directed to hunt up the fugitives who had fled before the royal forces, and to put a stop to their machinations. The Sultán stayed for a while at Deogír, in the royal palace, and on New Year's Day all the Musulmáns in the place went to wait upon him. * * *

While the Sultán was engaged at Deogír in settling the affairs of that place and in providing for the settlement of the Mahratta country, and before he had finished the business of the *amírs* and the army, news arrived of the revolt, excited by the traitor Taghí, in Gujarát. This man was a cobbler, and had been a slave of the general, Malik Sultání. He had

won over the foreign *amirs* of Gujarát, and had broken out into rebellion. Many of the *mukaddims* of Gujarát joined him. He marched to Nahrwála, killed Malik Muzaffar, the assistant of Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dín (the governor), and made the latter and his officers prisoners. Taghí then proceeded, at the head of his rebels, to Cambay, and, after plundering that place, he proceeded with a body of Hindus and Musulmáns to the fort of Broach. They attacked the fort, and every day had conflicts with the defenders. The Sultán, upon receiving intelligence of this rising, left the affairs of Deogír half settled, and placing certain officers in charge, departed with all speed towards Broach to meet the rebels. All the Musulmáns of that place who had remained in Deogír, high and low, marched with the royal army to Broach. Grain was very dear, and the army suffered great privations. I, Zíá Barní, the author of this history, just at this time joined the Sultán, after he had made one or two marches from Ghatí-sákún towards Broach. I had been sent from the capital by the present Sultán (Fíroz), Malik Kabír, and Ahmad Ayyáz, with letters of congratulation on the conquest of Deogír. The Sultán received me with great favour. One day, as I was riding in his suite, the Sultán conversed with me, and the conversation turned upon rebellion. He then said, "Thou seest what troubles these traitorous foreign *amirs* have excited on every side. When I collect my forces and put them down in one direction, they excite disturbances in some other quarter. If I had at the first given orders for the destruction of all the foreign *amirs* of Deogír, Gujarát, and Broach, I should not have been so troubled by them. This rebel, Taghí, is my slave; if I had executed him or had sent him as a memorial to the King of Eden, this revolt would never have broken out." I could not help feeling a desire to tell the Sultán that the troubles and revolts which were breaking out on every side, and this general disaffection, all arose from the excessive severity of his Majesty, and that if punishments were suspended for a while, a better feeling might spring up, and mistrust be removed from

the hearts of the people. But I dreaded the temper of the king, and could not say what I desired, so I said to myself, What is the good of pointing out to the Sultán the causes of the troubles and disturbances in his country, for it will have no effect upon him?

The Sultán arrived at Broach, and encamped on the banks of the Nerbadda, which flows by the town. When the rebel Taghí was apprized of the approach of the Sultán, he abandoned the town, with a party of his adherents not numbering more than three hundred horse. The Sultán then placed Malik Yúsuf Baghrá in command of two thousand horse, and sent him with some other *amírs* to Cambay. In four or five days he drew near to that place and encountered Taghí, when he and several other *amírs* were slain, and the army being routed, fled to Broach. Instantly upon hearing this, the Sultán crossed the river, and remained two or three days in Broach. Although he made every exertion to get to Cambay, Taghí heard of his advance and fled from that place to Asáwal.[1] Thither the Sultán pursued him, but the rebel again fled and went to Nahrwála. Before the Sultán left Broach, Taghí had executed Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dín and several other officials whom he had made prisoners. * * *

The Sultán arrived at Asáwal and had to stay there about a month, on account of the ill-condition of his horses and the fall of rain. While the rains were still prevailing, news came from Nahrwála that Taghí had marched from thence with a party of horse towards Asáwal and had arrived at the town of Karra. The Sultán marched from Asáwal in the very height of the rains, and on the third or fourth day reached Karra. Next day he drew out his forces and attacked the rebel. Taghí, on seeing the approach of the royal force, plied his men with wine and made them drunk. The foreign horsemen (*sawárí sadí*) then made an impetuous and reckless charge with their drawn swords on the royal forces, but they were encountered by the elephants and overthrown. They then ran among the trees, dispersed and fled towards Nahrwála. Several were made prisoners, and all the

[1] Ahmadábád.

baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Four or five hundred men, combatants and non-combatants,[1] were taken with the baggage, and were all put to the sword. The Sultán then placed the son of Malik Yúsuf Baghrá at the head of a force, and sent him in pursuit of the fugitives, but night came on, so he and his troops halted to rest. Taghí, with his remaining horsemen, reached Nahrwála; there he collected all his family and dependents, and proceeded to Kant-baráhí,[2] where he stayed some days. From thence he wrote to the Rái of Karnál, imploring assistance in his flight, and proceeded to Karnál. Then he went to Thatta and Damríla, where he found refuge.

Two or three days after, the Sultán arrived at Nahrwála, and alighted at the garden of the reservoir of Sahsílang. There he applied himself to settling the affairs of Gujarát. The *mukaddims*, the *ránas*, and the *mahants* of Gujarát, came in and paid their homage, and received robes and rewards. In a short time the inhabitants who had been scattered abroad returned to their homes and were delivered from the ravages of the rebels. Several of Taghí's chief supporters left him and went to the Rána of Mandal and Terí,[3] but that chief slew them and sent their heads to the Sultán. He also seized upon all their wives and children. For this service he received robes and rewards, and being so favoured he came to the Court.

While the Sultan was engaged in settling the affairs of the country, and was about to enter Nahrwála, news came from Deogír that Hasan Kángú and other rebels, who had fled before the royal army in the day of battle, had since attacked 'Imádu-l Mulk, and had slain him and scattered his army. Kiwámu-d dín and other nobles left Deogír and went towards Dhár. Hasan Kángú then proceeded to Deogír and assumed royal dignity. Those rebels who had fled before the Sultán's army to the summit of Dhárágír, now came down, and a revolution was

[1] *As tar o khusk.*

[2] So the print. One MS. has "Katab and Barái," the other "Kanhan and Baráhí."

[3] So the print. One MS. says "Mandal Tabrí," the other "Mandal Parí."

effected in Deogír. When intelligence of this reached the Sultán's ears, he was very disheartened, for he saw very well that the people were alienated. No place remained secure, all order and regularity were lost, and the throne was tottering to its fall.

During the months of the Sultán's stay at Nahrwála no one was sent to execution (*siyásat*). He summoned Ahmad Ayyáz and other nobles, with an army, from the capital, with the intention of sending them to Deogír, and they, having made every preparation, came to the Sultán. But news now arrived that Hasan Kángú had drawn together a large force at Deogír. The Sultán therefore did not deem it advisable to send them there, and gave up the idea of attacking it. He determined that he would free Gujarát, take Karnál, and put down the traitor Taghí; after which he would march to Deogír, overthrow the rebels, and remove every cause of trouble and anxiety. In pursuance of this plan he first directed his attention to the taking of Karnál and the fort of Khankár.[1] The *mukaddims* of Deogír, who had come from that place to wait upon the Sultán, now saw that the business of their country was postponed; so they went off by ones and twos, and, meeting at a rendezvous, they returned to Deogír.

The success of the rebels, and the loss of Deogír, greatly troubled the king. One day, while he was thus distressed, he sent for me, the author of this work, and, addressing me, said: "My kingdom is diseased, and no treatment cures it. The physician cures the headache, and fever follows; he strives to allay the fever, and something else[2] supervenes. So in my kingdom disorders have broken out; if I suppress them in one place they appear in another; if I allay them in one district another becomes disturbed. What have former kings said about these disorders?" I replied, "Histories record many remedies which kings have employed in these disorders. Some kings, when they have perceived that they do not retain the confidence of

[1] This is a personal name, see *infrà*. The spelling is that of one of the MSS. The print has "Kanhgár" and "Khankár."

[2] "*Sadah*" in the print and in one MS., "*chize digar*" in the other.

their people, and have become the objects of general dislike, have abdicated their thrones and have given over the government to the most worthy of their sons. Retiring into privacy, and occupying themselves in innocent pursuits, they have passed their time in the society of sympathizing friends, without troubling themselves about matters of government. Other kings, when they have found themselves the objects of general aversion, have taken to hunting, pleasure, and wine, leaving all the business of the State to their *wazirs* and officers, and throwing off all concern in them. If this course seems good[1] to the people, and the king is not given to revenge, the disorders of the State may be cured. Of all political ills, the greatest and most dire is a general feeling of aversion and a want of confidence among all ranks of the people." The Sultán replied, "If I can settle the affairs of my kingdom according to my wish, I will consign my realm of Dehlí to three persons, Fíroz Sháh, Malik Kabír, and Ahmad Ayyáz, and I will then proceed on the pilgrimage to the holy temple. At present I am angry with my subjects, and they are aggrieved with me. The people are acquainted with my feelings, and I am aware of their misery and wretchedness. No treatment that I employ is of any benefit. My remedy for rebels, insurgents, opponents, and disaffected people is the sword. I employ punishment and use the sword, so that a cure may be effected by suffering. The more the people resist, the more I inflict chastisement."

When the Sultán gave up Deogír and applied himself to the settlement of Gujarát, he passed three rainy seasons in that country. The first he passed at Mandal and Terí,[2] devoting his time to the affairs of the country and the equipment of his army. The second he passed near the fort of Karnál. When the *mukaddim* of that place saw the numbers and strength of the royal army, he resolved to make Taghí prisoner and deliver him up; but the rebel got notice of his intention, and fled to Thatta, where he found refuge with the Jám. After the rains were over, the

[1] The text has a negative here, which seems to mar the sense.

[2] "*Mandal bá Terí.*" "*Mandal parí*" in one MS.

Sultán took Karnál, and brought all the coast into subjection. The *ránas* and *mukaddims* came in and made submission, whereupon they received robes and rewards. A commissioner was sent to take charge of Karnál. Khankhár and the Rána of Karnál, being taken prisoners, were brought to the court, and all that country was completely subdued. The third rainy season the Sultán passed at Kondal. This is a place in the direction of Thatta, Súmargán,[1] and Damríla. At Kondal the Sultán fell sick with fever, which obliged him to remain there for some time. Before the Sultán went to Kondal he received from Dehlí the intelligence of the death of Malik Kabír, which deeply grieved him. Thereupon he sent Ahmad Ayyáz and Malik Makbúl from the army to take charge of the affairs of the capital. He summoned Khudáwand-záda,[2] Makhdúm-záda, and many elders, learned men and others, with their wives and families, to Kondal. Every one that was summoned hastened with horse and foot to join the Sultán at Kondal, so that a large force was gathered there and was formed into an army. Boats were brought from Deobálpur, Multán, Uch, and Siwistán to the river. The Sultán recovered from his disorder, and marched with his army to the Indus. He crossed that river in ease and safety with his army and elephants. He was there joined by Altún Bahádur, with four or five thousand Mughal horse, sent by the Amír of Farghan. The Sultán showed great attention to this leader and his followers, and bestowed many gifts upon them. He then advanced along the banks of the Indus towards Thatta, with an army as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts, with the intention of humbling the Súmras and the rebel Taghí, whom they had sheltered.

As he was thus marching with his countless army, and was thirty *kos* from Thatta, the *'áshúra* or fast of the 10th of Muharram happened. He kept the fast, and when it was over he ate some fish. The fish did not agree with him, his illness returned and fever increased. He was placed in a boat and con-

[1] Var: "Siyumgán" and "Siyumragan."

[2] See page 276 *infrà*.

tinued his journey on the second and third days, until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thatta. He then rested, and his army was fully prepared, only awaiting the royal command to take Thatta, and to crush the Súmras of Thatta and the rebel Taghí in a single day, and to utterly annihilate them. But fate ruled it otherwise. During the last two or three days that he was encamped near Thatta, the Sultán's malady had grown worse, and his army was in great trouble, for they were a thousand *kos* distant from Dehlí and their wives and children, they were near the enemy and in a wilderness and desert, so they were sorely distressed, and looking upon the Sultán's expected death as preliminary to their own, they quite despaired of returning home. On the 21st Muharram, 752 H. (1350 A.D.), Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlik departed this life on the banks of the Indus, at fourteen *kos* from Thatta. * * *

Sultán Firoz Sháh.

I, the author of this *Tárikh-i Firoz Sháhí*, have written all that I have witnessed during six years of the personal character of the reigning sovereign, and of the events which have occurred during that time. I have included these in eleven chapters, and if I live some years longer I intend to write ninety more chapters, so that the complete history of the reign may consist of one hundred and one chapters (*mukaddamas*). * * *

Chapter 1. *Account of the Accession of Firoz Sháh.*
2. *March of the Sultán from Siwistán to Dehlí.*
3. *Eulogy of the personal character of the Sultán.*
4. *His bounty in the grant of pensions and in'áms.*
5. *His buildings.*
6. *Formation of Canals.*
7. *Rules of Government.*
8. *Conquest of Lakhnauti.*
9. *Arrival of letters and robes from the Khalífa.*
10. *Hunting matters.*
11. *Defeat of the attacks of the Mughals.*

1.—*Accession of Firoz Sháh.*

* * * On the third day after the death of Muhammad Tughlik, the army marched from (its position) fourteen *kos* from Thatta towards Siwistán, on its return homewards. Every division of the army marched without leader, rule, or route, in the greatest disorder. No one heeded or listened to what any one said, but continued the march like careless caravans. So when they had proceeded a *kos* or two, the Mughals, eager for booty, assailed them in front, and the rebels of Thatta attacked them in the rear. Cries of dismay arose upon every side. The Mughals fell to plundering, and carried off women, maids, horses, camels, troopers, baggage, and whatever else had been sent on in advance. They had very nearly captured the royal harem and the treasure with the camels which carried it. The villagers (who had been pressed into the service) of the army, and expected the attack, took to flight. They pillaged various lots of baggage on the right and left of the army, and then joined the rebels of Thatta in attacking the baggage train. The people of the army, horse and foot, women and men, stood their ground; for when they marched, if any advanced in front, they were assailed by the Mughals; if they lagged behind, they were plundered by the rebels of Thatta. Those who resisted and put their trust in God reached the next stage, but those who had gone forward with the women, maids, and baggage, were cut to pieces. The army continued its march along the river without any order or regularity, and every man was in despair for his life and goods, his wife and children. Anxiety and distress would allow no one to sleep that night, and, in their dismay, men remained with their eyes fixed upon heaven. On the second day, by stratagem and foresight, they reached their halting ground, assailed, as on the first day, by the Mughals in front and the men of Thatta in the rear. They rested on the banks of the river in the greatest possible distress, and in fear for their lives and goods. The women and children had perished. Makhdúm Záda 'Abbásí, the Shaikhu-s Shaiyúkh of Egypt, Shaikh Nasíru-d

dín Mahmúd Oudhí, and the chief men, assembled and went to Fíroz Sháh, and with one voice said, "Thou art the heir apparent and legatee of the late Sultán; he had no son, and thou art his brother's son; there is no one in the city or in the army enjoying the confidence of the people, or possessing the ability to reign. For God's sake save these wretched people, ascend the throne, and deliver us and many thousand other miserable men. Redeem the women and children of the soldiers from the hands of the Mughals, and purchase the prayers of two *lacs* of people." Fíroz Sháh made objections, which the leaders would not listen to. All ranks, young and old, Musulmáns and Hindus, horse and foot, women and children, assembled, and with one acclaim declared that Fíroz Sháh alone was worthy of the crown. "It he does not assume it to-day and let the Mughals hear of his doing so, not one of us will escape from the hands of the Mughals and the Thatta men." So on the 24th Muharram, 752 H. (1351 A.D.), the Sultán ascended the throne.

On the day of his accession the Sultán got some horse in order and sent them out to protect the army, for whenever the Mughal horse came down they killed and wounded many, and carried off prisoners. On the same day he named some *amírs* to guard the rear of the army, and these attacked the men of Thatta when they fell upon the baggage. Several of the assailants were put to the sword, and they, terrified with this lesson, gave up the pursuit and returned home. On the third day he ordered certain *amírs* to attack the Mughals, and they accordingly made several of the Mughal commanders of thousands and of hundreds prisoners, and brought them before the Sultán. The Mughals from that very day ceased their annoyance; they moved thirty or forty *kos* away, and then departed for their own country.

11.—*Stoppage of the evils inflicted by the Mughals of Changíz Khán.*

All men of intelligence in Hind and Sind have seen and remarked the stop which has been put to the inroads of the Mughals

of Changíz Khán in this auspicious reign. They have not been able to attack and ravage the frontier territories, nor have they been permitted to come in with professions of friendship and employ their arts to carry off the wealth of the country. They had the presumption to make two attacks. Once they crossed the Sodra and came into the neighbouring country. There they were met by the forces of Islám and were defeated. Many were killed and many were taken prisoners. These latter were placed upon camels, and were paraded in derision 'round Dehlí, with wooden collars on their necks. Those who escaped from the battle fled in the greatest precipitation and confusion, and many were drowned in the passage of the Sodra. On the other occasion they made a rapid dash into Gujarát. Some perished from thirst, some died by the hands of the soldiers, and some fell in a night attack which the natives of the country made upon them. Not one-tenth of these accursed followers of Changíz Khán reached their own country.

XVI.

TÁRÍKH-I FÍROZ SHÁHÍ

OF

SHAMS-I SIRÁJ 'AFÍF.

[This History of Fíroz Sháh is devoted exclusively to the reign of that monarch, and therefore has a better right to the title than Barní's history, which embraces only a small portion of the reign of Fíroz, and bears the title simply because it was written or finished during his reign. Little is known of Shams-i Siráj beyond what is gleaned from his own work. He was descended from a family which dwelt at Abúhar, the country of Fíroz Sháh's Bhatti mother. His great grandfather, he says, was collector of the revenue of Abúhar, and was intimate with Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik before he became Sultán. He himself was attached to the court of Fíroz, and accompanied him on his hunting expeditions.]

The work has met with scarcely any notice, whilst every historian who writes of the period quotes and refers to Zíáu-d dín Barní. The reason of this may be that Shams-i Siráj enters more than usual into administrative details, and devotes some chapters to the condition of the common people—a matter of the utmost indifference to Muhammadan authors in general. His untiring strain of eulogy could not have condemned him in their eyes, as they were accustomed to little else in all the other histories they consulted; so that we must either attribute the neglect of this work to the cause assigned, or to the fact of its having at a comparatively late period been rescued from some musty record room. The work, consisting of ninety chapters, contains an ample account of this Akbar of his time; and, making due allowance for the prevalent spirit of eulogium and exaggeration, it not only raises in us a respect for the virtues

and munificence of Fíroz, and for the benevolence of his character, as shown by his canals and structures for public accommodation, but gives us altogether a better view of the internal condition of India under a Muhammadan sovereign than is presented to us in any other work, except the *Á'yín-i Akbarí*.

[In style, this history has no pretensions to elegance, being, in general, very plain. The author is much given to reiterations and recapitulations, and he has certain pet phrases which he constantly uses. Sir H. Elliot desired to print a translation of the whole work, and he evidently held it in high estimation. A portion of the work had been translated for him by a *munshí*, but this has proved to be entirely useless. The work of translation has, consequently, fallen upon the editor, and he has endeavoured to carry out Sir H. Elliot's plan by making a close translation of the first three chapters, and by extracting from the rest of the work everything that seemed worthy of selection. The translation is close, without being servile; here and there exuberances of eloquence have been pruned out, and repetitions and tautologies have been passed over without notice, but other omissions have been marked by asterisks, or by brief descriptions in brackets of the passages omitted. Shams-i Siráj, with a better idea of method than has fallen to the lot of many of his brother historians, has divided his work into books and chapters with appropriate headings.

[Besides this history of Fíroz Sháh, the author often refers to his *Manákib-i Sultán Tughlik*, and he mentions his intention of writing similar memoirs of the reign of Sultán Muhammad, the son of Fíroz Sháh. Nothing more appears to be known of these works. Copies of the *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí* are rare in India, and Colonel Lees, who has selected the work for publication in the Bibliotheca Indica, has heard only of "one copy in General Hamilton's library, and of another at Dehlí, in the possession of Nawáb Zíáu-d dín Lohárú, of which General Hamilton's is perhaps a transcript."[1] The editor has had the use of four

[1] Jour. R. A. S., New Series, iii., 446.

copies. One belonging to Sir H. Elliot, and another belonging to Mr. Thomas, are of quite recent production. They are evidently taken from the same original, most probably the Dehlí copy above mentioned. The other two copies belong to the library of the India Office, one having been lately purchased at the sale of the Marquis of Hastings's books. These are older productions; they are well and carefully written, and although they contain many obvious errors, they will be of the greatest service in the preparation of a correct text. None of these MSS. are perfect. The two modern copies terminate in the middle of the ninth chapter of the last book. The Hastings copy wants several chapters at the end of the first and the beginning of the second book; but it extends to the eleventh chapter of the last book, and has the final leaf of the work. The other MS. ends in the middle of the fifteenth chapter of the last book, and some leaves are missing from the fourteenth. Fortunately these missing chapters seem, from the headings given in the preface, to be of no importance.

[A considerable portion of the work was translated in abstract by Lieut. Henry Lewis, Bengal Artillery, and published in the Journal of the Archæological Society of Dehlí in 1849.]

First Mukaddama.—Birth of Fíroz Sháh.

Fíroz Sháh was born in the year 709 H. (1309 A.D.). It is recorded that his father was named Sipah-sálár Rajab, and was brother of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Ghází. The writer of this work has given a full account of their parentage in his Memoirs of Sultán Tughlik (*Manákib-i Sultán Tughlik*). The three brothers, Tughlik, Rajab, and Abú Bakr, came from Khurásán to Dehlí in the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, and that monarch, under Divine guidance, treated them with great kindness and favour. All three were taken into the service of the Court, and the Sultán, observing their courage and energy, conferred upon Tughlik the country of Dípálpúr, and employed all the brothers in public business. Tughlik was desirous that his brother Sipah-

sálár Rajab should obtain in marriage the daughter of one of the *Ráis* of Dípálpúr; and while he was seeking a suitable match, he was informed that the daughters of Rána Mall Bhattí were very beautiful and accomplished. In those days all the estates, from the highest to the lowest, and all the jungle belonging to the Míní and Bhattí tribes, were attached to the town of Abúhar, which was one of the dependencies of Dípálpúr. The author's great-grandfather, Malik S'adu-l Mulk Shaháb 'Afíf was then *'amaldar* of Abúhar, and Tughlik Sháh, after consultation with him, sent some intelligent and acute persons to Rána Mall with a proposal of marriage.

When the messengers delivered Tughlik's message, Rána Mall, in his pride and haughtiness, uttered unseemly and improper observations. This, together with the Rána's refusal, was communicated to Tughlik Sháh, who then again took counsel with the author's ancestor, and after much debate it was decided that Tughlik Sháh should proceed to the villages (*talwandí*) belonging to Rána Mall, and demand payment of the year's revenue. Next day Tughlik proceeded thither and demanded payment in ready money of the whole amount. The *mukaddims* and *chaudharís* were subjected to coercion, and payment in full was insisted upon. The Rána's people were helpless and could do nothing, for those were the days of 'Aláu-d dín, and no one dared to make any outcry. In the course of two or three days they were reduced to extremities and suffered much hardship. Some trustworthy and precise persons told the author that the mother of Rána Mall, who was an old woman, when she heard of Tughlik Sháh's severity to the people, proceeded at the time of evening prayer into the house of her son, weeping and tearing her hair, and spoke most feelingly upon the matter. At that time Rána Mall's daughter, the future mother of Fíroz Sháh, was in the court-yard. When that fortunate damsel heard the wailing and crying of the Rána's mother, she inquired what was the cause of her grief; and the dame replied, "I am weeping on your account, for it is through you that Tughlik Sháh is weighing so heavily on the

people of this land." The author's veracious informer said that the high-spirited, noble girl exclaimed, "If the surrender of me will deliver the people from such misery, comply instantly with the demand, and send me to him; consider then that the Mughals have carried off one of your daughters." The old lady went and told the Rána of his daughter's resolution, and he gave his assent. The Rána communicated the fact to the author's great-grandfather, when a messenger was sent to Tughlik Sháh announcing the Rána's assent to the marriage, and the damsel herself was brought to Dípálpúr. Before her marriage she was called Bíbí Náila, but on entering the house of Sipah-sálár Rajab, she was styled Sultán Bíbí Kadbánú.

After the lapse of a few years she gave birth to Fíroz Sháh in a most auspicious hour, and Tughlik Sháh distributed his bounty on all sides in token of his joy. On the very day that Fíroz Sháh was born, the author's grandfather, Sháms-i Sháháb 'Afíf, also came into the world. The females of the author's ancestors then lived at Dípálpúr, and constantly visited the female apartments of Tughlik Sháh, and often in talking of these matters the author's great-grandfather used to say that he had frequently given Fíroz Sháh a cup of milk; and Fíroz Sháh himself, when he had reached the summit of his power and glory, used to tell the author's father that he had sucked at the breast of his grandmother.

When Fíroz Sháh was seven years old his father, Sipah-sálár Rajab, died, and Tughlik Sháh made great mourning for him. The widowed mother was in great distress as to the education and training of her son, but Tughlik Sháh consoled her, and told her that he would look upon the child as his own, and treat him with every kindness so long as he lived. The mother of Fíroz Sháh had no other child, either son or daughter. Those who say that Malik Kutbu-d dín was brother of Fíroz Sháh speak the truth, but he was born of another mother. The same was the case with Malik Náib Bár-bak; he also was his brother, but by a different mother.

Fíroz Sháh received instruction in the duties of royalty and the functions of sovereignty from two kings, Sultán Tughlik Sháh and Sultán Muhammad Sháh, and he became thoroughly conversant with all affairs of State. Tátár Khán Buzurg used to say upon this subject that Fíroz Sháh ought to be acquainted with regal and political duties, and that no one should feel any apprehension about him.

Second Mukaddama.—Fíroz Sháh's Education in the Duties of Royalty.

Fíroz Sháh was fourteen years old when Sultán Tughlik Sháh ascended the throne. The Sultán was engaged for four years and a half in travelling about his dominions, and during that time Fíroz Sháh attended him, obtaining full knowledge of all public business transacted by the Sultán. On the death of Sultán Tughlik he was succeeded on the throne of Dehlí by Muhammad Sháh. At the accession of this monarch Fíroz Sháh was eighteen years of age. He was appointed deputy of the lord chamberlain (*náib-i amír-hájib*), with the title of *Náib Bár-bak*, and received the command of 12,000 horse. The Sultán was exceedingly kind and generous to him, and keeping him constantly near his person he used to explain to him, with much intelligence, all affairs of State that came up for consideration. Even at this period Fíroz Sháh showed himself very kind and generous to the poor, and when any case of distress came before him he was prompt to relieve it. When Muhammad Sháh divided the territories of Dehlí into four parts, as the author has fully explained in his *Manákib-i Sultán Muhammad*, he placed one part under the charge of Fíroz Sháh, so that he might acquire experience in the art of government. The wise have said that the man who can perform the duties of one charge may guide the affairs of a State and accomplish the government of a kingdom. So the clear-sighted Sultán Muhammad placed Fíroz Sháh over a fourth part of his kingdom, in order that, with the Divine favour, he might become an adept in all political matters.

It is commonly said that Sultán Muhammad Sháh used to keep Fíroz Sháh continually at work in various matters, and the statement is true. But this labour was not imposed upon him out of any ill-feeling, for, had the king disliked him, he would have sent him far from his court. Muhammad Sháh was an illustrious king, and a most intelligent and able man, so much so that he was remarkable for his talents among the great men of Dehlí. His object was to train Fíroz Sháh, so that he might become thoroughly versed in the duties of royalty. Thus Fíroz Sháh completed his forty-fifth year under the tuition of Sultán Muhammad Sháh.

Third Mukaddama.—Accession of Fíroz Sháh.

When Sultán Muhammad Sháh died, a body of Mughals plundered the baggage train and went off towards their own country. At this conjuncture all the *Kháns* and princes, the learned men, *shaikhs*, and officials who were with Sultán Muhammad at Thatta, met in council and decided that nothing could be done without a leader, saying, "Dehlí is distant,[1] and these things have happened. Sultán Muhammad is gone to Paradise, and the Mughals have taken the field and have come up against us."[2] In fine, a Mughal band plundered the baggage, and their insatiate desires being unsatisfied with the plunder thus wickedly obtained, they approached closer in search of further booty. The nobles of Sultán Muhammad Sháh then assembled in council, and, after a long and anxious deliberation, the nobles and the administrative officers both agreed that the proper course was to place the reins of government in the hands of Fíroz Sháh.

Fíroz Sháh, through fear of God, was averse to being made sovereign, and stated that he had formed the design of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. But the divine approval of the succession of Fíroz Sháh was from the first made known by means of the *shaikhs*, because in attaining royalty the mode of its acquisition is an important point. Sometimes when an elder is about

[1] A proverbial expression.

[2] *Dú-ba-dú-i má dar-ámadah.*

to quit the world, he authoritatively places one of his disciples in his place, and hands over to him his prayer-carpet, although the disciple may be reluctant to undertake the serious charge. This mode of appointment is called authorization by investiture with the religious garment, and is highly honoured among *shaikhs*. So all the princes, and judges, and doctors, and *shaikhs*, and officials who had gone to Thatta with Muhammad Sháh, agreed unanimously upon choosing Fíroz Sháh, but he was reluctant to assent, feeling the weight of the responsibility to God. This however, is a feeling which can only be allowed to saints, because the burden of royalty is an arduous one. Every one approved the choice, and all men set their hearts upon its acceptance.

When this election was made known, Khudáwand-záda, daughter of Tughlik Sháh and mother of Dáwar Malik, sent a message to the nobles, urging that it was not right to prefer the *Amír-hájib* to her son by Malik Khusrú, seeing that she was daughter of Sultán Tughlik, and sister of Sultán Muhammad. Whilst her son lived, how could any stranger sit upon the throne? Some historians add that Khudáwand-záda used indecorous language upon the matter. On her message being delivered to the nobles, they all winced as if snake-bitten. It pleased nobody, but all the assembly agreed to send Malik Saifu-d dín Khojú to her. The Malik was a celebrated man, and whatever he said, he said well, with dignity and firmness. He accordingly proceeded to Khudáwand-záda, and addressed her in polite, though decided, language, saying, "O woman, if thy son had been chosen instead of Fíroz Sháh, thou wouldst have no home to look upon, nor should we have wives or children to gladden our eyes, because thy son is an incompetent person, incapable of governing. We have come into this foreign country, and a large Mughal army confronts us; if thou wishest to save thyself from that army, do thou acquiesce in what we all have determined, and the office and title of *Náib Bár-bak* shall be conferred upon thy son." Khudáwand-záda was silent, and Malik Saifu-d dín returned.

All the nobles then agreed upon choosing Fíroz Sháh, but still he would not consent. Writers of credit report that Tátár Khán, who was president of the meeting, then stood up, and taking the arm of Fíroz Sháh, forced him to sit upon the throne. Upon this Sultán Fíroz said to Tátár Khán, "Since you have placed this heavy trouble and grievous labour upon my shoulders, you must be patient for a while till I have performed my devotions." He then went through his ablutions, and repeated the regular form of prayer in singleness of heart. Afterwards, bowing his head to the ground, he, with tearful eyes, poured forth his supplications to the Almighty, saying, "O Lord! the stability of states, the peace, regulation, and occupations of governments do not depend upon man. Permanence of dominion depends upon thy behests. Oh God, thou art my refuge and my strength." After this they placed the crown of empire upon his head, and invested him with the robes of sovereignty. Many persons who were present in this assembly have told the author that Sultán Fíroz Sháh put on the robes of royalty over his garments of mourning, and although the nobles of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh wished to remove the dress of mourning, he would not allow them, and said: "Although in compliance with your counsels I have assumed the robes of sovereignty, still I cannot throw off my garments of mourning, for Sultán Muhammad was my lord, my teacher, and my guide in all things. It was my earnest desire to make the pilgrimage to the holy temple, but I have yielded to your strenuous opposition; it will be well, therefore, that the robes of royalty should cover the garments of mourning." He was so attired, when an elephant was brought, which he mounted, and went forth in state. The heralds and attendants shouted in loud acclaim, the drums were beaten in exultation, and universal joy prevailed.

The first public act of Sultán Fíroz Sháh was to invest Shirábrú Chashm with the duties of 'Imádu-l Mulk.[1] The date of his accession to the throne was the 24th Muharram, 752 H.

[1] "Pillar of the state"—*i.e.* minister.

(March 23rd, 1351 A.D.). Fíroz Sháh, the sovereign elect, proceeded on his elephant to the female apartments, and threw himself at the feet of Khudáwand-záda. She embraced him, and with her own hands placed upon his head a crown, valued at a *lac* of *tankas*, which had belonged to Sultán Tughlik Sháh and Sultán Muhammad Sháh. The Sultán Fíroz Sháh then returned, and general satisfaction prevailed.

Fourth Mukaddama.—Fíroz Sháh wars with a Mughal force.

The accession of Fíroz Sháh made the people glad, because they were in great alarm about the Mughal hordes. After plundering the baggage train, the Mughals had come within sight of the camp at Dehlí. The *kháns* and nobles assembled, and the opportunity was deemed favourable for an attack upon the invaders. The Sultán accordingly assembled his forces of horse, foot, and elephants, and attacked the enemy. A fierce battle ensued, and the slaughter was great, but victory inclined to the Sultán, and the Mughals fled, abandoning their camp and baggage. The victory was complete, and all the people of the great *bázár* (*bázár-i buzurg*) who had been taken prisoners by the Mughals were set free. This was the first victory of the reign of Sultán Fíroz, and he proceeded to Dehlí amid general rejoicings and acclamations.

Fifth Mukaddama.—On the mistake made by Khwája-i Jahán Ahmad Ayyáz in setting up the son of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh.

When Sultán Muhammad Sháh, in the latter days of his reign, proceeded to Daulatábád (Deogír), he left three persons in (charge of) Dehlí;—Malik Kabír, Katlagh Khán, and Fíroz Sháh, who was then *Náib-i amír hájib* (deputy of the lord chamberlain). The two former died before their master, and the latter was summoned to attend his person in Thatta. Dehlí being thus left vacant, *Khwája-i Jahán* was sent thither from Thatta as representative of the absent sovereign. With him were several

other nobles, Malik Kiwámu-l Mulk the *Khán-i Jahán*, Malik Hasan, Malik Hisámu-d dín Uzbek, and others. It is commonly reported that when the *Khwája-i Jahán* heard that Sultán Muhammad Sháh was dead, and that Sultán Fíroz Sháh had been chosen by the nobles and chief men to succeed him, he set up the son of Muhammad Sháh in opposition at Dehlí, and gained the people over to his side. But this commonly received story is not true. The author here gives the true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khán, son of Kishlú Khán Bahrám, one of the servants of the Court.

When Sultán Muhammad Sháh died at Thatta, the chiefs of the Hazára of Khurásán, who had come to assist him, as soon as they heard of his death, plundered the chief *bázár*, as the author has related in his *Manákib-i Sultán Muhammad Sháh*. In those days the baggage belonging to the forces, which were at detached stations, was plundered, and the men of these detachments all fled to the city. Fíroz Sháh had not yet been placed on the throne. A slave named Malíh Túntún[1] had been sent from Dehlí by Khwája-i Jahán to Sultán Muhammad, and just at this juncture, when the alarming news was coming in from the army, he started on his return to Dehlí. On his arrival he unfolded to Khwája-i Jahán the intelligence of the death of the Sultán, the attacks of the Mughals upon the army, the plundering of the *bázár*, and the disaffection and bloodshed among the royal forces. He then proceeded to add that Tátár Khán and the *Amír-hájib* Fíroz Sháh were missing, and it was not known whether they had been taken prisoners or killed by the Mughals; that many other nobles had been slain; and that such untoward events had happened in the royal army.

When the Khwája-i Jahán heard this news, he mourned for the death of Sultán Muhammad, and also for Fíroz Sháh. There was great affection between the Khwája and Fíroz Sháh, so that they had no reserve with each other, and it reached to such an extent that the Khwája called Fíroz his son. After the duties

[1] Var. "Túnún." Barní calls him "Altún," which is more likely.

of mourning were completed, the Khwája, believing the report brought by Malíh to be correct, placed a son of Sultán Muhammad Sháh upon the throne, and thus, through adverse fate, committed a blunder. When he heard that the Lord Chamberlain was alive and well, he perceived his error. But he proceeded to collect an army, and thought his best policy was to be prepared, because in affairs of State no one believes acts like his to be be mistakes and errors; and until peace is made between the two parties, neither ought to be free from apprehension of grievous consequences. So the Khwája assembled a strong force in Dehlí, and took men into his service, until his army amounted to about 20,000 horse. He distributed large sums among the people, although the treasury was then at a very low ebb, in consequence of the lavish liberality of Sultán Muhammad Sháh during his reign of twenty-seven years. When the money was exhausted, he gave away the gold and silver utensils, and when these had come to an end, the jewels. This profusion attracted crowds from all directions, but it was a curious fact that while they accepted the Khwája's bounty, their hopes and prayers were in favour of Fíroz Sháh.

Sixth Mukaddama.—Khwája-i Jahán hears of the accession of Sultán Fíroz Sháh.

When Khwája-i Jahán heard of the succession of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, he lamented the mistake he had made. Conflicting rumours were afloat in the two armies. It was said to be the Khwája's determination that, as soon as the Sultán's army reached Dehlí, he would place all the dependents of the nobles who were in that army on the *manjaníks*, and shoot them away. Another rumour said that the Khwája had a powerful army and would offer a stout resistance.

When these proceedings and rumours were reported to Sultán Fíroz, he called a council of all the princes and nobles in his army. It was unanimously agreed that Sultán Muhammad Sháh had no son, but only a daughter, who was born in the reign

of Sultán Tughlik. Where, it was asked, had the Khwája-i Jahán found the pretended son? All wise men spoke in the same strain, expressing their astonishment at the Khwája's error, and agreeing that his actions were quite unworthy a man of his age. Sultán Fíroz finished the discussion by expressing his own surprise, and resolved upon marching to Dehlí. The chiefs and men of the army warmly supported him, and on the other side the people of Dehlí anxiously watched for his arrival. He accordingly marched on and arrived at Multán. Up to this time he had never talked to any one, small or great, about the Khwája-i Jahán, but had acted in the most politic manner and in strict accordance with the examples of the wisest kings. It was now fully confirmed that the Khwája was resolved upon opposition. Sultán Fíroz knew that the army of Thatta had suffered many hardships and troubles, and through the prodigality of Sultán Muhammad Sháh the treasury was empty. The army had also been reduced to great straits by the assaults of the Mughals, and had been compelled to retire towards Dehlí; and, besides this, the wives and children of the men were there; hence Fíroz Sháh was apprehensive that if the Khwája-i Jahán's antagonism became the talk of the army, the men would be dispirited, and would think the Sultán was afraid of the Khwája. For these reasons Sultán Fíroz never talked on the subject until he reached Multán.

Seventh Mukaddama.—March of Firoz Sháh from Thatta to Dehli.

When the Sultán was about to march upon Dehlí, a consultation was held as to the most suitable route. The council was in favour of proceeding by way of Gujárát, so that the riches of that country might be secured. But the Sultán took another view, and said, "When Sultán Tughlik Sháh marched to repress the insurrection of Khusrú Khán, he went by way of Dípálpúr, and by God's favour obtained the victory. I am therefore resolved upon pursuing the same route by Dípálpúr and Multán,

hoping that I, in like manner, shall be brought in safety to Dehlí." So he began his march by that road. When the news of his approach by way of Multán, with the elephants and baggage, reached Dehlí, the people rejoiced, and many of the nobles and principal men of the place went forth to meet him. The Khwája, on seeing this defection, was sorely troubled, but he said nothing, and did nothing to prevent it. His counsellors pointed out to him that the fugitives were carrying off the wealth of Dehlí to Fíroz Sháh, and urged him to put a stop to it by detaining their wives and children. To all this Khwája-i Jahán gave no answer, and things went on until every one who had the power joined Sultán Fíroz, and those who had not the power looked in anxious expectation of his arrival. * * *

When the Sultán arrived near Multán, while he was on the march, Malíh Túntún, the slave of Khwája-i Jahán was perceived approaching at a distance. He came as a messenger and carried in his sword-belt a letter from the son of Sultán Muhammad. Sultán Fíroz recognized him when a long way off, and reining up his horse, he doubted in his mind whether Khwája-i Jahán might not be dead. He then ordered the messenger to be stopped, and inquiry to be made of him as to whether the Khwája was well. The attendants went forward and inquired as to the state of the Khwája and of the people of Dehlí. Malíh replied in very haughty terms, and his answer was conveyed to the Sultán, who observed, "We must trust in God's mercy—what can Khwája-i Jahán or others do?"

The Sultán at length entered Multán, and behaved very liberally to the *shaikhs* of the city. From thence he proceeded to Ajodhan, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikhu-l Islám Farídu-l hakk. He next marched to Sarsutí, which is ninety *kos* from Dehlí. The bankers and merchants of the place assembled and brought several *lacs* of *tankas* to the Sultán who accepted the money as a loan, and promised to repay it after his arrival at Dehlí, making Malik 'Imádu-l Mulk responsible for its discharge. All the money thus received was paid to the army. * * *

Eighth Mukaddama.—Kiwámu-l Mulk the Khán-i Jahán Makbúl joins Sultán Fíroz.

As Sultán Fíroz advanced, the people of Multán, Dípálpúr, Sarsutí, and other places, joined his army, just as they had flocked to the support of Sultán Muhammad Sháh. Men of all classes came in, nobles and plebeians, soldiers and officials. Thirty-six *rájas* of the neighbourhood joined him, and his forces greatly increased. The Sultán addressed them all in friendly, conciliatory terms, and held out promises of favours to come. The people in Dehlí were anxious about the progress of the Sultán, and at length Kiwámu-l Mulk, the Khán-i Jahán Makbúl, took the lead, and addressed a letter to him relating how matters stood, and announcing his intention of joining him. In every letter he expressed his ardent good-will, and the Sultán, according to his request, wrote to him in reply. It began to be whispered about in the city that Khán-i Jahán was in correspondence with Fíroz Sháh, and would soon be off to join him. Khwája-i Jahán was satisfied of this being his intention by many palpable proofs, and resolved to seize the Khán and to frustrate his design. * * *

Early one morning Kiwámu-l Mulk got into a *chaudol* (kind of sedan), and with his armed retinue, his wives, children, friends, and dependents proceeded to the gate of the *maidán*. When he reached it, the sentinels attempted to bar it, but the horsemen rode up with drawn swords and frustrated their design. So Kiwámu-l Mulk, the Khán-i Jahán, then went leisurely out of the city to meet Sultán Fíroz Sháh. The Sultán had left Sarsutí, and, having made several marches, had reached Ikdár, where he was joined by, and received homage from, Khán-i Jahán. Another pleasure which the Sultán received on the same day at this place was the birth[1] of a son, who was named Fath Khán. The Sultán founded a town there, to which he gave the name of Fath-ábád (Futtehabad).

[1] The text says "in the house of Prince Fíroz Khán," but these words have been omitted to prevent confusion.

Ninth Mukaddama.—Khwája-i Jahán meets the Sultán.

Khwája-i Jahán heard that Kiwámu-l Mulk Khán-i Jahán had joined the Sultán. * * * His mind became greatly troubled, and he reflected that as his proceedings had originated in error, no good could come of them. He resolved, therefore, to go to the Sultán and explain his error, trusting in God's protection. Accordingly he started from Dehlí on a Thursday, and on the same day arrived at Ismá'íl,[1] which is twenty-four *kos* distant. On the next day, being Friday, after prayers, he proceeded to Hauz-i Khás-i 'Alá. Here the nobles, who were faithful to him, Malik Hasan, Malik Khattáb, Malik Hisámu-d dín Uzbek, and others, being uneasy in their minds, went to him and said that they perceived he was resolved upon going to Sultán Fíroz, and inquired what he advised them to do. He told them that in preferring the son of Sultán Muhammad Sháh, he had no object or design of his own in view. * * * When he heard that Sultán Muhammad was dead, that the Mughals were pressing on, and that Fíroz Sháh and Tátár Khán were missing, he acted as he thought best for the public welfare and the safety of the country. He had been guilty of many faults and errors, but the cries and pressure of the people on all sides had urged him on; otherwise he would have taken no part in the matter. He then went on to say that during the late reign he had called Fíroz Sháh his son, and had been addressed by him as father, and his wives had been in the custom of going to the house of Fíroz. He knew not what God had decreed for him, but Sultán Fíroz was a kind man, and would listen to what he had to say. He would also extend his pardon to the Khwája's supporters.

Khwája-i Jahán was more than eighty years old. His frame was wasted and feeble, and his hair was white. * * * He was a kind-hearted man, and when his followers heard of the resolution

[1] This is a large village on the road from Dehlí to Hánsí. It is now open, but, apparently, was once strongly fortified.

he had taken, they wept for him, and told him that in affairs of royalty no consideration is paid to the relation of father and son, and no excuses of error can be admitted. Sultán Fíroz, although a good man, could not act differently from kings in general. The Khwája replied, "I may turn back and fortify myself in Dehlí, but although I have an army and elephants, Sultán Fíroz will take the place, and Muhammadan ladies will fall into the hands of the ruffians of his army. In my old age I should do that for which I should be called upon to account in the judgment. I have not much longer to live; come what may, God's will be done!" His adherents seeing him thus resolved, some accompanied him to Sultán Fíroz, and some fled.

Khwája-i Jahán accordingly proceeded to Fathábád. The author has been informed that, on his arrival, the Sultán was seated on his throne holding a court, and the Khwája went into his presence with a chain around his neck, his turban off, a *tálika* (?) on his head, and a naked sword fastened to his throat, and took his standing low down among the attendants. * * * The Sultán directed his turban to be replaced upon his head, and sent his own *chaudol* to convey him to the grass plot, where he promised to meet and converse with him. * * *

Tenth Mukaddama.—Conversation of the Sultán with his nobles about Khwája-i Jahán.

Sultán Fíroz was desirous that no evil should come to Khwája-i Jahán, and wished to reinstate him as *wazír*, * * * but the Kháns, nobles, and officials, having met and consulted, arrived at the unanimous opinion that it was improper to look over such a political offence. * * * They accordingly went to the Sultán and said that as Dehlí had now come into his hands, and the Khwája-i Jahán had joined him, all apprehension upon that ground was removed; they therefore desired the royal permission to set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Sultán perceived their meaning, and, speaking in kind and gentle words, said: "It was a high duty of kings to overlook any irregular acts of their officers."

* * * They replied, "That the offences of royal servants were of two classes—one small, the other great. The venial offences were those against property, the graver, those against authority; the former might be excused, but the latter ought not to be forgiven. Clemency in such cases was sure to be followed by repentance. The Khwája, in his inordinate thirst for distinction, had raised a child to the royal dignity, and had squandered vast wealth among the people." * * * Sultán Fíroz saw that they were resolved, heart and soul, upon the destruction of the Khwája. This made him very anxious and thoughtful, so that he grew pale. In this state he remained for some days—his heart rent with sorrow. At length he called 'Imádu-l Mulk to a private interview, and told him to go to the friends and supporters of the throne and tell them that the Sultán placed the case of Khwája-i Jahán in their hands. They might do with him what seemed to them best, for the Sultán had given up the case. * * * They accordingly agreed that as the Khwája was aged, the estate of Sámána should be assigned to him in *in'ám*, and so he was ordered to go there and devote his days to religion. * * * The Khwája set out for Sámána, and had made some stages when Sher Khán overtook him, but did not go to see him. * * * So the unfortunate noble saw plainly that the Khán had come on no errand of mercy, but rather to effect his destruction. * * Next day he asked Sher Khán for some tents, into one of which he went, performed his ablutions and said his prayers. * * * He then looked at the executioner and asked if he had a sharp sword, and the executioner, who was a friend of the Khwája's, showed his weapon. The old man then told him to make his ablutions, say his prayers, and use his sword. When the man had completed his devotions, the Khwája bowed his head to his prayer-carpet, and while the name of God was on his lips his friend severed his head from his body.

Eleventh Mukaddama.—Arrival of Sultán Fíroz at Hánsi.

The Sultán being relieved from all apprehension on account of Dehlí, marched in great state from Karoda towards the city.

After several stages he arrived at Hánsí, where he went to wait upon the Shaikhu-l Islám Shaikh Kutbu-d dín. * * * The Shaikh said to him, "I have heard it said that you are addicted to wine; but if Sultáns and the heads of religion give themselves up to wine-bibbing, the wants of the poor and needy will get little attention." * * * The Sultán thereupon said that he would drink no more. After this the Shaikh said that he had been informed that the Sultán was passionately fond of hunting; but hunting was a source of great trouble and distress to the world, and could not be approved. To kill any animal without necessity was wrong, and hunting ought not to be prosecuted farther than was necessary to supply the wants of man—all beyond this was reprehensible. The Sultan, in reverence of the Shaikh, promised to abstain from hunting. * * *

Twelfth Mukaddama.—Interview with Shaikh Kutbu-d dín-i Munawwar and Shaikh Nasiru-d dín Mahmud at Hánsi.

Thirteenth Mukaddama.—Arrival of Sultán Firoz Sháh at Dehlí.

When the Sultán reached Dehlí, the drums of joy were beaten, and the citizens decked themselves out in their jewels and best clothes. Pavilions (*kaba*) were erected and were decorated according to the custom prevailing in the times of former kings. Six of these pavilions were raised, and for twenty-one days a continual festival was maintained. One *lac* of *tankas* was expended in each pavilion in food and sherbet, and no one was excluded. * * *

Fourteenth Mukaddama.—The Sultán's fostering care of the people of Dehlí and his remission of arrears.

* * * In those days Khwája Fakhr Shádí was accountant-general. After Sultán Muhammad returned from Daulatábád, he lent the people of Dehlí property equivalent to two *krors* (of *tankas ?*)[1] for the purpose of restoring the land, villages, and quarters which had fallen into ruin during the days of the famine.

[1] *Do kror-i mál.*

This money remained in the hands of the people, and Khwája-i Jahán, after the death of Sultán Muhammad, took the people of Dehlí under his protection, and they in their greediness joined themselves to him. When Sultán Fíroz ascended the throne at Thatta, the Khwája distributed jewels and diamonds among them. All the money lent and the jewels stood against the names of the parties concerned in the government books. Fakhr Shádí, the accountant, brought the fact to the notice of Fíroz Sháh. After thinking over the matter, the Sultán consulted Kiwámu-l Mulk as to what ought to be done, * * * and that minister replied, "That Sultán Muhammad had deemed it expedient to make loans to the people, and that the Khwája-i Jahán had squandered the jewels and wealth in prosecution of his projects and vain desires; therefore it would not be seemly to demand their restoration. The people were in great distress and poverty; if such a claim were made, they would be reduced to utter helplessness and ruin, and not one jot of the debt and jewels would be realized." * * * The Sultán then asked him how he ought to proceed, and the Khán advised him to have all the accounts brought into the public court, and there to destroy them in the presence of all the people, so that they might be relieved from their great anxiety. The Sultán heartily approved of this advice, and by his direction the records of the debt and of the jewels were brought into his court, where they were publicly cancelled. * * * At this time the Sultán appointed Kiwámu-l Mulk his *wazír*, and bestowed upon him the insignia of his office. * * * The revenues of Dehlí, during the forty years which Sultán Fíroz reigned, amounted to six *krors* and seventy-five *lacs* of *tankas* (67,500,000).

Fifteenth Mukaddama.—Sultán Fíroz makes new rules for grants of revenue.[1]

The Sultán showed great liberality in his grants of revenue, and excited the cupidity of a host of expectants. To some he

[1] "*Nánhd*"—plural of *nán*, a loaf. Grants of revenue instead of salaries or pecuniary allowances.

gave 10,000 *tankas*, to others 5,000, and to others 2,000, according to the respective ranks and claims of the different office-bearers. This method (of paying officials) was introduced by Sultán Fíroz, and remains as a memorial of him. In the reigns of former rulers of Dehlí it had never been the rule to bestow villages as stipends upon office-bearers. The author has understood from various historians that Sultán 'Aláu-d dín used to speak of this practice with disapprobation, and say that in every village granted there would be two or three hundred residents, all of whom would receive pay (from the grantee). Such a number of pensioners would give rise to pride and insubordination, and if they were to act in concert, there would be danger of rebellion. With these feelings there is no wonder that 'Aláu-d-dín refused to make grants of villages, and paid his followers every year with money from the treasury. But when Sultán Fíroz came to the throne, he dismissed such thoughts from his heart, and during the forty years of his reign he devoted himself to generosity and the benefit of Musulmáns, by distributing villages and lands among his followers. In the whole of these forty years not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty.[1] These facts are among the glories of his reign. * * *

Another law made by Fíroz Sháh was this: If an officer of the army[2] died, he was to be succeeded by his son; if he had no son, by his son-in-law; if he had no son-in-law, by his slave (*ghulám*); if he had no slave, by his nearest relation; and if he had no relations, by his wives. During the whole of his reign he made it a rule that, under all circumstances, the succession of every person should be clearly defined. * * *

Sixteenth Mukaddama.—Sultán Fíroz's fostering care of his subjects.

* * * Unwise regulations had been made in former reigns, and the *raiyats* and subjects were oppressed in the payment of the revenue. Several writers told the author of this work that it

[1] That is, there was no rebellion.

[2] *Yake as jumlah i yárán i hashm.*

was the practice to leave the *raiyat* one cow and take away all the rest. Sultán Fíroz made the laws of the Prophet his guide, acting zealously upon the principles they laid down, and prohibiting all that was inconsistent therewith. No demand in excess of the regular government dues was to be made, and the officer who made any such exaction was to make full reparation. Brocades, silks, and goods required for the royal establishments were to be purchased at the market price, and the money paid. * * * Such rules were made that the *raiyats* grew rich, and were satisfied. * * * Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses, and furniture; every one had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments, and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The whole realm of Dehlí was blessed with the bounties of the Almighty.

Seventeenth Mukaddama.—Perfidy of Khusrú Malik and Khudáwand-záda.

While Fíroz Sháh was engaged at Dehlí in arranging the affairs of government, Khudáwand-záda, daughter of Sultán Tughlik Sháh, was also residing there with her husband, Khusrú Malik, in a palace which had belonged to the late Sultán Muhammad. Sultán Fíroz had made it his custom to go every Friday after prayers to pay a visit to Khudáwand-záda, and whenever he saw her he treated her with the greatest possible respect. She also, on her part, shewed every mark of respect to him. The Sultán and Khudáwand-záda used to sit down together in the robe-room; Khusrú Malik used to stand; and Dáwar Malik to sit behind his mother, Khudáwand-záda. When their conversation was over, the princess used to present *pán*, and the Sultán departed. So it went on every Friday. Under the decrees of God envy and rancour still lurk in the constitution of man, and so Khusrú Malik and Khudáwand-záda conceived the idea of hastening the end of Sultán Fíroz, and of killing him treacherously in the place where he was in the habit of visiting Khudáwand-záda on Fridays.

In the palace there was a long room, having two lateral chambers. These rooms Khusrú Malik filled with men armed from head to foot, and gave them instructions that when Khudáwand-záda adjusted the garment round her head, they were to rush forth and cut off the Sultán's head. Khusrú Malik also concealed some more armed men under the floor of the outer gateway, who were directed to fall upon the Sultán and despatch him should he succeed in escaping from the inside of the palace. * * * When Friday came, the Sultán paid his accustomed visit, and sat down to converse as usual. Dáwar Malik, son of Khudáwand-záda (but, as the author has been informed, by another husband than the base Khusrú Malik), sat behind his mother. He took no part in the plot, and when he saw the Sultán, he made signs that he should depart quickly and secure himself in his own palace. The Sultán took the hint and rose to depart. Khudáwand-záda pressed him to wait until the *pán* was served, but he said that Fath Khán was sick, and he must hasten away, but that he would come another day. The armed men in concealment were not informed of what passed, and so the Sultán escaped from the room. The men who were hidden in the gateway knew the Sultán had gone in, but they were unaware of his having come out, and so, by the grace of God, the Sultán got away safe from the house of Khudáwand-záda.

As soon as he got outside the house (into the court-yard), the Sultán raised a loud cry for his followers, but as it was Friday most of the nobles had gone back; Ráí Bhíru[1] Bhattí remained in attendance. When the Sultán came forth very excited, he cried out in a fierce tone, "Ráí Bhírú, give me the sword which thou hast in thine hand!" The Ráí perceived that he was in a state of great excitement, and replied, "I will draw my sword and will follow your Majesty; will you not proceed home?" Without heeding what was said, the Sultán snatched the sword from the hands of the Ráí, and drew it; then getting safely away from the buildings of Sultán Muhámmad's harem, he mounted

[1] This name is written بهيرهو.

to the top of the *kushk* (palace). The princes and nobles were instantly summoned, and they surrounded the dwelling of Khusrú Malik and Khudáwand-záda. The armed men were brought forth, and, on being questioned, told all the truth of the matter. The Sultán asked if they were not aware of what had passed. They replied with one voice that the Almighty had closed the eyes of their perception, so that they were aware of the Sultán's going into the house, but did not know of his coming out.

When the facts were proved, the Sultán ordered Khudáwand-záda into retirement and settled an allowance upon her. She had very great wealth, by the power of which Khusrú Malik had hoped to effect his designs; all this was brought into the public treasury. Khusrú Malik was banished, and Dáwar Malik was directed to pay a visit to the Sultán at the beginning of every month, wearing an overcoat and slippers on his feet.[1]

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Sultán Fíroz adopts a Khutba, including the names of former Sultáns for the public prayers of Fridays and Festivals. Account of the edicts issued by him.

* * * * * * *

1. *On the names used in the khutba.*—It had been a rule among the Sultáns of Dehlí that the name of the reigning monarch only was mentioned in the prayers of Sabbaths and Festivals, and no reference was made to former Sultáns. When Sultán Fíroz came to the throne, they were about to follow the same rule, and to mention his name only in the *khutba;* but he disapproved of the omission of former kings, and ordered that a *khutba* should be said first in the names of former kings, and then one in which his own name should be mentioned. In accordance with this decree, the Sultáns in the following list were specially selected to be named in the *khutba*:—1. Sultán Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Sám; 2. Shamsu-d dín Altamsh; 3. Násiru-d dín Mahmúd; 4. Ghiyásu-d dín Balban; 5. Jalálu-d dín Fíroz; 6. 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad Khiljí; 7. Kutbu-d dín Mubárak; 8. Ghiyásu-d

[1] باراني پوشيده و كفش در پا كرده يعني بر اين طريق آيد.

dín Tughlik Sháh; 9. Sultán Muhammad; 10. Fíroz Sháh. Two names were selected to be mentioned after that of Sultán Fíroz Sháh; viz., 1. Muhammad bin Fíroz Sháh; 2. 'Aláu-d dín Sikandar Sháh; and till the end of the reign these names were mentioned in the prayers. * * *

2. *Account of the edicts on matters of royalty.*—Sultán Fíroz Sháh issued twenty-one edicts (*sikka*) and thirty-one instructions (*'alámat*) upon matters of royalty. The author here inserts their titles for the benefit of his readers. 1. On the *khutba*; 2. On the sandal-wood throne; 3. On the imperial cornelian signet, etc., etc.[1]

Kism II.—The Two Expeditions to Lakhnautí and the Campaigns against Jájnagar and Nagarkot.

First Mukaddama.—The first expedition to Lakhnauti.

About 70,000 men of the *kháns* and *maliks* having assembled, Fíroz Sháh marched with his nobles and great men to Lakhnautí. * * * Khán-i Jahán remained behind at Dehlí.

Second Mukaddama.—The Sultán lays siege to Lakhnauti.

Sháh Fíroz marched triumphantly through Hindustán and reached Bengal in great strength. * * * When he arrived on the banks of the Kosí, after resting for a short time, he found the army of Shamsu-d dín posted in force on the other side of the river, near its junction with the Ganges.[2] The passage appeared difficult, so the Sultán marched 100 *kos* up the Kosí, and

[1] This list of *sikkas* has puzzled the copyists, from their having apparently understood the word *sikka* in its common signification of "coin," not in that of "rule, regulation." Taken in this latter sense, the title of the list quite agrees with its contents. The MS. of the East India Library, No. 1002, gives interlineary explanations of some of the words, which explanations are copied as part of the original text by the copyists of Sir H. Elliot's and Mr. Thomas's MSS. Sir H. Elliot's scribe appends a marginal note that "the whole is evidently erroneous, and a correct list is desirable," and the writer of Mr. Thomas's copy thought the list so manifestly wrong that "he has not entered it in the book, but copied it on a separate piece of paper."

[2] This sentence is derived from another passage which says the position was "on the banks of the Saru and Ganges, and on the Kosí, etc.

crossed it below Champáran,[1] at the place where the river issues from the mountain. Here a ford was found, but the waters ran with such force that stones of five hundred *mans* weight were borne along like straws. The Sultán ordered a line of elephants to be drawn across the river, both above and below the ford, to facilitate the passage. The upper line was to break the force of the current; the lower line was furnished with ropes, to which men carried away by the stream might cling. * * * When Shamsu-d dín heard that the Sultán had succeeded in crossing the river, he fled in great alarm with all his forces to Ikdála, and the Sultán followed by way of Champáran and Ráchap.[2] Shamsu-d dín abandoned the town of Pandwah, and shut himself up in Ikdála, pursued by the Sultán, who closely besieged the place and threw up batteries (*kungura*), and dug entrenchments all round it. The forces of Shamsu-d dín came out daily from Ikdála to make a display, and were received with showers of arrows. They were at length compelled to take shelter in the islands (*jazáir*) of Ikdála. The country was overrun by the troops of the Sultán, and all the *ráos*, *ránas*, and *zamíndárs* of Bengal, who joined the Sultán, were favourably received. Many people of the country of Bengal also came over to him.

When hostilities had thus gone on fiercely for some time between the two sovereigns, unfriendly weather sowed the seed of heat in the moist earth, and the sun was about to enter the sign Cancer. The Sultán therefore called a council, and after much secret debate it was resolved that Shamsu-d dín had taken refuge and fortified himself in the islands of Ikdála, with the belief that when the rains came on, and the country became inundated, the

[1] So in Sir H. Elliot's MS. Mr. Thomas's has جمارن, and that of the East India Library جمارن.

[2] Var.: جمارن راجتر. جمارت راجتر. Barní does not mention these places, but says simply the march was through Gorakhpur, Kharosa, and Tirhut. He represents the *ráis* of Gorakhpur and Kharosa as making their submission to the Sultán and following him to Lakhnautí.

Sultán would be obliged to retreat. It was therefore expedient that the Sultán should fall back strategically a few *kos* and see what would happen.[1] This plan was approved, and accordingly next day the Sultán retreated seven *kos* towards Dehlí. Some *kalandars* were then craftily sent to Ikdála, with instructions that if they were brought before Shamsu-d dín, they were to report that the Sultán was in full retreat, with all his forces and baggage, towards Dehlí. The *kalandars*, being captured, were taken into the presence of Shamsu-d dín, to whom they told the story they had been taught, and he, believing it, * * * de-determined to go out of Ikdála and harass the retreat.

Third Mukaddama.—Battle between Sultán Firoz and Shamsu-d dín. Capture of fifty elephants and slaughter of one lac of the people of Bang and Bangála.

When Shamsu-d dín heard that Sultán Fíroz had retreated towards Dehlí, he made up his mind to pursue him. Some writers say that Fíroz Sháh left his camp (*rakht*) standing, others that he caused part of his baggage to be burned. Sultán Shamsu-d dín came out in pursuit with a force which consisted of 10,000 horse, 200,000 infantry like the infantry of Subuktigín, and fifty mighty elephants. Fíroz Sháh had marched seven *kos*, and the place where he was lying in wait was on the bank of the river where the eddies had formed a ford. His baggage was in the act of crossing at this ford, when, unexpectedly, the Sultán of the Bengalís came up and rushed to the attack. * * * * When the Sultán heard that the enemy had arrived in great force, he proceeded to draw up his army in three divisions. Malik Dílán, the *Mír-shikár*, had command of the right wing, consisting of 30,000 horse, and the left wing, also consisting of 30,000 warriors, was commanded by Malik Hisám Nawá. The centre, consisting likewise of 30,000

[1] Barní says the rains were at hand, and the country was low and liable to deep inundations. The mosquitos also were so large and numerous that neither men nor horses would have been able to endure their stings.

men, was under Tátár Khán. The Sultán himself proceeded from one division to another, encouraging his men. * * * The elephants were divided among the three divisions. * * * All preparations being made, the drums were beaten, and the din of war arose between the two armies. When Shamsu-d dín perceived the Sultán's army drawn up in battle array, he feared and trembled like a willow-leaf, for he found that he had been deluded by the *kalandars* to bring his forces out of his stronghold; all he could now do was to resign himself to the decrees of fate.

The fight began with the left wing under Hisámu-d dín Nawá, and was stoutly maintained. The right wing also under Malik Dílán became hotly engaged. * * * When the time for shooting arrows was past, they used their spears and swords, and when the conflict became even yet closer, the brave warriors seized each other by the waistbands, and grappled in deadly strife. * * * After much fighting and slaughter, Shamsu-d dín retreated and fled towards his own city. Tátár Khan, with the centre of the Sultán's army, strongly reinforced from both wings, pursued; and the Bengali army having abandoned Pandwah, continued its flight to Ikdála. Tátár Khan cried, "O *Shams-i siyáh* (Black Sun), whither art thou running? A man ought to show his face, not turn his back: stop for a moment and feel the strength of Fíroz Sháh's lads!" Shamsu-d dín, however, pursued his flight, heedless of everything. Forty-eight elephants were taken, and three were slain. The King of Bengal, out of all his enormous force, fled with seven horsemen, and his whole army was scattered. The place where Fíroz Sháh had taken his position on the river was seven *kos* from Ikdála. * * * Sultán Shamsu-d dín took refuge in the fort of Ikdála, and by dint of great exertion the commander succeeded in closing the gate, but Fíroz Sháh's forces occupied the town. When the arrival of Fíroz Sháh became known, all the ladies and respectable women went to the top of the fort, and when they saw him they uncovered their heads, and in their distress made great lamentation. The Sultán saw

their state and heard their wailings; he thereupon reflected that he had occupied the city, had overcome many Musulmáns. had taken possession of the country, and that the *Khutba* would be said in his name. To storm the fort, put more Musulmáns to the sword, and expose honourable women to ignominy, would be a crime for which he could not answer in the day of judgment, and which would leave no difference between him and the Mughals.

Tátár Khán repeatedly urged the Sultán to retain the territory he had conquered, but the Sultán was adverse to annexation, observing that many of the sovereigns of Dehlí had come into this country and had subdued it, but none of them had deemed it prudent to remain there long. For Bengal was a land of swamps,[1] and the nobles of the country passed their lives in their islands (*jazátrát*). It would not do therefore for him to act differently from all his sovereign predecessors, so Fíroz Sháh turned back after having changed the name of Ikdála to Ázádpur. Tátár Khán acted with great bravery in this war, and pressed the retreat of Sultán Shamsu-d dín with great vigour. He at one time during the pursuit resolved to put the fugitive prince to the sword, but he abandoned that design and fell back slowly to Fíroz Sháh. * * *

Fourth Mukaddama.—Return of Firoz Sháh to Delhi.

When the Sultán resolved upon returning home from Bengal all his followers were much pleased. An order was given for collecting the heads of the slain Bengalís, and a silver *tanka* was offered for every head. The whole army went busily to work, and brought in the heads of the slain and piled them in heaps, receiving in payment the silver *tankas*. The heads were counted and amounted to rather more than 180,000, for the battle had raged for a whole day over an extent of seven *kos*. * * *

[1] Three MSS. agree in reading رحال, or رجال, words which have no appropriate meaning. A note in the margin of one MS. suggests وحل "mud," and that reading has been here followed.

The Sultán then turned with his army and marched quickly towards Dehlí. When he reached Pandwah,[1] the *khutba* was said in his name, and he changed the name of the place to Fírozábád. The new names which he gave to Ikdála and Pandwah were made permanent and were entered in the Government records as "Ázád-pur, otherwise Ikdála," and "Fírozábád, otherwise Pandwah." When the Sultán arrived on the banks of the Kosí the rains came on, and orders were given for the troops to embark in boats (*kishtihá-i band-kushá*). The whole army thus crossed over. When Shamsu-d dín entered Ikdála, he seized the Governor, who had shut the gates, and had him executed.

As the Sultán was returning, he sent forward to Dehlí a despatch announcing his conquest of Lakhnautí. Khán-i Jahán Makbúl had been left in Dehlí as deputy, and when the news of the victory arrived, great rejoicings were carried on for twenty-one days, * * * and great preparations were made for the reception of the Sultán. * * * When he entered the city, forty-eight elephants, captured at Lakhnautí with their howdahs and housings, marched at the head of the victorious army. * * * In this, the Sultán's first expedition to Lakhnautí, he was engaged eleven months.

Fifth Mukaddama.—Founding of the city of Hisár Fírozah.

After returning victorious from Bengal, Sultán Fíroz passed several successive years riding about Dehlí. The author was told by his father that, in the second year after the Bengal campaign, the Sultán was in the neighbourhood of Hisár Fírozah, and exerted himself actively and liberally in endeavouring to provide for the needs of the country. It was at this time that Hisár Fírozah was founded. * * * In the place now occupied by the city two large and populous villages formerly stood, which were called Great Larás and Little Larás. There were fifty *kharaks* included in Great Larás, and forty in Little Larás. In this country there

[1] پندوہ Stewart calls it "Pundua," and says it is near Malda.—"History of Bengal," p. 84.

is no other village than the *kharak*.[1] The neighbourhood of Great Larás greatly pleased Sultán Fíroz, and he thought it would be well to build a city there, for it was very deficient in water, and during the hot season travellers who came from 'Irák and Khurásán had to pay as much as four *jítals* for a pitcher full. So the Sultán resolved to build a city, being filled with hope that if he built a town for the benefit of Musulmáns, God would provide it with water. He therefore began the work, and persevered in it for several years, assisted by his nobles and great men. Hard stone was brought from the hills of Narsáí, and was used with strong quicklime and burnt bricks. A fort of great extent and height was commenced. Various officers were appointed to superintend different portions of the work, and busied themselves in their respective duties, so that in course of time the fort was completed. The Sultán gave to the place the name of Hisár Fírozah. When the fort was finished, a ditch was dug round it, and the earth, which was taken from its bed was spread on each side of the ditch, and along the banks of the ditch battlements were built. Inside the fort a large and deep tank was formed, the water of which ran into the ditch and replenished it from year to year. Inside the fort a palace was built, which had no equal in the world, and the various apartments of which were contrived with infinite pains. One of the arrangements of this palace was that any person, having a general acquaintance with the place, after passing through several apartments, would arrive at the centre. This central apartment under the palace was very dark, and the passages were narrow, so that if the attendants did not guide the visitor he would never be able to find his way out. Indeed, it is said that a servant once went into that place, and after he had been missing for some days, the guards went there in search of him and rescued him from the darkness. * * *

[1] One MS. reads در آن زمین البته هیچ دهي بغیر کهرک نه باشد. Mr. Thomas's copy has یعني instead of بغیر.

The Sultán, perceiving that there was a great scarcity of water, resolved in his munificence to bring a supply thither. He accordingly conducted two streams (*jú*) into the city from two rivers; one from the river Jumna, the other from the Sutlej.[1] That from the Jumna was called Rajíwáh, and (the other) Alaghkhání. Both these streams were conducted through the vicinity of Karnál, and, after a length of about eighty *kos*, discharged their waters by one channel into the town. The author's father was then in the service of the Court, and held the office of *Shabnavis*. He informed the author that Sultán Fíroz was occupied two years and a half[2] in building the town. When it was built he laid out many gardens and planted many trees, including all sorts of fruit trees. * * * Previous to this time there had been an autumn harvest, but the spring harvest failed, because wheat would not grow without water. After the canals had been dug, both harvests came to maturity.

Before this time, in the days of the old kings, this country had been entered in the revenue accounts as belonging to the division (*shikk*) of Hánsí; but now that Hisár Fírozah had been built, the Sultán ordered that from henceforth the division should be called Hisár Fírozah, and that the districts (*iktá'át*) of Hánsí, Agrowah,[3] Fath-ábád, and Sarsutí, as far as Salaurah and Khizrábád, with some other districts, should all be included in the division of Hisár Fírozah.[4] * * *

[1] All three MSS. agree that the canals were brought from *two* rivers, but the MS. of the India Office Library alone mentions the Sutlej. The cause of the omission is palpable: two lines commence with the word *Jún*, and one of these has been passed over.

[2] *Dú-nim*; lit. two halves.

[3] Two MSS. have "'Agrah."

[4] This simply means that the new town of Hisár Fírozah was made the *sadar* or chief place of the revenue division, instead of Hánsí. The word *shikk* is not a common revenue term, but its meaning is that of "division, separating," and there can be no doubt of the sense in which it is here employed. Mr. Beames in the Glossary (II., 17) quotes and translates the passage with some doubt. The verb which he comments upon is given correctly in one MS., "*mí nabishtand*;" which is certainly preferable to the inappropriate "*mí-nishínad*," which he adopts from the MS. 1002 of the East India Library.

Sixth Mukaddama. — Settlement of the Sovereign's rental (istikámat-i amlák).[1]

Fíroz Sháh thus established two cities by land and by water—the city of Fath-ábád, of which an account has been given in a former chapter, and the city of Hisár Fírozah, which has just been described. Numerous water-courses were brought into these places, and an extent of from eighty to ninety *kos* in these districts was brought (under cultivation), in which there were many towns and villages, as the *kasbas of* Janíd[2] and Dahá-tarath, and the town of Hánsí and its dependencies. In every town and village great advantage was derived from the supply of water. The king therefore convened a general assembly of judges, lawyers, and doctors, and demanded of them an opinion upon this question: "If a man with great labour and expenditure of money conducts water into certain districts, so that the inhabitants thereof realize a large profit, ought he or not to receive any return for his trouble and outlay?" They were unanimously of opinion that the benefactor was entitled to the right of *sharb*,[3] that is to say, ten per cent. The Sultán accordingly realized his *sharb*, and included it in his rent-roll.

Like unto former kings, he brought many waste lands[4] into cultivation, and subject to the payment of rent; but the proceeds of such lands were devoted to the learned and religious, among whom they were apportioned, and the public treasury was by this means relieved. The king's rental was thus increased from two sources, from the *sharb*, and secondly from the newly cultivated lands.[5] A sum of about two *lacs* of *tankas* was in this way added to the king's revenue. No king of Dehlí had ever

[1] The word *amlák* is used to designate the sovereign's private rental as distinct from the revenue of the public treasury.

[2] The name "Janíd" is found only in the MS. of the East India Library.

[3] *Sharaba*, an Arabic verbal root, means "to drink," as a noun, "water" or "drinking." Here it has a technical meaning.

[4] "*Zamín-i amwát*," lit. "dead lands."

[5] *Karyát-i ahyá*, "living villages," as opposed to the "dead lands" before mentioned.

been in the receipt of such an income as Sultán Fíroz now enjoyed, and the sovereign's financial business had so greatly increased that separate officers were appointed for the control of the private income of the Sultán, and the public revenue of the State was kept distinct.

When the rainy season came on, and the rains were at their height, officers were appointed to examine the banks of all the water-courses, and report how far the inundations extended. The author's father was several times appointed on this duty. The Sultán was greatly pleased when he heard of the spread of the waters. If any village in his estate went to ruin, he dismissed the officers in disgrace, and so during his reign the country was thriving and prosperous.

Seventh Mukaddama.—Interview of the Sultán with the preceptor of the Author at Hánsi.

Sultán Fíroz proceeded from Hisár Fírozah to Hánsí, in order to have an interview with the author's preceptor, Núru-d dín, who had succeeded to the spiritual supremacy (*sijjáda*) lately vacated by the death of Kutbu-d dín. [*The Sultán's object was to induce the Shaikh to remove to Hisár Fírozah, but he declined, because Hánsi had been the home of his ancestors and the abode of his predecessors.*] In these latter days the accursed (Mughals) have captured the city of Dehlí and have plundered and laid waste the possessions of Musulmáns; but through the protection of the Shaikh, the town of Hánsí remained in safety, and the people of Hisár Fírozah, who there took refuge, also found security.

Eighth Mukaddama.—The building of Fírozábád on the river Jumna.

* * * The Sultán having selected a site at the village of Gáwín, on the banks of the Jumna, founded the city of Fírozábád, before he went to Lakhnautí the second time. Here he

commenced a palace, * * * and the nobles of his court having also obtained (*giriftand*) houses there, a new town sprang up, five *kos* distant from Dehlí. Eighteen places were included in this town, the *kasba* of Indarpat, the *sarái* of Shaikh Malik Yár Parán, the *sarái* of Shaikh Abu Bakr Túsí, the village of Gáwín, the land of Khetwára, the land of Lahráwat, the land of Andháwalí, the land of the *sarái* of Malika, the land of the tomb of Sultán Raziya, the land of Bhárí, the land of Mahrola, and the land of Sultánpur. So many buildings were erected that from the *kasba* of Indarpat to the Kúshk-i shikár, five *kos* apart, all the land was occupied. There were eight public mosques, and one private mosque. * * * The public mosques were each large enough to accommodate 10,000 supplicants.

During the forty years of the reign of the excellent Sultán Fíroz, people used to go for pleasure from Dehlí to Fírozábád, and from Fírozábád to Dehlí, in such numbers, that every *kos* of the five *kos* between the two towns swarmed with people, as with ants or locusts. To accommodate this great traffic, there were public carriers who kept carriages, mules (*sutúr*), and horses, which were ready for hire at a settled rate every morning after prayers, so that the traveller could make the trip as seemed to him best, and arrive at a stated time. Palankín-bearers were also ready to convey passengers. The fare of a carriage was four silver *jítals* for each person; of a mule (*sutúr*), six; of a horse, twelve; and of a palankín, half a *tanka*. There was also plenty of porters ready for employment by any one, and they earned a good livelihood. Such was the prosperity of this district; * * but it was so ravaged by the Mughals, that the inhabitants were scattered in all directions. This was the will of God, and none can gainsay it.

Ninth Mukaddama.—Arrival of Zafar Khán from Sunár-gánw to seek the protection of Fíroz Sháh.

Zafar Khán was son-in-law of the king of Sunár-gánw, who was called Sultán Fakhru-d dín. The capital, Sunár-gánw, is

before Pandwah.[1] After Sultán Fíroz returned the first time from Bengal, Sultán Shamsu-d dín, in pursuit of revenge, embarked in boats, and in the course of a few days reached Sunárgánw. Fakhru-d dín, who was commonly called Fukhrá, was living without any thought of danger at Sunár-gánw, where he was taken alive and slain immediately by Shamsu-d dín, who established himself in his territory. All the friends and allies of Fakhru-d dín were scattered; but Zafar Khán was at that time engaged in the country collecting the revenues and examining the accounts of the collectors. When he was informed of what had happened, he was greatly alarmed, and fled from the territory of Sunár-gánw. He embarked in a boat and departed by the river, and afterwards, pursuing the most difficult roads, he at length, after many hardships, arrived at Thatta, and from thence proceeded to Dehlí. He was then conducted to Hisár Fírozah to pay his homage and tell his story to Sultán Fíroz. * * * The author's father was then in attendance on the Sultán, and, according to his account, Zafar Khán was greatly amazed at the splendour of the court, because he had never seen the like at Lakhnautí. He made an offering of an elephant, and paid his compliments.

The Sultán having very graciously made many inquiries of him, consoled him and told him that, after all his troubles and sufferings, he should at length gain his object, and should receive the double of what he had lost at Sunár-gánw. * * * Robes were presented to Zafar Khán and his followers. On the first day he received 30,000 *tankas* to get his clothes washed,[2] his title, Zafar Khán, was confirmed to him, and the sum of four *lacs* of *tankas* was granted to him and his friends. One thousand horse

[1 This sentence is doubtful. One MS. has "*Takhtgdh-i Sundr-gdnw az takhtgdh-i Pandwah peshtar ast*;" two others have "*az takhtgdh-i Pandwah wa Sundr-gdnw peshtar ast*," which seems to be nonsense; and a fourth has "*Pandwah wa Satkdh*." The application of *peshtar* is not obvious; it may relate to time, place, or estimation, but it most likely means that Sunár-gánw was a more ancient capital than Pandwah, which had been only lately established.]

[2] بوجه سرجامه شستن.

and large numbers of footmen were assigned to him. He was first appointed deputy-*wazír*, and subsequently became *wazír*. * * *

On another day, when the Sultán held a court, he perceived Zafar Khán to be downcast and pensive, * * * and he inquired the reason why he was so oppressed. * * * He replied that * * he was sore distressed, but that if the Sultán would consider his case, his mind would be set at ease. The Sultán directed him to proceed at once to Khán-i Jahán in Dehlí, whither he himself would follow. The Khán accordingly took leave of the Sultán and proceeded to Dehlí, where he was received with great kindness and respect by the Khán-i Jahán, and was lodged in the Green Palace belonging to his majesty. The Sultán soon followed him to Dehlí, and, after consulting with the Khán-i Jahán, directed him to make every suitable preparation for avenging the claims of Zafar Khán.

When Sultán Shamsu-d dín heard of the preparations that were making against him, he was dismayed, and felt that he could not remain in the islands of Ikdála. He deemed it expedient to remove to Sunár-gánw, which was in the very centre of Bengal, and there secure himself against the enemy. He accordingly proceeded thither, but the inhabitants of that place were instant in their supplications to Sultán Fíroz Sháh for relief from the tyrant.

Tenth Mukaddama.—Sultán Fíroz's second expedition to Lakhnautí.

* * * As on the first occasion when the Sultán marched to Lakhnautí, his army (was large and) consisted of 70,000 cavalry, innumerable infantry, 470 warlike elephants, and many barrier-breaking boats (*kishtihá-i band-kushá*). The warlike fervour was so great at the time that many volunteers assembled in Dehlí, and were sent on by the Sultán to the army. There were two outer tents (*dihlíz*), and two reception tents (*bárgáh*); two sleeping tents, and two tents for cooking and domestic work. There were also one[1]

[1] The authorities differ here; three of my four MSS. read "*ham sad o hashtád*, also one hundred and eighty;" the fourth has "*nuham sad o hashtád*, nine hundred and eighty;" which agrees with Lieut. Lewis's translation in the Dehlí Archæological Journal.

hundred and eighty standards of various kinds, eighty-four ass-loads of drums and trumpets (*tabal o damámah*), and camels, asses, and horses in great numbers.

With this brave and well-appointed army the Sultán marched towards Bengal, and Khán-i Jahán was left behind as deputy in Dehlí. The Khán-i 'azam Tátár Khán accompanied the royal standards some marches, but was then sent back to Hisár Fírozah. The author learned the cause of this dismissal from his father, who was then one of the royal attendants (*khawáss*). The Sultán at the beginning of his reign, as is the practice of kings, used to indulge in wine from time to time. After starting on his campaign the Sultán encamped with his army and showed the utmost care and attention to its discipline. But it so happened that one morning they placed some wine before him. It is a remarkable fact that the wines which Fíroz Sháh used to drink were of various colours and different flavours; some were yellow as saffron, some red as the rose, some were white; and the taste of all was like sweet milk. Thus the personal attendants of this great king used to serve him with wines of different colours. One morning after prayers the Sultán called for a glass to moisten his throat, and it so happened that Tátár Khán came to wait upon him just at the same time. His arrival was announced to the Sultán, who was greatly annoyed at being thwarted in his enjoyment; so he desired his son Fath Khán to see Tátár Khán, and to put him off with some excuse. But Tátár Khán was not to be denied; in spite of all excuses he would not go away, but went in and sat down, saying that he had a statement to make. The Sultán was thus compelled to invite him in.

At that time the Sultán was lying half-naked (*chún nihang*) on his couch; but before the Khán came in, he wrapped a garment around him, and, rising from his couch, sat down on a coverlet. The wine and cups he pushed under the bed, and covered all with a sheet. When Tátár Khán entered, he spied what was hidden under the bed, and his suspicions were aroused. He was so troubled by the sight that his lips failed to utter the usual salutation. The

Sultán spoke not a word, neither did he. At length Tátár Khán began to speak (seriously) as if beginning a sermon (*dástán*), saying, that they were about to march against the enemy, and the time was one for repentance, self-abasement, and prayer. The Sultán inquired what he meant, and asked if anything untoward had happened, and the Khán said he perceived certain articles under the bed. The Sultán replied that he liked to take a little now and then; and Tátár Khán expressed his deep regret that the Sultán should indulge in such a practice. Thereupon the Sultán swore an oath that he would drink no more wine while the Khán was with the army. Tátár Khán gave thanks to God and went away. The Sultán sat brooding over the matter and thought the Khán had spoken to him in a disrespectful and unkind manner. After some days the Sultán bethought him that they were not near Hisár-Fírozah, the neighbourhood of which town was in a disturbed state; he therefore sent Tátár Khán thither to restore order and quiet, and the Khán accordingly took his departure.

The Sultán then marched through Kanauj and Oudh to Jaunpúr. Before this time there was no town of any extent (*shahr-i ábádán*) there, but the Sultán, observing a suitable site, determined upon building a large town. He accordingly stayed there six months, and built a fine town on the banks of the Kowah,[1] to which he determined to give the name of Sultán Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughlik Sháh, and as that sovereign bore the name of Jaunán, he called the place Jaunánpúr (Jaunpúr). An account of this foundation was sent to Khwája-i Jahán at Dehlí. Jaunpúr was made a (capital) city in the reign of the Sultánu-sh Shark Khwája-i Jahán,[2] and I intend to give a full account of this King of the East in my memoirs (*manákib*) of the reign of Sultán Muhammad, son of Fíroz. After this delay of six months, he marched for Bengal, and in due time arrived there.

Sultán Shamsu-d dín was dead, and had been succeeded by Sultán Sikandar, who, fearing the invading force, fled with all

[1] The Gúmtí.

[2] See Stewart's "History of Bengal," p. 96.

his forces into the islands (*jazáir*) of Ikdála. Fíroz Sháh surrounded these islands, and by his command all his forces built themselves wooden huts,[1] and prepared for battle.

Eleventh Mukaddama. — Sultán Sikandar takes refuge in his fortress.—Fall of a bastion of the fort.

The Sultán having blockaded the islands of Ikdála, as above stated, *'arrádas* (small balistas) and *manjaníks* were erected on both sides, arrows and darts were discharged, the business of the siege went on, and conflicts occurred every day. The besieged were unable to come out of their fortress, and strict guard was kept on both sides by night and day. Suddenly one of the principal bastions of the fort of Sikandariya fell down, because it was unable to bear the men and the immense weight placed upon it. A great cry arose from the besiegers before the place and the besieged within, and both sides prepared for battle. When the alarm reached the ears of the Sultán, he looked inquiringly upon his attendants, and Prince Fath Khán suggested that the Bengal army had made a sally from Ikdála. The Sultán immediately called for his dress, and, girding on his arms, he rode to the scene of the uproar. There he was met by the impetuous Hisámu-l Mulk, who told him that the chief tower had fallen under the pressure of the crowds placed upon it, and urged him to make an immediate assault and capture the place. The Sultán thought over the proposition, and after serious reflection he replied to Hisámu-d dín, that although it was very desirable that the place should be captured, still, if it were taken by sudden assault, thousands of worthy and respectable women would be subjected to violence and indignity at the hands of graceless men, and he was therefore resolved to wait awhile and trust in Providence. All the army expected the order for the assault, but accepted patiently the royal decision.

During the night "the King of the Blacks" mounted "the eastern roof," and urging his Bengalís to work energetically, they

[1] کہتکر کردہ.

laboured all night, and, restoring the ruined fort, were again prepared for the attack. The author has been informed by trustworthy people that the fort of Ikdála was built of mud, so that it was soon repaired and made ready for action. Fighting recommenced and went on, of which no description can be given. Provisions at length grew short in the fort, which made the Bengalís anxious, and both parties being heartily tired of fighting, the Almighty disposed the two kings for peace.

Twelfth Mukaddama.—Conclusion of Peace between Sultán Sikandar and Sultán Fíroz, with the presentation of forty elephants.

Sultán Sikandar and his people being in great distress, he consulted with his ministers as to the best course to be pursued to escape from their difficulties. They being unanimous, said that the people of Bengal had never been very friendly with the people of the Upper provinces,[1] because the decrees of fate had so ruled; but if the Sultán would give his consent, they, his servants and well-wishers, would send a person to the ministers of Sultán Fíroz Sháh and make propositions of peace. Sultán Sikandar kept silence, and his advisers retired, observing that "Silence is one of the signs of assent." His ministers accordingly sent a clever, confidential agent to the ministers of Sultán Fíroz to open negotiations for peace, representing that * * * the combatants on both sides were Muhammadans, and that these contentions were productive of evil to the professors of Islám; it therefore behoved the ministers of Sultán Fíroz to make him disposed for peace, as Sultán Sikandar was already inclined.

When these overtures were made to the ministers of Fíroz Sháh, they assembled together, and, after carefully considering the matter, they agreed that the propositions were reasonable, and that they would recommend them to his acceptance. These wise men accordingly repaired to his presence, and made known

[1] *Faro-dast*, "the lower country," meaning Bengal; and *bálá-dast*, "the upper country," meaning the provinces dependent on Dehlí.

to him the proposals of Sultán Sikandar. He entertained the proposal, and said that as his adversary was reduced to distress, and was disposed to peace, it behoved him to listen to the proposition in conformity to the Divine precept that "Peace is good," and so stop the sword in its ravages on the people of Islám. After some consideration he replied, that he would accept the proposition, on condition that the Khán-i 'azam, Zafar Khán, should be placed on the throne in Sunár-gánw. When the ministers heard this resolution of the Sultán, they * * * sent Haibat Khán as envoy, to settle the terms of peace.

The ministers of Sultán Sikandar met and received the envoy; but although Sultán Sikandar was fully acquainted with all the negotiations which had been carried on, he pretended to be in ignorance. Haibat Khán was, according to trustworthy statements, a countryman of his, and had two sons in his service. When he set forth the terms on which peace might be made, Sultán Sikandar replied, that Sultán Fíroz had been kind to him, and that he was very averse to carrying on war and slaughter with him. Haibat Khán conducted himself like an accomplished ambassador; what he had to say he said well, tenderly, and warmly. When he perceived that Sikandar also spoke in favour of peace, he said that the chief reason why Sultán Fíroz had undertaken the campaign was the establishment of Zafar Khán in the country of Sunár-gánw. Sultán Sikandar accepted the proposed terms, and agreed to surrender Sunár-gánw to Zafar Khán. But he added, that if this were the object of the campaign, much unnecessary trouble had been undertaken; for if an order had been sent to him from Dehlí, he would have placed Zafar Khán in possession of the place.

Haibat Khán returned to Sultán Fíroz in high spirits, and made an exact report of all that had passed, including Sikandar's consent to allow Zafar Khán to occupy Sunár-gánw. The Sultán was satisfied, and expressed his desire to remain at peace with Sikandar, and to look upon him as a nephew. [*Haibat Khán suggested that some presents should be given to Sultán Sikandar*

and] the Sultán sent into the fort of Ikdála, by the hands of Malik Kabúl, otherwise called Torábánd, a crown worth 80,000 *tankas*, and 500 valuable Arab and Turkí horses, with an expression of his wish that henceforth they might never again draw the sword. The Sultán then advanced two marches, while Malik Kabúl proceeded to the fort. It is credibly reported that the ditch of the fort of Iskandariya was twenty *gaz* broad. When Malik Kabúl reached it, to show his daring, he made his horse take a leap, and the high-spirited animal carried him over in safety, to the great amazement and admiration of the Bengalís. When Malik Kabúl was received, he walked seven times round the throne of Sikandar, and placed the crown upon his head and the robes upon his breast [*expressing in strong terms the hope of peace and friendship between the two kings*]. Sultán Sikandar asked him what his name was, and he replied, in the Hindí language, "Torábánd." The Sultán again spoke and asked if his master had other servants like him, and the Khán replied, that he was a slave in the second palace, and that 10,000 men as good as he kept night watch over the palace of his sovereign. At which Sultán Sikandar was much amazed.

Sultán Sikandar, to show his satisfaction, sent forty elephants and other valuable presents, expressing, at the same time, his desire that every year there might be a similar interchange of brotherly and friendly feeling between them. So long as these two sovereigns lived, presents and souvenirs were exchanged, as was well known to their subjects; but when they died, the people of the two kingdoms did the best they could (*ráh-i khud giriftand*).

When the forty elephants were sent to Sultán Fíroz, the Sultán of Bengal sent one also for Malik Kabúl. Fíroz Sháh was greatly pleased, and, in gratifying language, he told Malik Kabúl that Sultán Sikandar had done well in restoring Sunárgánw to Zafar Khán, and that he did not intend to interfere further about it. He then sent for Zafar Khán, and directed him to proceed to Sunár-gánw, offering to remain for a time where he was, with his whole force to sustain him. Zafar Khán

consulted with his friends, and they all agreed that it would be impossible for him to stay at Sunár-gánw, for all his relations and friends had perished. He therefore returned to the Sultán and said that he and his family were so happy and secure under the government of Dehlí, that he had given up all desire of Sunár-gánw, and had resolved to retain his present position in peace. For all the Sultán's persuasion he would not return. Sultán Fíroz then, to the joy of his friends, went back to his garden, and sent off dispatches to Khán-i Jahán. After some time, the Sultán proceeded to Jaunpúr, and from thence he went towards Jájnagar, accompanied by the forty elephants from Lakhnautí.

Thirteenth Mukaddama.—March of Sultán Fíroz from Jaunpúr to Jájnagar.[1]

When Sultán Fíroz reached Jaunpúr in returning from his campaign against Bengal, he determined to proceed to Jájnagar, and his officials made every preparation for the march. The Sultán left his baggage[2] at Karra, and proceeding from thence he hastened to Jájnagar, which place he reached by making successive marches through Bihár. The country of Jájnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father, who was in the royal suite, informed the writer that it was in a very flourishing state, and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals, so that they recovered from the hardships of the campaign. Sultán Fíroz rested at Banárasí, an ancient residence of the arrogant Ráis. At that time the Rái of Jájnagar, by name Adáya, had deemed it expedient to quit Baránasí, and to take up his residence elsewhere; so Sultán Fíroz occupied his palace. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Banárasí, each populated with a large number

[1] The Jájnagar of Cuttack, see *suprà*, pp. 112 and 234.

[2] Two MSS. have حضرت شاه بنگال در کڑه کذاشت, "the King of Bengal" proceeded to Karra, which agrees with Lieut. Lewis's translation in the Dehlí Journal. The other two MSS. say حضرت شاه بنگاه در کڑه کذاشت, "the Sultán left his baggage train at Karra," which is undoubtedly correct, and is confirmed by a subsequent passage in the fifteenth *Mukaddama*, page 316.

of people. The Ráís were Brahmans, and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rái at Jájnagar should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large.

The cowardly Rái of Jájnagar, when he heard of the approach of the Sultán's army, embarked on board a boat in great alarm, and took refuge on the water. All his country was thrown into confusion—some of the inhabitants were made prisoners, others fled to the hills. Their horses (*burda*) and cattle became the spoil of the army. Those who accompanied the Sultán relate that the numbers of animals of every kind were so great that no one cared to take them. Two *jítals* was the price of a horse (*burda*);[1] as for cattle, no one would buy them. Sheep were found in such countless numbers, that at every halt great numbers were slaughtered. If any were not required, they were left behind, because a plentiful supply was sure to be found at the next stage. The author has mentioned these matters to show the prosperity of the country. He has further been informed that the inhabitants had spacious houses and fine gardens; they had even gardens and walks within their houses, and fruit trees, flowers, etc., were cultivated therein. * * *

The Sultán left Banárasí with the intention of pursuing the Rái of Jájnagar, who had fled to an island in the river, having let loose a fierce elephant to occupy the attention of his enemies, and to divert them from pursuing him. This elephant was very wild, and would allow no other elephant to approach him. For three days the army was actively engaged in endeavouring to take him alive, but failed. By the Sultán's order he was then slain, and the Sultán with his army entered the fort. News was then brought that in the *jangal* there were seven elephants, and one old she-elephant, which was very fierce. The Sultán resolved upon endeavouring to capture these elephants before continuing the pursuit of the Rái.

[1] In page 350, Vol. II., I assigned the meaning of "horse" to *burda*, instead of "prisoner." That interpretation is here confirmed.

Fourteenth Mukaddama.— Elephant hunt. Submission of the Rái of Jájnagar.

[*Hunt of the Elephants.*] After some days the elephants were tired and were cut off from their pasture. The elephant-drivers then went into the *jangal*, and climbed up the trees; when the animals, weak with thirst and hunger, passed slowly under the trees, the drivers dropped down upon their backs, and, putting ropes and chains upon them, captured the whole eight.

After the hunt was over, the Sultán directed his attention to the Rái of Jájnagar, and entering the palace where he dwelt he found many fine buildings. It is reported that inside the Rái's fort there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannáth, and to which they paid their devotions. Sultán Fíroz, in emulation of Mahmúd Subuktigín, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Dehlí, where he subsequently had it placed in an ignominious position. The Sultán then resolved upon pursuing the Rái into his island; but the Rái sent some of his Brahmans (*pátar*) to wait upon the Sultán. As Sultáns consult with their clear-sighted ministers, so do *ráis*, *ránas*, and *zamíndars* take counsel with their *mahtas*[1] on matters of war. In the country of Jájnagar the *mahtas* are called *pátars*; and the Rái of Jájnagar had twenty *pátars*, otherwise called *mahtas*, under whose advice he conducted all the affairs of his State. In great fear, the Rái sent five of these *pátars* to wait on the Sultán, and make his submission; when they represented, with much respect, that the Rái had long been a dependent and subject of the Sultán, and they desired to ascertain the Sultán's intentions.

When the Sultán had heard what they had to say, he replied that his intentions had been friendly. He had received certain information that elephants were as numerous as sheep in the *jangal* round the Rái's dwelling, and he had proceeded thither for the purpose of hunting. When he approached, the Rái fled in alarm, and took refuge in his islands. What was the cause of

[1] This word is written *mahta* and *matha* in the different MSS. It is evidently the Hindí *mahant* or *mahat*. *Pátar* is common in Orissa.

this flight? After explanations, the Rái sent twenty mighty elephants as an offering, and agreed to furnish certain elephants yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultán then sent robes and insignia by the *mahtas* to the Rái, he granted robes to them also, and then they returned home. After this the Sultán started on his return, taking with him, from the two countries of Lakhnautí and Jájnagar, seventy-three elephants, having stayed two years and seven months in those territories.

Fifteenth Mukaddama.—Return of Firoz Sháh from Jájnagar by difficult roads.

After the Sultán had started on his return to Dehlí, the guides lost their way, and proceeded over mountains and plains and along the banks of a river like the Jíhún. The author's father, who accompanied the march, stated that the army ascended and descended mountain after mountain, and passed through *jangals* and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march. No road was to be found, nor any grain. Provisions became very scarce, and the army was reduced to the verge of destruction. For six months no news of the Sultán reached Dehlí, and the Khán-i Jahán was in great alarm. Day after day he rode about the environs of the city, and fear of him kept the country at peace. At the end of six months, a road was discovered, and the Sultán determined to send a messenger to Dehlí. He gave public notice that all who wished to write to their families and friends might take this opportunity. This gave great satisfaction, and every man of the army, from the highest to the lowest, wrote some account of his condition. The letters were sent to the tent of the Sultán, and the number of them was so great that a camel-load of letters was sent to Dehlí. When they reached the city, the Khán-i Jahán made great public rejoicing, the letters were piled in a heap before the palace, and all who expected letters were directed to come forward and receive them.

The Sultán's army having at length traversed the mountains

and jungles, and having crossed the river, after enduring great privations and practising many expedients, came out into the open country. They thanked God for their deliverance, and the Sultán hastened to rejoin his baggage-train (*bungáh*). When the Sultán was at Jájnagar, he left the baggage train at Karra, where it still remained. A *farman* was sent to Dehlí announcing the return of the Sultán, and the Khán-i Jahán made suitable preparations for his reception.

Sixteenth Mukaddama.—Arrival of the Sultán at Dehlí. Erection of kabbas (pavilions for public rejoicings).

[*Rejoicings at Dehlí.*] The author has been informed that the town of Fírozábád was not yet populous, and neither the *kushk* (palace) nor the fort was erected, yet one *kabba* was erected there. On the day the Sultán entered Dehlí, * * * the seventy-three elephants, in gorgeous trappings, preceded him like a flock of sheep * * * into the Kushk-i Humáyún, without any drivers. * *

The Sultán employed himself at Dehlí in State affairs. Among his other qualities, he had a remarkable fondness for history. Just at this time Maulána Zíáu-d dín Barní, the author of the *Tárikh-i Firoz Sháhí* died, and the Sultán expressed to every learned man the great desire he felt for an historical record of the events of his own reign. When he despaired of getting such a work written, he caused the following lines, of his own composition (*az zabán-i khwesh*), to be inscribed in letters of gold on the walls (*'imárat*) of the Kushk-i Shikár-rav, and on the domes of the Kushk-i nuzúl, and the walls (*'imárat*) of the minarets of stone which are within the Kushk-i Shikár-rav at Fírozábád :—

"I made a great hunt of elephants, and I captured so many :

"I performed many glorious deeds ; and all this I have done

"That in the world and among men ; in the earth and among mankind, these verses

"May stand as a memorial to men of intelligence, and that the people of the world, and the wise men of the age, may follow the example."[1]

[1] The Sultán's verses certainly do not rise above the level of his exploits.

Seventeenth Mukaddama.—Happiness of the people in the reign of Firoz Sháh.

After his return from Lakhnautí, the Sultán was much occupied with building. He completed, with much care, the *kushk* at Fírozábád, and also commenced a *kushk* in the middle of that town. After the lapse of two half years, every man of the army now returned to his home. The Sultán passed his time in three ways: 1. In hunting; * * * 2. In directing the affairs of State; * * * 3. In building; * * * Through the attention which the Sultán devoted to administration, the country grew year by year more prosperous and the people more happy. He assigned thirty-six *lacs* of *tankas* for learned and religious men, and about a 100 *lacs* in pensions and gifts to the poor and needy. [*Every class of the community shared in the general prosperity.*] One day the Sultán went hunting, and in pursuit of his quarry, having separated from his followers, he went to a garden where he met a woman [*whose conversation showed him the necessity of more strict attention to the duties of revenue administration*]. During the forty years that Fíroz Sháh reigned, all his people were happy and contented; but when he departed, and the territory of Dehlí came into the hands of others, by the will of fate, the people were dispersed and the learned were scattered. At length the inhabitants, small and great, all suffered from the inroads of the Mughals. The aged author of this work has written a full account thereof in his Description of the Sack of Dehlí [*Zikr-i kharábi Dehlí*].

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Conquest of Nagarkot (Kángra).

After his return from Lakhnautí, Sultán Fíroz determined upon a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Daulatábád, and started thither with a suitable train of attendants and tent equipage. He arrived at Bhayána, where he rested for a while, and State affairs then necessitated his return to Dehlí. Afterwards he marched with his army towards Nagarkot, and, passing

by the valleys of Nákhach nuh garhí,[1] he arrived with his army at Nagarkot, which he found to be very strong and secure. The Ráí shut himself up in his fort, and the Sultán's forces plundered all his country. The idol, Jwálá-mukhí, much worshipped by the infidels, was situated in the road to Nagarkot. This idol is said to have been placed in a secluded room, where it was worshipped by the Hindus. Some of the infidels have reported that Sultán Fíroz went specially to see this idol and held a golden umbrella over its head. But the author was informed by his respected father, who was in the Sultán's retinue, that the infidels slandered the Sultán, who was a religious, God-fearing man, who, during the whole forty years of his reign, paid strict obedience to the law, and that such an action was impossible. The fact is, that when he went to see the idol, all the *ráis*, *ránas*, and *zamíndárs* who accompanied him were summoned into his presence, when he addressed them, saying, "O fools and weak-minded, how can ye pray to and worship this stone, for our holy law tells us that those who oppose the decrees of our religion will go to hell?" The Sultán held the idol in the deepest detestation, but the infidels, in the blindness of their delusion, have made this false statement against him. Other infidels have said that Sultán Muhammad Sháh bin Tughlik Sháh held an umbrella over this same idol, but this also is a lie; and good Muhammadans should pay no heed to such statements. These two Sultáns were sovereigns specially chosen by the Almighty from among the faithful, and in the whole course of their reigns, whenever they took an idol temple they broke and destroyed it; how, then, can such assertions be true? These infidels must certainly have lied!

The Ráí of Nagarkot withdrew into the keep of his stronghold, which was invested by the royal forces in double, nay, even in tenfold lines. *Manjaníks* and *'arrádas* were erected on both sides, and

[1] This is not very intelligible; the original words are بسمت جریبان زمین دار ناخچ نہ گرهي براورد. It may be read "Nákhach of the nine forts."

so many stones were discharged that they clashed in the air and were dashed to pieces. For six months the siege went on, and both sides exhibited great courage and endurance. At length fortune inclined to the Sultán. He was one day examining the fortress, when he perceived the Rái standing on the top of his citadel. There he stood, in an attitude of humility, and stretching forth his hand in sign of distress, he clasped his hands and bowed in subjection. When the Sultán observed this, he drew a handkerchief from his bosom, and, waving it kindly towards the Rái, he signed for him to come down. The *Mahtas* of the Rái assembled [*and counselled surrender*]. So the Rái, throwing off his pride, came down from his fort, and, making apologies, cast himself at the feet of the Sultán, who with much dignity placed his hand on the back of the Rái, and having bestowed on him robes of honour and an umbrella, sent him back to his fort. So the Rái returned laden with presents which he had received from the royal treasury, and accompanied by several fine horses which had been given to him. Thus, by the favour of God, the Sultán became master of Nagarkot. When he left the fort, to return to his capital, the Rái sent many offerings and horses of priceless worth. * * *

KISM III. — CONCERNING THE AFFAIRS OF THATTA AND THE SUBMISSION OF THE JÁM AND BÁBINIYA. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TÁS-I GHARIYÁL.

First Mukaddama.—Resolution of the Sultán with Khán-i Jahán about Thatta.

* * * Four whole years passed after the Sultán's return from Lakhnautí, during which he stayed principally at Dehlí and attended to the affairs of his people, though from time to time he turned his thoughts towards the concerns of the people of Thatta. Whenever he spoke of this place he used to stroke his beard, and exclaim that it was a hundred thousand pities that his predecessor, Sultán Muhammad Sháh Tughlik,

had failed in conquering it. From these indications the nobles and attendants clearly perceived that his thoughts were bent upon an expedition to that country. One day, in private consultation with his *wazír*, Khán-i Jahán, he disclosed the secret thoughts of his heart, saying, "What sort of men are they of Thatta, and are they exempt from apprehension, because they opposed the late Sultán when he entered their territory, and he ended his life before the contest was concluded? Often, during his illness, he looked at me and said, 'Would that God would turn my sickness into health, so that I might subdue these people of Thatta! If God should please to take me, still this desire will remain constant in my heart.'" Sultán Fíroz recalled to the mind of the Khán-i Jahán how Sultán Muhammad had died without accomplishing this dearest wish of his heart; and went on to say that as God had made him the successor to Muhammad, had not, then, the duty of exacting vengeance devolved upon him? The minister carefully pondered over the matter, and replied that the Sultán's views were right and expedient. Two objects might be gained: First, it was a duty to carry out the testaments and precepts of predecessors; children and brethren are bound to be zealous in avenging their deceased relatives, and this duty is more especially incumbent on kings. Secondly, it is an obligation on kings that every year they should strive to subdue fortresses, for, as Sa'dí says,

"If a holy man eats half his loaf, he will give the other half to a beggar;
"But if a king conquers all the world, he will still seek another world to conquer."

The minister being thus in accord with the wishes of the Sultán, he ordered the necessary preparations to be made for an expedition to Thatta. The ministers accordingly proceeded to inquire into the number of soldiers present and absent, and made a report of the numbers of horse and foot who were present, and of those who were absent. The report soon spread abroad that the Sultán meditated an expedition against Thatta. He had undertaken in the course of his reign several enterprizes, which had gratified his people, and they now eagerly came for-

ward to join his army. When the muster was called, four, ten, and eleven fold of irregulars (*ghair-wajh*) appeared;[1] and the regulars (*wajh-dár*) through long tranquillity attended in great numbers with horses and arms. So the Sultán started for Thatta, accompanied by his nobles and followers.

Second Mukaddama.—March of Firoz Sháh to Thatta.

Before the Sultán departed on his expedition he made pilgrimages to the saints and holy men who were buried near Dehlí, as other great kings had done before him, to invoke the assistance of their prayers. This was the usual practice of the Sultán. Whenever he was about to make a journey for a month or two, he used to visit the shrines of holy men and famous kings, to invoke their aid and to cast himself on their protection, not trusting to his own power and greatness. [*Account of his devotions and charities.*]

The Sultán having thus discharged his religious duties, he placed himself at the head of his brave and numerous army, and turned towards Thatta. The author intends, in his fourth book, to give an account of the many servants who joined the royal army. In those days the author's father served in the minister's office (*dar mahal-i diwán-i wizárat*) among the great officials. The Sultán's army consisted of 90,000 cavalry and 480 elephants. The Khán-i 'azam, Tátár Khán, was now dead. The *wazir*, Khán-i Jahán, was left as viceroy in Dehlí [*Tents and equipage*]. When the Sultán started, he resolved to pay a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Farídu-d dín, at Ajodhan, and, on arriving at that town, he accomplished this object. When he reached the confines of Bhakkar and Siwistán, he issued an order for collecting all the boats of the country, and when as many as five thousand had been brought together, he placed them by

[1] I translate this passage somewhat doubtfully with the light of the context, which evidently implies that more men were ready than were required. The words are چون استعداد موجود کشت حشم غیروجهي چهارکان دة یازدة یاتُت.
See *infrà*, p. 327.

thousands under the command of his principal officers, and the author's father had command of one division. The order was given to descend the river Sind, and in a few days they reached Thatta. The Sultán himself marched in company with a force along the hither bank of the river.

Third Mukaddama.—Descent of Sultán Fíroz on Thatta.

In these days the territory of Thatta was divided into two parts, one division lying on the hither (*kirána*) or Dehlí side of the river Sindh, and the other on the farther (*guzárá*) or Thatta side; both of them populated by a numerous and warlike people. At that time the Jám, brother of Rái Unar, and Bábiniya, his brother's son, were masters of Thatta.[1] They made great show of their prowess and [*collecting their forces they prepared for resistance*]. Mud forts had also been built in both divisions of Sind. The Jám, and Bábiniya the arrogant,[2] made ready for battle; the Sultán also, having approached Thatta, arrayed his forces, and a battle seemed imminent from day to day. But grain became scarce in the army of the Sultán. A pestilence also broke out among the horses, which was a very grievous calamity, and greatly disheartened the troops of every rank. Of the whole 90,000 horses which had marched with the Sultán, only one-fourth, at the utmost, remained alive. The dearness of grain caused great dismay; the price rose from two to three *tankas* a *man*, and even beyond that. When the men of Thatta saw these sufferings of their adversaries, the Jám and Bábiniya resolved to seize the opportunity and to make an attack.

Fourth Mukaddama.—Engagement with the army of Thatta.

The Jám, and Bábiniya the arrogant, came forth from their fort with a large force of horse and foot, and drew up in array

[1] [This is according to the version of the two MSS. of the East India Library. Sir H. Elliot's and Mr. Thomas' MSS. are here defective. They omit the name "Unar," and change "Bábiniya" into "Thatta," making sheer nonsense. Firishta gives only one name, "Jam Bany, the son of Jám Afra" (or, according to the text, Ghafra). See Mir Ma'súm, Vol. I. of this work, p. 226.]

[2] [*Khúd-kám;* this epithet is appended to his name until he made his submission.]

against the royal forces. When the Sultán heard of their advance, he also drew out his forces, and, upon examination, there proved to be hardly one-fourth cavalry. Famine also had broken down the vigour and spirit of his men. Still, like a valiant king, he made ready for battle, and arranged his forces in three divisions—a centre and two wings. The elephants were divided among the three divisions. He then put on his armour, and, baton in hand, rode through the whole array, encouraging and cheering the men. This raised the spirits of his people and incited their devotion.

The Sultán passed along in front of his forces speaking words of encouragement, and all men offered up their prayers for him. Although he affected not to fear the vast force of his enemies, still, in his heart, he looked with apprehension on the weakness of his own army, and prayed to God for assistance. The enemy's numbers amounted to about 20,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry. With all this enormous force the enemy were unable to force an action, but discharges of arrows were interchanged. Heaven fought on the side of the Sultán, and such a storm of wind arose that the men were unable to open their eyes. Still, the brave men on both sides maintained a struggle. The Sultán, notwithstanding the weakness of his force, resolved to advance, and the whole army, making one vigorous and united charge, the enemy fled and took refuge in their fort. * * * The Sultán was thus left master of the field. He then held a council, and announced his intention to retire upon Gujarát and reinforce his army, but he added that if God spared him he would return again the following year and push his enterprize.

Fifth Mukaddama.—Retreat of Firoz Sháh from Thatta to Gujarát.

[*Full account of what passed at the council, and of the determination to retreat into Gujarát to recruit, and return in the following year, when the crops would be ripe and grain plentiful.*] The Sultán then gave orders for the march, which

spread universal joy throughout the army. * * The Khán-i 'azam (Zafar Khán), who had under his command a large force of Bengálís, had charge of the rear. When the enemy found that the Sultán had retreated, with all his forces and baggage (as they supposed), towards Dehlí, they pursued. The first day the royal army made a march of ten *kos*, and the enemy coming up, a sharp encounter took place between them and Zafar Khán, in which they were repulsed. The heads of several Thatta men were cut off and sent to the Sultán. All the fleet of boats fell into the hands of the enemy, but the baggage was carried off with the army to Gujarát.

Sixth Mukaddama.—Falling of the army into Kúnchi-ran (the Ran of Kach)

When Sultán Fíroz fell back victorious, grain, which was dear, became dearer; day by day it rose higher, and the state of the horses' feet is beyond description. Grain rose to one *tanka* and two *tankas* a *sir*, and even at that price was not to be obtained. Men, through craving hunger and helpless nakedness, could not pursue their way, and in their extreme distress gave up in despair. As no corn was to be procured, carrion and raw hides were devoured; some men even were driven by extreme hunger to boil old hides, and to eat them. A deadly famine reigned, and all men saw death staring them in the face. All the horses were destroyed, and the *kháns* and *maliks* were compelled to pursue their weary way on foot. Not one steed remained in the army, and by the will of God all ranks were reduced to the same state of destitution. The guides who led the way and conducted them, had maliciously misled them into a place called Kúnchí-ran. In this place all the land is impregnated with salt to a degree impossible to describe, and if the water was held upon the tongue it crystalized.

When the army was thus reduced to the extremity of despair, the Sultán had one of the false guides beheaded. Then the others came honestly before him and said: "We have dealt falsely toward you, and have led you into a place where none but you could

have survived; not even things which could fly in the air and drive along like the wind. This place is called Kúnchí-ran, and the sea is near. The saltness of the water arises from this proximity, and the district is deadly." When the people heard these words of their guides, they gave themselves utterly up to despair. The Sultán ordered (the guides) to find fresh water for him and his followers, and to lead them away from this salt water. The water, indeed, was so excessively salt that all men were in amazement and despair. As far as the eye could reach, all was salt water. When, after endless labours and hardships, the wretched men found fresh water, they rushed into the middle of it. So excessive was the prevalence of salt, that if a pot of fresh water was placed upon the impregnated ground, the fresh water became salt, and no one could bear it on his tongue.

When with great difficulty and exertion they escaped from that salt country they came into a desert where no bird laid an egg, or flapped its wing, where no tree was to be seen, and where no blade of grass grew. If even a lethal weed had been wanted it could not have been found. No other desert, however fearful, could be compared with this. [*Despair of the men and distress of the Sultán.*] Four calamities had at once assailed them: famine, the necessity of walking on foot, the terrors of the deadly desert, and separation from beloved ones.

For six months no news of the army reached Dehlí, where every one, small and great, was in distress, believing that the Sultán and his army were lost. Khán-i Jahán, the *wazír*, by his great prudence and sagacity, managed to maintain order; and fear of him restrained all disposition to create disturbances. The fact of the disappearance of the Sultán and his army became known through all the country, and every house was filled with mourning. * * *

When Khán-i Jahán saw the perilous condition in which the country was placed, he removed all the Sultán's valuables from the palace to his own house, and issued numerous orders to restrain any exhibition of individual power. Every day he rode

about the city displaying his own strength, but when he perceived that the rumour (of the king's destruction) gathered force from day to day, he feigned to have received a despatch from the Sultán announcing the safety of the royal person. This allayed all apprehension, and was the cause of great rejoicing, after which every one went on as usual with his own business. If kings had not wise and able ministers they could never leave their kingdoms, and never engage in conquest. [*Eulogy of Khán-i Jahán.*]

Seventh Mukaddama. — Lamentations of the soldiers, and anxiety of the Sultán in Kúnchí-ran.

* * * In every march thousands of men and horses died. * * * At length the Sultán in his trouble prayed earnestly for rain, * * and God in his great mercy raised clouds in the sky. On every side they rolled up swiftly, cloud upon cloud; the rain fell, and the water-courses ran. All men drank and used the water, and were delivered from their trouble. On the same day a road of escape was discovered. * * *

As soon as he emerged from the desert the Sultán returned humble thanks to the Almighty, and then sent a despatch to Dehlí for Khán-i Jahán, "informing him of the safety of the Sultán and of all his army"[1] [*which gave rise to great rejoicings in the capital*].

Eighth Mukaddama.—Arrival of Sultán Fíroz in Gujarát.

The Sultán, on escaping from the desert, marched speedily with his army into Gujarát, and his men then rested from their troubles. At that time Amír Husain, son of the late Amír Míran, *Mustaufí* of the State, governed the country of Gujarát with the titles *Maliku-sh Shark*, Prince of the East, and *Nizámu-l Mulk*, Administrator of the State, and *Nek-nám*, of

[1] از حال سلامتي خود و جميع لشكر خبر داد. The inconsistency of this statement with the picture of suffering and death, previously drawn, exceeds even the ordinary stretch of Oriental license.

good repute. He was an active ruler, but when he waited on his sovereign, the Sultán demanded with much warmth why he had sent no supplies and assistance for the relief of the army, and why he had allowed the army to perish. He was dismissed from his government, and his estates were resumed. The Sultán remained in Gujarát recruiting his army. The irregulars[1] having received six, ten, and eleven (*tankas ?*) from the kindness of the Sultán, in a short time they were all horsed. Under these circumstances Malik 'Imádu-l Mulk, one of the pillars of the State of Dehlí, took up the case of the regulars (*wajh-dárs*) and represented to his Majesty that the irregulars had by his bounty become mounted while the regulars, through great distress, were obliged to go on foot, and were in deep trouble and despair. Their villages were in the neighbourhood of Dehlí, while they were (far away and) in great distress. They had come into this country (of Gujarát) in straggling parties,[2] and how could they obtain anything from Dehlí—they were indeed in a pitiable condition. The Sultán replied that he knew his regular soldiers (*wajh-dár*) were in great distress and were reduced to go on foot through the hardships they had undergone. They had rendered him their aid, but their villages were far distant, and they had the greatest difficulty to get a handful of corn. Their children, too, required maintenance, so that they were in the greatest possible difficulty. Under these circumstances he directed that loans should be advanced to them from the public treasury. In accordance with this order every man received an advance, some of a hundred, some of seven hundred, and some of a thousand *tankas;* thus they obtained new outfits and remounts. Orders

[1] The word translated "irregulars" is *ghair wajh*, "one without pay;" it is opposed to the *wajh-dárs, i.e.*, the regulars or pay-receivers. The first sentence of this passage is ambiguous; it runs thus:

غیر وجهي را ششکان و ده یازده دهانیده طائفه غیر وجهي از مرحمت سلطان در زمان سوار شدند.

The general sense is obvious, and is sufficiently indicated by the translation.

[2] [*Hashtád ba hashtád*, literally "eighty by eighty."]

were also written to Khán-i Jahán at Dehlí, that no interference of any kind should be made in the villages of the regular soldiers, and that the officers of Government should be strictly enjoined to do them no harm, so that something might come to the soldiers and that their children might be maintained in comfort at home.

Sultán Fíroz expended the whole revenue (*mál*) of Gujarát, amounting to about two *krors*, in refitting his army and in the payment of his troops, so that he might march once more against Thatta. When he was on the point of departure he wrote Khán-i Jahán [*announcing his intention and directing the Khán to send him ample supplies*].

Ninth Mukaddama.— Khán-i Jahán sends supplies to the Sultán in Gujarát.

When Fíroz Sháh was about to march for Thatta, Khán-i Jahán made great efforts to send supplies, and gave orders to the officials urging them to exert themselves in the collection of supplies, munitions and money. The vast quantities collected exceed all description; seven *lacs* of *tankas* were expended upon only one kind of military weapon. These provisions were despatched from day to day, and they arrived in such vast quantities in Gujarát that it was difficult to provide carriage for them. Khán-i Jahán sent with them a letter [*expressing his hope for the safety and success of the Sultán in his enterprize*].

The Sultán gave orders for the march to Thatta, which was received with much joy by the army. * * Just at this time letters were received from Bahrám Khán, son-in-law of Hasan Khán Kángú from Daulatábád, representing that Bahrám Khán held Daulatábád, but that a dispute had arisen between him and the son of Hasan Kángú, he therefore solicited the Sultán to come himself and assume the seat of royalty. [*After consultation the Sultán replied that he must first conquer Thatta; he would afterwards proceed to Daulatábád*].

Postponing the affairs of Daulatábád to those of Thatta, he

left Zafar Khán in charge of Gujarát. He had at first intended to place Malik Náib Bárbak in charge, and the robes and titles had all been prepared; but the Sultán never transacted any business without referring to the Kurán for an augury, and now when he tried the *fál* (augury) it was against Náib Bárbak, and in favour of Zafar Khán. The latter was accordingly sent for, and the robes of investiture, the estates and full powers were given to him. Such was the trust of Fíroz Sháh in the indications of the Divine will.

Tenth Mukaddama.—March of Sultán Fíroz from Gujarát to Thatta.

When the Sultán marched the second time for Thatta, many of his men, who had gone through the hardships of the first campaign, went off with their outfits to their homes. On being apprized of this, the Sultán consulted his officers, who advised him to appoint sentinels, to prevent desertions. The Sultán [*among other reasons for rejecting this advice*] said, "If the Almighty wills that I should conquer Thatta, the presence of these men is unnecessary; but if I am to fail, what can they do?" He then sent orders to Khán-i Jahán, directing him to look after all men who returned from the army to the city, and, for the sake of example, to apprehend and inflict the *tadáruk-i ma'nawi* upon all those who had been regularly retained (*chákar*) and had received money from the State. They were not to be subjected to the *tadáruk-i khusrawi*. In affairs of State the *tadáruk-i khusrawi*, or imperial remedy, signifies execution, banishment or amercement; but the *tadáruk-i ma'nawi*, or moral remedy, is to expose a man to the shafts of public reproach. This was following the precepts of the Prophet. * * * In obedience to these orders Khán-i Jahán directed his officers to apprehend every man who returned from the army. If, after due inquiry, a man proved to be a regular retainer, he was subjected to the *tadáruk-i ma'nawi*. Some well known offenders were exposed in the *bázárs* for a day or two to the

gaze of all men, and were then set free without further chastisement, and without their villages or pay being touched.

Eleventh Mukaddama.—Descent of Sultán Fíroz Sháh upon Thatta in a favourable season..

At the commencement of his march to Thatta, the Sultán consulted the Shaikhu-l Islám. * * * On this occasion the boats employed were few. When he arrived in the vicinity of Thatta, the inhabitants were all busily engaged in agricultural operations, totally ignorant of his return, which was quite unexpected. When the Sultán retreated to Gujarát, the people of Thatta made a verse, which was currently repeated among them, saying, "By the will of God Sultán Muhammad Tughlik died in pursuit of us, and Sultán Fíroz Sháh has fled before us." The news of the Sultán's approach reached Thatta, and it was in every Sindian's mouth that the King of Hind was approaching with large armies, and that Sultán Fíroz was advancing once more in great force from Gujarát. In fear of the Sultán they destroyed their crops on the bank of the Sindh, and, crossing the river, took refuge in mud forts.[1] When the Sultán arrived he perceived that the inhabitants had destroyed all their spring crop, and that they had crossed to the other side of the river, where they were busily engaged in forming batteries and entrenchments. The Sultán's troops were in good case and in high spirits, although the price of grain was as high as eight and ten *jítals* for five *sírs*, because the crop was not yet ripe. When the new grain came in the price fell. Under the orders of the Sultán the troops went out in all directions, foraging in the villages for grain. The villages on the hither side (*kirána*) of the Sindh were numerous, and the inhabitants of some had not been able to escape over the river. These were taken prisoners, and when the fact became known to the Sultán, he issued a proclamation, in which he said the prisoners were a mere handful; they

[1] حصار كلي. Possibly a proper name, "the fort of Kalí," though more likely, as translated, "mud forts."

were Musulmáns, and nothing was to be gained by keeping them captive, and making them slaves. Those who had prisoners were ordered not to keep them, on pain of being deemed criminal, but to hand them over to the proper authorities. About 4,000 Sindians were accordingly brought to the government office, and were directed to be kept in secure custody; three *sírs* of grain being allowed to each one daily from the minister's office. At that time *mung* was five *tankas* a *man*, and bread (*jarrat*) four *tankas* a *man*. According to the orders of the Sultán *mung* was given to the prisoners, and all his orders in respect of them were obeyed. Behold the kindness and clemency of Fíroz Sháh!

Twelfth Mukaddama.—Malik 'Imádu-l Mulk and Zafar Khán cross the Sindh and fight a battle with the Sindians.

When the Sultán was posted on the hither side (*kirána*) of the river Sindh, the enemy, in great numbers, was on the opposite side (*guzárá*), and occasionally crossing over skirmishes occurred. The Sultán determined to send a force over the river and harass the enemy. 'Imádu-l Mulk and Zafar Khán were appointed to the command, and were directed to cross the river. A body of Sindians, in strong force and with great bravery, disputed the passage of the river,[1] and resisted the crossing of men in boats. After much examination and exertion the transit was found to be impracticable. Consultations were held, and it was then determined that Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk and Zafar Khán, with a strong force, should fall back, as if proceeding towards Dehlí. The fleet of boats also was directed to accompany them. The plan of operations was that they were to proceed a hundred and twenty *kos* up the near bank of the Sindh, and effect a crossing just below Bhakkar. After the passage, they were to march back on the opposite side of the river, and give battle to the enemy. The plan succeeded, and the force marched down in to the

[1] The words of this sentence down to this point, are to be found in only one of the four MSS., No. 1002 of the East India Library.

territory of the enemy.[1] Upon this the enemy, horse and foot, came forth from their forts in great numbers, and a fierce battle (*jang*) ensued which cannot be described.

Sultán Fíroz was a very cautious man. The fort of Thatta was visible (from his side of the river), but from the great breadth of the stream, the land on the opposite side was not discernible. Therefore, it could not be seen how the fight with the army progressed. Sultán Fíroz stood watching in expectation, his eyes now lifted to heaven and now strained over the river, in order to learn what was passing. By divine inspiration he sent a trusty man across the river in a boat with orders directing his forces to desist from battle and return to him. The combatants on both sides were Musulmáns, and if the fighting went on, many innocent persons would be slain. They were accordingly directed to return by the same way they had gone. When the messenger delivered these commands to 'Imádu-l Mulk and Zafar Khán, they retreated with their whole force—marching the 120 *kos* up the farther or Thatta side of the river to Bhakkar, where they crossed back and rejoined the main army. The Sultan then said to 'Imádu-l Mulk, where can this handful of Thattiáns fly to, unless they creep into an ant-hole like a snake. My army shall remain here, and we will build a large city.

Thirteenth Mukaddama.—'Imádu-l Mulk goes to Dehlí for reinforcements.

Some days after the Sultán held a privy council, in which it was determined that 'Imádu-l Mulk should proceed to Dehlí, in order to raise reinforcements, and then return to Thatta. On his taking leave the Sultán charged him not to give any orders to Khán-i Jahán about collecting the forces, for the Khán was not the man to slight or neglect the directions of his master in the smallest degree. Upon his arriving in the capital, he directed him to wait upon the Khán, and say that he had been sent to

[1] ["*Dar zamín-i Thatthiyán*—into the country of the men of Thatta." The enemy are generally called "*Thatthiyán*," men of Thattha.]

advise with him on the matter. The simple order of the Sultán was quite sufficient to ensure the despatch of reinforcements by the Khán.

[*Friendly and courteous reception of 'Imádu-l Mulk*]. Khán-i Jahán sent a *lac* of *tankas* to 'Imádu-l Mulk for subsistence money (*'alúfa*), and despatched demands for men to all the various dependencies of the State: to Badáún, Kanauj, Sandíla, Oudh, Jaunpúr, Bihár, Tirhut, Chanderí, Dhár, the interior and exterior of the Doáb, Sámána, Dípálpúr, Multán, Láhor, and other dependencies (*iktá'át*). Khán-i Jahán used to take his seat every day for expediting the business, and 'Imádu-l Mulk used to attend and assist him. In time the force was assembled, and was despatched under the charge of 'Imádu-l Mulk, who marched with all possible speed and joined the Sultán. When he arrived he highly praised the zeal and activity of Khán-i Jahán, and the Sultán was greatly pleased to hear this commendation, and to see the arrival of the reinforcements. The new men passed in review before him, and each man received a present of clothes.

When the Sindians heard of the arrival of the reinforcements from Dehlí their hearts failed them, and they began to quarrel with each other. The troops of the Sultán were, by God's grace, very well supplied with comforts, and those who had formerly deserted, being informed of this, greatly repented the step they had taken.

But a terrible famine now appeared among the enemy. As on the former occasion, famine had occurred in the army of the Sultán, when the scarcity of grain was the cause of great misery; so now on the second occasion, the dearness of grain brought dismay upon the enemy. The cause of the scarcity was that when the Sultán retreated from his first attempt on the country, the people of Thatta returned to their old homes with great satisfaction. Being free from all apprehension of any future attack they sowed all the grain which they possessed. When harvest time came, Sultán Fíroz returned from Gujarát and took possession of the crops. The Sultán's forces were thus well supplied,

while the price rose very high among the enemy, amounting to one and two *tankas* per *sír*. Every day men, of high and low degree, through hunger, deserted the enemy and crossed over the river in boats to the Sultán's army. Thatta was verging to its fall, when the Jám and Bábiniya reflected over the state of affairs, and resolved that the best course was to escape from trouble by timely submission. They accordingly, after much deliberation, notified their willingness to surrender through Saiyid Jalálu-l hakk wau-s shara' wau-d dín Husain Bukhárí.

Fourteenth Mukaddama.—Peace with the People of Thatta.

When the people of Thatta made up their minds to seek for peace, they determined upon making their overtures through Saiyid Jalálu-d dín.[1] The Jám and Bábiniya, after consideration, sent a confidential agent to Uch to make known their views. Saiyid Jalálu-d dín started, and when he reached the Sultán's camp all the army turned out to show their reverential respect. * * * On his arrival the Sultán went forth to meet him and brought him with due honour into his camp. After they had met and shaken hands, the Saiyid said there was a holy woman in Thatta whose prayers had prevented the conquest of the place, * * * but she had now been dead three days, and consequently the submission might be expected. The inhabitants of Thatta heard that the Saiyid was in the Sultán's camp, and they sent messages to him representing their great distress, and the Saiyid communicated to the Sultán all the matters which in the sorrow of their hearts they had made known to him. This excited the commiseration of the Sultán.

The state of affairs having thus been made known to the Sultán, Bábiniya consulted with the Jám, and said that it had been stated to the Sultán that all the disturbance (*shor*) had arisen through him (Bábiniya); it therefore seemed in every way most desirable that he should go first to the Sultán and make his submission; the Jám might follow, and a way might

[1] Here and all through this chapter he is referred to as "Khidmat Saiyid Jalálu-d dín."

thus be opened for a satisfactory conclusion. This proposition of Bábiniya's[1] pleased the Jám. He gave him permission to proceed, and next day Bábiniya reached the royal camp.

Fifteenth Mukaddama.—Arrival of Bábiniya in the camp of the Sultán.

The Sultán was out hunting, when he was informed that Bábiniya had arrived in his camp. * * He allowed no indication of his feelings to appear in his countenance. * * Bábiniya followed the Sultán to the hunting ground, where he had just killed a wolf, * * * and there he presented himself, with his turban in front of his throat and a sword upon his neck, like a repentant criminal, and, humbly approaching the Sultán, kissed his stirrup and begged forgiveness. The Sultán then graciously placed his hand on the back of Bábiniya and said, "Why were you so afraid of me? I did not wish to hurt any one, especially you; cheer up your spirits and dispel your anxiety, for you shall be twice the man you were before." He then ordered an Arab horse to be presented to Bábiniya, and, closing his discourse, he went on hunting again.

On the same day, and soon after Bábiniya, the Jám came to make his submission, and he also, like a wise man, went out to the hunting ground. On his being brought into the presence of the Sultán, he advanced with his turban on his head, and cast himself at the feet of the Sultán. Hanging the turban from the throat, and placing a sword upon the neck, is practised only by the offender who first approaches the sovereign, and Bábiniya had already made this sign of submission. The Jám therefore retained his turban in the presence of the Sultán, but paid him due homage. The Sultán very kindly placed his hand on the back of the Jám, and spoke graciously to him. Very submissively the Jám expressed his surrender, and, in a line of his own composition, he said:

"Thou art my gracious sovereign; I am thy abashed servant."

The Sultán treated him with great kindness and care, and to

[1] His epithet of *khúd-kám* is now changed to *nek-nám*.

him also he presented a horse. On returning to the camp, the the Jám and Bábiniya received embroidered robes, and their attendants also received presents suited to their respective stations. The two captive chiefs were told to send for their wives and families, and accompany the Sultán to Dehlí. This royal command they obeyed, and, with their wives and children, followed in the train of the Sultán.

Sixteenth Mukaddama.—Return of Fíroz Sháh to Dehlí.

The surrender of the Jám and Bábiniya spread great delight throughout the royal camp, and the Sultán determined to return to Dehlí. The son of the Jám, and Tamáchí brother of Bábiniya, were placed over Thatta, and titles were conferred upon them. They paid four *lacs* of *tankas* in cash, by way of marking their allegiance, and agreed to pay several *lacs* of *tankas* in money and goods yearly.[1] The Sultán then marched for Dehlí, taking the Jám and Bábiniya with all their establishment in his train. Orders were given that they were to alight in front of the royal tents, and they were supplied with white carpets from the royal stores. Malik Saifu-d dín Khwájú was directed to instruct them in the etiquette of the Court, and to keep watch over them. Their followers were brought from the farther side of the river, and were placed in boats to make the journey. Saifu-d dín attended to them, and carefully watched over them night and day.

One day an alarm was raised that the boat containing the wives and children of Bábiniya had sunk, and that therefore he must hasten (to the scene of the disaster) up the bank of the river. Saifu-d dín Khwájú thought that this was a stratagem to enable Bábiniya to escape and return home, so he sent his son [*to inform the Sultán of his suspicions,*] and to enquire whether he was to restrain Bábiniya. The Sultán considered the point, and then said, "Go and tell your father that if Bábiniya wishes to go to the

[1] [This is taken from the MS. of the East India Library, No. 1002. The other three MSS. omit rather more than a line, and quite reverse the meaning. They say "(the new governors) accepted several *lacs* and horses." The three are, however, probably right in reading *aspán* instead of *asbáb*, *i.e.* "horses" instead of "goods."]

river to ascertain the facts, he must go with him. If Bábiniya shows any intention of going on board a boat and escaping to his home, do not attempt to prevent him, but say to him, 'Bábiniya, if you have the manliness and boldness, go!' Then return back. I know what will happen, and so does Bábiniya.[1]"

Before the messenger returned from the Sultán to his father, Saifu-l Mulk, news reached Bábiniya that the boat containing his children had not been lost. He then returned. * * * Meanwhile the Sultán, with his army, was marching homewards, the men being delighted with the prospect of seeing home again after two and a-half year's absence. He halted for a while at Multán, and from thence he sent his "despatch of victory" to Khán-i Jahán in Dehlí, which on its arrival caused great rejoicing.

Seventeenth Mukaddama.—Khán-i Jahán proceeds to Dípálpúr to meet the Sultán.

Khán-i Jahán proceeded to Dípálpúr to receive his sovereign. When they met, the Khán offered his congratulations, and presented his tribute and offerings. The Sultán recounted to him all the hardships and sufferings which his army had gone through at Thatta, and on the march into Gujarát. * * * Thatta had been a source of trouble to the sovereigns of Dehlí ever since the days of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám. The splendid army of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín had marched towards Thatta, but the difficulties of the enterprize had rendered the attempt abortive. Sultán Muhammad Sháh bín Tughlik lost his life in the same country [*but now the conquest had been accomplished*]. The Sultán marched from Dípálpúr and arrived at Dehlí, where the inhabitants turned out to meet him. [*Great rejoicings*]. Amid the general joy it was represented to the Sultán that the families of those men who had lost their lives and property in Kúnchí-ran were in great distress. He, in consequence, issued orders that if any man had marched to Thatta with him and had died in Kúnchí-ran, his children should receive

[1] من دانم و بابنهیه

his allowances, and should not be troubled in any way. * * He also directed that those who had deserted him in Gujarát, after receiving his gifts, and had returned home, were to have their livelihood and villages continued to them. He was desirous that no one should suffer on that account.

The Jám, and Bábiniya "of good name," had a residence appointed for themselves and families near the royal palace, where they lived in comfort. Their dwelling received the name of the "Palace of Thatta." An annual allowance of two *lacs* of *tankas* in cash, from the imperial treasury, was assigned to the Jám, and the same amount was also granted to Bábiniya. Besides this they daily received robes and so many presents from the court that they quite forgot Thatta. On court days, when the Sultán sat on his throne, they used to attend, and, with his permission, sat down on his right hand, in the second room of mirrors, below the Chief Judge. The author intends (D.V.) to speak about this in the chapter where he describes the etiquette observed at the Sultán's court in respect of the seats of the *kháns*, *maliks*, and others.

After some years Tamáchí, the brother of Bábiniya, rebelled at Thatta, and the Sultán sent the Jám there to repress the outbreak. On his arrival, the Jám sent Tamáchí to Dehlí. Bábiniya remained at Dehlí, in attendance on the Sultán. On the accession of Sultán Tughlik Sháh he was presented with an umbrella, and was sent to Thatta, but he died on the road.

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Invention of the Tás-i ghariyál (a clock or bell to tell the time).

Many wonderful things were invented by Sultán Fíroz in the course of his reign, and among the most wonderful was the *Tás-i ghariyál.* [*Seven different uses of the Tás in marking time and making known the hours of prayer, etc.*] It was placed on the top of the *darbár* of the *kushk* in Fírozábád, and people crowded to see it.

KISM IV.—RETURN OF SULTÁN FÍROZ FROM A TOUR OF INSPECTION, AND APPLICATION OF HIS ATTENTION TO EIGHTEEN AFFAIRS OF STATE.

First Mukaddama.—Return of the Sultán from his tour.

While the Sultán was at Dehlí, attending to the affairs of his kingdom, ambassadors arrived from Ma'bar to state a grievance to him. Kurbat Hasan Kángú was king in Ma'bar. When Sultán Muhammad Sháh died, and Sultán Fíroz succeeded, his edicts were sent into Ma'bar, but the people of that country rebelled, and, going to Daulatábád, they made Kurbat Kángú king of Ma'bar. When this Kurbat held his court, he appeared decked out hand and foot with female ornaments, and made himself notorious for his puerile actions. The men of Ma'bar saw this, and, being greatly incensed against him, they rebelled. A neighbouring chief, named Bakan, at the head of a body of men and elephants, marched into Ma'bar and made Kurbat Hasan Kángú prisoner. He made himself master of all Ma'bar, which had belonged to Muhammadans; their women suffered violence and captivity in the hands of Hindus, and Bakan established himself as ruler of Ma'bar. [*The Sultán reproached them for their repudiation of his authority, and for now resorting to him in their distress, and*] told them that his army was weary and exhausted with the late campaign and long marches, but that after it had rested and recruited its strength he would proceed towards Ma'bar. * * * The ambassadors were sent back with assurances of his forgiveness, and he devoted himself to business.

One day his officers came to him in private and represented that they were very desirous of making a march to Daulatábád, for the sufferings of the people there had excited their pity. Kings were generally ambitious to conquer kingdoms and extend their dominion, *etc.* * * * The army had rested and was fresh and ready. There was no necessity for the Sultán to go, for he might appoint one of his most trusted officers to the command, who would root out the wretched band, and set an example to

others. There were plenty of Musulmán countries round Dehlí to furnish forces for the acquisition of territory; but drawing the sword against people of Islam, had ten evils for every advantage. * * * When Khán-i Jahán had finished this homily, the effect was plainly visible in the Sultán, he looked distressed and his eyes were suffused with tears, and approving their arguments, he said that * * he was resolved never more to make war upon men of the Muhammadan faith. * * *

Second Mukaddama.—The Sultán's care to provide slaves (bandagán).

The Sultán was very diligent in providing slaves, and he carried his care so far as to command his great fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. When the feudatories went to court, each one according to his ability took with him beautiful slaves, dressed and ornamented in the most splendid style. They also, when they paid their annual visit, brought other presents suited to their means and station—high-priced horses of the best breeds, fine elephants, valuable garments of every kind, vessels of gold and silver, arms, camels and mules,—each man according to the extent of his fief, some as many as a hundred, some fifty, some twenty, and some eleven. They also brought slaves. Under an edict of the Sultán, all the presents which the feudatories brought were valued, and the amount was deducted from the dues payable by them to the Government. This was a regulation established by Sultán Fíroz. Before his time, in the reigns of his predecessors, the feudatories brought whatever they could, but no remission in their payments was made in consideration of their presents. Sultán Fíroz saw that the expenses of his feudatories were very large, and decreed that they should not be required to make presents.

From this arrangement two advantages were expected—the chieftains' pride would be spared (the fear of being outdone), and the gifts themselves would be more worthy of the Sultán's

notice. This regulation remained in force for forty years throughout the reign. Those chiefs who brought many slaves received the highest favour, and those who brought few received proportionately little consideration. When the chiefs perceived the Sultán's eagerness for slaves, and that their efforts to get them were highly appreciated, they exerted themselves in providing them, and the numbers brought every year exceed description. Great numbers of slaves were thus collected, and when they were found to be in excess, the Sultán sent them to Multán, Dípálpúr, Hisár-Fírozah, Sámána, Gujarát, and all the other feudal dependencies. In all cases provision was made for their support in a liberal manner. In some places they were provided for in the army, and villages were granted to them; those who were placed in cities had ample allowances, varying from 100 down to 10 *tankas*, which was the lowest amount. These allowances were paid in full, without any deduction, at the treasury, every six, four, or three months.

Some of the slaves spent their time in reading and committing to memory the holy book, others in religious studies, others in copying books. Some, with the Sultán's leave, went to the temple at Mecca. Some were placed under tradesmen and were taught mechanical arts, so that about 12,000 slaves became artisans (*kásib*) of various kinds. Forty thousand were every day in readiness to attend as guards in the Sultán's equipage or at the palace. Altogether, in the city and in the various fiefs there were 180,000 slaves, for whose maintenance and comfort the Sultán took especial care. The institution took root in the very centre of the land, and the Sultán looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties. To such an extent were matters carried that there was a distinct muster-master (*majmú'-dar*) of the slaves, a separate treasury for the payment of their allowances, a separate *jáo-shughúrí*, and deputy *jáo-shughúrí*,[1] and a distinct *díwán*,

[1] The signification of this is obscure, and the copyists seem to have so deemed it. The word by the majority is written جاوشغوري; but one varies, and gives it as جاوش غوري.

that is to say, the officers for administering the affairs of the slaves (*asháb-i dîwán-i bandagán*), were entirely distinct from those under the Prime Minister (*asháb-i diwán-i 'ala-e wizárat*).

When the Sultán went out in state the slaves accompanied him in distinct corps—first the archers, fully armed, next the swordsmen, thousands in number (*hazár hazár*), the fighting men (*bandagán-i áward*), the *bandagán-i máhili*[1] riding on male buffaloes, and slaves from the Hazára, mounted on Arab and Turkí horses, bearing standards and axes. These all, thousands upon thousands, accompanied the royal retinue. The slaves increased to such a degree that they were employed in all sorts of domestic duties, as water coolers, butlers [*etc., etc.*]. In fact there was no occupation in which the slaves of Fíroz Sháh were not employed. None of the Sultán's predecessors had ever collected so many slaves. The late Sultán 'Aláu-d dín had drawn together about 50,000 slaves, but after him no Sultán had directed his attention to raising a body of them until Sultán Fíroz adopted the practice. * * * When the slaves under the great feudal chieftains became too numerous, some of them, by order of the Sultán, were given into the charge of *amírs* and *maliks*, that they might learn the duties of their respective employments. These *amírs* and *maliks* treated them like children, providing them with food and raiment, lodging them and training them, and taking every care for their wants. Each year they took their slaves to court, and reported upon their merits and abilities. These reports were received by the Sultán with great interest. Such was the care and attention which Sultán Fíroz devoted to his slaves; but after his death, the heads of these his favoured servants were cut off without mercy, and were made into heaps in front of the *darbár*, as I will describe in my chapter on the reign of Sultán Muhammad bin Fíroz.

Third Mukaddama.—Arrival of robes from the Khalífa.

The author has described how a robe was sent by the Khalífa to Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlik Sháh, in the account (*zikr*)

[1] طائفہ بندگان ماهلي بر پشت نرگاومیتش سوار علیحدہ

which he wrote of that Sultán. A similar robe was now sent to Fíroz Tughlik with great courtesy and marks of respect. Three robes in all were sent, one for the Sultán, one for the Prince Fath Khán, and one for Khán-i Jahán. * * *

Fourth Mukaddama.—How Sultán Fíroz used to sit in State.

There were three palaces in which Sultán Fíroz used to sit publicly in state. One was the *Mahal-i sahan-i gilin*[1] (the palace of the clayey quadrangle). It was also called the *Mahal-i dikh*, *i.e.*, the *Mahal-i angúr*, or Palace of Grapes. The second was called *Mahal-i chhaja-i*[2] *chobin*. The third was the *Mahal-i bár-i 'ámm*, or Palace of the Public Court, and it was also called *Sahn-i miyánagi*, the central quadrangle. The first palace was appropriated to the reception of the *kháns*, *maliks*, *amírs*, officials and distinguished literary men. The *Mahal-i chhaja chobin* was for the reception of the principal personal attendants. The palace of the *Sahn-i miyánagi* was used for general receptions. * * *

Sultán Fíroz had given up residing in Dehlí, and stayed at Fírozábád. When it was necessary to hold a court, he left his devotions [*which are described*] and proceeded to the capital to hold his Court. [*Precedence, ceremonial, and dress.*] Khán-i Jahán, the *wazír* of the State, used to sit on the right near the throne. The Amír-i Mu'azzam Amír Ahmád Ikbál sat higher up and a little (*yak zánú*) behind Khán-i Jahán, which position was considered to be neither higher nor lower than that of the Khán. Malik Nizámu-l Mulk, Amír Husain, Amír Mírán, who were deputies of the *wazír*, sat near the throne below Khán-i Jahán. [*Positions of the various officials.*] In those days the humble author of this work, Shams-i Siráj 'Afíf, used to go into the reception chamber, under the royal regulations, in attendance upon the officers of the *wazír's* department. [*Precedence and ceremonial of the Court. Reception of the Shaikhu-l Islám.*]

[1] This name is rendered only by conjecture, it may be *kalín*, *gulín*, etc., etc.

[2] Three of the MSS. write the word "*jhaja*," but this is not conclusive. The fourth has *chhaja*, a Hindi word, meaning "gallery," and this is probably right. The title of the palace would so be "Palace of the wooden gallery."

Fifth Mukaddama.—Prosperity and happiness of the nobles.

During the reign of Fíroz Sháh * * * all men, high and low, bond and free, lived happily and free from care. * * * When the Sultán went to the palace, at the "grand city" of Fírozábád, the Khán-i Jahán used to make preparations some days beforehand for his reception, by having the palace whitewashed and ornamented with pictures. Every possible care was taken by the Khán for the proper reception of the Sultán. [*Splendour and ceremonial of the Court. Easy condition of the people.*] Things were so plentiful and cheap; and the people were so well to do, and enjoyed such ease, that the poorest married their daughters at a very early age. Nothing in the least degree unpleasant or disagreeable happened during his reign; how wonderful is it that, since his decease, the city of Dehlí has been turned upside down. Those who survive will ever call to mind the reign of Fíroz Sháh, and exclaim, "The reign of Fíroz will always dwell upon the memory, and can never be forgotten."

Sixth Mukaddama.—The plenty and cheapness in the reign of Firoz Sháh.

By the blessing of God favourable seasons and abundance of the necessaries of life prevailed in the reign of Fíroz Sháh, not only in the capital, but throughout his dominions. During the whole forty years of his reign there was no appearance of scarcity, and the times were so happy that the people of Dehlí forgot the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, although no more prosperous times than his had ever fallen to the lot of any Muhammadan sovereign. 'Aláu-d dín took such pains to keep down the price of the necessaries of life, that his exertions have found a record in famous histories. To the merchants he gave wealth, and placed before them goods in abundance, and gold without measure. He showed them every kingly favour, and fixed on them regular salaries.[1]

[1] [*Mawájib*, salaries, allowances, or pensions].

In the reign of 'Aláu-d dín the necessaries of life were abundant through excellent management,[1] but through the favour of God grain continued cheap throughout the reign of Fíroz Sháh, without any effort on his part. Grain was so cheap that, in the city of Dehlí, wheat was eight *jítals* a *man*, and gram and barley four *jítals* a *man*. A camp follower could give his horse a feed of ten *sirs* of corn (*dalída*) for one *jítal*. Fabrics of all kinds were cheap, and silk goods, both white and coloured, were of moderate price. Orders were given for the reduction of the price of sweetmeats, in unison with the general fall of prices.

During the forty years of this sovereign's reign, cheapness prevailed. If occasionally prices rose from bad seasons, or from scarcity of rain, and reached one *tanka* per *man*, it was only for a short time. The good fortune of the Sultán prevailed, so that no dearth occurred. Such was the prosperity that, throughout the Doáb, from the hill of Sakrúdih and Kharla to Kol, not one village remained waste, even in name, nor one span of land uncultivated. In the Doáb there were fifty-two *parganas* flourishing, and a similar (state of prosperity) prevailed elsewhere. The like prosperity prevailed in every fief (*iktá'a*) and district (*shikk*). Thus, in the district of Sámána, there were four prosperous villages within one *kos*, and the inhabitants were happy and free from care. Such perfect happiness did the kingdom enjoy in those days.

Sultán Fíroz had a great liking for the laying out of gardens, which he took great pains to embellish. He formed 1,200 gardens in the vicinity of Dehlí. Such of them as were private property, or were religious endowments, after[2] due investigation of the titles, he settled for with their owners. All gardens received

[1] ["*Ba hikmat-i kibriyáí.*" These words may be translated "by Divine wisdom," but they are evidently used antithetically to the "*baghair koshish*," or "absence of effort" on the part of Fíroz].

[2] Three of the MSS. have "بغیر *without*;" while the fourth (East India Library, No. 1002) says "بعد *after*" verification of titles. The latter is certainly most probable.

abundant proofs of his care,[1] and he restored thirty gardens which had been commenced by 'Aláu-d dín. In the neighbourhood of Salaura he made eighty gardens, and in Chitúr forty-four gardens. In every garden there were white and black grapes, of seven [*named*] varieties. They were sold at the rate of one *jítal* per *sír*. Of the various articles grown in the gardens, the government share of the produce amounted to 80,000 *tankas*, without taking into account the dues of the owners and gardeners.

The revenues of the Doáb in this reign amounted to eighty *lacs* of *tankas;* and under the fostering care of this religious sovereign, the revenues of the territories of Dehlí were six *krors* and eighty-five *lacs* of *tankas* (60,850,000). The Sultán, throughout his reign, in his great sagacity and prudence, endeavoured to circumscribe the extent of his dominions, but still the revenues amounted to the sum stated. All this large revenue was duly apportioned out; each Khán received a sum suitable to his exalted position, the *amírs* and *maliks* also obtained allowances according to their dignity, aud the officials were paid enough to provide a comfortable living. The soldiers of the army received grants of land, enough to support them in comfort, and the irregulars (*ghair wajh*) received payment from the government treasury. Those soldiers who did not receive their pay in this manner were, according to necessity, supplied with assignments (*itlák*) upon the revenues. When these assignments of the soldiers (*wajh-dárs*) arrived in the fiefs (*iktá'át*), the holders used to get about half of the total amount from the holders of the fiefs. It was the practice of certain persons in those days to buy up these assignments, which was an accomodation to both parties. They used to give one-third of the value for them in

[1] The text is a little confused here. I have ventured upon one emendation in reading از عنایت بسیاري استمالت بي نهایت در باغات کردہ instead of از غایت بسیاری, etc., etc. All the MSS. concur in the latter reading, although it seems to make nonsense.

the city, and receive one half in the districts. The purchasers of these assignments carried on a traffic in them, and gaining a good profit, many of them got rich and made their fortunes.

Sultán Fíroz, under Divine inspiration, spread all the revenues of his territories among his people. The various districts of the fiefs were also divided. Khán-i Jahán, the *wazír*, exclusive of the allowances for his retainers, friends, and sons, received a sum of thirteen *lacs* of *tankas*, or instead of it sundry fiefs and districts. Other chiefs were similarly provided for, according to their merit; some receiving eight *lacs* of *tankas*, others six *lacs*, and others four *lacs*. All the *kháns* and *maliks* grew rich in his reign, and had vast stores of wealth, and jewels and diamonds of great value. When Malik Shahín Shahna, who was *naib-amír* of the *majlis-i kháss*, died, and his effects were examined, a sum of fifty *lacs* of *tankas*, in cash, was taken out of his house, besides horses, valuables, and jewels in abundance. The enormous wealth left by 'Imádu-l Mulk, Bashír-i Sultání, was well known, and is well remembered. An account of it will be given in the fifth book of this work. The Sultan being thus beneficent, all men, high and low, were devoted to him.

Seventh Mukaddama.—Affairs of the Army.

[1] In the reign of Fíroz Sháh there was an army of 80,000 and sometimes 90,000 horse, exclusive of slaves. These men remained on service all the year. Horses of little value were often brought to the registry office (*díwán*) and were passed as serviceable. Stories about this often reached the ears of the Sultán, but he treated them as if he had never heard them. When the year drew to a close, and there remained yet many men who had not presented their horses, the clerks made a statement to his Majesty of the number of men that had not yet registered their horses. An order was then issued granting two months' grace

[1] Several passages of this chapter are very obscure, and seem to have been so considered by the copyists, for the MSS. show many discrepancies and omissions.

for the production of the animals. When this term was passed a statement was again made of the men who had not produced them. In those days Malik Razí, a very venerable and righteous man, was deputy *'ariz*, and administered the business of the army in a very proper manner. He used to point out to the Sultán that those men who had not brought in their horses were generally members of a troop, that their assignments (*itlák*) had been sent into the districts to realize the amount of their pay, and when that was effected they would come into the city. But before this could be accomplished the year passed by, and the poor men remained in a state of distress. Many of those who had failed were employed in other business (*masálihi and*). On hearing these kind representations the Sultán said, that if any man had been sent on business (*masálih*) by his commanding officer, and the year should end while he was absent, without his making any statement of the fact or presenting his horse, then if he were discharged, it would go ill with him, and mourning would fall upon his house. The Sultán also directed that substitutes should be found by the officers for all men who went away on business. The soldier himself who was absent might put in his appearance at the office of the chieftain in whose district he was; he might also produce his new horse there, so that all inconvenience might be spared the poor soldier. Thus the kindness of the Sultán for his people was such as no father or brother could show. [*Story of the Sultán overhearing a soldier complain that he was unable to produce his horse at the muster.*] The Sultán told him to go and arrange matters with the clerks of the office, and he replied that his difficulty was that he had not got the necessary money. The Sultán inquired how much was wanted, and the soldier said that if he had a gold *tanka* he could get a certificate for his horse. He then ordered a *tanka* to be given to him. On receiving the coin the soldier went to the office, and placing it in the hands of the clerks, he got the certificate; he then returned to the Sultán and expressed his thanks.

Eighth Mukaddama.—Report made to the Sultán by the son of 'Imádu-l Mulk, and the Sultán's appropriate reply.

Malik Is'hák, (son of) 'Imádu-l Mulk, made a report to the Sultán that many of the soldiers were old and feeble, and unfit for duty. It was therefore expedient to replace them with young and efficient men. At this period 'Imádu-l Mulk was an old man, and Malik Is'hák discharged for him the duties of the *díwán-i 'arz*. When he made this report the Sultán observed it was a very proper one: when men grew old they should be set aside, and their places should be filled by their sons or strangers; no consideration whatever should be shown to these old men. "Now," said he, "Your father is an old man, first turn him out of his office, and then I will remove all the old men from the service of the State." Malik Is'hák was silenced.

The Sultán, in the kindness of his heart, then said: "If I remove the old and inefficient men, and appoint their sons or strangers in their stead, the poor old men will be greatly troubled, and will be reduced to distress in their old age. I do not approve of dismissing them, and putting their sons in their places. This is not a time for encouraging disobedient children. With age the heart becomes desolate, and if the old men are turned off and their sons succeed them, these sons may prove undutiful, and the hearts of their poor old fathers may break in their distress. Let an order therefore be promulgated that, when a soldier grows old and incapable, his son shall succeed him, as his deputy; if he has no son, his son-in-law, and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall represent him. The veteran may thus remain at home at ease, and the young ride forth in their strength."

Addressing Is'hák, he said, "Do not make such reports. The Almighty does not take away his servants' sustenance because they are old, how then can I, his creature, dismiss my aged servants." All the actions and words of Sultán Fíroz * * * were like unto this, and are worthy of a place in history. This humble author desires to write the Sultán's memoirs, but his

gracious words and generous actions are so numerous that the author makes but slow progress towards his conclusion.

Ninth Mukaddama.—Transport of stone Obelisks.

After Sultán Fíroz returned from his expedition against Thatta, he often made excursions in the neighbourhood of Dehlí. In this part of the country there were two stone columns. One was in the village of Tobra, in the district (*shikk*) of Sálaura and Khizrábád, in the hills (*koh-páyah*); the other in the vicinity of the town of Mírat. These columns had stood in those places from the days of the Pándavas, but had never attracted the attention of any of the kings who sat upon the throne of Dehlí, till Sultán Fíroz noticed them, and, with great exertion, brought them away. One was erected in the palace (*kushk*) at Fírozabád, near the *Masjid-i jama'*, and was called the *Mínára-i zarín*, or Golden Column, and the other was erected in the *Kushk-i Shikár*, or Hunting Palace, with great labour and skill. The author has read in the works of good historians that these columns of stone had been the walking sticks of the accursed[1] Bhím, a man of great stature and size. The annals of the infidels record that this Bhím used to devour a thousand *mans* of food daily, and no one could compete with him. * * * In his days all this part of Hind was peopled with infidels, who were continually fighting and slaying each other. Bhím was one of five brothers, but he was the most powerful of them all. He was generally engaged in tending the herds of cattle belong to his wicked brothers, and he was accustomed to use these two stone pillars as sticks to gather the cattle together. The size of the cattle in those days was in proportion to that of other creatures. These five brothers lived near Dehlí, and when Bhím died these two columns were left standing as memorials of him. * * * When Fíroz Sháh first beheld these columns, he was filled with admiration, and resolved to remove them with great care as trophies to Dehlí. * * *

[1] One MS., to the credit of the writer, omits this execration.

Removal of the Minára-i zarín.—Khizrábád is ninety *kos* from Dehlí, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultán visited that district, and saw the column in the village of Tobra, he resolved to remove it to Dehlí, and there erect it as a memorial to future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doáb, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Sembal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultán came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 *mans* of grain, and the least of them 2,000 *mans*. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Fírozábád, where it was landed and conveyed into the *Kushk* with infinite labour and skill.

Account of the Raising of the Obelisk.—At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Múr Khán. When the pillar was brought to the palace, a building was commenced for its reception, near the *Jámi' Masjid*, and

the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone[1] and chúnam, and consisted of several stages or steps (*poshish*). When a step was finished the column was raised on to it, another step was then built and the pillar was again raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a *gaz*. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent its sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as shores, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (*do sar-i án*), and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindí *kalas*.[2] The height of the obelisk was thirty-two *gaz;* eight *gaz* was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four *gaz* was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hindí characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees[3] were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them as stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan king, named Sultán Fíroz, *etc.*, *etc.*

[1] Two MSS. call the stone کهر سنگ, and the other two کهر سیل.

[2] A spire, pinnacle, or cupola.

[3] [سیورگان. Qy. Hind. सेवड़ा].

Erection of the other Obelisk in the Kushk-i Shikár.—This obelisk stood in the vicinity of the town of Mírat, in the Doáb, and was somewhat smaller than the *Minára-i zarín*. This also was removed by Sultán Fíroz, with similar skill and labour, and was re-erected on a hill in the *Kushk-i Shikár* [*amid great feasting and rejoicing*]. After the erection of the pillar a large town sprang up, and the *kháns* and *maliks* of the Court built houses there. * * * Every great king took care during his reign to set up some lasting memorial of his power. So Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh raised the large pillar in the *Masjid-i jama'* at old Dehlí, the history of which is well known. * * *

In these days, in the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.), Amír Tímúr, of Khurásán, has marched into India, and by the will of fate has subdued the empire of Hindustán. During his stay of some days in Dehlí, he inspected all the monuments of former kings, * * * and among them these two obelisks, when he declared that in all the countries he had traversed he had never seen any monuments comparable to these. * * *

Tenth Mukaddama.—Hunting Excursions.

* * * The author proposes to describe, in succession, how the various kinds of hunting were carried on.[1] The chase of the *gor-khar* or wild ass was pursued in the deserts between Dípálpúr and Sarsutí * * * during the hot season, when these animals congregate. * * * The chase of the deer, *níl-gáos*, etc., was carried on principally in the neighbourhood of Badáún and Anwála,[2] where these animals were found in great numbers. This district was waste, but well furnished with water and grass. No other such waste was to be found near Dehlí. * * * Orders were given for its being retained waste for hunting purposes, otherwise it would quickly have become peopled and cultivated under

[1] He tells us that he sometimes accompanied these expeditions, and he describes the mode of proceeding in great detail and with evident gusto.

[2] Var. Anwala, Atwála.

the prosperous and fostering government of Fíroz. * * * If a lion, tiger, or wolf was surrounded, the Sultán used to kill it first, and then pursue the other animals.

Eleventh Mukaddama.—Buildings erected by Fíroz Sháh.

Sultán Fíroz excelled all his predecessors on the throne of Dehlí in the erection of buildings, indeed no monarch of any country surpassed him. He built cities, forts, palaces, *bands*, mosques, and tombs, in great numbers. Of cities, there were Hisár Fírozah and Fath-ábád, of which the author has given an account in a previous chapter. Fíroz-ábád, Fíroz-ábád Hární Khíra, Tughlikpúr-i Kásna, Tughlikpúr-i Mulúk-i Kamút, and Jaunpúr, besides sundry other places and forts which he repaired and strengthened. His palaces (*kushk*) were those of Fíroz, Nuzúl, Mahandwárí, Hisár Fírozah, Fath-ábád, Jaunpúr, Shikár, Band-i Fath Khán and Salaura. *Bands*: Fath Khán, Málja (into which he threw a body of fresh water, *áb-i zamzam*), Mahpálpúr, Shukr Khán, Salaura, Wazírábád, and other similar strong and substantial *bands*. He also built monasteries, and inns for the accommodation of travellers. One hundred and twenty *khánkáhs* (monasteries) were built in Dehlí and Fíroz-ábád for the accommodation of the people of God, in which travellers from all directions were receivable as guests for three days. These one hundred and twenty buildings were full of guests on all the three hundred and sixty days of the year. Superintendents and officers of the *Sunní* persuasion were appointed to these *khánkáhs*, and the funds for their expenses were furnished from the public treasury. Malik Ghází Shahna was the chief architect, and was very efficient; he held the gold staff (of office). 'Abdu-l Hakk, otherwise Jáhir Sundhár (was deputy, and) held the golden axe. A clever and qualified superintendent was appointed over every class of artisans. * * * The Sultán also repaired the tombs of former kings. * * * It is a custom among kings while they are on the

throne to appropriate villages and lands to religious men in order to provide means for the maintenance and repair of their tombs. But these endowments had all been destroyed, and the grantees being divested of them, were reduced to distress. * * * The Sultán carefully repaired all the tombs and restored the lands and villages after bringing into cultivation such as had been laid waste. He also sought out and restored the superintendents and officers of these endowments who had been driven out of them. * * * The financial officer (*diwán-i wizárat*) examined the plan of every proposed building, and made provision so that the work should not be stopped for want of funds. The necessary money was issued from the royal treasury to the managers of the building, and then the work was begun. Thus it was that so many buildings of different kinds were erected in the reign of Fíroz Sháh.

Twelfth Mukaddama.—Consideration of the Sultán for the unemployed.

* * * The Sultán gave directions that when there were any workmen out of employ in the city they were to be sent to him. The *kotwál* used to call his district officers before him, and make enquiries of them. The most respectable people, out of shame, would not make their necessities known, and such gentlemen as these were brought to the *kotwál* by his officers. * * * When they were brought before the Sultán they were all placed in employ. Men of the pen were sent into the Government establishments (*kár-khána*), intelligent men of business were placed under the Khán-i Jahán, if any one expressed a desire to be made the slave (*banda*) of any particular nobleman, the Sultán himself used to send a letter of recommendation to that noble; and if one desired to be made the slave (*banda*) of an *amír* who held a fief (*iktá'*), a *farmán* was sent to that *amír*, and the applicant proceeded thither. So, few persons remained without employment, and wherever one of the unemployed was sent, there he found a comfortable settlement. * * *

Thirteenth Mukaddama.—The royal establishments (kár-khána) of Firoz Sháh.

Sultán Fíroz had thirty-six royal establishments, for which enormous supplies of articles were collected, * * * and the annual outlay on which was very large. Some of them were in receipt of a regular payment (*ráyatí*); others had no fixed income (*ghair-ráyatí*). Thus among the *ráyatí* establishments there were the elephant, horse, and camel stables, the kitchen, the butlery, the candle department, the dog-kennels, the water-cooling department and other similar establishments. These received a regular monthly allowance of one *lac* and sixty thousand *tankas* for their expenses, in addition to which there was the cost of their furniture,[1] and the monthly salaries of the accountants[2] and other officers, which also amounted to one *lac* and sixty thousand silver *tankas*. In the establishments which received no regular allowance, such as the wardrobe, the *'alam-khána* or insignia, the carpet stores, and the like, new goods were procured every year according to orders given. In the winter season six *lacs* of *tankas* were expended on the wardrobe, besides the outlay for the spring and summer. 80,000 *tankas* were expended on the *'alam-khána* in the purchase of articles, besides the salaries of the accountants and the wages of the work-people. About two *lacs* of *tankas* were expended in the carpet department. Each of these establishments was under the charge of a *khán* or *malik* of high rank; thus the wardrobe was under the superintendence of Malik 'Ali and Malik Isma'íl. * * *

Khwája Abú-l Hasan Khán was charged with the general

[1] *Rakht*, furniture, fittings, plant.

[2] The copyists seem to have been puzzled with this chapter. They all, in the early part of it, write حاشیه, "border of a garment," although it makes no sense; while the correct word appears to be حاسبه, "an accountant," which is used in similar passages subsequently. The reading of this passage in three of the MSS. is خارج مشاهره حاشیه و اصحاب, but the writer of the MS. 1002, of the East India Library, seeing the inconsistency of *hdshiya* and *ashdb*, changes the latter word into *asbdb*. In another part, one MS. instead of *'alam-khdna* has *kham-khdna*, "wine cellar;" and they all write "*sar-mdhí*," which has been translated as being either an equivalent, or a mistake, for *dar-mdhí*, "monthly pay."

superintendence of all the *kár-khánas*, and through him all orders were issued to the respective establishments. There was a separate financial department (*dîwán-khána*) for the *kár-khánas*, in which the general accounts were kept, but the accounts were rendered to and recorded in the exchequer (*dîwán-i wizárat*). So that the exchequer not only kept an account of the land revenues (*iktá'*), but also of the expenditure of the *kár-khánas*. There were many accountants in the various *kár-khánas* who received monthly pay. * * The royal stables were in five different places, * * * and, beside these, some thousands of horses grazed in the neighbourhood of Dehlí, and were called *sih-panj*. The camel establishment was distinct, * * * and was in the district of Dubláhan, where whole villages were appropriated to them and their keepers. * * * Their numbers increased every year, because the great feudatories, when they came to Court, brought camels of all sorts among their presents to the throne. * * *

In this reign there were audits of the accounts of the fiefs. When the feudatory came up from his fief to Court, he was brought before the exchequer, where an audit of his accounts was held, and the results were reported to the throne. The balance was struck, and the chieftain was questioned, after which he was sent back at once to his fief. The managers (*muharrir*) of the *kár-khánas* also had to attend in the exchequer at the end of every year, and present abstracts of their accounts, showing the balance of cash and the stores of goods. * * *

Fourteenth Mukaddama.—On the striking of the Coin called Shashgáni.

Sultán Fíroz issued several varieties of coins. There was the gold *tanka* and the silver *tanka*. There were also distinct coins of the respective value of forty-eight, twenty-five, twenty-four, twelve, ten, eight, six, and one *jítal*, known as the *chihal o hashtgáni*,[1] *bist o panjgáni*, *bist o chahárgáni*, *dwázdahgáni*,

[1] *Gán* is an aggregate particle added to numerals. The meaning of *gání* is exactly expressed in the vulgar phrases "a fiver," "a tenner." Mr. Thomas, however, finds quite a different origin for the term. See Jour. R. A. S., Vol. II., new series, p. 166.

dahgáni, *hashtgáni*, *shashgáni* and *yak jital*. When the Sultán had issued these many varieties of coins, it occurred to his benignant mind that a very poor person might buy an article in the market, and a half or a quarter *jital* might be due to him in change, but if the shopkeeper had no *dángs* (quarters) no change could be be given, and the purchaser would incur a loss. If the purchaser demanded his due, how could he get it if there was no coin in which to pay it. Contentions might thus arise between buyer and seller. The Sultán accordingly gave directions for the issuing of a half *jital*, called *ádhá*,[1] and a quarter *jital*, called *bikh*, so that the requirements of the indigent might be supplied.

When the Sultán ordered the coinage of the *shashgáni* (or six-*jital*-piece), Kajar Sháh was Director of the Mint, and he exerted himself to execute the orders of the Sultán. The new coin was accordingly struck during the reign of the Sultán, under the management of Kajar Sháh. When it came into circulation two sharp individuals made a representation to the Sultán that there was a deficiency of one grain of silver in the *shashgáni*, and prayed for an investigation to test the truth of their statement. If it proved true the officials must take the consequences. The Sultán directed his ministers to make private enquiry into the truth of the statement. Khán-i Jahán Makbúl was then alive; it was the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.), and he turned his attention and political experience to the matter. He observed that the coinage of kings was like an unmarried daughter, whom no one would seek after, however beautiful and charming she might be, if any aspersion had, either rightly or wrongly, been cast upon her character. So also with royal coins, if any one honestly or falsely, from interested motives, alleged a deterioration of the coinage, the insinuation would spread, the coinage would obtain a bad name, and no one would take it. On hearing this his Majesty said, what course can we take to ascertain the rights of this matter. The minister replied that it would be very impolitic to publish the secret rules (of the manufacture of the

[1] Hindí, "half."

coin); but to pass the matter over would be an error, and to hold an (open) investigation would be a great mistake. The Sultán insisted that the truth must be ascertained so that his doubts might be dispelled. The minister then recommended that the two informers should be placed in confinement, and that a careful examination should be made (in private). Accordingly the informers were confined in the prison of the Exchequer (*diwán-i wizárat*), and the next day was appointed for the business of testing.

Khán-i Jahán retired, and his Majesty went into his private apartments. The minister then sent secretly for Kajar Sháh, and when he arrived[1] Khán-i Jahán addressed him saying that his officials had been very covetous, and had greatly diminished the value of the coins. It was well known in the world that government clerks and servants (*kár-kun*) were given to peculation.[2] There was no intention of charging him (Kajar Sháh) with participation in this delinquency, but he had better go and make enquiry among his subordinates. If the charge of deterioration proved to be true, he (Khán-i Jahán) would devise some adroit move[3] by which the *shashgání* coin should appear to the world as of full intrinsic value. Kajar Sháh returned to his office and made the necessary investigation, when it was acknowledged that the *shashgání* was one grain of silver deficient. He accordingly made a full and true report to the Sultán. The minister thereupon recommended that some goldsmiths should be called in privately to test the truth of the matter, and Kajar Sháh was directed to provide them. When Kajar Sháh received this instruction he proceeded to the goldsmiths and communicated to

[1] The words from the beginning of the paragraph to this point are found in only one of the four MSS. (No. 1002 East India Library), although they are necessary to the sense.

[2] The translation here follows the general sense of the context rather than the actual word used, which is a very doubtful one. One MS. has توفيرات, another توافرات, the third seems to agree with this as it writes توافرات. The fourth has افراط.

[3] The game of chess is here used to express the speaker's meaning.

them what he had heard from the minister; telling them that they must contrive to show that matters were all right and proper. The goldsmiths replied that when they should be called to make the assay in the presence of the Sultán they would have to go naked, excepting only the barest clothing required by decency; but that if a few grains of silver could be smuggled into the palace they would throw it into the crucible. Kajar Sháh then proceeded to the charcoal dealers, and after making known his wishes they agreed to scoop out a piece of charcoal, to introduce a few grains of silver, and to seal up the aperture with wax. Next day the Sultán took his seat in a private apartment with his minister. Kajar Sháh and his accusers were then called in. The goldsmiths also were brought in wearing the most scant clothing, and the charcoal dealers brought the charcoal and placed it before the goldsmiths. Several *shashgáni* pieces were placed in a crucible, which the goldsmiths put upon the fire. The Sultán entered into conversation with his minister, and while he was so engaged, the workmen adroitly threw into the melting pot the piece of charcoal which contained the silver. After a while the crucible was taken off the fire and allowed to cool. It was then taken before the Sultán and (the contents were) weighed, when the weight corresponded to the estimate, and the *shashgáni* proving to be of full standard value, the informers were declared to be false accusers. The Sultán presented Kajar Sháh with a robe, and bestowed on him other marks of favour. Khán-i Jahán then said that as the coin had come triumphant out of the test, Kajar Sháh should be mounted on an elephant and paraded round the city, so that all men might understand that the *shashgáni* was of full value, and not to be charged with impurity. Kajar Sháh was accordingly carried through the city in triumph, and the two informers, being shown to be false, were banished. After awhile the minister caused Kajar Sháh to be dismissed upon some other charge. If there were no such wise ministers the affairs of States would fall into confusion, and the animadversions of the high and low would be cast upon the most excellent institutions.

Fifteenth Mukaddama.—Establishment of a House of Charity and a Hospital.

Sultán Fíroz founded an establishment (*díwán-i khairát*) for the promotion of marriages. Many needy Musulmáns were distressed at having marriageable daughters, for whom they could provide no marriage portion. * * * Notice was given that any man having a marriageable daughter might apply at the *díwán-i khairát* and state his case and his poverty to the officers of that establishment, * * * who, after due enquiry, might fix an allowance of fifty *tankas* for the first class of recipients, thirty for the second, and twenty-five for the third. * * * People, small and great, flocked to the city from all parts of the country, and received grants for purchasing housekeeping requisites for their daughters. * * *

The *Shifá-khána, or Hospital, also called, Sihhat-khána.* * * * The Sultán, in his great kindness and humanity, established a hospital for the relief of the sick and afflicted, whether natives (*áshná*) or strangers. Able physicians and doctors were appointed to superintend it, and provision was made for the supply of medicines. The poor afflicted went to the hospital and stated their cases. The doctors duly considered and applied their skill to the restoration of health. Medicines, food, and drinks were supplied at the expense of the treasury. * * *

When the Sultán founded these institutions for the public benefit he settled some rich and well cultivated villages upon them, to provide for their expenses. Allowances were also granted to learned men and Kurán readers. The author has understood from the best authority that the sum of thirty-six *lacs* of *tankas* out of the revenues of the kingdom were appropriated to the payment of wages (*idrár*), and that 4,200 afflicted persons received these monthly allowances. * * *

Sixteenth Mukaddama.—Festivals.

Sultán Fíroz used to keep the *'ids*, the *Shab-i barát*, and the *Nau-roz* (New Years Day) as public festivals. * * *

Seventeenth Mukaddama.—Engagement of musicians at the Palace on Fridays, after prayers.

Every Friday, after public service, parties of musicians from the four cities,[1] athletes, and story-tellers, amounting in all to about three thousand persons, used to attend at the palace.

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Inventions or new contrivances.

The *Tás-i Ghariyál* has already been described in the eighteenth *Mukaddama* of the Third Book, etc., etc.

Kism V.—Tonsure of Fíroz Sháh. The Prince Fath Khán. The great Kháns and Maliks. Close of the Reign.

First Mukaddama.—The Tonsure of Fíroz Sháh.

The Sultán showed great respect to Shaikhu-l Islám 'Aláu-d dín and Shaikhu-l Islám Farídu-d dín Ajodhaní. As long as he lived he paid much attention to the elders of religion, and towards the end of his reign he himself became a shaveling (*mahlúk*).[2] * * * In the year 776 H. (1374 A.D.), the Sultán went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sálár Mas'úd Ghází at Bahráich. He stayed there some time, and one night the spirit of Sálár Mas'úd appeared to him in a dream,[3] and stroked his own beard with his hand, thereby intimating to the Sultán that age was prevailing over him, and that he must prepare for death. When he returned from the visit, many of the *kháns* and *amírs*, out of love for the Sultán, performed the tonsure.

Second Mukaddama.—Suppression of unlawful practices.

Abuses which had pressed upon the people in revenue matters, mal-practices in the administration of public business, and

[1] The four towns or divisions of Dehlí.

[2] Three of the four MSS. write "*makhlúk*, created," instead of "*mahlúk*, shaven," although there are passages which expressly mention the removal of the hair from the Sultán's head. Mr. Thomas's MS. has the word *mahlúk* correct.

[3] The ghost of Mas'úd must apparently have attained a notoriety for revisiting the mortal world, and so the author of the *Mir-át-i Mas'udí* only adopted a popular belief in asserting that he wrote his book under the inspiration of that spirit. See Vol. II., p. 513.

breaches of the Holy Law were all forbidden. One of these (last) was the painting of portraits in the private apartments of kings. It was held right among monarchs to have painted chambers to gratify their eyes in retirement, but Fíroz Sháh, in his fear of God, prohibited the painting of portraits as contrary to the Law, and directed that garden scenes should be painted instead.

Former kings used to have ornaments of brass and copper, silver and gold, in opposition to the Law; these he interdicted. They had also used plates and drinking vessels of metal; these also were forbidden, and he used only stone and earthenware table furniture. Pictures on banners and ensigns were also forbidden.

Learned and holy men were also present in the Court of the Sultán, and whatever they objected to as being unlawful in the collection of taxes he forbad, even though it diminished the revenue. They brought to the notice of His Majesty several abuses which had sprung up in former reigns, and among them was that of *dángána*. Merchandize that had paid the regular *zakát*, after being passed, was carried off to the *sarība*, again weighed, and an impost of one *dáng* per *tanka* levied. A large sum was thus raised. Merchants, both natives and strangers, were sorely vexed with the proceedings at the *dángána* office, for they were subjected to annoyances and delays by the officials, and were quite helpless. In the city of Dehlí there was an unlawful impost called *mustaghall*—a ground rent levied from houses and shops, which produced annually 150,000 *tankas*. It was also called *kirá-zamín*, or ground rent. There was another unlawful tax called *jazárí*, levied from butchers, at the rate of twelve *jítals* for every ox they killed, and this brought a considerable sum to the treasury. The *Rozí* was an impost upon traders. When traders, native or foreign, brought grain, salt, sugar, or other goods into Dehlí, laden upon bullocks,[1] the customs officers used to seize these animals for a day and send them to old Dehlí. In this old city

[1] "*Sutúr*," any beast of burden.

there were seven fortifications (*hisár*), built by famous sovereigns; but these buildings were old and falling to decay, and they furnished an inexhaustible supply of bricks. The trader's animals were sent to this place for a day (*roz*) by the government officials, and had to convey one load of bricks from thence to Fírozábád. No merchant who came to Dehlí was allowed to depart until his animals had rendered this service. This made traders reluctant to come to the city, and, consequently, grain and salt began to grow dear.

The facts of these various imposts were brought to the knowledge of his Majesty and were fully explained. The case of a trader was reported who had brought in three *mans* of cotton, which was carried to the *dángána sarība* and detained. The officials would not take three *dángs* proffered in payment, nor would they let it pass. While it was thus detained it caught fire and was burnt. Such was the hardship on traders. The *rozí* also was so oppressive that traders kept away from the city, and commodities rose in price. The *mustaghall*, or ground rent, was levied from all classes;—from widows and the very poorest people, so that it bore very hardly upon them.

The Sultán, in his benevolence, * * * called to his presence the elders and learned men, the magistrates and revenue officers, and examined them upon these subjects. The doctors and elders all gave their opinion, which they supported by quotations from books of authority, that these imposts were opposed to the Law. So the Sultán ordered the abolition of them all. Kází Nasrullah, who was the *Kází* of the army, was mounted on an elephant, and was sent out to read publicly the royal proclamation of abolition. * * * The author of this work, who was then under Múr Khán, was present and heard this proclamation read. The numbers of people who crowded to hear it exceeded all computation. * * * The author has been informed that the loss incurred by the abolition of these imposts amounted to thirty *lacs* of *tankas* per annum. This abolition was proclaimed in 777 H. (1375 A.D.).

Third Mukaddama.—Burning of a Brahman before the Royal Palace.

A report was brought to the Sultán that there was in Dehlí an old Brahman (*zunár dár*), who persisted in publicly performing the worship of idols in his house; and that the people of the city, both Musulmáns and Hindus, used to resort to his house to worship the idol. This Brahman had constructed a wooden tablet (*muhrak*), which was covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects. On days appointed, the infidels went to his house and worshipped the idol, without the fact becoming known to the public officers. The Sultán was informed that this Brahman had perverted Muhammadan women, and had led them to become infidels. An order was accordingly given that the Brahman, with his tablet, should be brought into the presence of the Sultán at Fírozábád. The judges and doctors and elders and lawyers were summoned, and the case of the Brahman was submitted for their opinion. Their reply was that the provisions of the Law were clear: the Brahman must either become a Musulmán or be burned. The true faith was declared to the Brahman, and the right course pointed out, but he refused to accept it. Orders were given for raising a pile of faggots before the door of the *darbár*. The Brahman was tied hand and foot and cast into it; the tablet was thrown on the top and the pile was lighted. The writer of this book was present at the *darbár* and witnessed the execution. The tablet of the Brahman was lighted in two places, at his head and at his feet; the wood was dry, and the fire first reached his feet, and drew from him a cry, but the flames quickly enveloped his head and consumed him. Behold the Sultán's strict adherence to law and rectitude, how he would not deviate in the least from its decrees.

Fourth Mukaddama.—Levy of the Jizya from the Brahmans.

* * * The *Jizya*, or poll tax, had never been levied from Brahmans; they had been held excused, in former reigns. But

the Sultán convened a meeting of the learned men and elders, and suggested to them that an error had been committed in holding Brahmans exempt from the tax, and that the revenue officers had been remiss in their duty. The Brahmans were the very keys of the chamber of idolatry, and the infidels were dependent on them. They ought therefore to be taxed first. The learned lawyers gave it as their opinion that the Brahmans ought to be taxed. The Brahmans of all the four cities then assembled and went to the *Kushk-i Shikár*, where the Sultán was engaged in building, and represented that the Brahmans had never before been called upon to pay the *Jizya*, and they wanted to know why they were now subjected to the indignity of having to pay it. They were determined to collect wood and to burn themselves under the walls of the palace rather than pay the tax. When these pleasant words (*kalimát i pur naghmát*) were reported to the Sultán, he replied that they might burn and destroy themselves at once, for they would not escape from the payment. He could not overlook the matter as former kings had done, and they must give up all hope of it. The Brahmans remained fasting for several days at the palace until they were on the point of death. They clearly perceived that the Sultán did not intend to spare them. The Hindus of the city then assembled and told the Brahmans that it was not right to kill themselves on account of the *Jizya*, and that they would undertake to pay it for them. In Dehlí, the *Jizya* was of three kinds: 1st class, Forty *tankas;* 2nd class, Twenty *tankas;* 3rd class, Ten *tankas*. When the Brahmans found their case was hopeless, they went to the Sultán and begged him in his mercy to reduce the amount they would have to pay, and he accordingly assessed it at ten *tankas* and fifty *jitals*[1] for each individual.

Fifth Mukaddama.—Account of two giants and a dwarf; also of two bearded women [*and other wonders of the reign*].

در نفري دهگان تنکه پنجاهگاني بستانند [1]

Sixth Mukaddama.—Memoir of the Khán-i 'azam Tátár Khán.

Tátár Khán was of Turkí origin. * * * In the reign of Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Ghází, a king of Khurásán made an attack upon Multán and Dípálpúr, and was ravaging and wasting that country. He had a wife, a very handsome woman, from whom he could not bear to be absent, and so he took her with him on his campaign. She was pregnant, and was delivered of a child in the neighbourhood of Multán and Dípálpúr. On that same night, Sultán Tughlik made an attack upon the army of her husband, which he defeated and put to flight. In the confusion the child was left in its cradle. * * * and was found by the soldiers of Sultán Tughlik. The Sultán was pleased with the child, brought him up like a son, and gave him the name of Tátár Malik. He was young when that Sultán died, but grew up in the reign of Sultán Muhammad, and became distinguished for his courage, intrepidity, and military talents. * * * In the reign of Fíroz Sháh he obtained the title of Tátár Khán [*and many marks of distinction*]. * * * He collected a great number of commentaries on the Kurán, and having secured the assistance of a number of learned men, * * * he produced the commentary which he called the *Tafsír-i Tátár Khání*. He also compiled a law book, called the *Fatáwa-i Tátár Khání*. * * * He died some years after the accession of Fíroz Sháh.

Seventh Mukaddama.—Memoir of Khán-i Jahán.

The name of Khán-i Jahán was Makbúl. In his state of ignorance (*i.e.* when he was a Hindu) he was called Kattú. He was a native of Telingana, and a man of high position in his tribe, and he had attracted the favour of the *Rái* of that country. When Sultán Muhammad sent the *Rái* of Telingana to Dehlí, the *Rái* died upon the road. Kattú then presented himself to Sultán Muhammad, and made his profession of the Muhammadan faith. On being admitted to the honour of the faith, the Sultán gave him the name of Makbúl, and bestowed on him many marks

of his favour. Sultán Muhammad perceived in him many marks of sagacity and intelligence, so he made him deputy-*wazir* of Dehlí, when he used to seal and place his signature on *parwánas* as follows, "Makbúl, slave of Muhammad Tughlik." Although he had no knowledge of reading and writing, he was a man of great common sense, acumen and intelligence, and was an ornament to the Court. In the reign of Sultán Muhammad he received the title of Kiwámu-l Mulk, and a grant of the fief of Multán. This was before he became deputy-*wazir*. In those days Khwája-i Jahán was *wazir* of Sultán Muhammad. * * * When this Sultán died, and Sultán Fíroz attained the throne, Khwája-i Jahán was desirous of giving the crown to a son of Sultán Muhammad, and opposed Sultán Fíroz, as has been related in a former part of this work. Khwája-i Jahán and Kiwámu-l Mulk were both in Dehlí at the time, and when Fíroz Sháh approached the city, Kiwámu-l Mulk went out to meet him, and helped him to get possession of the city. He was then made *wazir* [*and received the title of Khán-i Jahán*]. * * * When the Sultán departed from Dehlí on affairs of State, or for hunting, he used to leave Khán-i Jahán as his deputy, who, during his absence, rode about Dehlí with a great display of power, * * * having his sons, grandsons, sons-in-law, and slaves in his train. * * * During the absence of the Sultán, the city was thus kept in subjection. After the death of the Khán, the Sultán ceased from his excursions, and only went out riding in the neighbourhood of the capital.

Khán-i-Jahán had a great number of children. He was much devoted to the pleasures of the harem, and sought eagerly for pretty handmaids. It is reported that he had two thousand women of Rúm and Chín in his harem, where he spent much of his time notwithstanding his onerous official duties. He had numerous sons, and the Sultán made a provision that every son born to him should from his birth receive an allowance (*nán*) of 11,000 *tankas* for his maintenance, he also provided that every daughter on her marriage should receive an allowance

of 15,000 *tankas*. His sons and sons-in-law all wore caps and white waist-bands, and his magnificence reached to such a pitch, that the Sultán was often heard to say that Khán-i Jahán was the grand and magnificent king of Dehlí.

'Aínu-l Mulk was also called 'Aín Máhrú. * * * He was a wise, accomplished, excellent, clever man, full of sound judgment and intelligence, * * * but during the reign of Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlik his brothers had been guilty of some improper and unworthy action, through which he had properly been sent into disgrace. * * * One day Muhammad Tughlik held a general Court, * * * when he perceived 'Aínu-l Mulk, and, pointing to him, said, that the misconduct of his brothers had deprived the State of his services, and the Sultán gave orders that he should be re-instated in his position at Court. 'Ainu-l Mulk was a clever and accomplished man of the highest ability. He wrote some excellent books in the reigns of Muhammad Tughlik and Fíroz Sháh. One of them is the *'Aínu-l Mulki*, a popular and approved work. * * In the reign of Fíroz Sháh he was appointed to the office of *Ashráful-l Mamálik*, and entered actively upon his duties in the minister's office. But a dispute arose between him and the minister * * * which was carried to extremities. * * * The contention reached such a height that Khán-i Jahán often uttered most bitter personal remarks in the presence of 'Aínu-l Mulk, and the latter retorted in the same strain; there was no delicacy between them. * * * Khán-i Jahán told the Sultán that he could no longer stay in the country, and therefore he wished to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. * * * * At length the Sultán said to Khán-i Jahán, "I have given to you the office of *Diwán-i wazárat*, all officers are under you, dismiss whom you please and give the office of *Ashráfu-l mamálik* to another." The *wazír* went home rejoiced, * * * and sent 'Aínu-l Mulk his dismissal. When 'Aínu-l Mulk received his discharge he did not go to the palace for three days, but on the third day he went and paid his respects to the sovereign. The Sultán called him near, and observed that the world is ruined

by dissensions, * * * * and as a quarrel had arisen between Khán-i Jahán and him, there was granted to him the fiefs of Multán, Bhakkar, and Siwistán, whither he had better repair and look after their affairs. But 'Aínu-l Mulk replied, that if he managed these territories he would not render his accounts to the office of the *wazír*, but that he would submit them to the Sultán himself. The Sultán accordingly ordered that the fief of Multán should be removed from the jurisdiction of the minister, and told 'Aínu-l Mulk that he would himself receive his reports[1] and that his books would be sufficient. Upon these conditions 'Aínu-l Mulk accepted the fiefs. The writer has been informed that when 'Aínu-l Mulk was thus dismissed, the chief servants met to consider the matter, and they observed that he had been disgraced through the influence of the minister, and that the same might happen to them to-morrow. They therefore endeavoured to set the Sultán against Khán-i Jahán. * * * 'Aínu-l Mulk had started for Multán, and had proceeded about twenty-four *kos*, when he received an order from the Sultán directing him to leave all his train and return quickly. He did so with alacrity, and when he arrived in Dehlí, the Sultán gave him a private audience, when the officers who were present observed that it was not right to give such predominance to Khán-i Jahán, and that it would be well to beware of him. The Sultán looked towards 'Aínu-l Mulk who said that * * * Khán-i Jahán was a wise and experienced minister, and that his removal would be a calamity to the State. These sentiments greatly pleased the Sultán. He afterwards consulted with him and asked him what ought to be done. He replied that the * * * *wazír* should be sent for, and that all fear and apprehension should be removed from his mind. * * * The minister was accordingly summoned, and when the officers who were sent to call him informed him of what had passed he was greatly amazed. * * * When the Sultán saw he was disturbed in mind

[1] This seems to be the meaning of the sentence, but the exact words are "all that you may happen to do in the fief of Multán shall be listened to."

he reassured him, clothed him with a splendid robe and sent him away with many marks of favour. As the minister retired, radiant and happy, he embraced 'Aínu-l Mulk and said, "I had never thought that you were so friendly towards me. I have been wrong and ungracious to you." 'Aínu-l Mulk replied that he hoped that all misgiving would be removed from the mind of the minister, he had spoken warmly for him, notwithstanding their old feud, and all that he had said had been for the good of the throne of Sultán Fíroz. Khán-i Jahán strongly wished to take 'Aínu-l Mulk home with him but he declined.

[*Order of Precedence at Court*]. Khán-i Jahán lived to a ripe old age, till he was more than eighty years old, and all his limbs had become very feeble. * * * He died in the year 770 H. (1368 A.D.), in the eighteenth year of the reign of Fíroz Sháh. When he died all Dehlí went into mourning, and crowded to the mosques and tombs. [*Eulogy of the Khán.*] The Sultán was greatly affected at his death, and wept bitterly; and he resolved in his mind that he would never more ride forth on any great enterprize. * * *

When Khán-i Jahán held the fief of Multán, he had a son born to him. * * * He wrote to acquaint Sultán Muhammad Sháh of the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Júnán Sháh. This was he who was afterwards known as Khán-i Jahán, son of Khán-i Jahán. * * * After the death of his father, the Sultán promoted him to the office of *wazír*, and bestowed on him this title. * * * He acted as minister under Fíroz Sháh for twenty years, * * * and the Sultán committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge. But towards the end of the reign of Fíroz Sháh, * * * enmity broke out between the minister and Prince Muhammad Khán, afterwards Sultán Muhammad Sháh. Their dissensions were the cause of great trouble and disaster to the country; old and young, small and great, suffered, and the country at length fell a prey to the inroads of the Mughals. The author has entered fully into the details of this quarrel in his memoir of Sultán Muhammad bin Fíroz.

Eighth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik Náib Bar-bak.

Ninth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik-i Mulúku-sh Sharf, 'Imádu-l Mulk, Bashír-i Sultání.

* * * Some say that Sipáh-sálár Rajab, the father of Sultán Fíroz received 'Imádu-l Mulk as part of his wife's dower, others that he purchased him with the price of some of his wife's jewels, and others assert that when Sultán Fíroz, after his accession, married a daughter of Sultán Kutbu-d dín, this lady gave her slave 'Imádu-l Mulk to her husband. * * * * The great wealth of 'Imádu-l Mulk has already been spoken of; it amounted to *krors*. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2,500 *tankas* were expended in the purchase of the material, the cost of each bag being four *jitals*. * * * When the accounts were brought before 'Imádu-l Mulk he objected to this extravagant outlay for bags, and directed that pits should be dug in the ground and the money placed therein like as corn is stored.* * * There were many rich *kháns* and *maliks* in the time of Fíroz Sháh, but no one was so rich as he; indeed there never had been one so rich in any reign or in any kingdom. It is said that he amassed thirteen *krors* (of *tankas*) but he was avid in the acquisition of more. He held the fief of Ráprí and looked very vigilantly after it. The clerks of the Exchequer (*díván-i wazárat*) were afraid of him, and they refrained from calling him to account, so that in the course of years a large balance was due by him. This fact became known to the Sultán.* * * When 'Imádu-l Mulk heard about the enquiry he drew up a statement of his wealth which he himself presented to the Sultán, who read it without making any observation and returned it. * * One day 'Imádu-l Mulk brought a *kror* (of *tankas*) in bags to Court, and when the Sultán cried out "Bashír, what is this?" he replied that it was a small contribution (*chíze 'alúfah*) for the use of the servants of the court. The Sultán declined to take it, but 'Imádu-l Mulk urged its acceptance. At length the Sultán said, "Bashír is my property,

and so his property is mine. But this *kror* must not be placed in the public treasury, because that is the depository of the public revenue. Let it therefore be deposited with Makbúl the perfumer (*'itr-dár*). Whenever Khán-i Jahán required money for fitting out the equipage of the Sultán, he used to give notice to the Sultán, and this *kror* in the hands of Makbúl was drawn upon for the necessary expenses.[1] But as money was continually coming in from ('Imádu-l Mulk's) fief, which was handed over to Makbúl the perfumer, the *kror* (of *tankas*), so long as the Sultán lived, was not diminished. * * * When 'Imádu-l Mulk died the Sultán decided that the wealth did not belong to the deceased. There were twelve *krors*, of which the Sultán took nine, leaving three for Malik Is'hák.

Tenth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik Saiyidu-l Hujjáb.

Eleventh Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik Shamsu-d dín Abúrjá, Mustaufi-mamálik.

Twelfth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Shamsu-d dín Dámaghání.

Thirteenth Mukaddama.—Destruction of a band of murderers by Firoz Sháh.

Fourteenth Mukaddama.—Attention shown to three subjects by Firoz Sháh towards the end of his life, viz.,

1. Liberation of prisoners. 2. Restoration of mosques. 3. Redressing the wrongs of the oppressed.

Fifteenth Mukaddama.—The last farewell of Saiyid Jalálu-d dín.[2]

Sixteenth Mukaddama.—Repentance of Firoz Sháh.

Seventeenth Mukaddama.—Resignation (taslím kardan) of Firoz Sháh to Khán-i Jahán.

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Account of the charms (ahwál-i sihr) performed for Firoz Sháh.

[1] Sir H. Elliot's and Mr. Thomas' MSS. here come to an abrupt termination, having been evidently copied, as before observed, from the same (imperfect) original.

[2] The best MS. terminates abruptly in this chapter. The headings of the remaining three chapters are taken from the Preface.

XVII.

FUTUHÁT-I FÍROZ SHÁHÍ

OF

SULTÁN FÍROZ SHÁH.

[This little work, the production of the Sultán Fíroz Sháh, contains a brief summary of the *res gestae* of his reign, or, as he designates them, his "Victories." Sir H. Elliot was unable to obtain a copy of it, but considered its recovery very desirable, "as everything relating to the noble character of Fíroz is calculated to excite attention." Colonel Lees also speaks of it, but he had never seen it, and was not well informed as to its extent.[1] Mr. Thomas was more fortunate, for he possesses a copy which purports to have been written in 1139 H. (1726 A.D.), but it is quite modern; the date therefore must be that of the MS. from which it was copied. The work is a mere brochure of thirty-two pages, and the editor has translated the whole of it, with the exception of a few lines in the preface laudatory of the prophet. It exhibits the humane and generous spirit of Fíroz in a very pleasing unostentatious light, recording his earnest endeavours to discharge the duties of his station with clemency, and to act up to the teaching of his religion with reverence and earnestness.]

EXTRACTS.

[Praises without end, and infinite thanks to that merciful Creator who gave to me his poor abject creature Fíroz, son of Rajab, the slave of Muhammad Sháh son of Tughlik Sháh, His impulse for the maintenance of the laws of His religion, for the

[1] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV., New Series, p. 446. See also Briggs' Ferishta, I., 462.

repression of heresy, the prevention of crime, and the prohibition of things forbidden; who gave me also a disposition for discharging my lawful duties and my moral obligations. * * * My desire is that, to the best of my human power, I should recount and pay my thanks for the many blessings He has bestowed upon me, so that I may be found among the number of His grateful servants. First I would praise Him because when irreligion and sins opposed to the Law prevailed in Hindustán, and mens' habits and dispositions were inclined towards them, and were averse to the restraints of religion, He inspired me His humble servant with an earnest desire to repress irreligion and wickedness, so that I was able to labour diligently until with His blessing the vanities of the world, and things repugnant to religion, were set aside, and the true was distinguished from the false.

1. In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Musulmáns had been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musulmáns, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men.

"Thanks for God's mercies I will show,
By causing man nor pain nor woe."

All these things were practised that fear and dread might fall upon the hearts of men, and that the regulations of government might be duly maintained.

"Would'st thou see thy land at rest?
Keep the (headsman's) sword at rest!"

Through the mercy which God has shown to me these severities and terrors have been exchanged for tenderness, kindness, and mercy. Fear and respect have thus taken firmer hold of

the hearts of men, and there has been no need of executions, scourgings, tortures, or terrors. But this blessed result is altogether due to the mercy and favour of the Creator.

"Thy power is great, then mercy show:
Pardon than vengeance better know.
Greatness to thee from Heaven descends:
Proneness to wrath thy God offends.
Withhold thine hand, some respite give,
Nor kill the man thou might'st forgive;
Let not his body lifeless fall,
His spirit thou can'st ne'er recall.
See how the mother's tender breast
Is by her child's distress oppress.
Boast not the hundreds thou hast slain,
To save one life's a nobler aim.
Thou shrinkest from the lancet's smart,
Keep then thy sword from neck and heart.
Seek not to shed a victim's gore,
The life-stream stopped will flow no more.
From deeds of blood thy hand restrain,
Thy blood the assassin's blade may stain.
That leader praise whose generous heart,
Disdains with captives' lives to sport.
From the well of fate he life will draw
Who shields the wretch from tyrants' law.
A vanquished foe should claim thy care,
Then pity show—in mercy spare!"

By God's help I determined that the lives (*khún*) of Musulmáns and true believers should be in perfect immunity, and whoever transgressed the Law should receive the punishment prescribed by the book and the decrees of judges.

2. The next matter, which by God's help I accomplished, was the repetition of the names and titles of former sovereigns which had been omitted from the prayers on Sabbaths and Feasts. The names of those sovereigns of Islám, under whose happy fortune and favour infidel countries had been conquered, whose banners had waved over many a land, under whom mosques and pulpits had been built and exalted, the fragrant creed had been extended, and the people of Islám had waxen strong and warlike, the names of these men had fallen into neglect and oblivion. So I decreed that according to established custom their names and

titles should be rehearsed in the *khutba* and aspirations offered for the remission of their sins.

"Would'st thou enjoy a lasting fame?
Hide not the merits of an honoured name!"

3. In former reigns they used to collect frivolous, unlawful, and unjust cesses at the public treasury, such as the *Mandavi bark, dalálat-i bazárhá, járári, amiri-tarab, gul-faroshi, jaribá-i tambol, changi-ghala, kitábi, bilgari, máhi-faroshi, sábúnkari, rismán faroshi, raughan-kari, nukhúd-biryán, tah-bázári, jhaba, kimár-khána, dád-banki, kotwáli, ihtisábi, karhi, charái, musá-darát.* I had all these abolished and removed from the accounts, and any revenue collector who exacted these cesses from the people was to be brought to punishment for his offence.

"Better a people's weal than treasures vast,
Better an empty chest than hearts downcast."

The money received in the public treasury should be derived from sources recognized by the Sacred Law, and approved by books of authority. First the *kharáj* or tenth from cultivated lands, then the *zakát* or alms, then the *jizya* or poll tax on Hindus and other separatists, then the *khams* or fifth of the spoil and of (the produce of) mines. No tax unauthorized by the declarations of the book should be received in the public treasury.

4. Before my time it was the rule and practice that in repressing infidelity four-fifths of the spoil was appropriated to the public treasury and one-fifth was given to the captors; but the rule of the Law is that one-fifth should be taken by the State, and four-fifths allotted to the captors. The provisions of the Law had thus been entirely subverted. As the Law was thus set at nought, every man looked upon himself as the lawful owner of the spoil he captured. Hence, children borne by female captives were the offspring of fornication. To prevent these irregularities I decreed that one-fifth (of the spoil) should be taken by the State, and four-fifths given to the captors.

5. The sect of *Sht'as*, also called *Rawáfiz*, had endeavoured to make proselytes. They wrote treatises and books, and gave in-

struction and lectures upon the tenets of their sect, and traduced and reviled the first chiefs of our religion (on whom be the peace of God!). I seized them all and I convicted them of their errors and perversions. On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (*siyásat*), and the rest I visited with censure (*tázír*) and threats (*tahdíb*) of public punishment (*tashhir-i zijr*). Their books I burnt in public, and so by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed.

6. There was a sect of heretics (*mulhid*), and sectarians (*abáhtiyán*), who laboured to seduce the people into heresy and schism. They met by night at an appointed time and place, both friends and strangers. Wine was served, and they said that this was their religious worship. They brought their wives, mothers, and daughters to these meetings. The men threw themselves on the ground as if in worship, and each man had intercourse with the woman whose garment he caught. I cut off the heads of the elders of this sect, and imprisoned and banished the rest, so that their abominable practices were put an end to.

7. There was a sect which wore the garments of atheism, and having thrown off all restraint, led men astray. The name of their chief was Ahmad Bahárí. He dwelt in the city, and a party of his followers called him a God. They brought those people before me in bonds and chains, and informed me that he presumptuously made himself a prophet, and said that there could be none of the grace of prophecy in any one who had not been admitted into his following. One of his disciples affirmed that a God had appeared in Dehlí, that is, Ahmad Bahárí. When these facts were proved against them, I ordered them both to be confined and punished with chains. I admonished the others to repent and reform, and I banished them to different cities to put a stop to the influence of this wretched sect.

8. There was in Dehlí a man named Ruknu-d dín, who was called Mahdí, because he affirmed himself to be the Imám Mahdí who is to appear in the latter days, and to be possessed of knowledge by inspiration. He said that he had not read or studied

under anyone, and that he knew the names of all things, a knowledge which no prophet had acquired since Adam. He pretended that the mysteries of the science of letters (*'ilm-i hurúf*) had been revealed to him in a way never made known to any other man, and that he had written books upon the subject. He led people astray into mystic practices, and perverted ideas by maintaining that he was Ruknu-d dín, the prophet of God. The elders brought the facts of this case to my attention, and gave evidence of what they had heard him say. When he was brought before me I investigated the charges of error and perversion brought against him, and he was convicted of heresy and error. The doctors of the Law said he was an infidel, and worthy of death, for having spread such vile and pernicious ideas among the people of Islám. If any delay were made in putting them down they would spread like a pestilence, and many Musulmáns would stray from the true faith. A revolt (against religion) would follow; and many men would fall into perdition. I ordered that this vile fellow's rebellion and wickedness should be communicated to all societies of learned men, and be made public to all men, high and low: and that in accordance with the decision of the doctors learned in the holy Law, the guilty should be brought to punishment. They killed him with some of his supporters and disciples, and the people rushing in tore him to pieces and broke his bones into fragments. Thus was his iniquity prevented. God in His mercy and favour, made me, His humble creature, the instrument of putting down such wickedness, and abolishing such heresy; and guided me to effect a restoration of true religion. Thanks for this are due to the great and glorious God. Upon hearing or reading the facts here recorded, every well-wisher of His religion will admit that this sect was deservedly punished, and for this good action I hope to receive future reward.

9. A person who was one of the pupils of 'Aín Máhrú,[1] had set himself up as a *shaikh* in the country of Gujarát, and having

[1] از ملازادگان عین ماهرو.

got together a body of disciples, used to say, "*Ana-l Hakk*" (I am God). He commanded his disciples that when he used these words they were to say, "Thou art, thou art!" He further said, "I am the king who dies not;" and he wrote a book in which he inserted the words of his profession (*kalamát*). He was put in chains and brought before me. The charge being proved, I condemned him to punishment, and his book I ordered to be burnt, so that his innovation (*fasád*) might be prevented from spreading among the faithful people of Islám.

10. A custom and practice unauthorized by the Law of Islám had sprung up in Musulmán cities. On holy days women riding in palankíns, or carts, or litters, or mounted on horses or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs. Rakes and wild fellows of unbridled passions and loose habits, took the opportunity which this practice afforded for improper riotous actions. I commanded that no woman should go out to the tombs under pain of exemplary punishment. Now, thanks to the great God, no lady or respectable Musulmán woman can go out on pilgrimage to the tombs. The practice has been entirely stopped.

11. The Hindus and idol-worshipers had agreed to pay the money for toleration (*zar-i zimmiya*), and had consented to the poll tax (*jizya*), in return for which they and their families enjoyed security. These people now erected new idol temples in the city and the environs in opposition to the Law of the Prophet which declares that such temples are not to be tolerated. Under Divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and I killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisement, until this abuse was entirely abolished. The following is an instance:—In the village of Malúh there is a tank which they call *kund* (tank). Here they had built idol-temples, and on certain days the Hindus were accustomed to proceed thither on horseback, and wearing arms. Their women and children also went out in palankíns and carts. There they assembled in thousands and performed

idol worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the *bázár* people took out there all sorts of provisions, and set up stalls and sold their goods. Some graceless Musulmáns, thinking only of their own gratification, took part in these meetings. When intelligence of this came to my ears my religious feelings prompted me at once to put a stop to this scandal and offence to the religion of Islám. On the day of the assembling I went there in person, and I ordered that the leaders of these people and the promoters of this abomination should be put to death. I forbad the infliction of any severe punishments on the Hindus in general, but I destroyed their idol temples, and instead thereof raised mosques. I founded two flourishing towns (*kasba*), one called Tughlikpúr, the other Sálárpúr. Where infidels and idolaters worshiped idols, Musulmáns now, by God's mercy, perform their devotions to the true God. Praises of God and the summons to prayer are now heard there, and that place which was formerly the home of infidels has become the habitation of the faithful, who there repeat their creed and offer up their praises to God.

12. Information was brought to me that some Hindús had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Sálihpúr, and were performing worship to their idol. I sent some persons there to destroy the idol temple, and to put a stop to their pernicious incitements to error.

13. Some Hindús had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Kohána, and the idolaters used to assemble there and perform their idolatrous rites. These people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that the perverse conduct of the leaders of this wickedness should be publicly proclaimed, and that they should be put to death before the gate of the palace. I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols, and the vessels used in their worship, which had been taken with them, should all be publicly burnt. The others were restrained by threats and punishments, as a warning to all men, that no *zimmí* could follow such wicked practices in a Musulmán country.

14. It had been the practice in former reigns to use vessels of

gold and silver at the royal table, and sword-belts and quivers were ornamented with gold and jewels. I forbad these things, and I ordered the fittings of my arms to be made of bone, and I commanded that only such vessels should be used as are recognized by the Law.

15. In former times it had been the custom to wear ornamented garments, and men received robes as tokens of honour from kings' courts. Figures and devices were painted and displayed on saddles, bridles, and collars, on censers, on goblets and cups, and flagons, on dishes and ewers, in tents, on curtains and on chairs, and upon all articles and utensils. Under Divine guidance and favour I ordered all pictures and portraits to be removed from these things, and that such articles only should be made as are approved and recognized by the Law. Those pictures and portraits which were painted on the doors and walls of palaces I ordered to be effaced.

16. Formerly the garments of great men were generally made of silk and gold brocades, beautiful but unlawful. Under Divine guidance I ordered that such garments should be worn as are approved by the Law of the Prophet, and that choice should be made of such trimmings of gold brocade, embroidery, or braiding as did not exceed four inches (*asábi'*) in breadth. Whatever was unlawful and forbidden by, or opposed to, the Law was set aside.

Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me, His humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices, and aid the kind builder with their prayers. The digging of canals, the planting of trees, and the endowing with lands are in accordance with the directions of the Law. The learned doctors of the Law of Islám have many troubles; of this there is no doubt. I settled allowances upon them in proportion to their necessary expenses, so that they might regularly receive the income. The details of this are fully set forth in the *Wakf-náma.*

Again, by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay from lapse of time; giving the restoration of these buildings the priority over my own building works. The *Masjid-i jámi'* of old Dehlí, which was built by Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Sám, had fallen into decay from old age, and needed repair and restoration. I so repaired it that it was quite renovated.

The western wall of the tomb of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Sám, and the planks of the door, had become old and rotten. I restored this, and, in the place of the balcony, I furnished it with doors, arches, and ornaments of sandal-wood.

The *minára* of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Sám had been struck by lightning. I repaired it and raised it higher than it was before.

The *Hauz-i Shamsi*, or tank of Altamsh, had been deprived of water by some graceless men, who stopped up the channels of supply. I punished these incorrigible men severely, and opened again the closed up channels.

The *Hauz-i 'Aláí*, or tank of 'Aláu-d dín, had no water in it, and was filled up. People carried on cultivation in it, and had dug wells, of which they sold the water. After a generation (*karn*) had passed I cleaned it out, so that this great tank might again be filled from year to year.

The *Madrasa* (college) of Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh had been destroyed. I rebuilt it, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. The columns of the tomb, which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built its court (*sahn*) had not been made curved (*kaj*), but I now made it so. I enlarged the hewn-stone staircase of the dome, and I re-erected the fallen piers (*pushtí*) of the four towers.

Tomb of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín, son of Sultán Shamsu-d dín, which is situated in Malikpúr. This had fallen into such ruin that the sepulchres were undistinguishable. I re-erected the dome, the terrace, and the enclosure wall.

Tomb of Sultán Ruknu-d dín, son of Shamsu-d dín, in Malik-

púr. I repaired the enclosure wall, built a new dome, and erected a monastery (*khánkáh*).

Tomb of Sultán Jalálu-d dín. This I repaired, and I supplied it with new doors.

Tomb of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. I repaired the wall of the *ábdár-khána*, and the west wall of the mosque, which is within the college, and I also made good the tesselated pavement (*farsh-i ta'shíb*).

Tomb of Sultán Kutbu-d dín and the (other) sons of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, viz., Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, Faríd Khán, Sultán Shahábu-d dín, Sikandar Khán, Muhammad Khán, 'Usmán Khán, and his grandsons, and the sons of his grandsons. The tombs of these I repaired and renovated.

I also repaired the doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikhu-l Islám Nizámu-l hakk wau-d dín, which were made of sandal-wood. I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome, and I built a meeting room, for before this there was none.

Tomb of Malik Táju-l Mulk Káfúrí, the great *wazír* of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries, on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and he caused the *khutba* of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín to be repeated there. He had 52,000 horsemen. His grave had been leveled with the ground, and his tomb laid low. I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful subject.

The *Dáru-l ámán*, or House of Rest. This is the bed and resting place of great men. I had new sandal-wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended.

The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments. In those cases where no income had been settled on these foundations in former times for (procuring) carpets, lights, and furniture for the use of

travelers and pilgrims in the least of these places, I had villages assigned to them, the revenues of which would suffice for their expenditure in perpetuity.

Jahán-panáh. This foundation of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored.

All the fortifications which had been built by former sovereigns at Dehlí I repaired.

For the benefit of travelers and pilgrims resorting to the tombs of illustrious kings and celebrated saints, and for providing the things necessary in these holy places, I confirmed and gave effect to the grants of villages, lands, and other endowments which had been conferred upon them in olden times. In those cases where no endowment or provision had been settled, I made an endowment, so that these establishments might for ever be secure of an income, to afford comfort to travelers and wayfarers, to holy men and learned men. May they remember those (ancient benefactors) and me in their prayers.

I was enabled by God's help to build a *Dáru-sh shifá*, or Hospital, for the benefit of every one of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering. Physicians attend there to ascertain the disease, to look after the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine. The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments. All sick persons, residents and travelers, gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither; their maladies are treated, and, under God's blessing, they are cured.

Under the guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed (*kushta*) in the reign of my late lord and patron Sultán Muhammad Sháh, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultán and be appeased with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest, which was placed in the *Dáru-l ámán* at the head of the tomb of the

late Sultán, in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him.

Another instance of Divine guidance was this. Villages, lands, and ancient patrimonies of every kind had been wrested from the hands of their owners in former reigns, and had been brought under the Exchequer. I directed that every one who had a claim to property should bring it forward in the law-court, and, upon establishing his title, the village, the land, or whatever other property it was should be restored to him. By God's grace I was impelled to this good action, and men obtained their just rights.

I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musulmán should be exempt from the *jizya*, or poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves, and were admitted to the honour of Islám. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the *jizya*, and were favoured with presents and honours.

Through God's mercy the lands and property of his servants have been safe and secure, protected and guarded during my reign; and I have not allowed the smallest particle of any man's property to be wrested from him. Men often spoke to me officiously, saying that such and such a merchant had made so many *lacs*, and that such and such a revenue collector had so many *lacs*. By reproofs and punishments I made these informers hold their tongues, so that the people might be safe from their malignity, and through this kindness men became my friends and supporters.

"Labour to earn for generous deeds a name,
Nor seek for riches to extend thy fame.
Better one word of praise than stores of gold,
Better one grateful prayer than wealth untold."

Under God's favour my heart was occupied with an earnest

desire to succour the poor and needy (*fukrá wa masákín*) and to comfort their hearts. Wherever I heard of a *faḳír* or religious recluse, I went to visit him and ministered to his necessities, so that I might attain the blessing promised to those who befriend the poor.

Whenever a person had completed the natural term of life and had become full of years, after providing for his support, I advised and admonished him to direct his thoughts to making preparation for the life to come, and to repent of all things which he had done contrary to the Law and religion in his youth; to wean his affections from this world, and to fix them on the next.

I desired to act upon the sentiment of these lines—

"The practice of the great should be
To succour honest men;
And when a good man dies, to see
His children find a friend."

When any government servant filling an important and responsible position was carried off under the decrees of God to the happy future life, I gave his place and employment to his son, so that he might occupy the same position and rank as his father and suffer no injury.

"Kings should make their rule of life
To love the great and wise;
And when death ends this mortal strife,
To dry their loved ones' eyes."

The greatest and best of honours that I obtained through God's mercy was, that by my obedience and piety, and friendliness and submission to the *Khalífa*, the representative of the holy Prophet, my authority was confirmed; for it is by his sanction that the power of kings is assured, and no king is secure until he has submitted himself to the *khalífa*, and has received a confirmation from the sacred throne. A diploma was sent to me fully confirming my authority as deputy of the *khiláfat*, and the leader of the faithful was graciously pleased to honour me with the title of "*Saiyidu-s Salátín*." He also bestowed upon me robes, a banner, a sword, a ring, and a foot-print as badges of honour and distinction.

My object in writing this book has been to express my gratitude to the All-bountiful God for the many and various blessings He has bestowed upon me. Secondly, that men who desire to be good and prosperous may read this and learn what is the proper course. There is this concise maxim, by observing which, a man may obtain God's guidance: Men will be judged according to their works, and rewarded for the good that they have done.

XVIII.

MALFŪZÁT-I TÍMŪRÍ,

OR

TŪZAK-I TIMŪRÍ:

THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TÍMŪR.

[This is an autobiographical memoir of the Emperor Tímúr, written in the Chaghatáí Turkí language, translated into Persian by Abú Tálib Husainí, and dedicated to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, who began to reign in A.D. 1628.

In the brief preface to his translation, Abú Tálib states that he found the original Turkí work in the library of Ja'far, Hákim of Yaman,[1] and that it consisted of a history of Tímúr, from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age. The reticence of Abú Tálib as to the authenticity of the original work, and the strangeness of the place for the discovery of a MS. in a Turkí language, have given rise to the suspicion that there was no such work, and that Abú Tálib made the statement to give greater authority to a production of his own. Major Davy, who first brought the work to notice, argued against this supposition, grounding his opinion on the internal evidence of the work itself, and on the improbability of an author resorting to "an artifice which could tend only to diminish his fame and his profit." The probability is that Abú Tálib knew nothing more of the work than what he learned from its own pages, and that when he had turned these into Persian he had nothing to add. Tímúr's descendants seem to have had a partiality for writing

[1] A person of this name was Pasha of Yaman in 1610.—Astley's Voyages referred to by Stewart in the Preface to his translation.

their own memoirs, as in the instances of Bábar and Jahángír; and others, who did not profess to be their own biographers, provided for a record of their lives and actions being written. This family predilection is of itself something in favour of the authenticity of the work.

The fact of its being a genuine work, produced under the supervision of Tímúr himself, can however be proved upon more certain evidence. Only thirty years after Tímúr's death, Sharafu-d dín Yazdí wrote his celebrated *Zafar-náma*, or Book of Victory, to commemorate the exploits of Tímúr, and in his preface he details the sources from which his work was drawn, and the auspices under which it was written. To establish the veracity and authority of his history, he first describes, in the following words, the way in which a record of the events of Tímúr's reign was kept at the Court of that Emperor.

"The third recommendation (of this my work, named *Zafar-náma*) is its truthfulness—the exactness and verity of the accounts and descriptions of the various events of Tímúr's life, both at home and abroad. Men of the highest character for learning, knowledge, and goodness, Aighúr officers and Persian secretaries, were in attendance at the Court of Tímúr, and a staff of them under the orders of the Emperor wrote down an account of everything that occurred. The movements, actions and sayings of Tímúr, the various incidents and affairs of State, of religion, and the ministers, were all recorded and written down with the greatest care. The most stringent commands were given that every event should be recorded exactly as it occurred, without any modification either in excess or diminution. This rule was to be particularly observed in matters of personal bearing and courage, without fear or favour of any one, and most especially in respect of the valour and prowess of the Emperor himself. The learned and eloquent writers having recorded the facts, their compositions were polished and finished off in verse and prose. From time to time these writings were brought into the royal presence and were read to

the Emperor, so as to insure confidence by the impress of his approval. In this way the records of the various incidents and actions of the life of Tímúr, whether recounted in Turkí verse or Persian prose, were revised and finally recorded in prose and verse. Besides this, some of the officers of the Court wrote down the incidents of the reign of Tímúr, and took the greatest pains to ascertain the truth of what they recorded. Accomplished writers then moulded these productions into Turkí verse and Persian prose."

Sharafu-d dín then goes on to relate how his own royal patron Ibráhím, grandson of Tímúr, took the greatest interest in the composition of the *Zafar-náma* how he procured from all parts of his dominions copies of the works relating to the life of Tímúr, in prose and verse, in Turkí and in Persian; how he supplied him with men learned in Persian and Turkí as assistants; how reference was made to surviving actors in the events recorded; how he wrote letters in all directions to settle discrepancies in the MSS., and how he had the work read to him in the rough draft and in the finished state.[1]

So the basis of Sharafu-d dín's history was a work or works written under the direction or with the approval of Tímúr, and a comparison of the *Zafar-náma* with the *Malfúzát* proves the one to be a mere reproduction of the other. The events recorded and their succession are identical,[2] and leave no doubt upon the mind that Sharafu-d dín translated or wrote over again in an ornate style that history which had been compiled under Tímúr's direction. Like Oriental writers in general, he half conceals the true origin of his book, and so exaggerates the magnitude and importance of his own labours, but the only difference observable in the two works is, that one is the production of a skilful and accomplished writer, the other the work of a plain, laborious, and minute chronicler of events. With all

[1] Petis de la Croix in his translation of the Preface of the *Zafar-náma*, which is abridged, and is less accurate than the rest of his translation, has made all this to appear as if it applied to Tímúr.

[2] So far at least as concerns the extracts in this volume.

the rhetoric and flourishes of the *Zafar-náma*, the narrative is shorter than that of the detailed and verbose biography.

The *Tuzúkát* or Institutes were translated into English by Major Davy, and published under the editorship of Professor White, at Oxford, in 1783, and this work was turned into French by M. Langlès, and published in 1787.

The *Malfúzát* or Memoirs, as far as the forty-first year of Tímúr's age, were translated into English by Major Stewart, and were published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1830.

The MS. used by Major Davy and Major Stewart was imperfect, ending abruptly with the forty-first year of Tímúr's age. This MS. is now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which library also possesses another imperfect copy. There is a similar defective copy in the library of the East India Office; Sir H. Elliot also procured a defective copy in India, and there are several in the British Museum. These, in all probability, were derived directly or indirectly from one MS. But the British Museum has lately secured a perfect copy from the library of the late General Hamilton, which bears the marks of having once belonged to the Royal Library at Lucknow.

Besides the Version of Abú Tálib, there is another, the work of Muhammad Afzal Bukhárí. The author of this later version tells us in his preface that when Amír Abú Tálib's translation had been read by the Emperor Shah Jahán, it was found to contain errors and mistakes. Its statements occasionally differed from those of the *Zafar-náma* and other histories; and while omitting events recorded in the *Zafar-náma*, it added others of which no notice had been taken in that work. For these reasons he goes on to say:—"In the year 1047 of the Hijra, and tenth of his Majesty Sháh Jahán's reign (A.D. 1637),[1] the royal orders were issued to me, the meanest of the servants of the Imperial Court (Muhammad Afzal Bukhárí), to read and revise this book from beginning to end, and to assimilate it with the *Zafar-náma*, of the correctness of which no intelligent person can have a doubt, and compare it with some

[1] So, Abú Tálib's version was finished between 1628 and 1637 A.D.

other trustworthy histories; to omit some things which the translator had inserted, and to insert some occurrences which he had omitted; also to translate the Turkí and Arabic sentences into Persian, and to correct several dates, which do not agree with the *Zafar-náma.* * * * (The author) has exerted himself as much as possible in revising and correcting the said translation, and has thrown out all the unauthenticated passages which Abú Tálib had inserted. He has inserted several passages that have been omitted by that translator, and he has thereby made the book conform with the *Zafar-náma.*" Major Stewart observes that "It appears in Dow's History of Hindustán that Muhammad Afzal was the name of the Emperor Sháh Jahán's preceptor, and so he was probably the person employed to revise this work, but he has not complied with his promise of translating all the Turkí passages, although a native of Bukhárá, where that language was well understood."

So the *Zafar-náma* was based upon the Turkí memoirs of Tímúr translated by Abú Tálib into Persian, and Muhammad Afzal was afterwards employed to bring these memoirs more completely into accord with the *Zafar-náma*, which was founded upon them. The alterations of Abú Tálib's work are, however, made to appear greater and more important than they actually are. Major Stewart, after the translation of his fragment of Abú Tálib's work, received two copies of Muhammad Afzal's, and he says in his Appendix: "I have minutely compared them with Colonel Davy's MS. as far as it extends, and find that the only additions they contain are extracts from Sharafu-d dín's history, an explanation of some particulars omitted in the Memoirs, and an attempt to prove that Tímúr was of the *Sunní* sect, although there is the strongest evidence that he was a very bigoted *Shí'a.*" The editor of this work has made a comparison, though not a minute one, of the text of the following extracts as given in the MS. of Abú Tálib in the British Museum, and in one of Muhammad Afzal's belonging to Sir H. Elliot, and he has found no greater differences between them than might be expected in two

MSS. of the same work. So far as regards the portion relating to India the works are identically the same. The concluding sentences differ slightly in the two works, but in both Tímúr is made to record his own death. Muhammad Afzal, the later writer, makes him briefly say, "I arrived at the village of Atrár[1] and died;" but Abú Tálib is more specific, saying, "At night, on the 17th of the month of Sha'bán (March 19, 1405 A.D.), calling upon the name of God, I lost my senses, and resigned my pure soul to the Almighty and Holy Creator" (and pure it was if blood could make it pure!). Major Stewart has noticed this apparent record by Tímúr of his own death, and shows that it ought not to stamp the work as a forgery. In the fourth clause of his Testament Tímúr says, "I desire that this my Testament, and whatever I shall say to the last moment of my existence, shall be written in my Memoirs as if proceeding from my own mouth." This instruction has only been carried a trifle too far. The narrative given in this work of Tímúr's expedition to India has been closely followed by Mirkhond in the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, used by Price in his *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*.

Two MSS. of Muhammad Afzal's work have been used for the following extracts. One belonging to the Nawáb of Jhajjar, and a copy of a portion of the work made for Sir H. Elliot from a MS. belonging to the Raja of Balamgarh. Up to page 421 the translation is the production of Mr. C. E. Chapman, of the Bengal Civil Service; the remainder has been prepared by the Editor.]

The History of my expedition against Hindustan.

About this time there arose in my heart the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels, and to become a *ghází*; for it had reached my ears that the slayer of infidels is a *ghází*, and if he is slain he becomes a martyr. It was on this account that I formed this resolution, but I was undetermined in my mind whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of China or against the infidels and polytheists of India. In this

[1] A large town two parasangs or leagues north of the Síhún (Jaxartes).

matter I sought an ọmen from the Kurán, and the verse I opened upon was this, "O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers, and treat them with severity."

My great officers told me that the inhabitants of Hindustán were infidels and unbelievers. In obedience to the order of Almighty God I determined on an expedition against them, and I issued orders to the *amirs* of mature years, and the leaders in war, to come before me, and when they had come together I questioned the assembly as to whether I should invade Hindustán or China, and said to them, "By the order of God and the Prophet it is incumbent upon me to make war upon these infidels and polytheists." Throwing themselves upon their knees they all wished me good fortune. I demanded of the warrior chieftains whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of Hindustán or China. At first they repeated fables and wise sayings, and then said, in the country of Hindustán there are four defences, and if any one invading this extensive country breaks down these four defences, he becomes the conqueror of Hindustán.

The first defence consists of five large rivers, which flow from the mountains of Kashmír, and these rivers unite in their course, and passing through the country of Sind, flow into the Arabian Sea, and it is not possible to cross them without boats and bridges. The second defence consists of woods and forests and trees, which, interweaving stem with stem and branch with branch, render it very difficult to penetrate into that country. The third defence is the soldiery, and landholders, and princes, and Rájas of that country, who inhabit fastnesses in those forests, and live there like wild beasts. The fourth defence consists of the elephants, for the rulers of that country in the day of battle equipping elephants in mail, put them in the van of their army, and place great confidence in them, and they have trained them to such a pitch that, lifting with their trunks a horse with his rider, and whirling him in the air, they will dash him on the ground.

Some of the nobles said in reply that Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigín conquered the country of Hindustán with 30,000 horse, and established his own servants as rulers of that region, and carried off many thousand loads of gold and silver and jewels from that country, besides subjecting it to a regular tribute, and is our *amír* inferior to Sultán Mahmúd? No; thanks to Almighty God, to-day a 100,000 valiant Tátár horsemen wait at the stirrup of our *amír;* if he determines upon this expedition Almighty God will give him victory, and he will become a *ghází* and *mujáhid* before God, and we shall be attendants on an *amír* who is a *ghází*, and the army will be contented and the treasury rich and well filled, and with the gold of Hindustán our *amír* will become a conqueror of the world and famous among the kings of earth.

At this time the prince Sháh Rukh said: "India is an extensive country; whatever Sultán conquers it becomes supreme over the four quarters of the globe; if, under the conduct of our *amír*, we conquer India, we shall become rulers over the seven climes." He then said: "I have seen in the history of Persia that, in the time of the Persian Sultáns, the King of India was called Dárá, with all honour and glory. On account of his dignity he bore no other name; and the Emperor of Rome was called *Cæsar*, and the Sultán of Persia was called *Kisra*, and the Sultán of the Tátárs, *Khákán*, and the Emperor of China, *Faghfúr*; but the King of Írán and Túrán bore the title of *Sháhinsháh*, and the orders of the *Sháhinsháh* were always paramount over the princes and *Rájás* of Hindustán, and praise be to God that we are at this time *Sháhinsháh* of Írán and Túrán, and it would be a pity that we should not be supreme over the country of Hindustán." I was excessively pleased with these words of Prince Sháh Rukh. Then the Prince Muhammad Sultán said: "The whole country of India is full of gold and jewels, and in it there are seventeen mines of gold and silver, diamond and ruby and emerald and tin and iron and steel and copper and quicksilver, etc., and of the plants which grow there are those

fit for making wearing apparel, and aromatic plants, and the sugar cane, and it is a country which is always green and verdant, and the whole aspect of the country is pleasant and delightful. Now, since the inhabitants are chiefly polytheists and infidels and idolaters and worshipers of the sun, by the order of God and his prophet, it is right for us to conquer them.

My *wazírs* informed me that the whole amount of the revenue of India is six *arbs;* now each *arb* is a 100 *krors*, and each *kror* is a 100 *lacs*, and each *lac* is a 100,000 *miskáls* of silver. Some of the nobles said, "By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India, but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions, and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish." The *amírs* of regiments (*kushúnát*) were disturbed at these words, but I said to them, "My object in the invasion of Hindustán is to lead an expedition against the infidels that, according to the law of Muhammad (upon whom and his family be the blessing and peace of God), we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *gházis* and *mujáhids* before God." They gave an unwilling consent, but I placed no reliance upon them. At this time the wise men of Islám came before me, and a conversation began about the propriety of a war against infidels and polytheists; they gave it as their opinion that it is the duty of the Sultán of Islám, and all the people who profess that "there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah," for the sake of preserving their religion and strengthening their law, to exert their utmost endeavour for the suppression of the enemies of their faith. And it is the duty of every Muslim and true believer to use his utmost exertions in obedience to his ruler. When the edifying words of the wise men reached the ears of the nobles, all their hearts were set upon a holy war in Hindustán, and throwing themselves on their knees, they repeated the Chapter of Victory.

When I girded up my loins for the expedition, I wrote to Hazrat Shaikh Zainu-d dín to the effect that I had determined on a religious expedition to Hindustán. He wrote in the margin of my letter: "Be it known to Abú-l Gházi Tímúr (whom may God assist) that great prosperity in this world and the next will result to you from this undertaking, and you will go and return in safety." He also sent me a large sword which I made my sceptre.

In the meanwhile there came a petition from the Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, from the confines of Kábulistán, the government of which country, from the boundaries of Kunduz and Bakalán and Kábul and Ghazní and Kandahár, was vested in him. When I looked at this petition it was thus written: "Since, according to your order, I arrived in this country, I have acted towards all the people conformably to the exalted order and wisdom-increasing counsels of the great king. When I had satisfied my mind with the conquest and settlement of this kingdom, I turned my thoughts towards the acquisition of some of the provinces of Hindustán. I enquired concerning the condition of that country, and received the following account: that the city of Dehlí is the capital of the sovereigns of India, and after the death of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, two brothers among his nobility, of whom one was named Mallú and the other Sárang, becoming very powerful, established their independence, giving the nominal sovereignty to one of the sons of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, by name, Sultán Mahmúd, they kept the real power in their own hands, and virtually governed the empire. Mallú, the elder brother, lives at Dehlí, about the person of Sultán Mahmúd, and Sárang is established in the city of Multán, for the protection of that country. When I became acquainted with these matters, acting according to the practice of the great king, I wrote a letter and sent it to him (Sárang) by an ambassador, purporting that since the fame of the victories and conquests, and of the extensive empire of the great king is spread all over the world, it is certain that it must have reached him also. The great king has appointed me to the government of those provinces which lie on

the borders of Hindustán, and has ordered that 'If the rulers of Hindustán come before me with tribute I will not interfere with their lives, property, or kingdoms; but if they are negligent in proffering obedience and submission, I will put forth my strength for the conquest of the kingdoms of India. At all events, if they set any value upon their lives, property, and reputation, they will pay me a yearly tribute, and if not, they shall hear of my arrival with my powerful armies. Farewell.' When the ambassador reached the presence of Sárang at Multán, he was treated with great respect and consideration; but in reply to his letter, Sárang said, 'It is difficult to take an empire like a bride to your bosom without trouble and difficulty and the clashing of swords. The desire of your prince is to take this kingdom with its rich revenue. Well, let him wrest it from us by force of arms if he be able. I have numerous armies and formidable elephants, and am quite prepared for war.' With these words he dismissed the ambassador. But when this unsatisfactory answer was brought back to me, I issued immediate orders for the armies to assemble from all quarters, together with such of the nobles as were in my province, such as Amír Sáikal Kandahárí, and other *amírs*,[1] and soldiers. I got ready for the invasion of Hindustán. I plundered and laid waste the country of the Aghánís who inhabit the mountain Sulaimán, and marching steadily forwards I crossed the river Indus, and assaulted the city of Uch, and through the good fortune of the great king, I took it. Leaving a body of men there as a garrison, I proceeded to Multán, which I besieged; but as Sárang had carefully fortified and strengthened this fortress, the siege has been protracted for some days, and, indeed, I am at this moment engaged in the siege, giving an assault twice every day. All the nobles have displayed great valour and intrepidity, more especially Tímúr Khwájah, the son of Amír Ákúghá, and I am now waiting for further instructions."

When I had read this letter, my previous resolution was confirmed and strengthened.

[1] [A long string of names is given.]

The holy war against the infidels of Hindustán.

I acted in such a manner that by the spring of that year I had collected the soldiery from all parts of the countries under my sway; and in the auspicious month Rajáb, A.H. 800 (March, 1408), which may be expressed according to the rule of *Abjad*, by the words *karíb fath*, appointed the prince 'Umar, the son of Prince Mirzá Sháh, my viceroy in Samarkand, and leaving him some of the nobles and soldiery, I placed my foot in the stirrup at a lucky moment, and quitting my capital Samarkand, directed my course towards Hindustán. Marching on, hunting as I went, I reached Turmuz, and ordering the construction of a bridge of boats over the Jíhún, I crossed that river with my whole army and encamped at the village of Khulm. Beating the drum of departure from that place, and passing in my march Ghaztík and Samankán, I arrived at Indaráb, and the nobles and people of that place, high and low, pouring out in crowds to meet me, all at once set up a great cry and lamentation, demanding justice. I sent for a number of the nobles and chief men among them and instituted an enquiry into this matter.

On their knees they made representation demanding protection from the infidel Kators and the Siyáh-poshes, saying, we have brought our petition against these oppressive infidels to the presence of the king of Islám, for the infidel Kators and the Siyáh-poshes exact tribute and black mail every year from us who are true believers, and if we fail in the least of our settled amount, they slay our men and carry our women and children into slavery, so that we helpless Musulmáns fly for protection to the presence of the great king that he may grant to us oppressed ones our hearts' desire upon these infidels. On hearing these words the flame of my zeal for Islám, and my affection for my religion, began to blaze, and I addressed those Musulmáns with the following consolatory words:—By the help and assistance of Almighty God I will grant you your hearts' desire on these oppressive infidel Kators and Siyáh-poshes, and I will relieve

you who are Musulmáns from the tyranny of these unbelievers. They all lifted their hands invoking blessings on me.

Account of the holy war against the infidel Kators and the Siyáh-poshes.

I immediately selected ten battalions from my army, and giving the command to Prince Sháh Rukh, left him in charge of the remaining forces and baggage, in Tílák Ghúnán, and Díktúr, while I myself set my foot in the stirrup to chastise the infidel Kators. Setting spurs to my horse I marched forward in great haste, accomplishing two days journey in the twenty-four hours. When I arrived at the place called Paryán I detached prince Rustam and Burhán Aghlán Júítar, who were reckoned among my chief nobles, against the country of the Siyáh-poshes, which lay on the left hand. With them I sent some of the nobility and a body of 10,000 cavalry, while I myself pursued my march towards the mountains of Kator. When I made enquiries concerning the extent and condition of that kingdom from Muzíd, who was the chief man of Indaráb, he informed me that the length of the kingdom of Kator stretches from the frontier of Kashmír to the mountains of Kábul, and there are many towns and villages in this country. One of their large cities is called Shokal, and another Jorkal, which latter is the residence of their ruler. The country produces fruits in large quantities, such as grapes, apples, apricots, and various other kinds. Rice and other grains are cultivated. Much wine is made, and all people, great and small, drink of it. The people eat swine's flesh. Cattle and sheep abound in this country. Most of the inhabitants are idolaters; they are men of a powerful frame and fair complexion. Their language is distinct from Turkí, Persian, Hindí, and Kashmírí. Their weapons are arrows, swords, and slings. Their ruler is called 'Adálshú.[1] When I arrived at Kháwak I perceived a dilapidated fort which I resolved to repair,

[1] [The *Zafar-náma* writes this name "Udáshú;" only one of the four MSS. admits the *l*.]

so I immediately gave orders to the soldiers to that effect, and it was speedily executed. As most of the route was rocky and precipitous, I ordered most of the nobles and all the soldiers to leave horses, camels, and superfluous baggage in this fort. In obedience to this order most of the nobles and all the soldiers accompanied me on foot, while I, relying on the assistance of Almighty God, pressed steadily forward to the conquest of Kator and began to ascend the mountains. In spite of the heat of the wind there was so much snow on the hills that the feet of both men and cattle helplessly sank in it. I was therefore obliged to halt during the day, but at night when the snow congealed I pursued my way over the frozen surface of the ice till I reached the top of the mountain. At day-break, when the ice thawed, carpets and horse-rugs were spread upon its surface and the horses were kept upon them. At night-fall we again went on as before, and in this manner I crossed several lofty mountains, but the nobles were obliged to send back to the fort several of the horses they had brought with them. When I reached the top of a lofty mountain, such that there can be none higher than it, I found that these wicked infidels had taken up their position in the caverns of the mountain, the entrances of which were blocked up with snow, so that they were almost inaccessible, nor, in spite of all my exertions, could I find a way to descend the mountain. I was obliged to give orders to my brave soldiers to get down as best they could. The nobles and soldiery now began the descent. Some lying down on their sides and sliding over the snow, rolled themselves down to the bottom. Others fastening cords and long tent ropes to their waists and attaching one end of the ropes to the trees and rocks which were on the top, let themselves gently down. As for me, I gave orders that they should make me a basket of planks and wicker work. When they had made the basket they attached firmly to each of its four corners a rope 150 yards in length, and as I, since I undertook this expedition against the infidels, had made up my mind to undergo all manner of trouble and fatigue, I took my seat in the basket,

and a body of men taking hold of the ends of these ropes lowered away gently till the rope had all run out, and then some persons scrambling down to before where I was, cleared away the snow and ice with spades and mattocks, and made a place for me to stand upon. The first body of men then having descended to this place, again lowered me gently down as far as the ropes would reach. At the fifth repetition of this manœuvre I reached the bottom of the mountain. When in this manner all the nobles and soldiers had got down, some of the horses, my own private property, which had accompanied me, were let down in the same manner, that is, by attaching ropes to their legs and shoulders, but out of the whole number only two reached the bottom in safety, all the others being dashed to pieces. When no more of my people remained above, since my object was the extermination of the infidels, grasping my sceptre-sword in my hand I marched forward on foot one *parasang* into that rocky country, together with my nobility and troops. At the earnest petition of the nobles I again mounted, but all the chiefs, with their soldiers, kept on steadily marching on foot at my stirrup. The ruler of Kator had a fort, on one side of which was a river, and beyond the river a lofty mountain reaching down to the water. As the infidels in this fort had gained intelligence of my approach a day before my arrival, and dread had taken possession of their hearts, they had removed their wealth and property from the fort, and having crossed the river, had taken refuge in the mountain which was very lofty, and abounded in caves very difficult of access. On its being represented to me that this fort was the most important stronghold of the ruler of Kator in those parts, I resolved to subdue it. When I advanced into the neighbourhood of the fort I did not perceive a trace of the infidels, and when I came to the place itself I saw that they had abandoned it and fled. I obtained a booty of many sheep and some other things here, and ordered that they should set fire to the houses and buildings of the city, in the midst of which the fort was built, and that they should level it

with the ground. Then crossing the river in haste and pursuing the track of the enemy, I reached the skirts of the mountain on the top of which the infidels had taken up their position in defiles and other strong places. I immediately gave orders to my valiant and experienced troops to ascend. Raising their war cry and shouting the *takbír*, they rushed to the attack, and before all the rest Shaikh Arslán Aztumán Kabak Khán, who is a lion in the day of battle, mounting the hill on the left hand, commenced the fight. Leading his men upon the infidels he put them to flight, and following up the enemy entered the fastnesses of the rock and sent numbers of the impious unbelievers to hell. Tawáchí 'Ali Sultán, also on his side, made a valiant assault upon the foe, and with his own regiment charged and routed the infidel enemy, sending numbers of them to hell. Amír Sháh Malik too, on his side, displayed great valour, making a great slaughter of the infidels and driving them completely out of the mountain. Mubashír Bahádur and Mankalí Khwájah, and Súnjak Bahádur, and Shaikh 'Alí Sálar, and Musa Zakmál, and Husain Malik Kúchín, and Mír Husain Kúr, and the other nobles, displayed great valour and used their swords well. They all proved their zeal for Islám on the unbelieving foe, and having overpowered the infidels they put many of them to death, and took possession of their fastnesses. Only a few of the enemy succeeded in sheltering themselves, wounded and worn out with fatigue, in their caverns. Of my troops only fourteen persons lost their lives, and that was in effecting the passage of the mountain. Some of the infidels held out in their defiles for three days and nights, but sending my valiant troops against them I so pressed them that they were obliged to surrender and call for quarter. I sent Ák Sultán to them with the message that if they would consent to submit unconditionally and would all become Musulmáns and repeat the creed, I would grant them quarter, but otherwise I would exterminate them to a man. When Ák Sultán reached the infidels with this message, which he explained to them through the medium of an interpreter conversant both

with their language and with Turkí, they all proffered submission, and repeating the necessary formula, embraced the Muhammadan faith. Relying upon this external profession I spared their lives and property, and gave orders that no one should interfere with their lives, wealth, or country. I then clothed some of them in dresses of honour and dismissed them. I halted with my army there for that night, and these black-hearted infidels made a nocturnal assault on the regiment of Amír Sháh Malik, but as this leader was on his guard, the enemy were foiled in their intentions. Numbers of them were slain, and 150 fell into our hands alive, who were afterwards put to death by my enraged soldiery. As soon as it was day I ordered my troops to attack on all four sides at once, and forcing their way into the defiles to kill all the men, to make prisoners the women and children, and to plunder and lay waste all their property. In obedience to these orders, my nobles and troops making a valiant assault on all sides at once, and putting to the sword the remnant of the infidels, consigned them to the house of perdition. They made prisoners of their women and children, and secured an enormous booty. I directed towers to be built on the mountain of the skulls of those obstinate unbelievers, and I ordered an engraver on stone, who was in my camp, to cut an inscription somewhere on those defiles to the effect that I had reached this country by such and such a route, in the auspicious month of Ramazán, A. H. 800 (May, 1398): that if chance should conduct anyone to this spot he might know how I had reached it. At this time I had received no intelligence of Prince Rustam and Burhán Aghlán, whom I had detached against the country of the Siyáhposhes, and since this same Burhán Aghlán on a former occasion, when I had appointed him to the command in a predatory incursion, had displayed great sloth and military incapacity (to retrieve which negligence I had given him the command on the present occasion), a doubt entered my mind as to what he could be doing. One night, too, I dreamt that my sword was bent, which I interpreted into a certain token that Burhán Aghlán

had been defeated. I immediately appointed Muhammad Ázád, who was one of those whom I had brought up,[1] to go and ascertain something respecting him, and I put under his command Daulát Sháh and Shaikh 'Alí, the son of Airakulí Adighúr, and Shaihk Muhammad, and 'Alí Bahádur, with a body of 400 men, 100 of whom were Tátárs and the remaining 300 Tájiks, and gave them a native of Kator as a guide. Muhammad Ázád with his band of heroes immediately commenced his march, and crossing lofty mountains full of snow and ice, and passing through narrow defiles, rolling in many places over precipices and sliding over the icy surface, finally got out of the mountains and into the open country. When Muhammad Ázád having extricated himself from the mountains, reached the fortress of the Siyáh-poshes, he found it deserted, for they had abandoned it from their dread of the army of Islám, and had taken refuge in their mountain defiles. Now Burhán Aghlán's adventure had been as follows:—When he, with the nobles under his command, such as Isma'íl, and Allahdád, and Súbakh Tímúr, etc., etc., and the troops reached the fort he found it empty, and incautiously following the footsteps of the enemy, came to the defiles. They had left a few troopers and a few foot soldiers as a guard below, and the infidels rising from their ambushes, fiercely assailed the true-believers. Such was the cowardice and military incapacity of Burhán Aghlán that he threw away his arms and fled without striking a blow. When the troops saw the flight of their leader they lost heart and were defeated, and the infidels following them closely raised full many a true believer to the rank of a martyr. Of the *amírs* of the regiments, Daulat Sháh, and Shaíkh Husain Súchi, and Adína Bahádur displayed great valour, but after slaying many of the infidels they finally drank the sherbet of martyrdom; Burhán Aghlán, leaving many horses and suits of armour a prey to the infidels, escaped.

When Muhammad Ázád, with those 400 men, arrived at the deserted fort of the Siyáh-poshes, he followed the track of the

[1] "*Khána-zád bachagán-i mán.*"

enemy towards the mountain. On arriving at the scene of Burhán Aghlán's defeat and flight, he was assaulted by the infidels, who had defeated Burhán Aghlán, but he fought so gallantly that he routed them with great slaughter, and recovered all the horses and armour which these impious ones had captured from the soldiers of Burhán Aghlán, besides taking a large booty from them in the way of wealth and property. Marching homeward, he met on that very day Burhán Aghlán, each of whose soldiers recognized and had restored to him his own horse and arms. On that day they reached a pass (*kotal*), where Muhammad Ázád proposed to Burhán Aghlán that they should halt, but the cowardice and inefficiency of the latter would hear of no delay, so they went through the pass. Certainly, from the days of Changíz Khán to the present time, no man of the *ulús* has shown such a lack of energy and courage.

When I had despatched Muhammad Ázád from Kator, and satisfied myself with the subjugation of that country, I sent forward 'Alí Sístání and Jalálu-l Islám to discover a road and make clear halting places for me. In obedience to this order they went forward, clearing away the snow and ice in many places from the road. Having made a passage for me they returned. I immediately mounted and set forward, and the nobles and soldiery marched along with me on foot, and so I proceeded in triumph along the track which they had made till I reached Kháwak, where I had left the horses in the fort. I had been absent eighteen days on this expedition against the infidels, and the nobles and soldiery, who had hitherto fought on foot, now regained their horses. Leaving a body of men to garrison the fort which I had built, I directed my own course towards the heavy baggage, and arrived at Tílák Ghúnán and Díktúr, places in that country; the princes and *amírs* of the place came out to meet me with congratulations on my victory. Burhán Aghlán and Muhammad Ázád here joined my victorious camp. I however gave orders that they should refuse admittance to Burhán Aghlán, and on no account allow him to enter my presence,

for it is the decree of Almighty God that if twenty true believers engage boldly and steadily in fight with ten times the number of infidels they shall prevail against them, and yet Burhán Aghlán, with 10,000 men under his command, was routed by and fled from a small number of infidels, exposing Musulmáns to disgrace and death. On the other hand, I loaded with honours and benefits Muhammad Ázád, who, with only 400 men, had fought a valiant action against the greatly superior numbers of the unbelievers. I exalted his rank above his fellows, and gave him a regiment; nor did I omit to shower my princely favours on his companions in victory.

Account of my sending Sháh Rukh to the kingdom of Khurásán.

Account of the construction of the Canal of Mahi-gir.

Arrival of Amir Shaikh Núru-d dín from Persia with magnificent presents.

Repairing of the Fort of I'riyáb.—Punishment of Musa Aghán.

Audience of the Sergeant of Archers, etc., etc.

* * * When I had arranged the conquest and settlement of the country (of the Aghánís) and the measures for the protection of the roads to my satisfaction, and had exterminated the rebellious predatory tribes of the Aghánís, I mounted my horse and spurred forward in the direction of Hindustán, and on Friday, the 8th of the month, I halted on the bank of the river Indus, in the very place where Sultán Jalálu-d dín, of Khwárizm, had swum the river to escape from Changíz Khán, and where the latter encamped when he refrained from following. There I pitched my camp, and gave orders to the nobles and soldiery that they should collect boats, planks, etc., and construct a bridge over the Indus. In obedience to my order they all set to work, and in two days had constructed a bridge over this mighty river.

At this time some ambassadors arrived from various quarters of the globe, and the drift of the letters and communications of the Sultáns and rulers and chief men of their respective countries and kingdoms was this: "We have placed the collar of obedience and submission, in all sincerity, on the neck of our life, and the saddle of servitude on our back; we are all anxiously expecting the auspicious arrival of the great king. When will it be that the prosperous shadow of his umbrella will, by its protection, impart felicity to this kingdom, and when will the honour of kissing the sublime footstool be attainable by us?" I wrote encouraging *farmáns*, in reply to the representations of the Sultáns, and entrusted them to the ambassadors, whom I dismissed, and such men as Saiyid Muhammad Madaní, who came on the part of the chief men of Mecca, the exalted, and Medina, the blest, I treated with great respect and attention, and loaded them with abundant favours before their departure; I also gave a horse and dress of honour to the envoy of Iskandar Sháh, the ruler of Kashmír, when I dismissed him, and despatched a *farmán* to his master to the effect that as soon as my victorious camp arrived at the city of Dípálpúr he should join me with his forces. When I had dismissed the ambassadors I crossed the Indus, on Tuesday, the 12th of Muharram, A.H. 801 (24th Sept., A.D. 1398), and pitched my camp on the opposite bank of the river, and made inquiry about the roads from some *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood, who had voluntarily submitted and given in their adhesion. They represented that one of the roads lay through a fertile and well-watered district, but was circuitous and lengthy; and the other road, which was near Multán, was a route through the Chol-jarad[1] desert, in which neither water nor pasture were procurable for several days journey. It was by this route, through the Chol-jarad, that Sultán Jalálu-d dín of Khwárizm reached Multán, after crossing the Indus, in his flight from before Changíz Khán. This desert is hence called Chol-i Jalál. When I heard this account I determined to proceed by the desert

[1] [*Jarad*, an open barren country: *Chol*, also means desert.]

route, and issued orders that the whole army should carry with them water and provision for several days. I then advanced some days march into the desert. It was now that the princes and *Rájás* of the mountainous country of Júd, by way of perfect sincerity, planting their feet in the road of obedience and submission, sought my camp with tribute and presents, when they were honoured by kissing the earth in my presence. Before this, prince Rustam, whom I had sent with Hamza Amir Taghí Búghá, and other *amirs*, and a numerous army towards Multán, having entered the desert by the same road, had approached the mountains of Júd, and these princes and *Rájás*, owing to their good fortune, had come before him and proffered a suitable submission, and supplied his army with provisions. Ever since then they had worn the yoke of servitude and obedience to my power on the neck of sincerity. I therefore confirmed their kings and dismissed them with favourable *farmáns*, and I then marched forward, and, getting clear of the desert, halted on the bank of the river Jamd (Jhilam); but it was represented to me that in the middle of this stream there was a very strongly fortified island, the ruler of which was called Shahábu-d dín, and that he had collected a very considerable force. When Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír was marching upon Multán, this Shahábu-d dín, girding up the loins of obedience and submission, presented himself to the prince, and made an external display of the duties of servitude and dependance, and offered tribute and suitable gifts, besides remaining some time in the prince's presence. When, having received his dismissal, he returned to his home, he became arrogant, seeing the strength and insular position of his fortress and the multitude of his troops, so that he ventured on rebellion and open opposition, and, cutting a canal from the river Jamd, he brought the water of the river to that side of the city on which it was not before, so that on all four sides of his city and fort he had a moat full of water. He had also laid up a stock of provisions and munitions of war. Now when I heard this, I resolved on his entire subjugation.

Capture of the island of Shahábu-d dín.

I acted in the following manner. I gave immediate orders to Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín to march with his own *tumáns* and other commanders of regiments (*kushún*) towards this island, and commanded that every soldier should, by the way, take branches of trees, and that with these branches they should fill up the moat which Shahábu-d dín had dug. Having, by prudence and stratagem, captured the island, they were to utterly exterminate the enemy. Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, on that very day, being Wednesday, the 14th of Muharram, set out with his gallant army for the island of Shahábu-d dín, which he reached in a short time. He and all his troops dismounted on the brink of the moat, into which they threw the branches of the trees, thereby forming a bridge, which enabled them quickly to cross the water and come to close quarters with the enemy. But a stern resistance here awaited them, and the whole day, from day-break till the time of evening prayer, was spent in furious combat. At night-fall, Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, with his valiant troops, occupied his own ground, not yielding a single inch, and exercised the utmost vigilance and precaution. All on a sudden, Shahábu-d dín, with 10,000 men, made a night attack on our troops. Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín displayed great valour, and encountered the enemy with unflinching energy, and turned back the tide of the night assault upon Shahábu-d dín's army; which at length, many of them having been levelled with the dust of destruction, took to flight, and many of the fugitives throwing themselves into the water of the moat became food for fishes. In that night, Mansúr and Búraj Chúra, with his brothers, who were born slaves of my household (*khána-zád*), gave proofs of the most intrepid courage, and were badly wounded. When, in the course of my march, I gained intelligence of Shahábu-d dín's behaviour, I led an expedition against him in my own person, and halted on the edge of the moat of his fortress. It was represented to me that Shahábu-d dín, in his night attack, had met with a severe repulse, and a great number

of his most serviceable men had been slaughtered; he had, in consequence, lost hope, and, withdrawing his consideration from his kingdom and wealth, had embarked, broken-hearted and in a helpless condition, on 200 boats, which he had procured for such an emergency as the present, and had kept moored under his own palace. He had thus effected his escape, fleeing down the river towards Uch.

Upon this I issued a *farmán*, to the effect that Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, with his nobles and retainers, should proceed along the bank of the river in pursuit of Shahábu-d dín. He gallantly pursued with his brave army, and, having come up with the fugitives, engaged them with his archery, and succeeded in making great slaughter of them, and, returning in triumph, obtained the highest rewards. He was admitted to the honour of kissing my footstool, and in guerdon of the gallantry which he had displayed, I loaded him with my princely benefits. The troops also who, in the night attack, had shown such valour, and had received wounds, I distinguished with marks of favour. I ordered Amír Sháh Malik to lead his troops into every nook and corner of the island, and search all the jungles and forests, so as to get into his power such of the enemy as had taken refuge in them. He, in obedience to my order, instituted a rigorous search through every nook and cranny of the island, and numbers of the enemy and Indians, who had taken refuge in it, fell a prey to his remorseless scymitar, and he returned, bringing as captives their women and children, and with a large booty consisting of their wealth and property, and many boats laden with grain. When I had burnt and overthrown the city and fort of Shahábu-d dín, and levelled it to the ground, I was satisfied, and, departing thence, marched along the banks of the river Jamd (Jhilam). In the meanwhile I heard that Shahábu-d dín's fleet of boats, having arrived in the environs of Multán, had encountered the troops of Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír and those of Amír Sulaimán Sháh (who had the command of Prince Sháh Rukh's army), and that the fleet had been completely destroyed, and that Shahábu-d

dín had drowned himself, after having first thrown his wives and children into the river, which utter annihilation of his family was very pleasing to me.

After five or six days march, on Sunday the 21st of the month, I came to a place in which the rivers Jamd and Chinád (Chináb) unite, where there was a fort which they have built at the confluence of the two rivers. Here I halted and amused myself by beholding the waves and watery conflict at the junction of these great streams, and the sight of His wonders led me to reflect on the power of Almighty God. But it occurred to me that it would be difficult to cross here without constructing a bridge, and when I gave orders to the nobles and soldiery that they should commence building one, some of the *zamíndárs* and chief men of the country who were present prostrated themselves, and on their knees made representation that it was impossible to build a bridge over such a strong and turbulent stream, for when Turmsharín Khán came to this country, his utmost endeavours were insufficient to bridge the river, and he was finally obliged to cross by means of boats, so now the great king should also transport his army across in boats. I told them that I would cross in that manner in case I found myself unable to construct a bridge, and I immediately gave orders that my whole army should set to work to build one. Accordingly, collecting boats and connecting them together firmly with chains and cables, and driving down beams and piles into the water, they formed a bridge, and all this was completed and made excessively strong in six days, that is to say by Wednesday the 28th of the month. Mounting my horse of state, I crossed the river and gave directions that the several divisions of my army should cross in succession, and I halted another day on the bank of that river for the baggage and troops to pass.

When all my troops had crossed in safety I marched forward, and when I arrived at the city of Tulamba I pitched my camp on the bank of the river. Tulamba is about seventy miles from Multán. On the same day the *Saiyids*, and *'Ulamá*, and

Shaikhs, and chief men and rulers of Tulamba came out to meet me, and enjoyed the honour of kissing my stirrup. As sincerity was clearly written on their foreheads, every one of them according to his rank was distinguished by marks of my princely favour. Marching forward I halted on Saturday, the 1st of the month Safar, in the plain which lies before the fortress of Tulamba. My *wazirs* had fixed the ransom of the people of the city at two *lacs* of rupees, and appointed collectors; but as the *Saiyids*, who are the family and descendants of our Lord Muhammad the chosen, and the *'Ulamá* of Islám, who are the heirs of the prophets (upon him and upon them be blessings and peace), had always in my court been honoured and treated with reverence and respect, I gave orders, now that a ransom was about to be levied from the citizens of Tulamba, that whatever was written against the names of the *Saiyids* and *'Ulamá*, should be struck out of the account, and I sent them away, having filled their hearts with joy and triumph by presents of costly dresses of honour, and Arab horses. A reinforcement of troops arrived about this time, so that my army became more numerous than the tribes of ants and locusts, causing scarcity of provisions, so that there was a dearth of grain in my camp, though the people of the city had quantities. Since a part of the ransom, consisting of coin, had not yet been collected, and since my troops were distressed on account of the scarcity of provisions, I ordered that the citizens should make payment in grain instead of money; but they persisted in storing up their corn, totally regardless of the sufferings of my troops. The hungry Tátárs, making a general assault upon them like ants and locusts, plundered an enormous number of granaries, so numerous indeed as to be incalculable, and according to the text, "Verily, kings when they enter a city utterly ruin it," the hungry Tátárs opened the hands of devastation in the city till a rumour of the havoc they were making reached me. I ordered the *Siyáwals* and *Tawáchis* to expel the troops from the city, and commanded that whatever corn and other property had been plundered should be taken as an equiva-

lent for so much ransom. At this time it was represented to me that some of the chief *zamíndárs* of the environs of Tulamba, at the time when prince Pír Muhammad was marching on Multán, had presented themselves before him, walking in the path of obedience and submission, but when they had received their dismissal and returned to their own home they planted their feet on the highway of contumacy and rebellion. I immediately gave orders to Amír Sháh Malik, and to Shaikh Muhammad, the son of Aikú Tímúr, to march with their *tumáns* and *kushúns* against these rebels, and to inflict condign punishment upon them. Amír Sháh Malik and Shaikh Muhammad, taking a guide with them, instantly commenced their march, and having arrived at the jungles in which these wretches, forsaken by fortune, had taken refuge, they dismounted, and entering the jungle slew two thousand of these ill fated Indians with their remorseless sabres, carrying off captives their women and children, and returned with a great booty of kine, buffaloes, and other property. When on their victorious return they displayed in my sight the spoils they had won, I ordered them to make a general distribution to the soldiery. When my mind was satisfied with the extermination of these wretches, on Saturday the 7th of Safar I set my foot in the stirrup and marched from Tulamba. I halted at a place called Jál, which is on the bank of the river Biyáh, opposite to Sháhpúr. It was represented to me that in this country there was a certain *zamíndár*, by name Nusrat, of the tribe of Khokhar, who, having established himself with two thousand bloodthirsty soldiers in a fortress on the bank of a lake, breathed out defiance and rebellion. Leaving a body of men in that place, I immediately marched to attack this Nusrat Khokhar.

Account of the utter annihilation of Nusrat Khokhar.

Leaving behind the heavy baggage with a select body of men, I commenced my march. I appointed Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and Amír Allahdád to the command of the right wing of the army, and Amír Sháh Malik and Amír Shaikh Muhammad

were the leaders of the left wing. I took up my own position in the centre, placing in my van 'Alí Sultán with the infantry of Khurásán. When I arrived at the heavy swampy ground on the bank of the lake, where the God-forsaken Nusrat had taken up his position, I found that he was there with his two thousand men drawn up all ready to receive me. 'Alí Sultán, with the gallant infantry of Khurásán, immediately entered the marshy ground, and, attacking those unsainted Indians, succeeded in forcing his way half through the difficult ground, and though he and several of his men were severely wounded, kept up a spirited fight. I immediately ordered Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and Amír Allahdád with the troops of the right wing to hasten to his support, and as soon as they had succeeded in overcoming the difficulties of the ground, they charged full upon Nusrat and his men, who, already worsted, were totally unable to stand the second attack, and were routed with great slaughter. Nusrat himself fell among the slain, but it was not known how he had been killed, or whether he effected his escape. My victorious troops entered and set fire to the residence of Nusrat Khokhar, and having plundered the wealth and property of those Indians and taking an immense booty of flocks, herds, buffaloes, etc., returned to my presence. I immediately left the place and halted at Sháh Naváz, which is a populous village on the bank of the Biyáh, where there was a great quantity of grain stored up in magazines and granaries. My soldiers and I carried away as much as ever we were able, and as for what remained I ordered them to set fire to the granaries, and detached a portion of my gallant army in pursuit of some of Nusrat's followers, who had escaped across the river Biyáh. My troops crossed the stream, overtook the army, slaughtered a great number of them, and returned with many prisoners and an immense booty. On Tuesday, the 13th of the month, I set out from Sháh Naváz, on my return to the baggage, and pitched my camp on the bank of the river Biyáh, opposite to Janján, in the place where all my heavy baggage and supplies were collected, and gave orders that my

whole army and baggage should cross the river to Janján, and that they should set up my tent on a little eminence outside the town, at the foot of which was a verdant garden, and when they had done this I myself crossed and mounted to the top of this little eminence, from whence a green pleasant plain met my view. I returned to my tent in time for mid-day prayer, after which one of prince Sháh Rukh's servants, by name, Pír Malik, brought me letters from the prince in Khurásán. These letters I found to contain assurances of his own well-being and that of the country intrusted to his care.

Account of the arrival of the news of the conquest of Multán.

At the same time, intelligence arrived from my prosperous son, Pír Muhammad Jahángír, and the other nobles who were besieging Multán, "that, by the mercy of God, and the good fortune of the great king, victory has shown her face, after we have been employed six months in the siege of Multán. Sárang, the ruler of Multán, with his army and people, were reduced to such straits that nothing eatable, not even a cat or a mouse, remained alive in their city. When Sárang found himself reduced by famine to such extremity, he was forced by sheer weakness and exhaustion to surrender, bargaining only for his life. On this condition being granted, he came out of the city and made it over to us, as has been mentioned before. Now the rainy season had by this time set in, and the rain kept continually falling in torrents, so that most of the horses of my own stable, and those of great numbers of the nobles and soldiery died, and we were obliged, by the heavy rains, to shift our quarters from our camp into the city. When some time had elapsed in this manner, and scarcely a horse remained among us, the neighbouring *zamíndárs* and chieftains who, by way of obedience and submission, had entered the house of subjection, and had all come with offers of service, when they saw our apparent distress, all withdrew their feet from the highway of obedience,

and many of these perfidious chiefs brought death upon themselves. Now, praise be to God, that at the time when, on account of the mortality among our horses, and the rebellious conduct of the *zamíndárs*, we were reduced to perplexity and distress, the report has been spread through the country of the arrival of the victorious standards of the great king, infusing joy into the heart of his servants and inspiring the wretched enemy with penitence for their evil deeds. We shall follow close upon our petition to the glorious threshold." On reading these letters from Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, I returned thanks to Almighty God, and on the very next day, having received intelligence of the prince's near arrival, I sent out a plentiful supply of food and provision for each of the princes and nobles; I further ordered that all the nobles who were attendants on my stirrup should go forth to pay honour to Prince Pír Muhammad, and that all the nobles and army, *tumán* by *tumán*, and *kushún* by *kushún*, should go forth to meet him. This being done, the prince presented himself in my presence. First, I sent for Prince Muhammad Jahángír, and, affectionately embracing him, gave him a place before myself. I then ordered the admittance of the nobles, who knelt and saluted me. After this, ordering the attendance of *Mushk-báshís* and *Yúz-báshís*, I saluted them all. I then entered my private tent, taking the prince with me, and stationing the other nobles outside. I alleviated the toils and fatigues which they had undergone in the Multán war, and then, after affable conversation, I dismissed them to their own tents. But keeping with me Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, I entered into a detailed inquiry of the circumstances of the army, and the behaviour of each of the nobles, and the services which each had rendered, together with any cowardice or short-coming on their part; to all which questions I received satisfactory answers, and he gave me all the information I required concerning the behaviour of the army, and the conduct of the war, and the particulars of the conquest of the mountain of Sulaimán, with the plundering of that

country, and the passage of the river Indus, and the conquest of the city Uch, and the details of the siege of Multán, and the defeat of Sárang the brother of Mallú Khán, and various other matters which put me to sleep. I rewarded the prince for the conquest of Multán with a title and other favours, making him excessively joyful; and I honoured with princely benefits and favours all the nobles who had done good service under him. Some chiefs who, in the expedition against Khwárizm, had deserted from Jahán Sháh's army and fled into Hindustán, were now, after committing sundry acts of rebellion, reduced to great distress, and at the time that Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír undertook the siege of Multán they presented themselves before him, seeking his protection, which he graciously accorded to them. When the prince came to my camp, he entreated my forgiveness for them, and presented them to me with a petition that their lives might be spared. To gratify him, I agreed to overlook their offences, and ordered that they should be released after the bastinado.

On Saturday, the 15th of the month Safar, I issued orders that my troops and baggage should cross the river Biyáh, and then crossing over myself, I halted at Janján, which was stated to be eight miles distant from Multán. At this place I halted four days, in order to give my troops time to effect the passage of the river, and here Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír had prepared a sumptuous entertainment, and presented me with valuable gifts, such as crowns, inwrought girdles, and money, and priceless jewels, and Arab horses, with housings inlaid with gold and jewels, and various kinds of embroidered cloths, and precious rarities, and specimens of gold and silver work, such as plates and dishes and covers and beautifully wrought urns and ewers, and these in such quantities that all the scribes attached to my retinue were employed two whole days in taking a detailed inventory of them. When I had inspected them, I distributed them among the *amírs* and others who were present at the assembly, taking care to include all in the partition.

Account of my presenting 30,000 *horses to the army of Prince Pír Muhammad.*

Now since the nobles and the soldiers of Prince Pír Muhammad had lost all their horses during the rains, and had undergone much toil and fatigue in their march, and had presented themselves at my camp, some on foot and some riding bullocks, I gave orders to my master of the horse to produce 30,000 chargers, which I presented to Prince Pír Muhammad, thus furnishing his whole army with a remount. When all my troops, some by boats and some by swimming, had effected the passage of the river Biyáh, I marched forward from Janján and arrived at Sahwál. Leaving this place on Friday, the 21st of Safar, I arrived at Aswán, where I halted for one day; continuing my march on the next I arrived at Jahwál, where I pitched my camp. It was here brought to my notice that the *zamíndárs* and nobles of the city of Díbálpúr had at first come to Multán and tendered their allegiance to prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, beseeching a governor from him. Yielding to their entreaty, he appointed Musáfir Kábulí to be *Dárogha* of Díbálpúr, and gave him the command of a thousand men; but in the rainy season, when the horses of the soldiery were incapacitated, the people of Díbálpúr entering into a conspiracy with the servants of Fíroz Sháh, made a sudden attack upon Musáfir Kábulí, who was unprepared for any such treachery, and put to death both him and the thousand men who were under his command; but (said my informants) now that the Great King has paid these countries the honour of a visit, these rebels have deserted their city and taken refuge in the fort of Bhatnír, which is one of the most renowned fortresses of India, and the *rája* of the fort is an important person, famous throughout the whole country.

Account of the capture of the fortress of Bhatnír.

On hearing this relation, the fire of my indignation was excited, and I appointed Amír Sháh Malik and Daulut Tímúr

Tawáchí to march forward with a large army, by way of Díbálpúr, towards Dehlí, and ordered them to wait for me at Sámána, which is a place in the neighbourhood of Dehlí. I, myself, in the meanwhile, pushed forward upon Bhatnír with a body of 10,000 picked cavalry. On arriving at Ajodhan, I found that among the *shaikhs* of this place (who, except the name of *shaikh*, have nothing of piety or devotion about them) there was a *shaikh* named Manúa, who, seducing some of the inhabitants of this city, had induced them to desert their country and accompany him towards Dehlí, while some, tempted by Shaikh Sa'd, his companion, had gone to Bhatnír, and a number of the wise men of religion and the doctors of law of Islám, who always keep the foot of resignation firmly fixed in the road of destiny, had not moved from their places, but remained quietly at home. On my arrival in the neighbourhood of Ajodhan, they all hastened forth to meet me, and were honoured by kissing my footstool, and I dismissed them after treating them with great honour and respect. I appointed my slave, Násiru-d dín, and Shaháb Muhammad to see that no injury was inflicted by my troops on the people of this city. I was informed that the blessed tomb of Hazrat Shaikh Farid Ganj-shakar (whom may God bless) was in this city, upon which I immediately set out on pilgrimage to it. I repeated the *Fátiha*, and the other prayers, for assistance, etc., and prayed for victory from his blessed spirit, and distributed large sums in alms and charity among the attendants on the holy shrine. I left Ajodhan on Wednesday, the 26th of the month, on my march to Bhatnír, and, passing by Rudanah, I halted at Khális Kotalí, which is a place ten *kos* distant. At this place I made inquiries concerning the fort Bhatnír. The people of the country informed me that Bhatnír was about fifty *kos* off, and that it was an extremely strong and well-fortified place, so much so as to be renowned throughout the whole of Hindustán. All the water used by its inhabitants comes from a reservoir, which is filled with rain water during the rainy season, and furnishes a supply for the whole year.[1] The *Chol*

[1] Mr. Chapman's translation terminates here.

extends for many *kos* around, and water is not to be obtained. The people who had fled from Ajodhan had come to Bhatnír, because no hostile army had ever penetrated thither. So a great concourse of people from Díbálpúr and Ajodhan, with much property and valuables, was there assembled. The town and fort were full, many could find no room in the city, and remained outside with their property and goods, so that the roads were choked. Immense numbers of cattle were collected in the neighbourhood.

The *rája* of that place was called Dúl Chain.[1] He had assembled a body of *Rájpúts*, a class which supplies the most renowned soldiers of India, and with these he waited ready to do battle. When I had ascertained all about Bhatnír, after noon-day prayer I mounted my horse and rode out from Khális-Kotalí. The remainder of that day and all that night I pushed on, taking no rest anywhere until I had passed the *Chol*, and morning broke out. I had sent on an advance guard, which was attacked several times by the enemy's van. Shaikh Darwesh displayed much bravery, overthrowing and killing two of the enemy's men. Dúl Chain's advance guard then retreated. I pursued my journey, and at breakfast time I reached Bhatnír. I gave orders that the drums should be beaten, the instruments sounded, and the war cry raised. Immediately afterwards all the vast quantities of goods and property that were outside the city were plundered by my soldiers. Ráo Dúl Chain, having secured the fort and walls, prepared for his defence, and I, at the same time, resolved to attack and conquer the place.

Siege of Bhatnír.

When I came to the determination of taking the fort of Bhatnír, I appointed Shaikh Núru-d dín, Amír Sulaimán, Amír Alláh-dád, and other *amírs*, to direct the attack upon the right of the fort, and to endeavour to make themselves masters of the

[1] The *Zafar-náma* calls him "Dúl Chan;" the *Chain* or *Chan* being most probably intended for "Chand."

walls. I appointed Prince Khalíl Sultán, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Aiku-tímúr, and some other commanders of regiments, to make the assault upon the left, and try to take the fort. I, myself, led the centre of my army against the gate. My brave soldiers stormed the fort and walls in all directions, and at the very first assault the fortifications and walls (*hisár wa shahr-band*) were wrested from the hands of the Hindus and the town was taken. Many *Rájpúts* were put to the sword, and all the enormous wealth and property which was in the city fell as spoil into the hands of my soldiers. My brave men showed much courage and determination in this capture of the fort. Ráo Dúl Chain, with his fighting *Rájpúts*, drew up at the gate of the fort to dispute the entrance. I then directed the generals of the division of Prince Sháh Rukh, Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and Amír Jahán Malik to fall upon Ráo Dúl Chain and the men who had rallied round him. They engaged in the conflict, and showed much intrepidity and valour with their flashing swords. Jahán Malik fought like a lion, and Saiyid Khwája cut down several of the enemy. All my officers and brave soldiers swarmed round the fort like ants and locusts; some advanced to the edge of the ditch, and some passed over it. When Ráo Dúl Chain perceived that his fort was being taken by the valour and prowess of my men, he raised a cry for quarter, and prayed a cessation of fighting, declaring his determination to come and make his submission to me. He sent a *saiyid* to intercede for him. When the *saiyid* came to me and represented the forlorn and miserable state of the Ráo Dúl Chain, my respect for the gray beard of the intercessor, and the reverence which I have for *saiyids* in general, led me to give the command for my soldiers to leave off fighting, telling them that the *Ráo* had determined to come and surrender on the following day. In consequence of this order the soldiers withdrew from the fort and took up their quarters outside the town. The night passed with much vigilance and caution on our part. When morning came the *Ráo* broke his word, and did not come to pay homage to me. I gave the order for again attacking

the fort vigorously, and I directed that every man should strive to mine the wall in front of him, and to make a passage underneath. In execution of this order, the soldiers pressed forward to make holes under the wall, and a terrible fight ensued. The besieged cast down in showers arrows and stones and fireworks upon the heads of the assailants, but my brave men received these missiles on their heads and shoulders, and, treating them as mere dirt and rubbish, pushed on their work. The enemy found themselves hemmed in on all sides with breaches open, so fear took possession of them, their hearts fell, and they gave up resistance. Ráo Dúl Chain and his followers (*sipáh*) came out on the top of the battlements, and with many signs of distress and trouble begged for mercy, promising that if I would graciously pardon their offences they would surrender, and faithfully wait upon me to pay their homage. I knew very well their hopeless condition, but I remembered the saying of the wise, that "Clemency is better than victory," so I granted the prayer of the enemy and returned to my camp. In the evening of the same day, Ráo Dúl Chain sent his son and his deputy to my tent, bringing with them some head of game and some Arab horses as presents. I received the youth with kindness and princely distinction, gave him a robe and a sword with a golden scabbard, and sent him back to his father. I enjoined him to warn his father against giving way to any suggestions of deception and false play, but to come in and make a frank submission; I would then treat him with favour. If, however, he made any delay, he should see what would happen.

The son returned to his father and told him all that he had seen and heard. Ráo Dúl Chain had no resource left, so on Friday, the 28th Safar, at breakfast time, he came out of his fort and approached my tent. He brought with him Shaikh S'ad Ajodhaní, and, being introduced by the *amírs*, he was admitted to the honour of kissing my feet. He presented me with twenty-seven Arab horses with gold-mounted harness, and several sporting hawks. I comforted him, and bestowed on him

a robe of gold brocade, a cap and girdle of gold work, and a gold-mounted sword.

A number of the *zamíndárs* and chiefs of the surrounding country had put to death the governors, especially the men of Díbálpúr, who had slain Musáfir Kábulí with a thousand other persons. These men had fled, and had now taken refuge in Bhatnír. I accordingly ordered Amír Sulaimán and Amír Allah-dád to take their regiments into the town and to bring out all the strangers they could find, with their property and goods. In execution of the order, they went into the town, and, driving out all the refugees, they brought them, with their property and goods, to my tent. On the 29th Safar I distributed these people in lots among my *amírs*, and I confiscated all the money and valuables of these daring men for royal uses. Three hundred Arab horses, which had been taken in the fight, I distributed among my soldiers. In retaliation for the murder of Musáfir Kábulí and his thousand followers, I ordered 500 men of Díbálpúr to be brought to punishment (*yásák*), and their wives and children to be made slaves, that this might be a warning to other daring men. The men of Ajodhan and other places I punished according to their offences. Some received chastisement (*yásák*), and their wives and children were enslaved, others were set free.

When I had inflicted this chastisement on the malefactors, Kamálu-d dín,[1] brother of Ráo Dúl Chain, and the *Ráo's* son were stricken with dismay. Although Dúl Chain was in my camp, they fled into the fort and closed the gates. As soon as I heard of their proceedings, I ordered the *Ráo* to be placed in confinement, and the flames of my wrath blazed high. I commanded my officers and men to direct their efforts to the reduction of the fort by breaching and scaling. When the garrison perceived my men advancing bravely to assault the fort, the *Ráo's* brother and son again raised the cry of alarm and distress,

[1] The two MSS. of this work, and the four of the *Zafar-náma* all agree in giving this Musulmán name to the *Ráo's* brother.

and begged for mercy. They put their swords upon their necks, came into my camp to make excuses for their folly, and presented the keys of the fort to my officers. I spared their lives.

On the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal I gave instructions to Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and Amír Alláh-dád for realizing the ransom money, and sent them into the city. The *ráis* and *Rájpúts* and chiefs of the city did not act fairly in paying the ransom money, although it was a matter in which honourable dealing was necessary. Contention and fighting arose between the collectors and the evil-minded *ráis*. When intelligence of this reached my ears, I directed my brave fellows to punish the infidels. In obedience to the order, the soldiers pressed towards the fort, and, fixing their scaling ladders and ropes to the battlements, they carried the fort by escalade. The infidels and Musulmáns in the fort now found their case desperate. The infidels shut up their wives and children in their houses, to which they set fire, and they and their families were burned altogether; those who called themselves Musulmáns, but who had strayed from the Muhammadan fold, killed their wives and children with the sword, and then boldly facing death rushed together into the fight. My men entered the fort on all sides, and plying their swords and daggers fell upon the foe. The men of the garrison were young and vigorous, active and daring. They fought manfully and a desperate conflict ensued. Some of my renowned and brave men performed prodigies of valour, and received most frightful wounds. The *amírs* maintained their character with their swords, and fought and strove with manly vigour. Amír Shaikh Núru-d din maintained, on foot, a fierce conflict with the infidels, and many fell under the blows of his sword. Several of them then joined and made a simultaneous assault upon him. The *amír* was alone and they were many, so these demons in looks and demons in temper seized him and were endeavouring to take him prisoner. Just at the critical moment Fíroz Sístání and Auzán Mazíd Baghdádí cut their way to the side of Núru-d dín, and after charging the infidels once and again, they forced them to fall

back, and thus they rescued their comrades from the hands of the *gabrs*. So in all directions the brave warriors of Islám attacked the infidels with lion-like fury, until at length by the grace of God, victory beamed upon the efforts of my soldiers. In a short space of time all the people in the fort were put to the sword, and in the course of one hour the heads of ten thousand infidels were cut off. The sword of Islám was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain which for many a long year had been stored in the fort became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes, and they razed the buildings and the fort to the ground. When this victory had been accomplished I returned to my tent. All the princes and *amirs* waited upon me to congratulate me upon the conquest and upon the enormous booty which had fallen into my hands. It was all brought out and I distributed it among my brave *amirs* and soldiers; I bestowed great gifts and rewards on Mazíd Baghdádí and on Fíroz Sístání who had rescued Amír Núru-d dín, and I promoted them to a high rank.

When my heart was satisfied with the overthrow of the *ráis* and *rájás* and turbulent dwellers of these parts, on the 3rd Rabi'u-l awwal the drums of departure sounded; I mounted my horse, and, after marching fourteen *kos*, encamped on the borders of a tank, near which was a jungle full of grass. Next day I again marched, and passing by the fort of Fíroz I arrived at a town called Sarsutí.

Conquest of the Town of Sarsuti.

When I made inquiries about the city of Sarsutí, I was informed that the people of the place were strangers to the religion of Islám, and that they kept hogs in their houses and ate the flesh of those animals. When they heard of my arrival, they abandoned their city. I sent my cavalry in pursuit of them, and a great fight ensued. All these infidel Hindus were slain, their wives and children were made prisoners, and their property and

goods became the spoil of the victors. The soldiers then returned, bringing with them several thousand Hindu women and children who became Muhammadans, and repeated the creed. Of all the braves who took part in this action, 'Ádil Bahádur Farrásh was the only one who fell.

The following day I rested in the town of Sarsutí, and on the next day, the 6th of the month, I marched eighteen *kos*, and came near to the fort of Fath-ábád, where I encamped. The people of Fath-ábád also, by the suggestion of Satan, had fled from the town and taken refuge in the deserts and jungles. I despatched some commanders of regiments after them who overtook them and slew great numbers of them. They took all their property and goods, horses and cattle, and returned to camp laden with spoil. Next day I marched from Fath-ábád, and passing by the fort of Rajab-púr, I halted in the vicinity of the fort of Ahrúní. The people of this town and fort did not come out to meet me and make their submission so as to escape from the rigour of the army of Islám; so some savage Turks entered the town and began plundering. Some of the inhabitants who resisted they put to death; the others were made prisoners. The soldiers brought away great quantities of grain, and set fire to the houses and buildings of the town.

On the 8th of the month I marched from Ahrúní, through the jungle to a village called Tohána. In answer to the inquiries I made about the inhabitants, I learned that they were a robust race, and were called *Jats*. They were Musulmáns only in name and had not their equals in theft and highway robbery. They plundered caravans upon the road, and were a terror to Musulmáns and travellers. They had now abandoned the village and had fled to the sugar-cane fields, the valleys, and the jungles.[1] When these facts reached my ears I prepared a force which I placed under the direction of Tokal Bahádur, son of the

[1] Price demurs to the sugar-canes, but all the authorities agree. (See Price iii. 248.)

به نیشکرزارها وجرها و جنکلها در آمده اند

Hindu Karkarra,[1] and sent it against the *Jats*. They accordingly marched into the sugar-canes and jungles. I also sent Maulánáá Násiru-d dín in pursuit of them. When these forces overtook the *Jats* they put 200 to the sword and made the rest prisoners. A large stock of cattle was captured, and my soldiers returned to camp.

It was again brought to my knowledge that these turbulent *Jats* were as numerous as ants or locusts, and that no traveler or merchant passed unscathed from their hands. They had now taken flight, and had gone into jungles and deserts hard to penetrate. A few of them had been killed, but it was my fixed determination to clear from thieves and robbers every country that I subdued, so that the servants of God, and Musulmáns and travelers might be secure from their violence. My great object in invading Hindustán had been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus, and it now appeared to me that it was necessary for me to put down these *Jats* and to deliver travelers from their hands. I consequently placed the care of the baggage and of all the plunder which had been gained in my victories in the charge of Amír Sulaimán Sháh, to convey it with the heavy baggage to the town of Sámána.

On the 9th of the month I despatched the baggage from Tohána, and on the same day I marched into the jungles and wilds, and slew 2,000 demon-like *Jats*. I made their wives and children captives, and plundered their cattle and property. Thus I delivered the country from the terror it had long suffered at the hands of the marauding *Jats*. On the same day a party of *saiyids*, who dwelt in the vicinity, came with courtesy and humility to wait upon me, and were very graciously received. In my reverence for the race of the prophet, I treated their chiefs with great honour. I gave them all valuable robes, and I appointed an officer to go to their abodes and protect them, so that none of my soldiers should do them any injury.

I marched from this place to the banks of the river Khagar,

[1] توكل بهادر پسر هندوي قرقره

where I halted, and Amír Sulaimán Sháh arrived there also with the baggage on the 11th of the month. Sámána was near to this place, and as the heavy baggage had not yet come up, I halted several days. On the 13th I marched again, and halted near the bridge of Kotila,[1] an ancient structure over the river Khagar. At this stage Sultán Mahmúd Khán, Prince Rustam and other commanders of regiments of the left wing, whom I had directed to march to India by way of Kábul, rejoined me. I received them graciously and enquired about the incidents which had happened on the march, and they informed me that wherever the people of any city, or village, or fort, made their submission and offered tribute, they gave them quarter; but whenever any city or fort offered resistance they conquered it, put the inhabitants to death, plundered the goods and property, and divided the spoil among the soldiers. I approved and applauded them.

Next day I crossed over the bridge and halted. Here I was joined by Amír Sháh Malik, who brought up the heavy baggage safe by way of Díbálpúr. The following day I remained in the same position, but on the 18th I marched from the bridge of Kotila and the river Khagar and encamped at the end of a march of five *kos*. Next day I reached the town of Kaithal, which is seventeen *kos* distant from Sámána. I had now come near to Dehlí, the capital of Hindustán, and began to prepare for its conquest.

Preparations for the Conquest of Dehlí.

For my intended attack upon Dehlí I arranged my forces in the following manner: The right wing I placed under the command of Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, Prince Rustam, Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and * * *; the left I gave to Sultán Mahmúd Khán, Prince Khalíl Sultán, Prince Sultán Husain, Amír Jahán Sháh and * * *. Under my own direction I kept the great *túmáns*, the *túmáns* of *San-sír* (?) of Amír Alláh-dád, and

[1] Distinct in both MSS. [2] تومان کلان و تومان سان سیر.

* * * the army, as thus distributed, extended over a distance of twenty *kos*. Being satisfied as to my disposition of the forces, I began my march to Dehlí. On the 22nd of Rabi'u-l awwal I arrived and encamped at the fort of the village of Aspandí. In answer to my enquiries about this place I found that Sámána was distant seven *kos*. The people of Sámána, and Kaithal, and Aspandí are all heretics, idolaters, infidels, and misbelievers.[1] They had now set fire to their houses and had fled with their children, and property, and effects, towards Dehlí, so that the whole country was deserted. Next day, the 23rd of the month, I started from the fort of Aspandí, and after marching six *kos* arrived at the village of Tughlik-púr. I encamped opposite the fort bearing that name. The people of the fort on hearing of the approach of my army, had abandoned it, and had dispersed over the country. From the information supplied to me I learned that these people were called *sanawí* (fire-worshipers). Many of this perverse creed believe that there are two gods. One is called Yazdán, and whatever they have of good they believe to proceed from him. The other god they call Ahriman, and whatever sin and wickedness they are guilty of they consider Ahriman to be the author of. These misbelievers do not know that whatsoever there is of good or evil comes from God, and that man is the mere instrument of its execution. I ordered the houses of these heretics to be fired, and their fort and buildings to be razed to the ground.

On the following day, the 24th of the month, I marched to Pánipat, where I encamped. I there found that in obedience to orders received from the ruler of Dehlí the people had deserted all their dwellings and had taken flight. When the soldiers entered the fort they reported to me that they had found a large store of wheat amounting to some thousand *mans*. I ordered it to be weighed to ascertain the real weight, and then to be distributed among the soldiers. When it was weighed it was found to amount to 10,000 *mans* of the great weight (*sang-i kalán*),

[1] "*Káfirán wa mushrik wa be-dín wa bad-kish.*"

or 160,000 of the legal standard (*sang-i shara'*). On the following day I marched from Pánipat six *kos*, and encamped on the banks of a river which is on the road. I marched from this place on Friday, the 26th of the month, and I gave orders that the officers and soldiers of my army should put on their armour, and that every man should keep in his proper regiment and place in perfect readiness. We reached a village called Kánhí-gazín and there encamped. I issued my commands that on the morrow, the 28th of the month, a force of cavalry should proceed on a plundering excursion against the palace of Jahán-numá, a fine building erected by Sultán Fíroz Sháh on the top of a hill by the banks of the Jumna, which is one of the large rivers of Hindustán. Their orders were to plunder and destroy and to kill every one whom they met. Next day, in obedience to my commands, the division marched and proceeded to the palace of Jahán-numá, which is situated five miles from Dehlí. They plundered every village and place they came to, killed the men, and carried off all the valuables and cattle, securing a great booty. They then returned, bringing with them a number of Hindu prisoners, both male and female.

On the 29th I again marched and reached the river Jumna. On the other side of the river I descried a fort, and upon making inquiry about it, I was informed that it consisted of a town and fort, called Loní and that it was held by an officer named Maimún as *kotwál* on behalf of Sultán Mahmúd. I determined to take that fort at once, and as pasture was scant where I was, on the same day I crossed the river Jumna. I sent Amír Jahán Sháh and Amír Sháh Malik and Amír Allah-dád to besiege the fort of Loní, and I pitched my camp opposite to the fort. They invested the fort which was under the command of the *kotwál* named Maimún. He made preparations for resistance. At this time a holy *shaikh* who dwelt in the town came out very wisely and waited upon me. Although the *shaikh* was greatly honoured by the people, still, they would not listen to his advice, but determined to fight rather than surrender to me. These people

were Hindus and belonged to the faction of Mallú Khán. They despised the counsels of the venerable father and resolved to resist. When I was informed of it, I ordered all the *amírs* and soldiers to assemble and invest the fort. They accordingly gathered with alacrity round the fort, and in the course of one watch of the day they carried the place. It was situated in a *doáb* between two rivers, one the Jumna, the other the Halín, the latter being a large canal which was cut from the river Kalíní and brought to Fírozábád, and there connected with the Jumna by Sultán Fíroz Sháh. Many of the *Rájpúts* placed their wives and children in their houses and burned them, then they rushed to the battle and were killed. Other men of the garrison fought and were slain, and a great many were taken prisoners. Next day I gave orders that the Musulmán prisoners should be separated and saved, but that the infidels should all be despatched to hell with the proselyting sword. I also ordered that the houses of the *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, and learned Musulmáns should be preserved, but that all the other houses should be plundered and the fort destroyed. It was done as I directed and a great booty was obtained.

When my heart was satisfied with the conquest of Loní, I rode away from thence on the 1st Rabi'u-l ákhir to examine the fords of the Jumna, and proceeded along the bank of the river. When I came opposite the palace Jahán-numá, I found some places where the river was passable. At the time of mid-day prayer, I returned to the camp. I gave orders to the princes and *amírs*, and then held a council about the attack upon Dehlí and the operations against Sultán Mahmúd.

Council of War on the attack of Dehlí.

After much discussion in the Council of War, where everyone had something to say and an opinion to offer, it appeared that the soldiers of my army had heard tales about the strength and prowess and appearance of the elephants of Hindustán. They had been told that in the fight one would take up a horseman

and his horse with his trunk and hurl them in the air. These stories had been met by suitable answers from some of the bold troopers. The Council of War at length agreed that a plentiful supply of grain must first be secured, and stored in the fort of Loní as a provision for the army. After this was done, we might proceed to the attack of the fort and city of Dehlí. When the Council was over, I ordered Amír Jahán Sháh, Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and other *amírs* to cross over the Jumna and to forage in the environs of Dehlí, bringing off all the corn they could find for the use of the army.

It now occurred to me that I would cross over the Jumna with a small party of horse to examine the palace of Jahán-numá, and to reconnoitre the ground on which a battle might be fought. So I took an escort of 700 horsemen clad in armour and went off. I sent on 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí and Junaid Bur-uldaí as an advance guard. Crossing the Jumna I reached Jahán-numá and inspected the whole building, and I discovered a plain fit for a battle-field. 'Alí Sultán and Junaíd, my advance-guard, each brought in a man belonging to the van-guard of the enemy. 'Alí Sultán's prisoner was named Muhammad Salaf. When I had interrogated him about the matters of Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán, I ordered him to be put to death as an augury of good. My scouts now brought me information that Mallú Khán with 4,000 horsemen in armour, 5,000 infantry, and twenty-seven fierce war elephants fully accoutred, had come out of the gardens of the city and had drawn up his array. I left Saiyid Khwájah and Mubashar Bahádur with 300 brave Turk horsemen on gray horses (*sufaid sawár i Turk*) in the Jahán-numá and withdrew towards my camp. Mallú Khán advanced boldly towards Jahán-numá and Saiyid Khwájah and Mubashar went forth to meet him. A conflict ensued, and my men fought valiantly. Immediately I heard of the action I sent Súnjak Bahádur and Amír Alláh-dád with two regiments (*kushún*) to their support. As soon as practicable, they assailed the enemy with arrows and then charged them. At the second and third charge the enemy was defeated and fled

towards Dehlí in disorder. Many fell under the swords and arrows of my men. When the men fled, an extraordinary incident occurred: one of the great war elephants, called Bengálís, fell down and died. When I heard of it I declared it to be a good omen. My victorious troops pursued the enemy to the vicinity of the city, and then returned to present themselves at my tent. I congratulated them on their victory and praised their conduct. Next day, Friday the 3rd of the month, I left the fort of Loní and marched to a position opposite to Jahán-numá where I encamped. The officers who had been sent out foraging brought in large quantities of grain and spoil.

Timúr instructs the Princes and Amírs about the conduct of the war.

I now held a Court. I issued a summons to the princes, *amírs*, *núyáns*, commanders of *kushúns*, the commanders of *tumáns*, of thousands and of hundreds, and to the braves of the advance-guard. They all came to my tent. All my soldiers were brave veterans, and had used their swords manfully under my own eyes. But there were none that had seen so many fights and battles as I had seen, and no one of the *amírs* or braves of the army that could compare with me in the amount of fighting I had gone through, and the experience I had gained. I therefore gave them instructions as to the mode of carrying on war; on making and meeting attacks; on arraying their men; on giving support to each other; and on all the precautions to be observed in warring with an enemy. I ordered the *amírs* of the right wing and the left wing, of the van and the centre, to take up their proper positions. Not to be too forward nor too backward, but to act with the utmost prudence and caution in their operations. When I had finished, the *amírs* and others testified their approbation, and, carefully treasuring up my counsel, they departed expressing their blessings and thanks.

Massacre of 100,000 *Hindus.*

At this Court Amír Jahán Sháh and Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and other *amírs* of experience, brought to my notice that, from

the time of entering Hindustán up to the present time, we had taken more than 100,000 infidels and Hindus prisoners, and that they were all in my camp. On the previous day, when the enemy's forces made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicing, uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy's success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his numbers and strength. I asked their advice about the prisoners, and they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the rules of war to set these idolaters and foes of Islám at liberty. In fact, no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword. When I heard these words I found them in accordance with the rules of war, and I directly gave my command for the *Tawáchís* to proclaim throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer. When this order became known to the *gházis* of Islám, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death. 100,000 infidels, impious idolaters, were on that day slain. Mauláná Násiru-d dín 'Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life, had never killed a sparrow, now, in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives.

After the whole of the vile idolaters had been sent to hell, I gave orders that one man out of every ten should be told off to guard the property, and cattle and horses,[1] which had been captured in the invasion; all the other soldiers were to march with me. At the time of mid-day prayer the signal was given for the march, and I proceeded to the spot selected for crossing the Jumna, and there encamped. The astrologers who accompanied the army consulted their books and almanacs as to the time propitious for battle, and they represented that the aspects

[1] "*Burdahd*, prisoners," but see p. 213 *suprà*.

of the stars made a short delay advisable. In all matters, small and great, I placed my reliance on the favour and kindness of God, and I knew that victory and conquest, defeat and flight, are each ordained by Him, so I placed no reliance on the words of the astrologers and star-gazers, but besought the giver of victory to favour my arms.

I did not wish the war to be of long continuance; so as soon as night was over and morning came, I arose to my devotions. I said the morning prayers in the congregation, and I repeated my private prayers, then I took the holy book, which I always carried with me, and sought a *fál*[1] on the subject of the war. The verse which appeared was one in the chapter of the Bee.[2] I immediately sought the interpretation of this verse from those who were present, and they replied that the manifest meaning of it was * * * I received this *fál* as a propitious indication, and acted in full reliance on its command and on the favour of God.

On the 5th of Rabi'u-l ákhir I passed the Jumna by a ford, and pitched my tents on the (other) side of the river. I gave orders to the *amírs* and other officers to station their men as close as possible round my tent; and I also directed that the ground round the camp should be parcelled out among them, and that each one should have a deep ditch dug in front of his allotment. All the soldiers, great and small, assembled *en masse* to dig the ditch. In two watches of the day the ditch round the whole camp was complete. I rode round to inspect it, and I ordered that the trees in the vicinity should be cut down, and brought within the ditch; that their branches should be formed into a strong *abattis*, and that in some places planks should be set up.

It had been constantly dinned into the ears of my soldiers that the chief reliance of the armies of Hindustán was on their mighty elephants; that these animals, in complete armour,

[1] *Sortes.*

[2] Sale's Koran, Vol. II., chapter xvi., verse—"God propounded as a parable, etc.;" the application of which is not very obvious, and required the exercise of some ingenuity on the part of its expounders.

marched into battle in front of their forces, and that arrows and swords were of no use against them; that in height and bulk they were like small mountains, and their strength was such that at a given signal they could tear up great trees and knock down strongly built walls; that in the battle-field they could take up the horse and his rider with their trunks and hurl them into the air. Some of the soldiers, in the doubt natural to man, brought some little of what they had heard to my attention, so when I assigned their respective positions to the princes and *amírs* of the right and left wing and of the centre, I enquired of the learned and good men that accompanied my army, such as * * * where they would like to be placed in the day of battle. They had been with me in many campaigns, and had witnessed many a great battle, but the stories about the elephants of India had so affected them that they instantly replied that they would like to be placed with the ladies while the battle was in progress. So to allay the apprehensions of this class of men I gave orders that all the buffalos which had been taken and placed with the baggage should be brought up; I then had their heads and necks fastened to their legs, and placed the animals inside the *abattis*.

Defeat of Sultán Mahmúd of Dehli.

I gave orders for the camp to be carefully guarded all night to prevent a nocturnal surprise by the enemy, and the night was passed with the caution and care which are necessary in war. When the morn of victory dawned I said my prayers in the congregation, and after I had discharged that duty I gave directions for the drums and other warlike instruments to be sounded. The princes, *amírs* and *núyans*, armed themselves completely and marched with their respective forces in regular order. I mounted my horse and rode forth to marshal my array. When I had arranged my right and left wings I placed the right wing under the command of Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, Amír Yádgár Birlás, etc. The left wing I put under the command of Prince Sultán Husain, Prince Khalíl Sultán, Amír Jahán Sháh, etc.

The advance-guard I placed under Prince Rustam, Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, etc. I took my own place with the centre. When all the forces were arrayed I ordered the advance-guard to go forward and obtain some knowledge of the enemy. One of the advance-guard captured a man belonging to the enemy's van and brought him in to me. When I enquired about the position of the enemy, he told me that Sultán Mahmúd had drawn up his army with the intention of fighting. His right wing was commanded by Mu'ínu-d dín, Malik Hádí, and other officers. His left wing was under Taghí Khán, Mír 'Alí, and others. The Sultán had taken up his own position with the centre, and had appointed a body of troops to act as rear-guard. His whole force amounted to 10,000 veteran horse, and 40,000 warlike infantry. He had also 125 elephants covered with armour. Most of them carried *howdas* in which were throwers of grenades (*r'ad-andaz*), fireworks (*átash báz*), and rockets (*takhsh-andáz*). Thus they came up to battle.

The enemy's forces now made their appearance, and for better reconnoitering their order I rode to the top of a little hill which was hard by. There I carefully scrutinized their array, and I said to myself that with the favour of God I would defeat them and gain a victory. I alighted from my horse on the top of that hill and performed my devotions. I bowed my head to the ground and besought the Almighty for victory. As I did this I perceived signs that my prayers were heard. When I had finished, I mounted my horse in the full assurance of God's assistance. I returned to the centre and took up my position under the Imperial standard. I then gave orders for 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí, Altún Bakhshí, etc., to march with their regiments to strengthen the right wing. I also commanded the other officers to proceed with their men to the support of the vanguard. It so happened that just at the same time Amír Yádgár Birlás and Sulaimán Sháh, who were with the right wing, and Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and Amír Sháh Malik, who were with the advance guard, had conceived the idea and had observed to each other

that they should look upon any reinforcement received from the centre as a presage of victory. It was just then that the Almighty put it into my mind to send them assistance.

The two armies now confronted each other, the drums were beaten on both sides, shouts and cries were raised, a trembling fell upon that field, and a great noise was heard. At this time Súnjak Bahádur, Saiyid Khwájá, Alláh-dád, and others, separated from the advance-guard, and when they perceived that Sultán Mahmúd's forces had drawn near, they moved off to the right, and getting secretly behind the enemy's advance-guard as it came on unsuspecting, they rushed from their ambush, and falling upon them in the rear, sword in hand, they scattered them as hungry lions scatter a flock of sheep, and killed 600 of them in this one charge. Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, who commanded the right wing, moved forward his own forces, and with Amír Sulaimán Sháh and his regiments of brave cavalry, fell upon the left wing of the enemy and poured down upon it a shower of arrows. They fell boldly upon this division of the enemy, which was commanded by Taghí Khán; and Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír with great courage and determination attacked one of the fierce elephants and cut off its trunk with his sword, so that the severed part fell upon the ground. My brave soldiers pressing like furious elephants upon this wing of the enemy compelled it to take flight.

The left wing of my army, under Prince Sultán Husain, Amír Jahán Sháh, Amír Ghiyásu-d dín, and other *amírs*, bravely attacked the enemy's right wing, which was commanded by Malik Mu'ínu-d dín and Malik Hádí. They so pressed it with the trenchant sword and piercing arrows that they compelled the enemy to break and fly. Jahán Sháh pursued them, and attacked them again and again until they reached the gates of the city (of Dehlí).

Simultaneously, Sultán Mahmúd, with Mallú Khán and the army of the centre, with its officers and soldiers more numerous than ants or locusts, and with its strong war elephants, made its

attack upon (my centre). Prince Rustam, Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, etc., met it with a brave and resolute resistance. While they were thus engaged, Daulat Tímúr Tawáchí, Mangalí Khwája, and other *amirs* came up with their respective forces and assaulted the enemy. I now gave the order to a party of brave fellows who were in attendance upon me, and they cut their way to the sides of the *amirs*, who were fighting in the front of the battle. They brought the elephant drivers to the ground with their arrows and killed them. Then they attacked and wounded the elephants with their swords. The soldiers of Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán showed no lack of courage, but bore themselves manfully in the fight, still they could not withstand the successive assaults of my soldiers. Seeing their own plight and that of the soldiers and elephants around them, their courage fell, and they took to flight. Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán reached the city with a thousand difficulties, and shut themselves up close in the fortifications.

Prince Khalíl Sultán captured one of the famous elephants of Sultán Mahmúd, having brought down its driver with an arrow. He brought the animal to me, and I embraced the lad, and gave him some fine presents, for he was only fifteen years old though he had exhibited such courage and manliness.

The whole of Sultán Mahmúd's army was defeated; part was slain, and part had found refuge in the fort, and I, exalted with victory, marched towards the fort. When I reached its gates I carefully reconnoitred its towers and walls, and then returned to the side of the *Hauz-i kháss*. This is a reservoir, which was constructed by Sultán Fíroz Sháh, and is faced all round with stone and cement (*gach*). Each side of that reservoir is more than a bow-shot long, and there are buildings placed around it. This tank is filled by the rains in the rainy season, and it supplies the people of the city with water throughout the year. The tomb of Sultán Fíroz Sháh stands on its bank. When I had pitched my camp here, the princes and *amirs* and *nuyáns*, and all the generals and officers, came to wait upon me to pay their

respects and offer their congratulations on this great victory. I embraced the princes and *amírs*, and I praised them all for their exertions and courage which I myself had seen. When I recounted the favours and mercies I had received from the Almighty, my excellent sons, the brave and renowned *amírs*, who served under me, and the great and glorious victories I had achieved, my heart melted, and the tears burst from eyes. I cast myself upon the ground and poured forth my thanksgivings to the All-beneficent. All who were present raised their voices in prayer, and in wishes for the continuance of my prosperity and the prolongation of my reign.

I called up the heavy baggage and here formed my camp, and I issued orders for my soldiers[1] to be very cautious and watchful. Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán, after their defeat, had taken refuge in the fort in a wretched state. They now repented of the course they had taken, and regretted that they had not made submission to me, and so avoided the evil which had befallen them. They saw that if they stayed in the fort they would be captured and made prisoners, so in the middle of that night, 7th Rabí'u-l ákhir, Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán left the fort of Jahán-panáh and fled towards the mountains and jungles. When I heard of this I immediately sent Amír Sa'id and * * * other officers in pursuit. They followed with all speed, and, coming up with the fugitives, they killed many of them, and obtained great spoil. Malik Sharfu-d dín and Malik Khudáí-dád, sons of Rashíd Mallú Khán, were taken prisoners, with many others, and brought back to my camp. On the same night that I heard of the flight of the Sultán and his generals from Dehlí, I sent Amír Alláh-dád and other officers to watch the gate of Hauz-rání, through which Mahmúd had escaped; and that of Baraka, by which Mallú Khan had gone out. I also sent men to all the other gates, with orders not to let the people escape.

[1] There is a sentence here which I do not understand:—

كه لشكريان بودال بيودال خود فرود آمدة

I mounted my horse and rode towards the gate of the *maidán*. I alighted at the *'id-gáh*, a lofty and extensive building, and I gave orders for my quarters to be moved there, and for my throne to be set up in the *'id-gáh*. I took my seat upon the throne and held a Court. The *saiyids*, the *kázis*, the *'ulamá* (learned Musulmáns), the *shaikhs*, and the great men and chiefs of the (Muhammadans of the) city assembled and came out to attend my Court. I had them introduced one by one, and they made their obeisances, and were admitted to the honour of kissing my throne. I received every one of them with respect and kindness, and directed them to be seated. Fazlu-llah Balkhí was *vakil* and *náib* of Mallú Khán, and he came out to wait upon me and do homage, accompanied by a party of the officials and clerks of the government of Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán. Hereupon all the *saiyids*, *'ulamá*, *shaikhs*, and other leading Musulmáns arose, and, making the princes their mediators, they begged that quarter might be given to the people of Dehlí, and that their lives might be spared. Out of respect to the *saiyids* and *'ulamá*, whom I had always held in great esteem and honour, I granted quarter to the inhabitants of the city. I then ordered my ensign (*tauk*) and royal standard to be raised, and the drums to be beaten and music played on the tops of the gates of Dehlí. Rejoicings for the victory followed. Some of the clever men and poets that accompanied me worked the date of the victory into a verse, which they presented to me. Of all these memorial verses I have introduced (only) this one into my memoirs—

> "On Wednesday, the eighth of Rabi' the second (17th Dec., 1398),[1]
> The Emperor Sáhib-Kirán took the city of Dehlí," etc., etc.

I rewarded and honourably distinguished the literary men and poets who presented these verses to me.

I sent a party of men into the city to bring out the elephants which Sultán Mahmúd had abandoned when he fled. They

[1] This agrees with the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, translated by Price and followed by Elphinstone. Ferishta makes it a month later.—See Price Mahommedan History, III., p. 262; Briggs' Ferishta, I., p. 401.

found 120 enormous elephants and several rhinoceroses, which they brought out to my Court. As the elephants passed by me I was greatly amused to see the tricks which their drivers had taught them. Every elephant, at the sign of the driver, bowed his head to the ground, made his obeisance, and uttered a cry. At the direction of their drivers they picked up any object from the ground with their trunks and placed it in their driver's hands, or put it into their mouths and kept it. When I saw these mighty animals, so well trained and so obedient to weak man, I was greatly astonished, and I ordered that they should be sent to Túrán and Írán, to Fárs, and Ázur, and Rúm, so that the princes and nobles throughout my dominions might see these animals. Accordingly I sent five to Samarkand, two to Tabríz, one to Shíráz, five to Hirát, one to Sharwán, and one to Ázurbaiján.

When Friday came, I sent Mauláná Násiru-d dín 'Umar, with some other holy and learned men that accompanied my camp to the *Masjid-i jámi'*, with directions to say the prayers for the Sabbath, and to repeat the *khutba* of my reign in the metropolis of Dehlí. Accordingly, the *khutba*, with my name, was repeated in the pulpits of the mosques in the city of Dehlí, and I rewarded the preachers with costly robes and presents.

When the preparations for holding a court in Dehlí were complete I gave orders for the princes, the *amírs*, the *núyáns*, and other of my officers, and the *saiyids*, the *'ulamá*, the *shaikhs*, and all the principal men of the city to attend my Court. When they had all arrived I entered and took my seat upon the throne. The Turk and Tájik musicians and singers began to play and sing. Wine (*sharáb*) and sharbat, and sweetmeats, and all kinds of bread and meat were served; I bestowed rich robes, and caps, and girdles, and swords, and daggers, and horses, etc., etc., upon the princes, and *amírs* and other leading men of my army, especially upon those braves who had distinguished themselves by deeds of valour under my own observation. To some I gave regiments and raised their dignity. Upon the *saiyids* and

'ulamá of the city I bestowed robes and presents. I ordered my secretaries to draw up despatches announcing my victories in Hindustán, and to circulate them with all speed throughout my dominions. And I ordered my revenue officers to make provision for collecting the ransom-money assessed upon the city, excepting the *saiyids*, *'ulamá*, and *shaikhs*. The collectors proceeded about their work, and I remained in the same quarters for several days, holding courts, giving feasts, and partaking of pleasure and enjoyment.

Sack of the City of Dehli.

On the 16th of the month some incidents occurred which led to the sack of the city of Dehlí, and to the slaughter of many of the infidel inhabitants. One was this. A party of fierce Turk soldiers had assembled at one of the gates of the city to look about them and enjoy themselves, and some of them laid violent hands upon the goods of the inhabitants. When I heard of this violence, I sent some *amirs*, who were present in the city, to restrain the Turks. A party of soldiers accompanied these *amirs* into the city. Another reason was that some of the ladies of my harem expressed a wish to go into the city and see the palace of *Hazár-sutún* (thousand columns) which Malik Jauná built in the fort called Jahán-panáh. I granted this request, and I sent a party of soldiers to escort the litters of the ladies. Another reason was that Jalál Islám and other *diwáns* had gone into the city with a party of soldiers to collect the contribution laid upon the city. Another reason was that some thousand troopers with orders for grain, oil, sugar, and flour, had gone into the city to collect these supplies. Another reason was that it had come to my knowledge that great numbers of Hindus and *gabrs*, with their wives and children, and goods, and valuables, had come into the city from all the country round, and consequently I had sent some *amirs* with their regiments (*kushún*) into the city and directed them to pay no attention to the remonstrances of the inhabitants, but to seize and bring out these fugitives. For

these several reasons a great number of fierce Turkí soldiers were in the city. When the soldiers proceeded to apprehend the Hindus and *gabrs* who had fled to the city, many of them drew their swords and offered resistance. The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahán-panáh and Sírí to Old Dehlí, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering. The Hindus set fire to their houses with their own hands, burned their wives and children in them, and rushed into the fight and were killed. The Hindus and *gabrs* of the city showed much alacrity and boldness in fighting. The *amírs* who were in charge of the gates prevented any more soldiers from going into the place, but the flames of war had risen too high for this precaution to be of any avail in extinguishing them. On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering, and destroying. When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control, went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women, and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; *ashrafís*, *tankas* of gold and silver of the celebrated 'Aláí coinage; vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value. Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account. Excepting the quarter of the *saiyids*, the *'ulamá*, and the other Musulmáns, the whole city was sacked. The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed, for it was the will of God that this calamity should fall upon the city.

On the following day, Sunday, it was brought to my knowledge that a great number of infidel Hindus had assembled in

the *Masjid-i jámi'* of Old Dehlí, carrying with them arms and provisions, and were preparing to defend themselves. Some of my people who had gone that way on business were wounded by them. I immediately ordered Amír Sháh Malik and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí to take a party of men and proceed to clear the house of God from infidels and idolaters. They accordingly attacked these infidels and put them to death. Old Dehlí then was plundered.

I ordered that all the artisans and clever mechanics, who were masters of their respective crafts, should be picked out from among the prisoners and set aside, and accordingly some thousands of craftsmen were selected to await my command. All these I distributed among the princes and *amírs* who were present, or who were engaged officially in other parts of my dominions. I had determined to build a *Masjid-i jámi'* in Samarkand, the seat of my empire, which should be without a rival in any country; so I ordered that all builders and stonemasons should be set apart for my own especial service.

By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehlí, by name Sírí, Jahán-panáh, and Old Dehlí, had been plundered. The *khutba* of my sovereignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable.

When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehlí, I took a ride round the cities. Sírí is a round city (*shahr*). Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications (*kala'h*), built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Dehlí also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Sírí. From the fort of Sírí to that of Old Dehlí, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahán-

panáh is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (*shahr-i ábádán*). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahán-panáh has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Sírí has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahán-panáh. The fortifications of old Dehlí have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city I went into the *Masjid-i jámi'*, where a congregation was assembled of *saiyids*, lawyers, *shaikhs*, and other of the principal Musulmáns, with the inhabitants of their parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and defence. I called them to my presence, consoled them, treated them with every respect, and bestowed upon them many presents and honours. I appointed an officer to protect their quarter of the city, and guard them against annoyance. Then I re-mounted and returned to my quarters.

Campaign against the Infidels after the conquest of Dehli.

I had been at Dehlí fifteen days, which time I had passed in pleasure and enjoyment, holding royal Courts and giving great feasts. I then reflected that I had come to Hindustán to war against infidels, and my enterprize had been so blessed that wherever I had gone I had been victorious. I had triumphed over my adversaries, I had put to death some *lacs* of infidels and idolaters, and I had stained my proselyting sword with the blood of the enemies of the faith. Now this crowning victory had been won, and I felt that I ought not to indulge in ease, but rather to exert myself in warring against the infidels of Hindustán.

Having made these reflections on the 22nd of Rabí'ú-l ákhir, I again drew my sword to wage a religious war. I started from Dehlí and marched three *kos* to the fort of Fíroz-ábád, which stands upon the banks of the Jumna and is one of the edifices erected by Sultán Fíroz Sháh. There I halted and went in to

examine the place. I proceeded to the *Masjid-i jámi'*, where I said my prayers and offered up my praises and thanksgivings for the mercies of the Almighty. Afterwards I again mounted, and proceeded to pitch my camp near the palace of Jahán-numá. On this day Saiyid Shamsu-d dín Turmuzí and 'Aláu-d dín, *náib-karkarí*, whom I had sent on an embassy to Bahádur Náhir at the city of Kútila,[1] returned to my camp, and presented to me a letter which Bahádur had most respectfully written to me to the following effect: "I am one of the most insignificant servants of the great *amír*, and will proceed to his court to wait upon him." The ambassadors informed me that Bahádur Náhir would arrive at my court on Friday. Bahádur Náhir sent to me as a tribute two white parrots which could talk well and pleasantly. The envoys presented them to me, and told me that these two parrots had belonged to Sultán Tughlik Sháh, and that they had lived at the courts of the Sultáns ever since. The sight of these parrots and the sound of their voices gave me great satisfaction, so I gave directions that they should be brought before me in their cages every day that I might listen to their talk.

Next day I crossed the Jumna and marched six *kos* to the village of Múdúla. There I halted and encamped. On the following day, Friday, I again marched, and after going five or six *kos*, arrived at the village of Katah,[2] where I pitched my camp. Bahádur Náhir, with his eldest son, named Kalnásh,[3] arrived to pay their respects, and I received them with due courtesy. They brought rare and suitable presents from Hindustán, but I looked upon the two parrots as the best of their gifts. After I had ascertained their sincerity from their words and actions, I honoured them with my royal favour and bounty, and having raised their dignity, I removed all doubt and apprehension from their minds. On the following day I marched, and, after going six *kos*, I arrived at the town

[1] See note *infrá* page 455.

[2] Or "Kanah."

[3] The different MSS. of the *Zafar-náma* have "Kaltásh," "Katásh," and "Katlagh tásh."

of Bághpat, where I encamped. Next day, Sunday the 26th, I again moved, and, after travelling five *kos*, arrived at the village of Asár, which is situated in a tract called *doáb*.

Capture of Mírat.

I now learned that there was in the vicinity a city called Mírat, having a very strong fort. The fortress was one of the strongest in Hindustán, and it was under the command of Ílyás Afghán and his son, Maula Ahmad Thánesarí. There was also a *gabr* named Safí, who, with a large body of *gabrs*, had gone into the fort to aid in its defence. They had also plenty of the munitions and implements of war. When I heard all this, I instantly sent Prince Rustam, Amír Taghí Búghá, Amír Sháh Malik, and Amír Alláh-dád against this fort of Mírat, with orders to grant terms to the place if the inhabitants showed due submission and obedience; but if not, to inform me and proceed to invest the place. These officers marched on the 26th of the month, and, arriving at Mírat, delivered my message, calling upon the inhabitants to capitulate, and to trust their lives, property, and honour to my protection. They replied that Tarmsharín Khán, with a host beyond all number and compute, had assailed their fort, but had retired from it baffled. My envoys reported to me the defiant answer of the inhabitants, and when I read the insolent reference they made to Tarmsharín Khán, who was a great king, my anger was roused, and I mounted my horse and gave orders for my forces to march against Mírat. On that same day, the 28th of the month, after mid-day prayer, I started with 10,000 picked horsemen. Halting one night upon the road, I accomplished the distance of twenty *kos*, and arrived at Mírat on the 29th.

In the afternoon I ordered my officers to set the men of their divisions[1] to sap holes under the walls of the fortifications. In execution of this order they set to work, and in the course of one night each party had pushed their mine twelve yards forward under the defences. When the besieged discovered this, they

[1] The word used is "*morchal*," which would imply that there was a special party or corps of sappers.

lost all nerve and were quite cast down and bewildered. At this time the devoted regiments (*kushún*) of Amír Alláh-dád Kúchín assaulted the gate of the fort, rushing against it shouting their war-cry. Saráí Bahádur, son of Kalandar Bahádur, one of the followers (*naukar*) of Amír Alláh-dád, was the first to bring up a scaling ladder, attach it to the walls, and mount to the summit. A number of brave men rallied to support him, and, with the aid of their ladders and ropes, they mounted the walls and entered the fort. They then spread themselves in the interior, and, fighting vigorously and bravely, Rustam Birlás at length encountered Ílyás Afghán and his son, Mauláná Ahmad Thánesarí. He fought valiantly, and made them both prisoners; then, binding their hands to their necks, he brought them to my presence. Safí, who had fought well, was killed. The braves and soldiers of my army spread themselves over every part of the fortifications, and put all the *gabrs* and people of the place to death. Their wives and children were made prisoners, and all their property was plundered. When my mind was set at rest by this conquest of Mírat, I gave orders that the wood used as props to support the mines under the walls should be set on fire, and that all the towers and walls should be levelled with the ground. The houses of the *gabrs* were set on fire, and the great buildings were razed. Divine favour had thus enabled me to obtain an easy victory over Mírat, a place which Tarmsharín Khán, a prince of great dignity and power, had besieged with an enormous army and failed to capture. With a small force I had made a rapid march upon the place, and my brave fellows, by sheer courage and determination, had planted their ladders and scaled the walls in broad daylight, and had carried the place at the point of the sword. For this signal success I offered my devout thanks to the Almighty.

Battles on the Ganges.

On the 1st Jumáda-l awwal I placed the left wing of the army under the command of Amír Jahán Sháh, with orders to march

up the Jumna, to take every fort and town and village he came to, and to put all the infidels of the country to the sword. The *amír* led off his army to execute my commands. I ordered Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín to take charge of the heavy baggage, and convey it to the banks of the river Karâ-sú.[1] I, myself, determined upon directing my arms against the infidels on the Ganges. I accordingly marched towards that river, which is fourteen *kos* from Mírat. Amír Sulaimán Sháh, whom I had left with the baggage, came up according to order, and joined me on the march with his division. The first day I marched six *kos*, and halted for the night at the village of Mansúra. Next day, the 2nd of the month, I arrived early in the morning at Píroz-púr, and then I proceeded for two or three *kos* along the bank of the river in search of a ford. At breakfast time I reached the place of transit, but found no ford. A party of my men entered the river on their horses and crossed by swimming. I also was about to guide my horse into the water to cross in the same way, when the *amírs* and *núyáns* cast themselves upon their knees, and represented that Prince Pír Muhammad and Amír Jahán Sháh, with the right wing of the army, had crossed the river near Píroz-púr, and that it was advisable for me not to cross over that day. I assented to their representation, and encamped on the bank of the river, but I ordered Amír Jahán Malik, and others belonging to the division of Prince Sháh Rukh, to cross over and pass the night there. On the following day, the 3rd of the month, I marched up the river for a distance of fifteen *kos*, towards Tughlikpúr, and that place was five *kos* distant, when I heard that a large body of infidel Hindus had collected at the fords of the river. I immediately ordered Mubáshar Bahádur and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí to proceed with 5,000 horse to chastise these infidels, and I proceeded on my way to Tughlikpúr. As I went on, the air and the wind affected me, and I felt a pain in my right arm, which every moment increased. It caused me much suffering, and sundry

[1] "Black-river;" a translation of the Hindu *Kálini*.

hot applications[1] were applied. I was now informed that there was a force of Hindus coming down the river in forty-eight boats with the intention of fighting. This intelligence acted as a cure for my pain, and eagerness for the fight made me forget my suffering. I mounted my horse, and, taking with me 1,000 troopers, who were at hand, we struck our heels into the flanks of our horses and hastened to the side of the river. As soon as my braves saw the boats, some of them rode their horses into the river and swam to the vessels; then, seizing fast hold of the sides, they defeated all the efforts of the Hindus to shake them off. They forced their way into some of the boats, put the infidels to the sword, and threw their bodies into the river; thus sending them through water to the fires of hell. Some of my men dismounted, and, proceeding to the ford, assailed the enemy with arrows. The occupants of the boats returned the arrows, but the vessels were at length wrested from their possession, and were brought with their contents to my presence. The enemy had lashed ten of their boats together with chains and strong ropes, and these vessels maintained the fight. My men plied them with arrows till they slew many of them; they then swam off, and, boarding the boats, put every living soul to the sword, sending them through water to the fires of hell.[2]

When I was at leisure, after this affair with the boats, I, on the same day, marched on to Tughlikpúr, and there encamped. I sent on Amír Alláh-dád, Báyazíd Kuchín, and Áltún Bakhshí with a force as an advance-guard to cross the river and to obtain information for me of the whereabouts of the enemy. After their departure, when three watches of the night had passed, two horsemen came in from Alláh-dád to report that the reconnoitring party had discovered a ford by which they had passed the river, and had found on the other side a large body of infidel Hindus, with a great amount of property and goods,

[1] "*Garm-dárú*," explained as "hot spices, cloves, etc." Timúr was probably suffering from rheumatism.

[2] Timúr was evidently proud of this savage jest.

under the command of a man named Mubárak Khán. Confident in their numbers, they were ready to fight. As soon as I learned this, I ordered my forces to be drawn out, and I mounted my horse and started off greatly incensed. Before morning broke I passed the Ganges with 1,000 horsemen fully equipped for service. After proceeding a *kos*, the time for morning prayer arrived, so I alighted from my horse in the plain, paid my devotions, and offered my praises. I then again mounted, in full assurance of the favour of the Almighty, and went on towards the enemy. Mubárak Khán was informed of my approach, and stood, with 10,000 fighting men, in battle array, prepared to fight.

Three great victories in one day.

Attended by my escort, I was carefully examining and scrutinising the enemy, and the whole of my 1,000 horsemen had not come up. The great bulk of the army was engaged in plundering expeditions at a distance. I had but 1,000 men, and the enemy numbered 10,000, still I put my trust in God and prayed to Him for victory. By a wonderful coincidence, just at this juncture, Saiyid Khwája and Jahán Malik with 5,000 horse, whom I had sent on a plundering excursion, having made a sweep, came up in my rear just in the nick of time. If it had not been so I might here have said farewell, for I could hardly have escaped. I deemed their arrival a most fortunate omen, offered my thanks to God and faced the foe. I ordered Amír Alláh-dád and Amír Sháh Malik to make a charge upon the enemy with the thousand horsemen of my escort, and not to be dismayed by the numbers of their antagonists. When, in obedience to my command, they dashed forward, the enemy did not await their charge, but wavered and turned and fled. My brave fellows pursued and killed many of them, made their wives and children prisoners, plundered their property and goods, and secured a vast number of cows and buffalos. When, by the favour of God, I had secured this victory, I got off my horse and prostrated myself on the ground to pay my thanks.

While the soldiers were occupied in securing the spoil, I sat down to take a little rest, but some of the reconnoitring party came in with the information that there was a large number of Hindus assembled in the valley of Kútila,[1] on the side of the Ganges, having made that valley a place of refuge. I instantly mounted, and leaving the greater part (*tamámí*) of my force to secure the spoil, I started off for the valley of Kútila with only five hundred horsemen. When I reached the place I found an immense number of *gabrs* assembled in the *darra*. Instantly I ordered Amír Sháh Malik and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí to charge the enemy without paying the slightest heed to their numbers, although they were twenty to one. Spurring their horses, shouting their war-cry, and brandishing their swords, they fell upon the forces (*afwáj*) of the enemy like hungry lions upon a flock of sheep. At the first charge the ranks of the enemy were broken, and many of their men fell under the blows of the sword. God thus gave me victory with such a small band of followers over such a numerous host of the enemy. After many of them had been slain, those who escaped kept in the thickets and defiles (*darrahá*), skulking like foxes and jackals. An immense booty was left, and my braves were busy in securing it. Only one hundred men remained with me as a guard, the other four hundred were engaged in collecting the plunder. At this conjuncture Malik Shaikha, commander of the infidels, with five hundred horse and a large force of foot, knitting their brows with hatred, advanced against me. I perceived this force coming to attack me, and my warlike spirit was roused, so, with the hundred men who supported me, I spurred on to meet the foe. When about the distance of a bow-shot remained between us, one of the horsemen, who was in advance of me, turned round and told me that it was a force belonging to Shaikh Kúkar, one

[1] In the two MSS. of this work this name is written كوتله and كتله, but the MSS. of the *Zafar-náma* generally have كوپله Kúpila, which is an old name of Hardwár, and the description of the place in page 458 *infrà*, leaves no doubt of its being Hardwár. Petis de la Croix and Price also both have Kúpila.

of my dependents and servants, who was coming to join my camp. These words, so far from the truth, reached my ears, and I was satisfied and turned back. But Malik Shaikha drew his sword, and came dashing on with his men against my followers, of whom several received wounds. When I ascertained the fact that these were foes, and not the people of Shaikh Kúkar, I turned rein, and charging the enemy despatched many of them at the first attack. Malik Shaikha received a spear thrust in his stomach, and a sword cut on the head. He fell from his horse, and my men made him prisoner. They bound his hands to his neck and brought him to my presence. Many of the *gabrs* were killed and wounded; a few escaped half dead (with fright). Malik Shaikha, a very large and powerful man, was brought before me, wounded as he was. The awe of my presence added to his wounds, took such an effect upon him that when I asked him a question, he surrendered his soul to the Lord of Hell before he could answer me. God thus granted me two great victories in one day, and I offered my thanksgivings for his favour.

Again I mounted my steed, and as I did so intelligence was brought to me that in the valley (*darra*) of Kútila, two *kos* distant, a large number of infidels and *gabrs* had collected with their wives and children, and with property, goods, and cattle beyond all estimate. The road thither was arduous, through jungles and thickets. When I heard this my first thought was that I had been awake since midnight, I had travelled a long distance without any halt, and had surmounted many difficulties, I had won two splendid victories with a few brave soldiers, and I was very tired, I would therefore stop and take rest. But then I remembered that I had drawn my sword, and had come to Hind with the resolution of waging a holy war against its infidels, and so long as it was possible to fight with them, rest was unlawful for me. Although I had only a few *amirs* and a few soldiers with me, I placed my trust in God, and determined to attack the enemy. Spurring my horse, I started, and when I

had gone a little way, I remembered how three days before I had sent Prince Pír Muhammad and Amír Sulaimán Sháh across the river from the village of Pírozpúr, and I thought how opportune it would be if they were now to join me. But then I said how can they know that I have crossed the river, or how can they conceive that I am engaged in this distant place[1] in action with the infidels. I was going along with my head bent down, engaged in these reflections, when suddenly a large body of men came to view in the distance, and every man had something to say about them. I sent forward some scouts to ascertain what force it was, and as they drew near they discovered that it was the division of Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír and Amír Sulaimán Sháh. The scouts immediately proceeded to the prince and told him of the state of affairs, how I had already won two great victories that day, and that for the third time I was marching against a numerous body of *gabrs* collected at Kútila. The prince and his men had previously heard nothing of me, and now, on getting this timely information, they were very glad, and turned to wait upon me. The scouts whom I had sent to reconnoitre returned, and told me that the prince with his division in martial array was coming up. They added that the prince knew nothing about me until they informed him of the enterprize I had in hand, and that he was now on the way to meet me. This information, so in accordance with my wishes, rejoiced me greatly. It was quite beyond my expectations, for I had no idea of the prince being near; so I was glad, and prostrated myself on the earth in thanks to God for having granted me what my heart desired. It was now the time of afternoon (*asr*) prayer, and it was the fourth of the month. The prince and Amír Sulaimán Sháh came up with their numerous force, and were honoured with an interview. Pressing on with all haste I passed the jungles and thickets, and arrived in front of the infidels. After a slight resistance the enemy took to flight, but many of them fell under the swords of my soldiers.

[1] کل زمین؟

All the wives and children of the infidels were made prisoners, and their property and goods, gold, money and grain, horses, camels (*shutur*), cows and buffalos in countless numbers, fell as spoil into the hands of my soldiers. Satisfied with this rout of the enemy, I said the afternoon prayers in public in that desert, and I returned thanks to God for that I had fought three times with enemies outnumbering my men by ten and twenty to one, and that in each battle I had gained a signal victory.

The day now drew to a close and night came on, but in that desert there was no place for me to alight and pitch my camp, so I turned back with my enormous booty, and encamped in the field where I had won the second victory. There I passed the night in repose.

At this place information was brought to me that fifteen *kos* off, up the river, and near the mountains, there was a place in which there was the image of a cow, carved out of stone, and that the river (*áb*) ran from its mouth. In the belief of the people of Hindustán the source of the river Ganges was in this same mountain. The Hindu infidels worship the Ganges, and once every year they come on pilgrimage to this place,[1] which they consider the source of the river, to bathe and to have their heads and beards shaved. They believe these acts to be the means of obtaining salvation and securing future reward. They dispense large sums in charity among those who wear the Brahmanical thread, and they throw money into the river. When infidels die in distant parts, their bodies are burned, and the ashes are brought to this river and are thrown into it. This they look upon as a means of sanctification. When I learned these facts, I resolved to war against the infidels of this place, so that I might obtain the merit of overthrowing them.

Information was also brought to me that all the men whom I had defeated in the valley of Kútila, before coming hither, had not been killed. The day having drawn to a close, many had escaped and were hiding in the thickets and broken ground.

[1] Hardwár.

Neither had all their property been plundered. So I resolved to go again next day to that valley, and to put all the surviving infidels to death. At dawn on the 5th Jumáda-l awwal I said my morning prayer, and started with a suitable force for the valley of Kútila, which lies at the foot of a lofty mountain and on the banks of the Ganges. During the night all the *gabrs* who had been scattered reassembled under their chiefs, and as they had no place of refuge more secure, they resolved that if the Musulmáns returned, they would fight till they died. So they were prepared for battle. When I approached the *darra*, I made the following disposition of my forces for conquering the infidels. I placed my right wing under Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír and Amír Sulaimán Sháh. The left wing I gave into the charge of several *amírs* of *tumáns*. I gave the command of the advance to Amír Sháh Malik, and I kept the centre under my own orders. Upon entering the valley the infidels at first, having drawn up their forces, put on a bold appearance and advanced to the attack. I restrained the braves of my advance-guard, and of the right and left wings, and, having massed them together, charged the enemy, shouting aloud our war-cry until the hills and valleys resounded. The sounds of the kettle-drums and other warlike instruments fell upon the battle field, and at the first and second charge dismay seized upon the enemy, and they took to flight. My brave men displayed great courage and daring; they made their swords their banners, and exerted themselves in slaying the foe. They slaughtered many of the infidels, and pursued those who fled to the mountains. So many of them were killed that their blood ran down the mountains and the plain, and thus (nearly) all were sent to hell. The few who escaped, wounded, weary, and half dead, sought refuge in the defiles of the hills. Their property and goods, which exceeded all computation, and their countless cows and buffalos, fell as spoil into the hands of my victorious soldiers.

When I was satisfied with the destruction I had dealt out to the infidels, and the land was cleansed from the pollution of

their existence, I turned back victorious and triumphant, laden with spoil. On that same day I crossed the Ganges, and said my mid-day prayers in the congregation, on the bank of that river. I prostrated myself in humble thanks to God, and afterwards again mounting my horse, marched five miles down the river and then encamped. It now occurred to my mind that I had marched as a conqueror from the river Sind to Dehlí, the capital of the kings of India. I had put the infidels to the edge of the sword on both sides of my route, and had scoured the land; I had seized upon the throne of the kings of India; I had defeated Sultán Mahmúd, the king of Dehlí, and triumphed over him; I had crossed the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and I had sent many of the abominable infidels to hell, and had purified the land from their foul existence. I rendered thanks to Almighty God that I had accomplished my undertaking, and had waged against the infidels that holy war I had resolved upon: then I determined to turn my course towards Samarkand, my capital and paradise. On the 6th of the month I mounted and proceeded towards the heavy baggage, and, having travelled several *kos*, I encamped, and sent some *yúrutchis* (quartermasters) to go and bring up the baggage.

Victories in the Siválik hills.

On Tuesday I marched six *kos*, and the heavy baggage was now four *kos* distant. I now learned that an immense number of infidels had collected in the Siválik hills. Upon inquiring into the nature of these hills, I was informed that the people of Hindustán compute this mountain region at one *lac* and the fourth part of a *lac*.[1] It has narrow and strong valleys (*darra*), in which the infidels had assembled. When I received this information I immediately ordered the troops, with the baggage, to march towards the Siválik hills, and I, myself, proceeded in

[1] این کوهستان‌را اهالي هندوستان یک لک و چهارم حصه لک حساب میکنند

that direction. Marching in the evening and into the night, I accomplished five *kos*, and then encamped in the hills. At this halt Prince Khalíl Sultán and Amir Shaikh Núru-d dín, who had been with the baggage, and to whom I had issued my order, came up. When I was seated on my cushion of royalty, with all the princes and *amírs* around me, Amír Sulaimán Sháh, Amír Sháh Malik, Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, and other *amírs*, rose from their places, and, coming forward, bowed their knees before me and said: "So long as we, your servants, are able to move hand and foot, we will execute your orders, but what necessity is there for our great *amír* to take all this toil and hardship upon himself, and that he should now order us to march against the infidels of the Siwálik, and to rout and destroy them?" I replied: "My principal object in coming to Hindustán, and in undergoing all this toil and hardship, has been to accomplish two things. The first was to war with the infidels, the enemies of the Muhammadan religion; and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to reward in the life to come. The other was a worldly object; that the army of Islám might gain something by plundering the wealth and valuables of the infidels: plunder in war is as lawful as their mothers' milk to Musulmáns who war for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace." When the *amírs* received this answer, they maintained silence. I now despatched some horsemen with all speed to Amír Jahán Sháh, whom I had sent off a week before to plunder the forts and towns on the Jumna, ordering him to rejoin me with all speed, that he and his men might also share in the merit of fighting against the infidels. The *amír* came in directly and joined me. Then, placing my trust in God, I mounted my charger, and, on the 10th of the month, marched towards the Siwálik hills.

In a valley (*darra*) of these hills there was a *rái* named Bahrúz, the number of whose forces, and whose lofty, rugged, narrow, and strong position, made him superior to all the chiefs of the hills, and, indeed, of most of Hindustán. At the present time es-

pecially, he, having heard of my approach, had done his best to strengthen his position, and all the malignant *ráis* of the country had gathered round him. Proud of the number of his men and soldiers, the height of his *darra* and abode, he stood firm, resolved upon fighting. On the other hand, I resolved upon attacking Bahrúz and conquering the Siwálik hills.

Conquest of the Siwálik.

On the 10th Jumáda-l awwal I mounted my horse and drew my sword, determined on fighting the infidels of the Siwálik. First I attended to the disposition of my forces. I gave the command of the right wing to Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír and Amír Sulaimán Sháh; and I placed the left wing under Prince Sultán Husain and Amír Jahán Sháh. I sent forward Shaikh Núru-d dín and Amír Sháh Malik in command of the advance-guard of the centre. When my arrangements were complete, we marched, and on approaching the valley, I ordered the drums to be beaten, the instruments to be sounded, and the war-cry to be raised, until the hills and valleys echoed with their sounds. I proceeded to the mouth of the *darra*, where I alighted from my horse, and sent forward my *amírs* and soldiers. They all dismounted, and, girding up their loins, marched forward to the conflict, full of resolution and courage. The demon-like Hindus were lurking in places of ambush, and attacked my soldiers, but these retaliated with showers of arrows, and falling upon them with the sword forced their way into the valley. There they closed with them, and fighting most bravely they slaughtered the enemy with sword, knife, and dagger. So many fell that the blood ran down in streams. The infidel *gabrs* were dismayed at the sight, and took to flight. The holy warriors pursued them, and made heaps of slain. A few Hindus, in a wretched plight, wounded and half dead, escaped, and hid themselves in holes and caves. An immense spoil, beyond all compute, in money, goods and articles, cows and buffalos, fell into the hands of my soldiers. All the Hindu women and children

in the valley were made prisoners. When I was fully satisfied with the defeat of the insolent infidels of the Siwálik, and with the victory I had gained, I returned triumphant, and encamped in the same place. This night I passed as a guest in the tents of Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír.

When morning came I ordered all the plunder that had fallen into the hands of my men to be collected, for I understood that some had obtained much and others little, and I had it all fairly divided. On that day, the 11th of the month, I marched and joined the heavy baggage. I encamped at the village of Bahrah, in the country of Miyápúr. Next day I again marched, and accomplishing four *kos*, halted at the village of Shikk Sár. An enormous quantity of plunder, goods and articles, prisoners and cattle, was now collected together with the heavy baggage, and the people of the army were very heavily laden; consequently it was difficult to march more than four or five *kos* in a day. On the 13th I encamped at the village of Kandar.

On the following day, the 14th Jumáda-l awwal, I crossed the river Jumna with the baggage, and encamped in another part of the Siwálik hills. Here I learned that in this part of the Siwálik there was a *rájah* of great rank and power, by name Ratan Sen. His valley (*darra*) was more lofty and more narrow, and his forces more numerous than those of Rája Bahrúz. The mountains around are exceedingly lofty, and the jungles and woods remarkably thick, so that access to the valley was impossible, except by cutting through the jungle. When I understood these facts about Ratan Sen, I felt my responsibilities as a warrior of the Faith, and I was unwilling that the night should pass in ease; so I issued a summons for the attendance of the *amírs* and other officers. When they were all present, I directed them to prepare their men for battle, and that they should carry hatchets and bills, etc., for clearing away the jungle. I directed some thousands of torches to be lighted, and the drums of departure to be sounded. So at night I mounted my horse, and when I reached the jungle, I ordered my warriors to cut away

the jungle, and make a way through. They proceeded to execute my order, and all night long they were occupied in clearing a passage. I went on to the front, and as morning broke I had traversed twelve *kos* by the way that had been pierced through the jungle. When I emerged from the jungle, the dawn appeared, and I alighted from my horse and said my morning prayers. Then I again mounted, and on the morning of the 15th, I found myself between two mountains, one the Siwálik mountain, the other the Kúka mountain. This was the valley (*darra*), and it was exceedingly strong. The hills on both sides raised their heads to the clouds. In the front of this valley Rája Ratan Sen had drawn out his forces, as numerous as ants or locusts. There he had taken his stand, prepared for battle with an advance-guard, a right wing and left wing, in regular martial array.

As soon as my eye fell upon the dispositions of Rája Ratan Sen, I ordered my warriors to shout their battle-cry aloud, and the drums and other instruments to be sounded. The noise reverberated through the hills, and filled the hearts of the infidels with dismay and trembling, so that they wavered. At this moment I ordered my forces to make one grand charge upon the infidels. At the first onset, the Hindus broke and fled, and my victorious soldiers pursued, slashing their swords, killing many of the fugitives, and sending them to hell. Only a few of them escaped, wounded and dispirited, and hiding themselves like foxes in the woods, thus saved their lives. When the soldiers gave up killing the infidels, they secured great plunder in goods and valuables, prisoners and cattle. No one of them had less than one or two hundred cows, and ten or twenty slaves—the other plunder exceeded all calculation. On this day, Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír and Amír Sulaimán Sháh, with the right wing of the army, and Prince Sultán Husain and Amír Jahán Sháh, with the left wing, returned and joined me. By my orders they had parted from me, and had penetrated the valleys on my right and left. They had encountered and routed many

infidels, and had slain great numbers of them, but they had not gained so much spoil (as my division). I was satisfied with the victory I had won over Ratan Sen and his forces, and all that he possessed had fallen into the hands of my soldiers. Day came to a close, and I encamped between the two mountains. The princes and *amírs* of the right and left wing, whose way had lain through other valleys, came in to me in the evening, which was the evening of Friday, the 16th,[1] and reported to me their engagements with the enemy, and the men who had distinguished themselves by feats of valour. After a night's rest, on the morning of Friday, I arose, and after saying my prayers I mounted and rode towards the valley of those two mountains, intent upon the conquest of the Siwálik hills.

Capture of Nagarkot (Kángra).

When I entered the valley on that side of the Siwálik, information was brought to me about the town (*shahr*) of Nagarkot, which is a large and important town of Hindustán, and situated in these mountains. The distance was thirty *kos*, but the road thither lay through jungles, and over lofty and rugged hills. Every *rái* and *rája* who dwelt in these hills had a large number of retainers. As soon as I learned these facts about Nagarkot and the country round, my whole heart was intent upon carrying the war against the infidel Hindus of that place, and upon subduing the territory. So I set spurs to my horse, and wended my way thither.

The left wing of my army, commanded by Amír Jahán Sháh, had obtained no booty on the previous day, so I ordered his division to the front to battle with the infidels, and to capture spoil to compensate them for the deficiency of the previous day. I sent Sáin Tímúr with a party of soldiers forward as an advance-guard, and then I followed. At breakfast time Sáin Tímúr, the commander of the vanguard, sent to inform me that there was a very large force of infidels in front drawn up in order

[1] It must be borne in mind that the Muhammadan day begins at sunset.

of battle. I instantly ordered Amír Jahán Sháh, whom I had sent to the front with the forces of the left wing and the army of Khurásán, to attack the enemy. The *amír*, in obedience to my order, advanced and charged the enemy. At the very first charge the infidels were defeated and put to flight. The holy warriors, sword in hand, dashed among the fugitives, and made heaps of corpses. Great numbers were slain, and a vast booty in goods and valuables, and prisoners and cattle in countless numbers, fell into the hands of the victors, who returned triumphant and loaded with spoil.

A horseman belonging to the *kushún* of Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and 'Ali Sultán Tawáchí now came galloping in to inform me that upon my left there was a valley in which an immense number of Hindus and *gabrs* had collected, and were crying out for battle. Vast herds of cattle and buffalos were grazing around them, in numbers beyond the reach of the imagination. As soon as I heard this, I proceeded to the place, and having said my mid-day prayers with the congregation on the way, I joined Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, and I ordered him, with 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí, to march with their forces against the enemy. In compliance with this order they went boldly forward, and by a rapid march came in sight of the infidels. Like a pack of hungry sharp-clawed wolves, they fell upon the flock of fox-like infidels, and dyed their swords and weapons in the blood of those wretches till streams of blood ran down the valley. I went to the front from the rear, and found the enemy flying on all sides, and my braves splashing their blood upon the ground. A party of the Hindus fled towards the mountain, and I taking a body of soldiers pursued them up that lofty mountain, and put them to the sword. After mounting to the summit I halted. Finding the spot verdant and the air pleasant, I sat myself down and watched the fighting and the valiant deeds my men were performing. I observed their conduct with my own eyes, and how they put the infidel Hindus to the sword. The soldiers engaged in collecting the booty, and cattle, and prisoners. This exceeded

all calculation, and they returned victorious and triumphant. The princes and *amirs* and other officers came up the mountain to meet me, and to congratulate me on the victory. I had seen splendid deeds of valour, and I now promoted the performers and rewarded them with princely gifts. The enormous numbers of cows and buffalos that had been taken were brought forward, and I directed that those who had captured many should give a few to those soldiers who had got no share. Through this order, every man, small and great, strong and feeble, obtained a share of the spoil. I remained till evening on the mountain, and after saying evening prayer I came down. I encamped in the valley where there were running streams. Several times when I encamped in these mountains great numbers of monkeys came into the camp from the jungles and woods, both by night and day, and laid their claws upon whatever they could find to eat, and carried it off before the faces of the men. At night they stole their little articles and curiosities.

Since the 14th Jumáda-l awwal, when I entered the Siwálik hills, I had fought the enemy several times, I had gained victories and captured forts. From that time to the 17th Jumáda-l ákhir, one month and two days, I had been engaged in fighting, slaying, and plundering the miscreant Hindus of those hills, until I arrived at the fort of Jammú. I reckoned that during those thirty-two days I had twenty conflicts with the enemy, and gained as many victories. I captured seven strong celebrated forts belonging to the infidels, which were situated two or three *kos* distance apart, and were the jewels and beauties of that region. The people of these forts and countries had formerly paid the *jizya* (poll-tax) to the Sultán of Hindustán; but for a long time past they had grown strong, and casting off their allegiance to those sovereigns, they no longer paid the *jizya*, but indulged in all sorts of opposition.

One of these eight forts belonged to a chief named Shaikha, a relation of Malik Shaikh Kúkar. The people of the fort made some Musulmáns who were dwelling amongst them their media-

tors, and sent offers of submission and service. But I saw looks of deception and treachery in the faces of the people of the fort. When my ministers had settled the amount of the ransom money, and the officers proceeded to collect it, these bad people evaded payment. On being informed of this, I gave orders that all kinds of articles should be taken at a good price instead of money and specie (*jins*). When this was understood, they brought forth all sorts of things and gave them over at a high valuation, so it came to pass that all the bows and arrows and swords that they possessed were surrendered instead of money. I now issued an order that forty of the Hindus of the fort should come out to serve Hindú Sháh, my treasurer. Being of a disobedient rebellious spirit they resisted, paid no respect to my order, and even killed some of the Musulmáns who were in the fort. Directly I heard this, I gave orders for the *amirs* with their respective forces to advance boldly against the fort. In execution of this order all my forces assembled *en masse* to storm the place. They assailed it on every side, and fixing their scaling-ladders they mounted the walls and penetrated to the interior. The men of the garrison having been guilty of conduct worthy of death, were killed. Two thousand thus perished and were sent to hell. The women and children were made prisoners, and the buildings were levelled with the ground. By the favour and grace of God my heart had thus been gratified with the overthrow of the vile infidels of the Siwálik. I had subdued their strongholds, and there remained no other contumacious *rái* or *rája* to conquer. I inquired of the people who were acquainted with this region if there were any more infidels in the vicinity against whom I could carry the scourge of holy warfare.

Conquest of Jammú.

In answer to my inquiry I was informed that the castle of Jammú was near, that it was connected with the Siwálik and Kúka mountains, and that the inhabitants were not submissive and obedient to the Sultáns of Hindustán. These facts being

made known to me, I on the 16th Jumáda-l ákhir 802, marched from the village of Mansár determined to carry my arms against the infidels of Jammú. After marching six *kos* I encamped at the village of Báíla, in the territory of Jammú. I sent Amír Shaikh Muhammad, son of Amír Aiku-tímúr, and some other officers, at the head of a body of horse against the village of Báíla. The people in that village confident in their numbers, in the density of the jungle, and in the altitude of the position, had placed themselves in ambush in many places along the borders of the jungle prepared to give battle and offer resistance. The *amírs* who had gone on in advance reported these facts to me, and asked for permission to attack and defeat the enemy. I returned answer that I myself was desirous of sharing in the merit of the holy fight, and, therefore, the battle must be deferred till the morrow until I should arrive. When my orders reached them they postponed operations for that day. On the next day, the 17th, I marched towards Báíla. When the eyes of the enemy fell upon my royal banners, and the cries of my warriors sounded in their ears, they wavered and fled, seeking refuge in the dense jungles and thickets. I directed the *amírs* in the front to advance and seize the mouths of the jungle and woods so that the troops might enter the village of Báíla and plunder it in security. No man was to enter the jungle and woods. The *amírs* carried out these orders and the soldiers obtained great quantities of grain, sugar, and oil. After that they set fire to the houses and destroyed the buildings.

The same day I advanced four *kos* and then encamped. Uljah Tímúr Túnkatár, Fulád Bahádur, and Zainu-d dín whom I had sent as ambassadors from Dehlí to Sháh Iskandar, king of Kashmír, now returned to me with the Sháh's envoys, bearing a letter from him. I read the letter from beginning to end. It was couched in the most respectful terms, the king declaring himself to be my humble servant, and stating his intention to follow his letters and to be honoured by waiting upon me. The Sháh's ambassadors bent the knee, and after offering their benedictions,

informed me that their master had come as far as the village of Jahán to meet me.

Iskandar, King of Kashmír.

I was now informed that Mullá Núru-d dín, the ambassador of Sháh Iskandar, who had been in attendance upon me, had returned without leave to his master at the village of Jabhán, to inform him that my ministers of finance had determined that when he should arrive at my court there should be demanded from him a contribution of 30,000 horses and a *lac* of silver *tankas*, each *tanka* weighing two and a half *miskáls*. Sháh Iskandar, in order to provide for this payment, had returned from Jabhán to Kashmír. When I heard this I called for my financial officers and told them that they had put too heavy a burden on the neck of Sháh Iskandar, that the tax and tribute to be demanded of every country ought to be in proportion to its income and cultivation, and that they had exhibited their own ignorance in making such a demand. I immediately reassured the ambassador of the Sháh, gave him a robe and presents, and sent him with Mu'atamad Zainu-d dín to his master with a message that he was not to consider himself bound by the demand made by my officers, but to trust in my royal favour and to return without fear. It was then the 17th of the month, and when twenty-eight days had passed, on the 15th of the month of Rajab, he must come to my camp upon the banks of the Indus.

At the foot of a mountain in the vicinity of my camp there was a flourishing village, and I sent a force to plunder it. When they reached it, the Hindus of the place who were numerous, assembled to resist, but on the approach of my men fear fell upon their hearts, and they set fire to their houses and fled to the mountains. My victorious soldiers pursued them and slew many of them. A large booty in grain and property fell into our hands. There were two other large villages in the vicinity of this village. These also were plundered and a large amount of spoil was secured. On this day Rá-tímúr was wounded.

On the 19th I again marched, and came up opposite to the city of Jammú, and there encamped, my royal tents and canopies being set up. The five or six *kos* which I traversed in this day's march was entirely through a cultivated country; nowhere did I see any dry (*khushk*) or waste (*khálí*) land, and so in the place where I encamped there was no necessity for any man to go out into the fields in search of fodder for his horse or camel, for there was grain and grass enough between the tents to feed the animals. On the next day, the 20th, after resting for the night, I again moved with the intention of attacking the town of Jammú. I came into the valley where the source of the river of Jammú is situated, and there I pitched my tents; but I sent my army over the river to the foot of a mountain, on the left of the town, and to the village of Manú on the right. When my forces had secured these positions, the demon-spirited Hindus sent off their wives and children from their villages to the tops of the mountains, and they fortified themselves in their village. Their *rája*, with his warlike *gabrs* and athletic Hindus, took his post in the valley, where they howled like so many jackals. I commanded that not a soldier should go towards the mountain, or have anything to do with these *gabrs*, but that they should attack and plunder the town of Jammú and the village of Manú. Accordingly my forces fell to plundering, and secured an enormous booty in grain, goods of all kinds, and cattle. I returned victorious to the baggage, where I entered my tents, and passed the night in pleasure and rest.

As soon as morning broke the drums sounded. I selected certain *kushúns* which I placed under the command of experienced veteran *amirs*, and I intrusted them to go and conceal themselves in the jungle, while I marched away with drums playing. The Hindus and *gabrs*, who had fled to the hills in alarm at my approach, would then come down from the mountains in fancied security, and my troops in ambush might fall upon the infidels and cut them to pieces. In execution of this order the troops went and concealed themselves, and I mounting my horse crossed

the river of Jammú, and marched four *kos*. All this distance was through arable land, and a green and fertile country. I encamped on the banks of the Chináwa[1] on a piece of cultivated ground, and set up my tents with all the baggage around. Some horsemen now arrived in haste from the *amírs*, whom I had left in ambush, to inform me that, after I had marched away, the Rája of Jammú and other devilish *gabrs* came down confidently from the tops of the hills. When they reached the plain the *amírs* rushed suddenly from their ambush upon the infidels, and killed a great number of them. A few of them, worn out and wounded, had escaped to the jungle and woods. The Rája of Jammú, who was ruler of the country, with fifty *Ráos* and *Rájpúts* had been made prisoners by Daulat Tímúr Táwachí Husain Malik Kúchín and others belonging to the *túmán* of Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, and the whole force was coming up with the prisoners. I gave thanks to Almighty God that the enemies of the Muhammadan religion had been smitten down by the men of the faith, or had been made prisoners. The day before, proud of their numbers and confident in the density of the jungle and the altitude of the hills, they had raised their cries of defiance, and now, by the grace of God, they were prisoners in my hands. I immediately gave orders that the fifty prisoners should be put in bonds and chains. When my eyes fell upon the Rája of Jammú, who was wounded and a prisoner, fear took possession of his heart, and he agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Musulmán if I would spare his life. I instantly ordered him to be taught the creed, and he repeated it and became a Muhammadan. Among these infidels there is no greater crime and abomination than eating the flesh of a cow or killing a cow, but he ate the flesh in the company of Musulmáns. When he had thus been received into the fold of the faithful, I ordered my surgeons to attend to his wounds, and I honoured him with a robe and royal favours.

[1] The Chináb. The spelling in page 413 was *Chindd*. It is now *Chindwa*, and the *Zafar-náma* favours this orthography.

On the 23rd Jumáda-l ákhir I remained stationary, and messengers arrived from Prince Pír Muhammad and Prince Rustam and Amír Jahán Sháh, whom I had sent some days before with a force to Láhor. They brought me the information that the princes and *amirs* had arrived at Láhor upon the business on which I had sent them. Malik Shaikha Kokhar was brother of Nusrat Kokhar, who was formerly governor of Láhor on the part of Sultán Mahmúd of Dehlí. After I had defeated his brother Nusrat Shaikha Kokhar, he had been the first of all the *zamíndárs* and governors of Hindustán to wait upon me and make his submission. From my capture of the city of Dehlí till my passage of the Jumna he remained in attendance on me. In the middle of the Doáb he asked permission to return home to Láhor. I had always perceived the signs of hypocrisy upon his countenance, and I knew well that he had submitted from necessity and was false in his professions. Still he was the first to yield, and I was very considerate for his subjects, and whenever any *zamíndár* of that country represented himself to be a dependant of Shaikha Kokhar, I protected him from the assaults of my followers, and from pillage and plunder. When I gave him permission to leave he proceeded to Láhor, and there forgot his protestations of service and devotion, and the duties imposed upon him by my favour and kindness. He kept not the promises he made when he waited upon me, but when a party of my followers, such as Mauláná 'Abdu-llah, etc., passed through Láhor on their way from Samarkand to join me, he showed them no attention, and never asked them why are you come? where do you come from? or, where are you going to? The defection of Shaikha Kokhar had become clear to me, and I had sent the princes and *amirs* to take that ungrateful man prisoner, and to levy a ransom from the city of Láhor.

When I read the letters from the princes and *amirs*, I found that in execution of my orders they had gone to Láhor, and had fixed the amount of ransom to be levied from the inhabitants. They had found Shaikha Kokhar remiss and negligent in raising

the contribution, and so in compliance with my order they had made him prisoner. They had collected the whole of the ransom and were coming up to join me. In reply to their report I wrote that as Shaikha had proved false to his engagement and had acted inimically, his country was to be plundered and he himself should be sent in chains to my presence. This order I sent off by the hands of messengers.

Next day the 24th of the month, I crossed the river Chiná,[1] and after a march of four or five *kos*, I encamped in a verdant plain. Some messengers now arrived from Prince Mírán Sháh in Ázarbaiján [*reporting all was well.*] On the 25th I again marched. There was a river in the way, which I crossed over and encamped. On this day some of the sick men (*za'ífán*) were drowned in crossing the river, so I directed that all my own horses and camels should be used for carrying the sick and feeble over. On that day all my camp crossed the river, and on the same day messengers arrived from Persia. * * I sent my treasurer Hindú Sháh to Samarkand to announce my return home, and I also issued a notification to the princes and *amírs* of the army, recounting how I had achieved great victories in Hindustán; how I had taken Dehlí the capital of the Sultáns, and other cities, towns and renowned fortresses; how by the grace of God I had overrun the country and the hills, and how my men had secured an immense booty in money and gold, jewels and stuffs, high-bred horses and elephants, and cattle in countless numbers. We had returned thus far, and I had sent off messengers to all parts of my dominions to announce my return home, so that the princes might come out to receive me as quickly as possible. I now thought it would have been better not to have sent the messengers, and that, having left the baggage behind, I should go on in advance. Accordingly, mounting my horse I crossed the river which lay in my route. On the 27th I travelled six *kos* and encamped on the edge of a jungle. The men of my advance-guard brought me information that there

[1] Sic.: but the Chináb is intended.

was a brake near at hand in which there was a large tiger. When I arrived there my daring fellows surrounded the brake on all sides, and Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín quickly sprang forward and attacked the beast with his sword and slew it. I loudly praised the prowess of that brave man.

When I returned from the hunt Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, Prince Rustam, Amír Sulaimán, and Amír Jahán Sháh returned from Láhor with much wealth and property and were received with all honour. The plunder which they had obtained at Láhor in money, goods, and horses they presented to me, and I divided and gave all the goods and effects among the *amírs* and councillors who were in attendance at the court. * * *

Timúr holds a Court.

On the same day I ordered preparations to be made for holding a splendid court. * * * After bestowing many rewards, robes and girdles, swords and quivers upon the *amírs* and others, I ordered that the right and left wings of the army should march towards home by certain prescribed routes. The *saiyids*, and *'ulamá*, and *zamíndárs*, and gentlemen, natives of Hindustán who had joined and accompanied my camp, all received presents and tasted of my royal bounty. I then issued orders for them all to return home. Khizr Khán, who was one of the principal men of Hindustán, had been made prisoner by Sárang, the governor of Multán, and kept in confinement. But he escaped from prison and took refuge with Ahodan, governor of Bayána, who was a Musulmán and an honest man. When I was marching victorious through Hindustán, Khizr Khán hastened from Bayána to wait upon me, and I received him with honour and kindness and took him into my suite. I now appointed him governor of Multán. [*and after bestowing the usual marks of honour*] I sent him thither.

Hunting of the Rhinoceros, etc.

* * * On Friday the 26th of the month I again marched, and after accomplishing eight *kos*, arrived at the village of Jabhán, in the territories of Kashmír.

Description of Kashmír.

At this stage I made inquiries about the country and city of Kashmír from men who were acquainted with it, and from them I learned that * * Kashmír is an incomparable country. * * * In the midst of that country there is a very large and populous city called Naghaz. The rulers of the country dwell there. The buildings of the city are very large and are all of wood, and they are four or five stories high. They are very strong and will stand for 500 or 700 years. A large river runs through the middle of this city, as large as the Tigris at Baghdád, and the city is built upon both sides of it. The source of this river is within the limits of Kashmír in a large lake, some *parasangs* in length and breadth, which is called Vír-nák. The inhabitants have cast bridges over the river in nearly thirty places. These are constructed of wood, stone, or boats; seven of the largest are within the city, and the rest in the environs. When this river passes out of the confines of Kashmír, it is named after each city by which it passes; as the river of Dandána, the river of Jamd. The river passes on and joins the Chináb above Multán. The united waters pass below Multán and then join the Ráwí. The river Biyáh comes down through another part and joins them, and the three united rivers fall into the Sind or Indus in the neighbourhood of Uch. All these (united) rivers are called the Sind or the Panjáb, and this river falls into the Persian Gulf near Thatta. * * *

On the 29th Jumáda-l ákhir, I started from Jabhán and marched five *kos* and encamped on the banks of the Dandána. There I ordered a number of boats to be collected and a bridge to be formed. I ordered Amír Sháh Malik and Jalálu-l Islam to take their post at the head of the bridge and carefully superintend the passage of the army. When all the soldiers and baggage had crossed in safety, I also passed over and encamped. Next day, the 1st Rajab, I placed the heavy baggage in charge of certain *amírs*, who were to follow in the rear. Then I started for the seat of my empire, intending to travel rapidly. That day

I accomplished twenty *kos*, and rested at the village of Sambast, in the Júd mountains. On the 2nd I again started, and travelling one and a half watch of the day, I reached the vicinity of the fort of Barúja, where I halted for an hour, and after saying noonday prayers, I again started, and entering the Chol-i Jalálí, I continued my course until, at the time of evening prayer, I emerged from the desert, and encamped on the margin of a lake which had been filled by the rains of the rainy season. On the 3rd I again set off, and at breakfast time reached the banks of the Indus. I had sent orders to Pír 'Alí Salandoz, and other *amírs* who had charge of this territory, to construct a strong bridge of timber and boats over the river. They had executed my orders, and I passed over the bridge immediately. I ordered Amír Alláh-dád to guard the bridge for the transit of the forces and baggage which were coming up. I halted by the river till noonday prayer, which I said in public; then I again started, and travelled ten *kos* more before halting for the night. On the 3rd I marched again, and, travelling rapidly, I reached the fort of Bánú, and there encamped. * * *

XIX.

ZAFAR-NÁMA

OF

SHARAFU-D DÍN, YAZDÍ.

"THE Book of Victory" by Maulánâ Sharafu-d dín 'Alí Yazdí, who died A.D. 1446. This work, which Mirkhond declares to surpass everything that had up to his time enlightened the world in the department of history, is a very partial biography of Tímúr, written A.D. 1424. It is interspersed with fables, and is well known to the Orientalists of Europe by the accurate French translation of M. Petis de la Croix (*Histoire de Timúr Bec*, Paris, 1722, 4 vols. 12mo.), which is one of Gibbon's chief sources respecting this hero.

The translation of M. Petis de la Croix does not contain the second and third parts of the *Zafar-náma*, nor does it contain the supplement of the original written by Táju-d dín Salmání, who continued the history to the time of Sháh Rukh, A.D. 1410; and as the *Zafar-náma* does not commence till the twenty-fifth year of Tímúr's age, the translation is by no means to be considered a complete biography, more especially as it is an abridged rather than a full version of the original. The French version was translated into English by J. Darby in 1723. There is also an Italian translation by Bradutti.

[As stated in the foregoing notice of the *Malfúzát-i Timúrí*, the *Zafar-náma* is based upon that autobiography, and so far as the expedition to India is concerned, it is merely a polished reproduction of that work. This fact may be seen on a comparison of the following Extracts with those which precede this from the *Malfúzát-i Timúrí*. So identical are they that the Extracts

which follow might be dispensed with. But the *Zafar-náma* enjoys such a high reputation, and has been so largely used and quoted as an authority by writers, both in the East and in Europe, that it cannot be passed over in a comprehensive work like the present.

[The translation has been made by the editor, and he has had the use of four MSS. belonging to the Library of the India Office. In one of these (No. 985), the work has been stripped of much of its florid and redundant ornament—in fact, it has been subjected to a treatment closely resembling that which Petis de la Croix found to be necessary in making his French translation. This abridged MS. does not appear to give any account of the writer by whom it was prepared, but the following extract of a letter to Sir H. Elliot from the late Professor Duncan Forbes in all probability refers to this same work. "Another curiosity (in the British Museum) connected with Tímúr is a very plain and sensible paraphrase of the *Zafar-náma*, done, by command of Jahángír, by 'Abdu-s Sattár Kásim in the city of Ajmír, A.H. 1024 (1617 A.D.). The doer of the thing says very sensibly in his introduction that Yazdí's book is very flowery and pedantic, written in the *'ibárat-i munshiyána*, which we may felicitously translate the Jedediah Cleishbotham style, which he, 'Abdu-s Sattár aforesaid, improves marvellously by leaving out all Arabic and Persian verses that are not to the point, and enriching the narrative from other sources." The editor has, in general followed this MS., but he has constantly referred to the other copies, and has occasionally introduced from them names and passages which seemed worthy of notice.][1]

EXTRACTS.

Cause of Timúr's Invasion of Hindustán.

Tímúr, the invincible and world-conquering, had given to Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír the provinces of Kunduz,

[1] A translation of part of the *Zafar-náma*, by Major Hollings, was published in the Dehli Archæological Journal, 1862, but I have not seen it.—ED.

Bakalán, Kábul, Ghazní, and Kandahár, with all their dependencies as far as the confines of India. The prince accordingly took possession of these territories, and ruled with justice and liberality. Under the orders of the Emperor he collected the troops of his provinces, and marched forth to conquer other countries with a large army and valiant chiefs. * * * He plundered the Aghánís of the Koh-i Sulaimán, and crossing the river Indus he took the town of Uch by storm. From thence he marched to Multán and laid siege to it. Multán at that time was governed by Sárang, elder brother of Mallú Khán. After the death of Sultán Fíroz Sháh these two brothers raised his grandson Sultán Mahmúd to the throne, and seized upon the government of Hindustán. Mallú remained at Dehlí in attendance on the Sultán, and Sárang had taken possession of Multán. The prince's forces having invested Multán, they every day made two vigorous assaults. The intelligence of these proceedings being carried to Tímúr was the cause of his going to Hindustán. Just at that time he had resolved to assemble forces from all his dominions, and to march against China,[1] with the intent of destroying the idol temples, and of raising mosques in their places. He had previously heard that the standards of the faith of Islám had been raised in Dehlí and other places, and that its profession of faith was impressed upon the coins, but that the country in general was polluted by the inhabitants being infidels and idolaters. Impelled by the desire of waging a religious war, he resolved to march against Multán and Dehlí. He consulted with his nobles and chiefs, and they concurred in the propriety of making the invasion.

In the month of Rajab, 800 H. (March 1398 A.D.), nearly corresponding to the year of the Leopard, he began his march towards Hindustán, with an army as numerous as the leaves of the trees. * * * When he arrived at Indaráb, the chiefs of that country came and cast themselves at his feet, saying that they were Musulmáns, and that the infidel Kators and Siyah-poshes exacted sums of

[1] "Khitái."

money every year as tribute from them; and in default of payment, the infidels slew the men, and made their women and children prisoners. Their statements kindled the anger of the emperor, and he resolved to suppress these infidels. * * * He arrived at Kháwak, and ordered the fort of that place, which was in ruins, to be repaired. The soldiers and many of the *amírs* left their horses there, and ascended the mountain of Kator on foot. * * * The infidels of this country are tall, stout, and vigorous. They generally go about naked. Their chiefs are called 'Udá and 'Udáshú.[1] They have a very peculiar language, different from Persian, Turki, and Hindí. Most of them know no language but their own. If men of the neighbourhood had not mixed with them, and learned their language so as to be able to interpret, no one would know anything about this language. * * * After three days' continuous fighting Tímúr's troops prevailed, and the enemy sued for quarter. Tímúr sent to them Ák Sultán, proposing that if they would surrender and become Musulmáns, he would spare their lives and property, and confirm them in the possession of their country. When they were informed of these terms by means of interpreters they, on the fourth day, hastened with Ák Sultán to the court of Tímúr, made their profession of the faith, and with tears offered excuses for their conduct. They declared themselves to be his slaves, and ready to obey his commands. Tímúr, in his kingly generosity, gave them robes and dismissed them. When night came on, these black-hearted renegades made an attack upon Amír Sháh Malik. Some few of them, wounded and maimed, escaped, but 150 of them were taken prisoners, and were despatched to hell with the sword. The whole army of Islám then ascended the mountain and put all the men to the sword, and carried off the women and children. On the summit of the mountain pyramids were built with the heads of these infidels, who had never bowed their heads in adoration of God. An account

[1] This name is very carefully written in two of the MSS., and they agree with the reading of Petis de la Croix.

of the victory was engraved upon stone, with the date of the month Ramazán 800 H., together with the date used in the locality. * * *

Passage of the Indus.

Tímúr marched from Bánú, and on the 8th Muharram he reached the banks of the Indus, at the place where Sultán Jalalu-d dín Khwárizm Sháh flying from Changíz Khán cast himself into the river and swam over. Changíz Khán did not pass the river, but halted there and then returned. Tímúr gave orders for the construction of a bridge over the river. The work was immediately commenced, and in the course of two days a safe bridge constructed of three-legged trestles (*sih-páyah*) and boats was completed. * * *

On Monday, 12th Muharram 801 H. (24th Sept. 1398), crossed the river with his army and encamped on the borders of the Chol,[1] which is a large desert, called in books of history the Chol-i Jalálí in consequence of Sultán Jalálu-d dín's escape thither. The *ráis* and chiefs of the Júd mountain came respectfully to pay homage to Tímúr and make presents. Some time before this Amír Rustam Taghí Buká Birlás, under the orders of Tímúr had marched towards Multán. He passed near the mountain of Júd and remained there some days. The *ráis* had then carefully attended upon him and had supplied him with provisions. This was the reason why Tímúr now treated them with such favour. They returned home happy and full of joy.

Contest with Shahábu-dín Mubarák Sháh Tamímí.

Shahábu-d dín was ruler of an island[2] on the banks of the river Jamd. He was rich and had numerous followers and soldiers, by means of which he was distinguished above the *Ráis* of Hind. When the Prince Pír Muhammad Jahangír arrived in the vicinity of Multán he came in and paid homage. He was

[1] One MS. says, "at the Júd mountain which is the Chol desert."

[2] *Jazíra*, lit., an island, probably formed by a bend or branch of the river, connected as the text describes with a lake. The *Tüzak-i Tímúri* (*supra* p. 410) says, it was "in the middle of the river;" but the words here used are "*bar kindr i áb i Jamd.*"

received among the adherents of the prince and was treated with great kindness. For some time he remained in attendance on the prince, but after a while he obtained leave of absence and returned to his government. He was deluded by the devil, and being puffed up with pride of the strength of his place and the river, he set himself in opposition. When the army had crossed and was encamped on the banks of the Jamd, this revolt was communicated to Tímúr. He then ordered Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín to march with his *túmán* against the island, and to exterminate the whole band of rebels. When the Amír arrived near the island, he found that Shahábu-d dín had dug a deep ditch and had raised high walls as means of defence. There was a large lake there, but the assailants plunged instantly into the water and kindled the flames of war. A fierce conflict followed which lasted till night, and the assailants then retired to take rest. During the night Shahábu-d dín fell upon the camp of the besiegers with 10,000 men and a great fight took place. Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín met the attack with a determined resistance, and the assailants being disheartened by this vigour fell back dispirited. Some of them cast themselves into the water and with difficulty brought the ship of life to the shore of safety.

Tímúr then came up with his army and encamped near the island. Shahábu-d dín by a prudent precaution had kept 200 boats ready for such an emergency. When he retreated beaten from his night attack upon the besiegers he embarked with his family and followers in the boats, and proceeded down the Jamd towards Uch, which is one of the towns of Hind. Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, under the orders of the emperor, pursued them with his victorious forces along the banks of the river, and killed a good number of them. On his return Tímúr bestowed rewards and honours upon those who had fought so valiantly and had been wounded in repulsing the night attack. When Shahábu-d dín came near Multán, the Prince Pír Muhammad and Amír Sulaimán Sháh with their detachment opposed his progress and cut many of the fugitives to pieces. Shahábu-d

dín cast his wife and children into the river and with great difficulty brought them half-dead to land. Tímúr sent Shah Malik into the jungles in pursuit of the fugitives. He killed a great many of them and their allies, and returned laden with booty and with boats full of corn to the royal camp. The Emperor marched from thence, and in five or six days arrived on the banks of the Chináwa[1] (Chináb) where that river unites with the Jamd. He encamped near the fort of Tulambí, and ordered a bridge to be thrown across the river. It was finished in three days.

Conquest of the Fort of Tulambí.

Tímúr passed over the bridge with his army and pitched his camp on the bank of the river near the town. The *maliks* and *ráis* of the place with the *saiyids* and learned men came forth to wait upon the emperor. They paid their homage and were well received. On the 1st Safar 801 H. in the plain of Tulambí the officers and ministers being assembled a ransom of two *lacs* was demanded from the inhabitants of the city, but orders were given that the *saiyids* and learned Musulmáns should be exempted from payment. The collectors busied themselves in the work of collection, but the whole was not realized, when a large division of the army arrived in great want of grain and provisions. The royal order was given that they were to take grain wherever they found it. With savage feelings the soldiers entered the town on the pretext of seeking for grain, and a great calamity fell upon it. They set fire to the houses and plundered whatever they could lay their hands on. The city was pillaged, and no houses escaped excepting those of the *saiyids* and learned Musulmáns.

Tímúr was now informed that a party of the chiefs of Tulambí who had formerly submitted to Prince Pír Muhammad had broken out into revolt and open violence. This greatly incensed him, and he sent Sháh Malik and Shaikh Muhammad Aikú-tamúr

[1] جناوه

with their *túmáns* to chastise these revolters. These chiefs accordingly entered the jungles and killed about 2,000 of them. Then they returned laden with booty to the royal camp. On the 8th Safar the army again took to the march and pitched their camp near Jál, upon the Byáh river, opposite the town of Sháh-nawáz.

March against Nusrat Kúkari (Khokhar).

While encamped on the river the emperor was informed that Nusrat Kúkarí, brother of Shaikha Kúkarí with 2,000 men had constructed a strong river fortress (*rúd-khána-i'azím*) on the banks of the river and was there posted. Tímúr instantly marched against him with a strong force. The right wing he placed under the command of Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and Amír Allah-dad; and the left under Amír Sháh Malik and Amír Shaikh Muhammad Aikú-tamur. Ali Sultán Tawáchí at the head of the infantry, marched with the centre in battle array. Nusrat Kúkarí with great presumption and ignorance had collected a force of 1,000 Indian warriors, and had drawn them up to meet Tímúr on the banks of a lake.[1] Ali Sultán Tawáchí attacked them with his infantry of Khurásán, and after several assaults he overthrew them and put them to flight. Shaikh Núru-d dín and Allah-dád pursued the fugitives and slew many of them. He who bore the name of Nusrat (victory) could not save himself from this disaster, but went to hell with many of his followers. The soldiers secured great booty, and they set fire to the houses of the enemy. On the 10th Safar the army marched by a difficult road to Sháh-nawáz through mud and dirt. This is a considerable village where large stores of grain were found. The men carried off all they could, and under the royal command set fire to what was left, so that it might not benefit the infidels. From thence the army marched to the river Biyáh, and encamped opposite to the village of Janján,[2] where

[1] "*Bar kindr-i áb-i kol.*" One MS. has "Kunu." "*Kol*" means lake, but here it may possibly be the name of a river.

[2] Var. "Manján."

the baggage was collected. Here an opportunity of crossing was found, and Tímúr availing himself of this advantage, ordered his forces to cross the river.

Arrival of Prince Pír Muhammad from Multán.

It has already been recorded how Prince Pír Muhammad had besieged Multán, and how his forces were assaulting the place twice daily. The contest had lasted six months. Provisions had become so scarce in the place that not a dog or a cat was left, and the inhabitants being compelled to abandon the place, the prince had obtained possession of the country. He immediately sent a despatch of this victory to the royal camp. At this time heavy rains came on and lasted for several days, it being the season which in Hindustán is called the *Barsh-kál*. This caused a great mortality among the men and horses of the prince, and so he entered the city with all his forces. The chiefs and rulers of this country of Hind who had made their submission, now conceived ideas of throwing off the yoke. They killed the governors of several places, and the soldiers being dismounted were unable to move against them. This gave the prince great annoyance, and he was a prey to constant anxiety, when the news of the emperor's approach struck dismay into the hearts of the enemy.

The prince being thus delivered from his difficulty proceeded with his officers and followers to the royal camp. On the 14th Safar he reached the camp on the banks of the Biyáh, when the emperor received him honourably and affectionately. * * * On the 15th Safar the emperor crossed the Biyáh, and encamped under the fort of Janján. There he remained four days. During these days all the men of the army crossed, some in boats and some by swimming, and not one individual was lost. * * * As the soldiers of the prince had lost their horses in the rainy season, and through the hardships of the campaign had been reduced to ride on bullocks and to walk, the emperor presented them with thirty thousand horses. The royal army then marched from

Janján to Sahwál; on the 21st it proceeded to Aswán, where it rested one day, and then marched to Jahwál.

The chiefs of Díbálpúr had previously made their submission to Prince Pír Muhammad, who sent Musáfir Kábulí, with a thousand men, to act as governor of the place. When the army of the prince was reduced by the effects of the rainy season, the men of that place, combining with the soldiers of Fíroz Sháh, put Musáfir and his thousand men to death. Upon the intelligence of the emperor's progress to Multán and Dehlí reaching this neighbourhood, all men from the highest to the lowest were in the greatest consternation. Fearing for their lives they abandoned all else, and fled to the fort of Bhatnír. At Jahwál the emperor left Amír Sháh Malik and Daulat Tímúr Tawáchí with the baggage, with orders to proceed by way of Díbálpúr, and to join him at Sámána, near Dehlí. He set off with 10,000 men, and by forced marches hastened to Ajodhan, which he reached early in the morning of the 24th Safar. Previous to this Shaikh Munawwar and Shaikh Sa'd, both men of evil character, had seduced the people of this place from their allegiance, and had incited them to leave their country. Some of them went off with Shaikh Sa'd to Bhatnír, and others accompanied Shaikh Munawwar to Dehlí. But the Saiyids and learned Musulmáns of the place had heard of the kindness of Tímúr, and resolved to remain patiently at home, and await the course of events. As soon as they were informed of his arrival they went to wait upon him, and were received with great favour. Tímúr appointed Maulánà Násiru-d dín 'Umar and Muhammad, son of Khwája Muhammad Shaháb, to be governors of the town, and enjoined them not to allow the *saiyids* and learned Muhammadans to be hurt by the people of the army.

Capture of the city walls (shahr-band[1]*) and the fort of Bhatnír. Extermination of the inhabitants of that place.*

The fort of Bhatnír was extremely strong, and was celebrated as one of the strongest in Hind. It is situated far out of the

[1] Petis de la Croix took this to be a proper name, and translated it "the city of Band."

road on the right hand, and it is surrounded by the desert of Chol. For fifty or a hundred *kos* round there is no water. The inhabitants obtain their water from a large lake at the gate of the city which is filled in the rainy season. No foreign army had ever penetrated thither, nor had any sovereign of India ever led his forces to that place. So the inhabitants of Díbálpúr, Ajodhan, and other places fled thither for refuge from the invading army. A very large number of people thus assembled there, so much so that the city would not contain them, and carts and vehicles with large quantities of goods and furniture had been left outside in the vicinity of the fort. On the 25th Safar, Tímúr reached Ajodhan, and paid a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Farid Shakar-ganj. From thence he started for Bhatnír, and crossing the river,[1] he arrived at Khális-kotalí, two *kos* from Ajodhan, and fifty from Bhatnír. Three *kos* is equal to one legal *farsakh* or *parasang*.

Tímúr said his mid-day prayers at Khális-kotalí, and then mounting he travelled the remainder of the day and the whole of the night without resting, thus accomplishing this long distance in one march. On the next day, at breakfast time, he was within sight of Bhatnír. The drums were beaten and the shouts of the warriors rent the air. All that was outside of the city was plundered. The prince of that country and city was called Ráo Dúl Chand,[2] *Ráo* being a Hindí word meaning brave (*bahádur*). He had a large number of soldiers, and the whole neighbourhood was under his command. He used to levy tolls from travellers, nor could merchants and caravans escape from

[1] The French version says, he "crossed the river of Dena," and there is sufficient warrant for this in the MSS., no two of which agree. The true reading appears to be "*az rúd guzashta*," "he crossed the river;" but the word *rúd* (river) is written also "*rúdad* and *rúdú*." Two of the MSS., and both those of the *Malfúzát-i Tímúrí*, insert the negative, and say *az rúd nah guzashta*, "did not cross the river," which was evidently the reading of Petis de la Croix's MS.; but this is manifestly wrong, as the Gharra runs between Ajodhan and Kotalí. Mr. Chapman, in his translation of the *Malfúzát*, (p. 421 *suprá*), read, "*az Rudanah guzashta*," and translated it, "passing by Rudanah;" but this may be read "*az rúd nah guzashta*," "not crossing the river," though, as above observed, the negative is certainly wrong.

[2] "Chan" in the text.

his exactions. When Tímúr approached the city the *Ráo*, confident in the strength of his fortress and the number of his followers would not submit. The army was at once brought up, and fiercely attacked the city both on the right and on the left. At the first assault the walls of the city were taken and many Hindús were slain. Great booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. The officers leading on their men with axes and pikes advanced to attack the fort. Ráo Dúl Chand, with his brave Indian warriors, drew up ready for combat at the gate of the fort. Amír Sulaimán and other intrepid officers of the *túmán* of Sháh Rukh went forward sword in hand and fought most valiantly. The fort was on the point of being taken when fear and despair fell upon the heart of Dúl Chand, and he sent out a *saiyid* to beg an armistice for that day, promising to come out on the day following and make his submission to Tímúr. The emperor, relying on the promise brought by the *saiyid*, a descendant of the Prophet, granted the demand. He withdrew his men from the walls, put a stop to the fighting, and went out to his tents. When the next day came Ráo Dúl Chand failed to keep his promise, and orders were given that each *amír* should sap the wall in front of his position. They set diligently about the work, and bravely persevered, although fire and stones, and darts and arrows were rained down upon them from the top of the walls. When Ráo Dúl Chand and the chiefs of his party beheld these proceedings they were filled with dismay. They came to the tops of the bastions, and with cries and lamentations called aloud for mercy. They acknowledged their fault and admitted they had done wrong in not submitting to the emperor, but they begged his forgiveness. He was graciously pleased to grant their petition. On the same day the *Ráo* sent out his son and his deputy with splendid presents and valuable offerings. Tímúr gave the young man a robe of value, a sword-belt, etc., and sent him back to his father. Next day Ráo Dúl Chand, being encouraged by this kindness and generosity of Tímúr, came out of the fort accompanied by Shaikh Sa'du-d dín

Ajodhaní, on the 28th Safar, and throwing himself upon the ground before the royal tent, he presented several fine animals and three Arab horses with golden saddles. Tímúr graciously accepted these presents, and in return gave him gold-embroidered robes, etc. A large body of people from many parts of India, especially from Díbálpúr and Ajodhan, had taken refuge there from the arms of the conqueror, so Amír Sulaimán Shah and Amír Allah-dád were careful to guard the gate. On the next day they brought out to the royal camp the strangers who had taken refuge in the town. Five hundred men belonging to Díbálpúr, who had taken part in the murder of Musáfir Kábulí and of a thousand other servants of Prince Pír Muhammad, were put to death in retaliation. Their wives and children were made slaves. Several men of Ajodhan also had deserted the standards of Tímúr, and had fled for security to Bhatnír. Some of these were brought to punishment, others were made prisoners, and their property was plundered.

Kamálu-d dín,[1] brother of Ráo Dúl Chand, and his son, when they saw Tímúr's severity towards the guilty, being filled with terror, lost their judgment. On the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal, although Dúl Chand was in Tímúr's camp, they closed the gates of the city, and opened the gates of sorrow and trouble for themselves. The wrath of Tímúr was kindled; he ordered his soldiers to again invest the place, and to carry on their mining and scaling operations. The men set zealously about the work, and the besieged soon perceived that there was no hope for them, and that it was useless to struggle against their fate. The brother and son of the *Ráo* went forth humbly from the town, and hastened to cast themselves upon the earth before Tímúr, and implore his mercy. They gave up the keys of the town to the servants of the emperor. On the 2nd of the month Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and Amír Allah-dád went into the city to receive the ransom money, but the evil-minded *ráis* resisted payment of the tribute. There were in the city many *gabrs* and

[1] All the MSS. agree in this Muhammadan name.

bad men who set themselves in opposition and made open resistance. When Tímúr heard of this he issued a stringent order for his men to attack the fort, and put the occupants to the sword. The soldiers accordingly scaled the place by means of ladders and ropes. The *gabrs* set fire to the place, and cast their wives and children into the fire and consumed them. A party of them who called themselves Musulmáns, cut off the heads of their wives and children like so many sheep. The two parties then joined and prepared for a desperate resistance. They were very numerous, and very resolute and savage. According to command the soldiers entered the city, and shouting their war cry fell upon the defenders. A desperate conflict ensued, and many of the assailants were slain and many wounded. Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín had entered the city on foot, sword in hand, to fight with the infidels. He was surrounded by a number of infidels, and was in imminent danger, when Auzán Mazíd Baghdádí and Fíroz Sístání rushed to the rescue, and despatching several of the infidels they rescued him from his peril. Victory at length favoured our arms. Ten thousand of the infidels were slain, the houses were set on fire, and the whole place was destroyed. Nothing was left but a few heaps of ashes. The gold and silver, and horses and spoil of every sort that fell into the hands of the captors was by order of Tímúr divided among the soldiers. He solaced the wounded by his royal munificence, and he showed great favour and liberality to Auzán Mazíd and Fíroz, who had rescued Amír Núru-d dín at the risk of their own lives.

March of Tímúr against other cities of India, and suppression of the Jats.

After the destruction of the town of Bhatnír the air was polluted by the putrefying bodies of the slain, so on the 4th of the month Tímúr ordered his army to march against other places of India. Having advanced fourteen *kos*, it reached a place called Kinára-i-hauz (brink of the reservoir), and there encamped. On the 5th it again marched and came to the fort of Fírozah, from

whence it proceeded on the same day to the town of Sarsutí. The inhabitants of this town were for the most part infidels and kept pigs, whose flesh they ate. On hearing of the approach of Tímúr they took to flight. A detachment was sent in pursuit, which overtook them and put many of them to the sword, and plundered the property which they had carried off. The detachment returned safe to camp with its plunder, all except 'Ádil Farrásh who was killed in the fight. Tímúr rested one day at Sarsutí and on the following day marched eighteen *kos* to Fathábád where he encamped. The inhabitants of this place had also abandoned their homes and fled towards the desert. They were pursued by a party of our men who overtook them, killed many of them, and plundered their goods. On the 7th of the month Tímúr marched by the fort of Rajab-núr and came to the fort of Ahrúní where he pitched his camp. This place did not contain any men of sufficient sense and intelligence to come out and secure protection by making their submission, so, some of the inhabitants were killed and others were made prisoners. The soldiers set fire to the fort, plundered the houses, and carried off the grain. Not a house was left standing.

On the following day the army marched into the desert to a village called Tohána. A body of the people called *Jats* had made themselves masters of this neighbourhood and for a long time had committed depredations on the roads. They had cast aside all the restraints of religion, plundering the caravans and merchants with violence and murder. When they heard of the advance of Tímúr's victorious host to Hindustán, they fled into the deserts and into jungles filled with sugar-canes (*nai-shakar*). Orders were issued for pursuing them, and Amír Tokal Hindú Karkarra,[1] and Maulánáá Násiru-d dín were sent in command of the detachment. They penetrated the jungles and killed 200 of them, and having taken many prisoners they returned with the cattle and other spoil to the royal camp.

[1] The *Túzak-i-Timúri* say, "Amír Tokal son of Hindú Karkarra," see *suprà* p. 428.

March against the Jat robbers.

One of Tímúr's chief objects was to break up the bands of robbers and to make the roads secure. On the 9th of the month he left Tohána, and he sent on Amír Sulaimán Sháh with the baggage and with the plunder that had been collected towards Sámána. On the same day he himself passed the fort of Múng towards Sámána and encamped. From this place he made a rapid march against the retreats of the *Jats* in the deserts and jungles, and falling upon these wild demon-like men he put 2,000 of them to the sword, their wives and children he took captive, and their cattle and effects he plundered. He thus delivered the country from the fear of these robbers which had so long oppressed it.

In that neighbourhood there was a party of distinguished *saiyids* who had taken up their abode in a certain village and sustained the honour of their religion. They came full of hope and confidence to wait on Tímúr who received them kindly and bestowing on them his princely bounty, he gave them a governor to protect them from the violence of soldiers.

On the 10th Rabí'u-l awwal Amír Sulaimán marched with the baggage from the vicinity of Múng to the neighbourhood of Sámána. He halted for the night and on the 11th reached the river Khagar. Tímúr who had made a forced march against the *Jats* rejoined the army on the banks of the Khagar which is near Sámána. He rested there four days awaiting the arrival of the heavy baggage. On the 15th he marched from thence and halted at the bridge (*pul*) of Kúbíla.[1] Here he was joined by the princes and nobles of the left wing of his army whom he had sent by another route through the valley (*murgh-zár*) of Kábul by the ordinary road to India. Whenever in their march they came to a hostile town or fort they subdued and plundered it. They now rejoined the imperial standard. On the 16th Tímúr marched,

[1] Var. "Kupila," "Kawila." The *Malfúzát*, (p. 430 *suprà*) says, "Kútila." Price and Petis de la Croix have Kúbila, though in the latter it is somewhat disguised as "Foulcoublé."

and crossed the bridge of Kúbila. The heavy baggage and the remainder of the army coming up from Díbálpúr under Sháh Malík, here joined the main army. On the 17th Tímúr halted, but on the 18th he marched from the bridge of Kúbila, and having marched five *kos*, arrived at the bridge of Yakrán[1] where he rested. On the 19th he marched to the town of Kaital. The distance between Kaital and Sámána is seventeen *kos*, *i.e.*, five legal *farsakhs* and two miles.[2]

Array and March of the Army.

When the princes and *amírs* of the army who had under the imperial command marched by different routes, had all joined the imperial standards, every officer of the right and left wing was ordered to his own post. The Princes Pír Muhammad, Rustam, and Sulaimán Sháh with several *amírs*, were placed over the right. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, the Princes Khalíl Sultán, and Sultán Husain with *amírs* were in command of the left. In the centre were the *túmáns* of Allah-dád, of 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí, and of other *amírs*. A march of six standard *farsakhs* and two miles towards Dehlí was made. On the 22nd they arrived at the fort of Asandí, seven *kos* from Kaital. The inhabitants of Sámána, Kaital, and Asandí who were mostly fire-worshippers, burned their houses and fled to Delhí, so that none of them were met with. On the 23rd they marched from Asandí and arrived at the fort of Tughlikpúr, six *kos* distant. The infidels of this place belonged to the religion of the Magi (*sanawíya*) whose eyes had never been enlightened with the rays of the true religion. In the belief of these people there are two gods, one called Yazdán the other Ahriman whom they typify by light and darkness. They suppose all good to proceed from the one and all evil from the other. The people of this place who were also called *Sálún*, had left it empty and fled. The soldiers set fire to the place and reduced it to ashes.

[1] "*Fúl yakrán* or "*fúl bakrán*."

[2] This stage is not mentioned in the *Malfúzát*, neither is it noticed in the revised MS., No. 985.

On the 24th the army arrived at the town of Panipat, a distance of twelve *kos* from Tughlikpúr. The inhabitants of this place also had taken flight and not a soul was found there. In the fort there was a store of wheat more than 10,000 heavy *mans* in weight or 160,000 of the legal or standard *man*. This was given to the soldiers. On the 25th Tímúr marched six *kos* from that place and encamped on the river of Panipat. On the 26th the *amírs* put on their armour ready for battle. On the 27th the order was given for the generals of the right wing to proceed to Jahán-numáí, a building erected by Fíroz Sháh on a hill two *farsakhs* from Dehlí. The river Jumna runs at the foot of this hill. They accordingly ravaged the country from the village of Kanhí-gazín to Jahán-numáí. The people were killed or made prisoners and great booty was carried off to the camp.

On the 29th Tímúr passed the Jumna near the village of Palla and marched towards the fort of Loní which is in a great pasture country. This fort is situated in the *doáb* between the rivers Jumna and Halín. The latter is a large canal which Sultán Sháh brought from the river Kálíní, and it joins the river Jumna near Fírozábád. Amír Jahán Sháh, Amír Sháh Malik, and Amír Alláh-dád under Tímúr's orders, advanced to the foot of the hill of Jahán-numá. Maimun Maishúm the commandant of the fort, unmindful of Tímúr's strength, would not capitulate, but prepared to offer resistance. As soon as Tímúr approached, a wise and venerable old man came out and surrendered, but the other inhabitants who were *gabrs* and servants of Mallú Khán in their folly and presumption resolved to defend the place. The soldiers were immediately ordered to invest the fort and to take it by mining the walls. They accordingly commenced sapping in various places, and towards evening they took it. The *gabrs* had previously set fire to their houses in the fort and had burnt them with their wives and children. Tímúr remained outside of the fort that night. On the last day of Rabí'ul-awwal he gave orders that such of the servants of Naukar Khán and of the inhabitants of the place as were Muhammadans should be set

aside, and that all the rest, *gabrs* and infidels, should be passed under the sword of Islám. All the inhabitants of the place were plundered except the *saiyids* who had been glorified with the light of the faith. The fort was burnt and laid waste.

On the 1st Rabi'u-l ákhír, Tímúr mounted his horse and leaving the fort of Loní he went forth to reconnoitre. He proceeded to the river Jumna near Jahán-numáí, and carefully examined the fords. He then returned to the camp, and as Dehlí was near he held a council with the princes and nobles as to the manner of besieging it. The decision arrived at was that plenty of grain and fodder should first be provided for the supply of the army and that then the siege should be entered upon. In pursuance of this plan Amír Sulaimán Sháh, Amír Jahán Sháh, and others were sent out to plunder the environs of Dehlí and bring in corn. On the following day he determined to pay a visit to the palace of Jahán-numáí. He set out with 700 men clad in armour, and passing the river Jumna he carefully examined the palace. Fíroz Sháh had given to the place the name of Jahán-numáí by inspiration as it was to become illustrious by the visit of the Sovereign of the world.

After inspecting the place he looked around to discover the ground most suitable for a battle-field. 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí and Junaid Búr-uldai who had marched with the advance-guard now returned; the former brought in Muhammad Salaf, and the latter another person as prisoners. After questioning them Muhammad Salaf was put to death. At this juncture Mallú Khán was descried with 4,000 horse, 5,000 infantry, and twenty-seven elephants issuing from the groves near the city. They drew near, and Tímúr passed over the river to his camp. The advance-guard of the army, 300 men, under the command of Saiyid Khwája and Mubáshar met and attacked them, leading them to the side of the river where a warm conflict took place. Tímúr ordered Súnjak Bahádur and Alláh-dád to support Saiyid Khwája. They crossed the river with the utmost celerity, and joining their comrades they attacked the enemy with showers

of arrows. When the enemy saw the boldness and vigour of their assailants, they could not hold their ground, but broke and fled at the first charge. Saiyid Khwája pursued and killed many of them. In the flight a war elephant fell down and died; an incident from which wise men drew an augury of victory.

March to the east of Loní—Massacre of Hindu prisoners.

On the 3rd Rabí'u-s sání Tímúr marched from Jahán-numái, and pitched his camp to the eastward of Loní. All the princes and *amírs* who had been engaged in different expeditions assembled here under the royal banner [*and Tímúr harangued them on the operations of war*].

On the same day Amír Jahán Sháh and other *amírs* represented to Tímúr that from the time he crossed the Indus a hundred thousand Hindu prisoners, more or less, had been taken, and that these *gabrs* and idol-worshippers were kept in the camp. It was to be feared that in the day of battle with the forces of Dehlí they might join the enemy. This opinion was confirmed by the joy which the prisoners had exhibited when Mallú Khán marched against the imperial forces at Jahán-numái. Tímúr considered the point, and deeming the advice of his officers to be wise, he gave orders for all the Hindu prisoners to be put to death. Every one who neglected to comply with this command was to be executed, and his wives, children, and goods were to become the property of the informer. In pursuance of this order 100,000 infidel Hindus were put to the sword. Maulánú Násiru-d dín, a most distinguished ecclesiastic, had fifteen Hindus in his train, and he who had never caused a sheep to be slaughtered was obliged to have these fifteen Hindus killed. Tímúr also issued an order that one man out of every ten should be left in camp to guard the wives and children of the prisoners, and the captured cattle.

On the same day Tímúr resolved upon marching to Dehlí, and setting off after mid-day prayer he encamped on the banks of the Jumna. The astrologers and soothsayers disputed with

each other as to whether the stars and presages were favourable. Tímúr placed no reliance on their predictions, but put his trust in God, without whose pleasure nothing happens. Next morning, after prayers, he took the holy book and opened it for a *fál*. The verse which came out was favourable to his enterprize. Trusting in this omen he crossed the river Jumna, and encamped on the other side on the 5th Rabi'u-s sání. The soldiers by way of precaution intrenched their camp, which was near a little hill called Pushta-bihálí, and they fenced it in with branches of trees and palisades. In front of the ditch they fastened buffalos together by their feet and necks, and inside the fence they raised pent-houses (*khamhá*).

Battle with the Sultán of Hindustán.

On the 7th Rabi'u-s sání Tímúr settled the array of his army. Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, Amír Yádgár Birlás, and others, were placed over the right wing. Prince Sultán Husain, Prince Khalíl Sultán, Amír Jahán Sháh, and others, had command of the left wing. The van-guard was placed under the command of Prince Rustam, Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, and others. Tímúr himself commanded the centre. In this order, full of spirits and courage, the soldiers marched to the battle field.

The enemy also came out in battle array. The centre was under Sultán Mahmúd, grandson of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, and Mallú Khán. The right was commanded by Taghí Khán, Mír Alí Hauja, and others, and the left by Malik Mu'ínu-d dín, Malik Hání, and others. The enemy's army consisted of 12,000 veteran horsemen and 40,000 infantry, with all the appliances of war. Thus they advanced to the field of battle. The enemy's great reliance was on his enormous war elephants, 120 in number. They were covered with armour, and on their backs was a kind of litter or cage, in which cross-bow men and discus throwers were concealed. Sharp poisoned points were fastened firmly to their tusks. Rocket-men (*takhsh-afgan*) and grenade-throwers (*ra'd-andáz*) marched by their sides.

Although the army of Tímúr was weak compared with this Indian army, still his soldiers did not rate their enemy very highly. But although they had fought in many a battle, and overthrown many an enemy, they had never before encountered elephants. They had heard by report that the bodies of these elephants were so hard that no weapon would pierce them; that they could tear up strong trees with the wind (*bád*) of their trunks; that they could knock down strong houses with the pressure of their sides; and that in battle they could lift horse and horseman from the ground with their dragon-like trunk and raise them in the air. Exaggerations like these had raised apprehensions in the hearts of the soldiers. When Tímúr proceeded to appoint the places for the various officers of the Court, he, in his princely kindness, asked the learned doctors of the Law who accompanied the army in this invasion where he should place them. They, terrified with the stories they had heard of the elephants, answered: "In the same place as the ladies and women."

When Tímúr perceived this terror and alarm of his followers, to allay their fears he directed that they should fix palisades, and dig a trench in front of the army. In front of these he ordered buffalos to be placed side by side, and fastened firmly together by the neck and feet with leather thongs. He had strong iron claws made and given to the infantry, who were ordered to throw them on the ground in front of the elephants. Maulánú Shahábu-d dín Jámí has celebrated these devices in one of his odes. Heaven was always favourable to Tímúr, and now gave him success without using any of these stratagems. He had on horseback ascended an eminence between the two armies, and examined all around. When he saw the opposing forces he alighted from his horse, and turning the face of supplication to heaven he offered his prayers, and begged for victory over his enemy. It was not long before a sign was given of the acceptance of this prayer. While Tímúr was offering his prayer to heaven, it came into the minds of Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín,

and the other officers in command of the van-guard, that if Tímúr sent a reinforcement to the right wing and to the advance guard it would be a sure presage of victory. When Tímúr had finished his prayer, he sent Sultán 'Ali Tawáchí and others from the centre to the support of the right wing, and another party to the support of the van-guard. These movements cheered up the spirits and strengthened the courage of the men. They drew their swords and rushed fearlessly on the enemy. The elephants of mighty form and craven spirit ran off, and Tímúr thus obtained the victory.

The van-guard under Súnjak Bahádur and other officers, when they saw the enemy advancing against the right wing, placed themselves in ambush, and when the advance-guard of the enemy had passed by, they rushed out in their rear with swords drawn and arms uplifted, and in one charge killed more than 500 of them. On the right wing the Prince Pír Muhammad having advanced his men charged the enemy. He was supported by Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and aided by fortune he used his swords upon the elephants.[1] The men of the right wing with one accord advanced against the left of the enemy, which placed its reliance on the bravery of Taghí Khán, and drove it back as far as the *Hauz-i Kháss*, which is a wide and deep well, one of the works of Fíroz Sháh. The left wing, under Prince Sultán Husain and others, charged with such force and bravery the enemy's right wing under Malik Mu'ínu-d dín, that it was broken, and Amír Jahán Sháh pursued its scattered fugitives to the very gates of Dehlí. The centre of the enemy supported by the elephants advanced to attack in good order, but Prince Rustam and his coadjutors met them and made a stout resistance. The various officers brought their men into action and cut their way to the elephants. They killed the drivers, wounded the trunks of the animals with swords and arrows, and despatched them.

[1] Petis de la Croix here describes the defeat of the elephants, but his account is not to be found in any one of the four MSS. I have used.

The soldiers of India fought bravely for their lives, but the frail insect cannot contend with the raging wind, nor the feeble deer against the fierce lion, so they were compelled to take to flight. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, Mallú Khán, and those who fled with them, entered the city and closed the gates. Prince Khalíl Sultán, of the right wing, notwithstanding his youth, attacked one of the monster elephants, cut down his driver, and led the animal, as a husbandman drives a buffalo in the plough, to Tímúr.

When by the favour of God the enemy was defeated and put to flight, Tímúr advanced to the gate of Dehlí. He carefully examined the walls and bastions of that noble city, and then returned to the *Hauz-i Khás*. This is a reservoir constructed by Sultán Fíroz Sháh, so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by the rain in the rainy season, and the people of Dehlí obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Fíroz Sháh is by its side. Tímúr encamped there and the princes and nobles and officers waited upon him and offered congratulations upon the victory. They then praised the bravery and reported the valiant exploits performed by the princes and officers. Tímúr on hearing these reports was moved to tears, and gave thanks to God who had distinguished him above other monarchs by granting him such valiant sons and such faithful servants. * * *

Flight of Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán. Capture of Dehlí.

After their defeat, Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán went to Dehlí and repented of the course they had pursued and of the rashness they had displayed. But repentance after a disaster is of no avail. No resource but flight was left. So in the darkness of the night Sultán Mahmúd left the city by the gate of Hauz-ráni and Mallú Khán by the Baraka gate, both of which are to the south of the Jahán-panáh. They fled into the desert. When Tímúr was informed of their flight he sent Amír Sa'íd and other officers in pursuit of them. These officers captured many fugitives and secured a large booty. They also made prisoners of

Mallú Khán's sons, Saif Khán entitled Malik Sharfu-d dín, and Khudá-dád. On the same evening orders were given to Allah-dád and other officers to take possession of the gates of the city and to prevent the escape of any one.

On the 8th Rabí'u-s sání, Tímúr hoisted his victorious flag on the walls of Dehlí. He then went to the gate of the *maidán* and took his seat in the *'Idgáh*. This gate is one of the gates of Jahán-panáh and opens towards the *Hauz-i Kháss*. There he held his court; and the *saiyids*, the *kázis*, the nobles and the great men who were in the city, hastened to pay their homage to him. Fazlu-llah Balkhí, deputy of Mallú Khán, with all the officers of the *díwán*, proceeded to make their submission. The *saiyids*, the *'ulamá*, and the *shaikhs* sought for protection through the intervention of the princes and officers. Prince Pír Muhammad, Amír Sulaimán Sháh, Amír Jahán Sháh, and others interceded for them in due season, and gained their object. The standard of victory was raised and drums were beaten and music played to proclaim the conquest to the skies. A poet also wrote some lines containing the date of the victory,—8th Rabí'u-s sání, 801 (Dec. 17th, 1398).

The elephants and rhinoceroses were brought forth with their trappings and paraded before the emperor. The elephants all in token of submission bowed their heads to the ground and raised a cry altogether as if they were asking for quarter. There were 120 war elephants captured, and on the return home of the army some were sent to different parts of the empire for the use of the princes, and the others were sent to Samarkand. * * * Maulána Násiru-d dín was ordered to go with other learned doctors and great men into the mosque on the Sabbath, and proclaim the name of the Sáhib-kirán Amír Tímúr Gúrgán in the *khutba*, in the same way as the name of Fíroz Sháh and other Sultáns had been proclaimed. * * *

On the 16th of the month a number of soldiers collected at the gate of Dehlí and derided the inhabitants. When Tímúr heard of this he directed some of the *amírs* to put a stop to it. But it

was the divine pleasure to ruin the city and to punish the inhabitants, and that was brought about in this way. The wife of Jahán Malik 'Aghá and other ladies went into the city to see the palace of the Thousand Columns (*Hazár-sutún*), which Malik Jauná had built in the Jahán-panáh. The officers of the Treasury had also gone there to collect the ransom money. Several thousand soldiers, with orders for grain and sugar, had proceeded to the city. An order had been issued for the officers to arrest every nobleman who had fought against Tímúr and had fled to the city, and in execution of this order they were scattered about the city. When parties and bands of soldiers were going about the city, numbers of Hindus and *gabrs* in the cities of Dehlí, Sírí, Jahán-panáh, and Old Dehlí, seeing the violence of the soldiers,[1] took up arms and assaulted them. Many of the infidels set fire to their goods and effects, and threw themselves, their wives and children, into the flames. The soldiers grew more eager for plunder and destruction. Notwithstanding the boldness and the struggles of the Hindus, the officers in charge kept the gates closed, and would not allow any more soldiers to enter the city, lest it should be sacked. But on that Friday night there were about 15,000 men in the city who were engaged from early eve till morning in plundering and burning the houses. In many places the impure infidel *gabrs* made resistance. In the morning the soldiers who were outside, being unable to control themselves, went to the city and raised a great disturbance. On that Sunday, the 17th of the month, the whole placed was pillaged, and several palaces in Jahán-panáh and Sírí were destroyed. On the 18th the like plundering went on. Every soldier obtained more than twenty persons as slaves, and some brought as many as fifty or a hundred men, women, and children as slaves out of the city. The other plunder and spoils were immense, gems and jewels of all sorts, rubies, diamonds, stuffs and fabrics of all kinds, vases and vessels of gold and silver, sums of money in *'ala'i tankas*, and other coins beyond all computation. Most of the women who

[1] This sentence is found only in one copy.

were made prisoners wore bracelets of gold or silver on their wrists and legs and valuable rings upon their toes. Medicines and perfumes and unguents, and the like, of these no one took any notice. On the 19th of the month Old Dehlí was thought of, for many infidel Hindus had fled thither and taken refuge in the great mosque, where they prepared to defend themselves. Amír Sháh Malik and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí, with 500 trusty men, proceeded against them, and falling upon them with the sword despatched them to hell. High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. On the same day all Old Dehlí was plundered. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners. For several days in succession the prisoners were brought out of the city, and every *amír* of a *túmán* or *kushún* took a party of them under his command. Several thousand craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city, and under the command of Tímúr some were divided among the princes, *amírs*, and *ághás* who had assisted in the conquest, and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Tímúr had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i jami'* in Samarkand, his capital, and he now gave orders that all the stone-masons should be reserved for that pious work. * * *

The three cities mentioned are thus described—Sírí is surrounded by a round wall. Old Dehlí by a similar wall, but larger. From the wall of Sírí on the north-east to the wall of Old Dehlí on the south-west, a wall has been erected on both sides, and the space between is called Jahán-panáh. It is larger than Old Dehlí. Three gates of Sírí open towards Jahán-panáh and four towards the open country. Of Old Dehlí five gates open into Jahán-panáh and thirteen[1] to the outside. Jahán-panáh has thirteen gates, six to the north-east and seven to the south-west, making in all thirty gates to these three cities known by the common name of Dehlí.

[1] *Sic.* in two MSS., but the number of the gates of Old Dehlí is not given in the other two. According to the *Malfúzát*, page 448 *suprà*, the gates of Old Dehlí were ten in number, and this makes the total (30) of the three cities complete.

Tímúr marches from Dehlí to other places in Hindustán.

Tímúr remained at Dehlí fifteen days, and then marched out to conquer other places in India, and to put down idolaters and rebels. When he was about to depart he directed that all the *saiyids* and *kázis*, and doctors and *shaikhs*, should assemble in the great mosque of Jahán-panáh, and he appointed one of his own officers to be their keeper and prevent their being molested by the soldiers of the army. On the 22nd Rabí'u-l ákhir, 801, in the morning, Tímúr began his march and proceeded three *kos* to Fírozábád. He halted there for an hour to view the beauties of the place. He then went to the mosque of Fírozábád, which is built of hewn stone, on the banks of the Jumna, and there performed his devotions, after which he mounted his horse and went outside of the town.

Saiyid Shamsu-d dín Turmuzí and 'Aláu-d dín, deputy of Shaikh Kúkarí, whom he sent as envoys to the city of Kúpila, now returned, and reported that the prince of that place, Bahádur Nihár, had made his submission, and would come in on the Friday to pay his respects. Tímúr encamped beyond Jahán-numáí, near Wazírábád. There his envoys presented to him two white parrots, which had been sent by Bahádur Nihár. These two parrots survived from the time of Sultán Tughlik Sháh, and had often exhibited their powers of speech in the assemblies of kings. Tímúr considered this offering as very auspicious, and graciously accepted it. The distance from Dehlí to Wazírábád is six *kos*. On the 23rd he marched from Wazírábád, and, crossing the Jumna, he proceeded six *kos* to the village of Múdúla. On the 24th he marched six *kos*, and encamped at Katah. Here Bahádur Nihár and his son, Kaltásh,[1] arrived with tribute and presents. They were admitted to an audience when they paid their homage, and were treated with favour. On the 25th he made a day's march to Bághpat, six *kos* distant. On the next day he proceeded to the village of Asár, which is situated between two rivers, and there encamped.

[1] This is the reading of one MS. The others have "Kalyash" and "Katásh," and one "Katlagh tásh." See *suprá* p. 449.

Capture of the Fort of Mírat.

The fort of Mírat was one of the most famous in India. On the 26th Rabi'u-l ákhir Tímúr sent Rustam Taghí Búghá, Amír Sháh Malik, and Allah-dád from Asár to the gates of that fort. On the 27th those officers reported that Ílyás Aghání and his son, Mauláná Ahmad Thánesarí, with a *gabr* named Safí[1] and a body of *gabrs*, had fortified themselves in the place and had raised the standard of resistance, boasting that Tarmsharín Khán had attacked the fort, but was unable to take it. This defiance greatly incensed Tímúr, especially the reference to the failure of Tarmsharín Khán. On the same day, after mid-day prayer, he mounted his horse, and, taking with him 10,000 men, he marched rapidly to Mírat. That night he halted midway, and on the following day, the 29th, in the afternoon, he arrived at Mírat. He immediately issued orders to the commanders of regiments that each should begin mining the wall in front of his position, and when night came on it was found that an extent of ten to fifteen *gaz* had been sapped under each bastion and wall. The *gabrs* perceived this, and were so frightened that they lost all courage and ceased to defend themselves. Next day Amír Allah-dád, with his regiment of *Kúchins*,[2] called "the faithful," advanced to the gate of the fort, shouting the cry of victory. One of his followers, named Saráí, son of Kalandar, a brave young fellow, first raised a scaling ladder against the battlements and mounted the wall. Other brave men followed him. They soon took Ílyás Aghání and his son Thánesarí, the commanders of the fort, and, putting ropes round their necks, brought them to Tímúr. Safí, the *gabr*, one of the chiefs of the fort, was killed in the engagement, and was punished by the fire he in error adored.[3] Next day, the remaining *gabrs* were brought out

[1] Or "Safáí."

[2] A tribe of Turks.

[3] Sir H. Elliot, in his Glossary, Vol. I., p. 119, quotes a passage from the *Habíbu-s siyar* as proving, beyond dispute, that this man was a fire-worshipper. That passage is derived directly or indirectly from the one before us, and there is no mistaking its words. Tímúr, in his autobiography, however, simply calls the man "a *gabr*," which, as Sir H. Elliot says, has come to mean "an infidel in general." The words

and put to the sword. Their wives and children were made slaves. By the imperial order fire was then placed in the mines and the bastions, and the walls were thrown down and levelled with the ground. * * * Thus the fort which Tarmsharín Khán had failed to capture had been taken by a detachment of the imperial army at the first assault. * * *

Battles with the Gabrs on the Ganges.

Tímúr having reduced the fort of Mírat on the 1st Jumáda-l awwal, gave orders for Amír Jahán Sháh to march with the left wing of the army against the upper parts of the river Jumna, to plunder the country and vex the infidels. He accordingly set off with all speed, and his baggage was sent after him, under Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín, with orders to proceed along the river Karáh-sú. Tímúr himself marched towards the Ganges, fourteen *kos* distant from Mírat. On his march he was joined by Amír Sulaimán Sháh. Resolved upon carrying the war against the *gabrs* of those parts, he proceeded six *kos*, and rested for the night at a village called Mansúra. Early in the morning of the 2nd, he again set off towards the Ganges, and at sunrise reached a village called Pírozpúr. He marched three *kos* along the bank, seeking a place to cross. At breakfast time the place of transit was found, but there was no ford offering an easy passage. Some horsemen passed over by swimming. Tímúr was about to cross in the same way, but the *amírs* who were present fell upon their knees and represented that Prince Pír Muhammad and Amír Sulaimán Shah had passed the river with the right wing

of Sharafu-d dín then ought only be regarded as a rhetorical flourish, and although subsequent writers have copied them in earnest, they are too vague to be depended on. In Tímúr's Memoirs, however (*suprà* p. 431), there is a much more precise statement, where the infidels are not only called fire-worshippers, but their tenets are described; and this passage is reproduced in the *Zafar-náma*, (page 494, *suprà*). But, for all this, I am sceptical as to there being fire-worshippers in this part of India in Tímúr's days. *Gabrs* were infidels, and so, Musulmán intolerance and contempt made all infidels *gabrs*. Thus it was easy for one man to call the Hindu infidel by the opprobrious term *gabr* or *sanawí* in a loose general way, meaning nothing more than anti-Musulmán, and for another to understand those terms in their true literal meaning.

of the army near Pírozpúr. It would therefore be better for his majesty to remain for a day on that side of the river. Tímúr consented to this proposal, but gave orders that some brave men should cross. Saiyid Khwája, and several other bold men belonging to the division of Prince Sháh Rukh, accordingly crossed. Tímúr then marched two *kos* on the bank of the river and encamped. On the 3rd he marched towards Tughlikpúr, which is situated on the upper part of the Ganges, at twenty *kos* distance. When he had made fifteen *kos* a report was brought in that there was a Hindu force assembled by the side of the river. He then directed Amír Mubáshir, 'Alí Sultán, and other chiefs to march against them with 5,000 horse, while he went on to Tughlikpúr. As he proceeded he was taken ill suddenly, and a swelling rose in his arm. The doctors and attendants exerted themselves to alleviate the malady.

While he was in this condition intelligence was brought that a large body of *gabrs* was coming on the river in forty-eight boats. When he heard this, the prospect of fighting against the infidels made him forget his malady. He mounted his horse, and, with a thousand of his guards, went to the bank of the river. When they caught sight of the enemy some of Tímúr's brave followers, heedless of their own safety, threw themselves into the river and swam to engage the enemy. Others kept up a discharge of arrows against the enemy from the banks of the river, who, in their ignorance, did nothing but put up their shields over their heads and discharge arrows in return. The body of men who had entered the river on horseback and swam off to the boats now reached them, and grappling the sides with their hands they boarded them. Having thus taken most of the boats they put the men to the sword, and made prisoners of the women and children. With the captured boats they made the best of their way to the remaining boats, ten[1] in number. These the enemy lashed together in the middle of the river, and prepared for resistance. But our men engaged them, and despatched all the infidels either with their arrows or their swords.

[1] One copy says "two" only.

Tímúr makes three Attacks upon the Enemy in one Day.

As soon as Tímúr had defeated these boats on the Ganges, he left the river and marched to Tughlikpúr, where he encamped. On the same night, the 4th of the month of Jumáda-l awwal, two persons arrived from Amír Allah-dád, Báyizíd Kúchín and Altún Bakshí, commanders of the advance-guard, bringing intelligence that they had found a good ford and had crossed the Ganges. There they had found a large body of the enemy, confident in numbers, and prepared to fight, under the command of a leader named Mubárak Khán. As soon as Tímúr heard this, he resolved to march against the infidels, and, before break of day, he mounted his horse, and crossed the river with a thousand horsemen. After marching a *kos* he halted for the morning prayer, and his men harnessed on their cuirasses, in readiness to encounter the enemy. As they approached, they found Muhammad Khán, with 10,000 men, horse and foot, drawn up in battle array, ready for the fight, with drums beating and banners flying.

Tímúr perceived that the foe, the enemies of religion, were numerous and bold, while his own followers were few. The two wings of the army were far away, and there was no help for it but to put his trust in God and fight bravely. While he was thus in anxiety, 5,000 horse belonging to the *túmáns* of Prince Sháh Rukh, who had crossed the river with Saiyid Khwája and Jahán Malik, now came up and joined him, as if by arrangement. Such was the special mercy of God. Tímúr first offered his thanksgivings. Then he ordered Amír Sháh Malik and Amír Allah-dád to attack the enemy with a thousand horsemen of his guard, and to do so without any fear of their number and strength. These *amírs*, without hesitation, drawing their swords and placing themselves at the head of their thousand men, rushed towards the enemy. This bold charge filled Mubárak Khán and the enemy with fear, so that they turned and fled without waiting for the attack. They made for the jungle, but our men pursued them and killed a great number, and brought

in their wives and children as prisoners, as well as vast spoil in cattle.

Tímúr halted there for a little while, but intelligence was soon brought to him that there was a large body of *gabrs* assembled in the valley of Kúpila,[1] on the banks of the Ganges. He set off thither immediately with 500 men, leaving the rest of the army occupied in securing the spoil. When they approached the valley of Kúpila, they perceived a large body of the enemy. Amír Sháh Malik and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí, notwithstanding their scanty followers, charged the enemy boldly sword in hand and cut many of them down, so that, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, they were defeated and put to flight, and large booty was found. While the men were engaged in securing the spoil, Tímúr was left with only a hundred of his guards, when an officer of the *gabrs*, by name Malik Shaikha, with a hundred[2] men, horse and foot, made a charge upon him. Tímúr faced his assailant and hastened to meet him, but when they were about an arrow's flight apart, one of the soldiers, without having well ascertained what he asserted, told Tímúr that it was Shaikh Kúkarí, one of his faithful adherents, who was advancing to meet him. Tímúr consequently turned back towards the hill. The *gabr* Shaikha then cut down several of the soldiers, and Tímúr, perceiving this, turned against his enemy. Shaikha was wounded in the belly with an arrow and cut down with a sword. He was then bound with a cord and brought into the presence of Tímúr, who wished to interrogate him, but he died before he could reply.

Intelligence was now brought that about two *kos* distant, in the valley of Kúpila, there was a large body of infidel Hindus assembled. The way thither lay through a jungle which was thick with trees and hard to traverse, such as the morning breeze could hardly penetrate. Tímúr had already undergone the toil of fighting twice before that day and wanted a little rest, but by the

[1] Hardwár. See note *suprà* p. 455.

[2] Here one MS., and that the most sober one, magnifies the assailants into "several thousand desperate men sword in hand."

will of God, being thus again summoned, he set off with a party of guards and several commanders of regiments, and marched against the enemy in full reliance upon Divine support. The road to the valley was difficult, the enemy numerous, and his followers few. Reviewing these circumstances, Tímúr could not help thinking how fortunate it would be if his son Pír Muhammad and Amír Sulaimán Sháh should come up. Three days before Tímúr had detached them to ravage the country and plunder the infidels and fire-worshippers. They had crossed the Ganges at Pírozpúr, and had no knowledge of Tímúr having also crossed and being near them. But soon after afternoon prayer the wish which Tímúr had conceived was realized, and the prince came up with his detachment and joined his father. They advanced together against the *gabrs*, assailing them with arrows and the sword. They killed a great many of them and secured a large booty, including a vast number of camels and cattle. In that one day Tímúr had fought in three different engagements. When the day drew to a close he found himself victorious and the infidels discomfited, but there was no place in the jungle where he could encamp, so he returned with his spoil to the place where he had won his second victory.

Destruction of Gabrs in the Valley of Kúpila.—Account of a Stone Cow worshipped by the Gabrs.

The valley of Kúpila is situated at the foot of a mountain by which the river Ganges passes. Fifteen *kos* higher up there is a stone in the form of a cow, and the water of the river flows out of the mouth of that cow. The infidels of India worship this cow, and come hither from all quarters, from distances even of a year's journey, to visit it. They bring here and cast into the river the ashes of their dead whose corpses have been burned, believing this to be the means of salvation. They throw gold and silver into the river; they go down alive into the river, bathe their feet, sprinkle water on their heads, and have their heads and beards shaved. This they consider to be an act of devotion, just as

the Muhammadans consider the pilgrimage to Mecca a pious work.[1]

In this valley there was a large concourse of Hindus, having great riches in cattle and movables, so Tímúr resolved to attack them. On the 5th Jumáda-l awwal he set his army in motion towards Kúpila. It was the will of Heaven that these infidels should perish, so in the pride of their numbers and strength they awaited his approach, and had the temerity to resolve upon resistance. At the rising of the sun our army reached the valley. The right wing was under the command of Prince Pír Muhammad and Amír Sulaimán Sháh, and the left under some renowned leaders. Amír Sháh Malik and other officers with the centre began the attack. When the cries of our men and the noise of our drums reached them, the courage of the infidels failed. In their terror they fled for refuge to the mountains, but they were pursued and many were slain. A few who, half-dead, escaped the slaughter, were scattered abroad. All their property and goods became the spoil of the victors.

The country having thus been cleansed from the pollution of infidels, the army returned back on the same day and recrossed the Ganges. Then Tímúr returned thanks for his victories, after which he mounted his horse and marched five *kos* down the river and there encamped.

Timúr's resolution to retire from Hindustán.

When Dehlí and its territories had been purged from the foul pollution of *gabrs* and idolaters, Tímúr formed the resolve of returning home. On the 6th Jumáda-l awwal, 801 H., he departed from the banks of the Ganges. Orders were issued for the march, and for the *tawáchís* to bring up the heavy baggage. On the 6th a march of six *kos* was made, and then a halt was called; the baggage in this march being four *kos* in the rear. At this stage Tímúr learned that in the valleys of the Siwálik mountains

[1] Two of the MSS. here refer to 'Utbí for a short notice of Mahmúd's conquests, which the other two manuscripts omit.

there was collected a large number of Hindus ready for battle. Tímúr then gave orders that the troops in charge of the baggage should march to these mountains. He himself having marched rapidly thither, encamped in the hills of Siwálik. In this march Prince Khalíl Sultán and Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín came up from the baggage and joined Tímúr. * * * On the same day an order was issued that Amír Jahán Sháh, one of the officers of the left wing, who had been absent for a week in a raid upon the upper parts of the Jumna, should come in and take part in the operations against the infidels. In compliance with this order he hastened to the royal camp.

Raid into the Siwálik hills.

On the 10th Jumáda-l awwal Tímúr marched to attack the Siwálik hills. In that mountain valley there was a *rái* named Bahrúz. He had collected a great number of people around him, and had formed a numerous army. Relying besides upon the strength of the position which he occupied, he was bold and resolved upon resistance. Tímúr appointed Prince Pír Muhammad and several *amírs* of the right wing, and Prince Sultán Husain and sundry officers of the left wing, to march and attack the infidels. Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín led the advance-guard of the centre. Thus they marched against the enemy, while Tímúr halted at the mouth of the valley. The soldiers fought most valiantly and made dreadful slaughter of the enemy. They obtained a decisive victory, and acquired a great booty in valuables, slaves and cattle. With the desire of doing justice, Tímúr ordered that the strong men of the force, who had secured as their share of the spoil three or four hundred head of cattle each, should give up part of them to the weaker men, so that all might obtain a share in the fruits of the victory, and no man remain empty-handed. This decision gave great satisfaction. The victorious force marched and joined the royal camp at the village of Bahrah, a dependency of Bakrí, well known as the

country of Miyápúr.[1] On the 12th he marched four *kos* from Bahrah and encamped at the village of Shikk-Sársáwa. In consequence of the immense booty which the army had gained, it was impossible to march more than four *kos* per day. On the 13th he marched and encamped at Kaṇdar, a distance of nearly four *kos*.

Raid into other parts of the Siwálik hills.

On the 14th Jumáda-l awwal Tímúr passed the Jumna and proceeded to another part of the Siwálik hills. There he heard that one of the *ráis* of Hind, called Ratan, had assembled a great number of Hindus, and had taken post on the lofty heights in the thick forests. The hills were so high that no eye could see from the bottom to the top, and the trees so dense that the rays of the sun and moon could not reach the ground. It was impossible to make a passage without cutting down the trees. But for all this Tímúr did not hesitate, and without even waiting for the night to pass, he, on the 15th,[2] gave his order for the advance. The troops accordingly marched on by the light of torches, and employed themselves in cutting down the trees and clearing a way. In that night they made a progress of twelve *kos*, and in the morning of the 15th they penetrated between the Siwálik mountain and the Kúka mountain. Here Rái Ratan had taken up his position, with his forces drawn up in regular battle array, with right wing and left wing, and centre and supports.[3] But when the noise of our music and the cries of our soldiers reached the ears of the Hindus, they wavered and fled without waiting for the attack. Our officers and men pursued them, and put many of them to the sword. All their property in movables and cattle fell into the hands of the victors. Every soldier obtained a hundred to two hundred head of cattle and from ten to twenty slaves.

[1] مشهور بولایت میاپور

[2] It must be remembered that the Muhammadan day begins at sunset.

[3] میمنہ و میسرہ و قلب و جناح The last two appear in only one MS.

On the same day Prince Pír Muhammad and Amír Sháh Malik, in command of the right wing, went to another valley, where he destroyed many Hindus and obtained great spoil. The left wing, also under Prince Jahán Sháh, attacked and destroyed a body of Hindus in another direction, but they did not obtain so large a booty. On the night of the 16th both wings came up and joined the main body. In the morning Tímúr left the valley between the two mountains and returned to the Siwálik mountain. From this encampment to the country of Nagarkot there was a distance of fifteen *parasangs*. In this valley there are many dense jungles, and the mountains are high and difficult of ascent. Tímúr heard that there were great numbers of infidels in the mountains, and he determined to disperse and destroy them. The men of the left wing under Amír Jahán Sháh, and the army of Khurásán, had acquired but little spoil, so he sent them out to make a raid and collect plunder. Early on that day Sáín Tamúr,[1] commander of the advance-guard, came in to report that the number of Hindus in front exceeded all calculation. Tímúr therefore held his ground while the left wing was absent, engaged in its work of plunder. The men of this force put a great many infidels to death, and acquired great spoil in wealth and cattle. On the same day, at noon, news came from the regiment of Amír Shaikh Núru-d dín and 'Alí Sultán Tawáchí that there was, upon the left, a valley in which many Hindus had gathered, having with them much wealth and cattle. Tímúr immediately proceeded thither, and ordered the two officers who had made the report to attack the infidels. They accordingly fell upon the enemy and put many to the sword, and while they did so Tímúr stood upon the summit of a hill watching them and encouraging them with his presence. Many of the infidels were killed and wounded, and those who were able fled, leaving a great booty behind, which the victors brought into the presence of Tímúr, who warmly praised their bravery. Vast quantities

[1] The printer of the French translation has converted this name into "Sainte Maure!"

of cattle were taken, and Tímúr stayed upon the mountain until evening, in order that the booty might be fairly distributed, and each man get his share. Every man got as much as he could take care of. That night they encamped in the valley. In the jungles there were many monkeys, and when night came on they entered the camp and carried off the things of the soldiers. In the course of one month, from the 16th of Jumáda-l awwal, when Tímúr was between the mountains Siwálik and Kúka, to the 16th of Jumáda-s sání, when he arrived at Jammú, he had twenty conflicts with the infidels and took seven fortresses, each of them a Khaibar in strength. These forts were situated one or two *parasangs* apart, and their occupants were all at war with each other. In the days of the old Sultáns they had paid the *jizya*, but they had broken away from their allegiance to the sovereigns of Islám, and would not now pay the tax, so the slaughter and plunder of them was lawful and laudable. One of these fortresses belonged to Shaikhú, a relation of Malik Shaikh Kúkar,[1] and he, by means of a few Musulmáns who dwelt there, had induced the inhabitants to make submission to Tímúr, and outwardly to admit their subjection. But proofs of their aversion and hatred soon become apparent, for when the ransom money was assessed upon them, they made all sorts of excuses and evasions. One of Tímúr's officers thereupon resorted to a clever stratagem. He gave orders that cast-off clothes and old bows should be accepted in payment of the ransom, and as he offered a good price for these things of little value, they brought forth their damaged weapons of all descriptions and sold them for a high price. By this sharp device they were led to strip themselves of their arms, so that they had no weapons left. After this an imperial order was issued that forty persons should be sent in to be the servants (*khudám*) of Hindú Sháh, the treasurer, one of his majesty's courtiers. The infidels resisted this order, and killed some Musulmáns. It thus became necessary for the soldiers of the Faith to exact vengeance. They

[1] Or "Shaikha Kúkarí."

assaulted the fort and took it. 2,000 infidels were put to the sword, and the smoke of their consuming goods rose from their roofs to the sky.[1]

Of these forts, the fort of Deo Ráj and five others were all taken; and in a short time the country was cleansed from the wickedness of the idolaters and infidels. The foundations of idolatry were uprooted, and the basis of the true religion and law was firmly laid.

Inroads into the territory of Jammú.

When Tímúr had completed his campaign in the Siwálik, he resolved to march against the country of Jammú. On the 16th Jumáda-l ákhir he left the village of Mansár. After a march of six *kos*, he arrived and encamped near the village of Báíla, in the Jammú territory. On the same day he sent Amír Shaikh Muhammad Aikútmúr and other officers against that village. The men of Báíla were very brave, and they had some strong jungles. They placed palisades (*chapar*) along the edges, and then stood ready to fight and slay. The brave warriors of Islám were about to attack them without hesitation, when an order arrived from Tímúr ordering the assault to be postponed till the morrow, as he himself intended to be present.

On the 17th Jumáda-l ákhir, Tímúr mounted his horse and arranged his forces in order of battle, with right wing, left wing, and centre. The soldiers raised their war-cry, which resounded to the sky, and the infidels on hearing it were filled with terror and fled to the woods, abandoning their village. Thither the soldiers pursued them, and pulling up the palisades they took their post on the border of the jungle, while other soldiers plundered the village in safety. Great quantities of grain and fodder were secured, sufficient to supply the wants of the army.

[1] The editor of the revised MS. here adds: "The writer of these sheets considers that, although historians have credited the story of the people of the fort having brought out all their arms and sold them to pay the ransom, still it does not appear to be so probable as they represent it. There were quite sufficient proofs of the malice, bad faith, and rebellious spirit of the infidels. God knows the truth."

On the same day the army marched four *kos* and encamped. It was then joined by Uljah Tamúr Tunkatár, and Fúlád, and by Prince Rustam's confidant Zainu-d dín, who had been sent as ambassadors on the part of Tímúr from Dehlí to Kashmír. They brought with them letters to Tímúr from Iskandar Sháh, king of Kashmír, and were attended by ambassadors from him. The letters were presented, and Tímúr was informed that the king made his submission and had come as far as the village of Jahán.[1] At this stage Mauláná Núru-d dín, the ambassador, represented to his majesty that the officers of the Exchequer had called upon his master for a contribution of 30,000 horses and 100,000 *durusts* of gold, each *durust* weighing two and a half *miskáls*. He (the Sháh) had therefore gone to Kashmír to endeavour to provide for this demand, and would return when ready to discharge it. When Tímúr heard of this, he disapproved of the demand made by his revenue officers, saying that they had pressed too heavily on Sháh Iskandar, and had demanded more than the country of Kashmír could furnish. It was unjust and improper to demand from any country more than its extent and resources could pay. The ambassadors represented the ready submission of Sháh Iskandar, and Tímúr was pleased to act liberally towards him. He ordered the ambassadors to return to their master, and tell him on no account to fail in obeying the orders he should receive. On the following day, 18th Jumáda-l ákhir, the ambassadors were sent back, with the faithful Zainu-d dín, with directions that in twenty-eight days from that date he should come and wait upon Tímúr on the banks of the Indus.

Near this camp there was a village, at the foot of a mountain, in which were many people. The soldiers attacked it, put the Hindus to the sword, and set fire to the village. They carried off plenty of grain and fodder. On the same day, in the afternoon, they attacked two other villages which were near, and again found abundance of provisions, which they carried off. In this

[1] Variants, "J'ahán," "Chahán," "Jíriyán." The real name appears to be Jabhán. See pp. 470, 475, and 521.

march Arà-tamúr, one of the emperor's officers, was wounded with an arrow. On the 19th, Tímúr marched again a distance of four or five *parasangs* through a well-cultivated country, where plenty of pasture was found for the horses. On the 20th, the army marched towards the town of Jammú, which is situated in a valley where the river Jammú rises. The army passed the river several times, and encamped at the foot of a mountain on the left of the town of Jammú. On the right was the village of Manú. These places where inhabited by robust, tall, and powerful Hindus; brave but ignorant. They considered their mountains and jungles to be so strong and secure that they could not be penetrated, and they sent off their wives and children thither. The *rái*, with a force of bold and fearless men, had taken his stand in a strong position on the mountain,where they discharged their arrows and kept on shouting like dogs baying the moon. Tímúr resolved to proceed against them by stratagem, so he gave orders that they should be left alone, and that the village of Manú should be attacked. The soldiers accordingly plundered that village, and as they were returning they entered the town of Jammú, and carried off a large quantity of grain and provisions. Tímúr then ordered several regiments of active men to place themselves in ambush in the groves, and to remain there while he marched away with the (rest of the) army. On the 21st he passed the river of Jammú, and marching four *kos* through cultivated lands, he encamped in a pasturage on the banks of the river Chináwa.[1] When he had left the valley of Jammú and Manú, the Hindus, like foxes, thinking that the mighty lion had left the field, came out of their holes in the jungle, quite unaware of the ambuscade prepared for them. They were suddenly assailed by the concealed troops, who put numbers of them to the sword. Daulat-tamúr Tawáchí and Husain Malik Kúchín made the *rái* of Jammú prisoner, with fifty of his infidels, and brought them to Tímúr [*who praised his officers and gave thanks to God.*] These men were put in chains and bonds, but the *rái*, who was wounded,

[1] جناوہ See p. 472, *suprà*.

was carefully tended, for the sake of getting the ransom-money. By hopes, fears, and threats, he was brought to see the beauty of Islám. He repeated the creed, and ate the flesh of the cow, which is an abomination among his compatriots. This obtained for him great honour, and he was taken under the protection of the emperor. On the 21st the army halted, waiting for the arrival of the division which had marched against Láhor.

Proceedings at Láhor[1] *with Shaikha Kúkar.*

At this place intelligence arrived that the princes and officers who had been sent against Láhor had taken possession of that city, and were engaged in realizing the ransom-money. They had also taken prisoner Shaikha Kúkar, who had not been true to his professions. * * The history of this is, that Shaikha Kúkar, brother of Nusrat Kúkar, of whom mention has been made in the early part of the history of this invasion, had been taken into honour by Tímúr, and had been marked with great favour, so that wherever in Hindustán any people were found who declared themselves to be his subjects and dependents, they were exempted from pillage and from being made prisoners. In the Doáb, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, he sought permission to return home, for the purpose of raising his contribution and tribute, promising to rejoin the camp of Tímúr on the river Biyáh, which is also called the river of Láhor. When he obtained permission and returned home, he forgot his promise, and gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation. He allowed the appointed time to pass by, regardless of his oaths and promises, and he entirely neglected to show any attention and honour to several of Tímúr's officers who passed through Láhor on their way to join their master. In consequence of this conduct, Tímúr gave orders for ravaging his country and making him prisoner.

On the 24th of the month the army crossed the Chináwa, and encamped after a march of five *kos*. * * On the 25th, several of the sick soldiers (*sáifán*) were drowned in the river. Tímúr was

[1] The name is still written "Lahâwar."

sorry for the poor men, and ordered that his own horses and camels should be used to carry the survivors over. On the 26th, Tímúr left the shores of the Chináwa, and after a march of six *kos* encamped in a desert. * * He here determined to cross the river Dandána before his army, and started off in advance. On the 27th he was carried in a litter for six *kos*, and encamped on the edge of a jungle. In the course of this day a tiger (*sher*) was seen and was hunted. It was killed by Shaikh Núru-d dín. Prince Pír Muhammad and Prince Rustam, accompanied by the Amírs Sulaimán Sháh and Jahán Sháh, arrived from Láhor. They had slain many infidel Hindus, had gained a large booty, and now returned to the imperial presence to offer their spoil. * * On the same day an order was issued that the *amírs* of the left wing and the *amírs* of regiments should all proceed to their homes by certain settled routes. The princes, the *núniáns*, the *amírs* of *tumáns*, of thousands and of regiments, all received robes and gifts according to their merits. Prince Pír Muhammad Jahangír received a jewelled girdle and diadem. The Indian chiefs and all the officers and attendants and *saiyids* who had accompanied him received princely gifts and permission to return home. Khizr Khán, whom Sárang had taken and confined in a fort, and who, having made his escape, fled to Bayána, a dependency of Dehlí, to Ahodan, the Musulmán governor, and who there came in and made his submission to Tímúr, was appointed governor of Multán.

[*A great hunt in which many rhinoceroses were killed.*]

On the 28th Jumáda-l ákhir, after the hunt was over, the army marched eight *kos*, to a place called Jabhán, on the frontier of Kashmír, a very lovely and pleasant spot.

Kashmír.

[*Description of Kashmír.*] There is a city named Naghaz, which is the residence of the rulers (*hukkám*) of the country. Like Baghdád, the city has a large river running through it, but the waters of this river exceed those of the Tigris. It is

extraordinary that the waters of so great a river all spring from one source, which source is situated in this country itself, and is called Vír. * * * This river, after passing from the confines of Kashmír, is known by different names in different places. First it is called Dandána, then Jamd. Above Multán it joins the Chináwa, and the two flow together past that city, and below it join the river Rávi, which passes on the other side of the city. Afterwards the river Biyáh joins them, and the united streams pass by Uch and join the Sind or Indus. * * * On the 29th Tímúr marched from Jabhán, a distance of four *kos*, and then encamped on the banks of the Dandána. He ordered a bridge to be thrown over the river, which was a great relief to the infantry, both Turks and Tájiks. * * *

Return of Tímúr to his capital.

On the last day of Jumáda-l ákhir, Tímúr set out in advance of his army towards Samarkand. He marched twenty *kos* down the river Dandána to the village of Sambast, belonging to the Júd mountains. On the 1st Rajab he proceeded to the vicinity of the fort of Barúja, and there halted; but on the same day, in the afternoon, he mounted his horse and entered the desert called Chol-i Jalálí. Making all possible speed, he came out of the desert in the evening, and encamped by the side of a pool (*maghák*) which still retained some of the waters of the rainy season. This place is three *kos* distant from Barúja. On the 2nd Rajab, at breakfast time, he reached the river Sind. The officers who had been appointed to guard the way from Naghaz to Bánú had built a bridge with tripod trestles over the river. Tímúr passed over this bridge, and rested on the bank of the river till noon. Amír Allah-dád was left in charge of the bridge, to keep it for the transit of the baggage and the army coming up behind. In the afternoon Tímúr marched ten *kos*, and then encamped, and marching again on the 4th he made a day's journey to Bánú.

APPENDIX.

A.—POEMS OF AMÍR KHUSRÚ.

[The following analyses of some of the poetical works of Amír Khusrú, with the copious extracts, are all the work of Sir H. Elliot. Mr. Blochmann, the present learned and active secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has just declared that "it would be of interest to examine Khusrú's *Khazáinu-l futúh* and the *Kiránu-s Sa'dain* from a historical point of view."[1] That examination Sir H. Elliot made twenty-five years ago, nor did he confine his investigations to these two works of the great poet. He carefully perused other poems of this most copious writer. By his brief abstracts he has given a general notion of the character and contents of each work, and he has translated those passages which have an historical interest.

In the notice preceding the extracts from the *Táríkh-i 'Aláí* (*suprà*, p. 67), he has given a short account of the author, and of that prose work, which after all is more of a poem than a history. Amír Khusrú, the "Parrot of Hind," whose name was Yamínu-d dín Muhammad Hasan, was one of the most prolific poets that the world has ever produced, for he is said to have left behind him "some half million of verses."[2] Without answering for the accuracy of this prodigious number, a mere glance at the list of his productions, or a perusal of the following extracts, will establish the boundless fertility of his muse. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.), and died in 725 H. (1325 A.D.). His father was a military chief, and he himself was attached to the Court. "He lived in a stirring time," when the Mughals were making reiterated efforts to work their way into India. He fell a prisoner into their hands, as we have been told by Barní (*suprá*, p. 122), and the frequent references made to him by that author prove the esteem and honour in which he was held.]

[1] Journal, No. 1. 1870. [2] Cowell, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., xxix. p. 225.

1. KIRÁNU-S SA'DAIN OF AMÍR KHUSRU'.

["The Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Planets," the poem in which Khusrú celebrates the meeting of Sultán Kai-kubád, with his father, Násiru-d dín, Sultán of Bengal. This poem was completed in Ramazán 688 H. (September, 1289 A.D.). Professor Cowell has given an account of it, with some specimens, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1860, and from that article the following criticisms are quoted: "The style of the poem (as of all Khusrú's works) is full of exaggeration and metaphorical description, but the facts of the history are generally given with tolerable fidelity. In fact, few historical poems in any language adhere more closely to the actual order and character of the events; and when we compare Ferishta's account with the poetical version, we are struck by their great agreement in the main points." "Every now and then, at the end of many of the chapters, there is given a *ghazal*, which is supposed to express the poet's feelings contemporary with that part of the story which has just been described, something like the songs introduced between the parts of Tennyson's Princess. These *ghazals* are in various metres, and serve admirably to diversify the poem, while at the same time they form a running commentary, like the choruses of a Greek play, on the progress of the action, and the hopes and fears which it may be supposed to excite in the minds of the spectators. The poet, having actually been present throughout the campaign, is in this way enabled to throw himself into the scene, and we have thus an interesting mixture of the epic and lyric elements, each portion of the action being represented from an objective and subjective point of view."]

ABSTRACT.

Praise of God and the Prophet, and panegyric upon Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-kubád, king by virtue of three descents: the first from Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, the grandfather of his grandmother; the second from Násiru-d dín Mahmúd Sháh, the father of his grandmother; the third from Ghiyásu-d dín Balban, his grandfather. Praise of the city of Dehli, which has three large forts and thirteen gates; of the *Masjid-i Jáma'* and its lofty minaret, built by Shamsu-d

dín; of the *Hauz-i Shamsí*, the terrace and dome which are in the centre of the *Hauz*. Praise of Hindústán, and the inhabitants of Dehli, its learned doctors, poets, singers, and chiefs.

When Sultán Kai-kubád succeeded his grandfather Balban on the throne in H. 686, there were nearly five thousand nobles in attendance upon him, with an army of one hundred thousand men. His kingdom extended from the borders of Bengal to the river Sind. Upon receiving the news of his accession, his father, Baghrá Khán, the son of Balban, advanced from his capital, Lakhnautí, to Oudh, with a powerful army, had the *khutba* read in his name, and proclaimed himself king under the title of Násiru-d dín Sultán.[1]

Kai-kubád, on receiving intelligence of his father's having marched to Oudh, ordered his officers to collect an army, which amounted to one hundred thousand horsemen. "He despatched his orders to every country, he summoned a chief from every city. The nobles of the land were assembled together; *Maliks*, *Kháns*, Princes, and Kings; all the swordsmen of the country of Hind, all the spearmen of the province of Sind. The horsemen were so many that *Ekaspas* were of no consideration, and *Páiks* and Afgháns were without number."

"On the forenoon of Monday, at the close of the month Zí-l hij, the victorious banners were displayed, and the moon-standard was exalted to the heavens. The king rode out from his fortunate palace, preceded by the star-banner and the cow-tail." His right wing was at Tilpat, his left wing at Indarpat, and the *Páigáh-i khás* at Sirrí, and his elephants occupied a breadth of three miles at Hápúr. The king mounted his horse and went to Kílokharí to hunt. Praise of the new palace which he built there on the bank of the Jumna, and a description of the festivities he enjoyed there, and the charms of the season of autumn.

The Mughal Invasion.

"The king was thus enjoying himself at this season, when the report of a Mughal invasion fell upon the earth. Several messengers

[1] About this period the title of "Defender of the Faith" appears to have been a favourite with Kings. We find Khusrú in the *Díwán* called *Wastu-l haydt*, speaking of Balban as Násiru-d dín, which was the distinctive title of his predecessor.

arrived swift as an arrow from a bow, and kissed the ground like a barb, reporting that the Mughals had arrived from beyond the border, with an army as dense as the sands of the desert, and tumultuous as boiling water in a cauldron; the people of that country were ground down to the dust, and slaughter accompanied the devastators wherever they went. The impetuous torrent of invasion swept on, and the inhabitants of Lahnúr (Lahore) fled to Multán."

"When the king learnt from his messengers the disobedience of those wretches, he laughed bitterly like a lion in anger, and exclaimed, 'This is indeed ridiculous that, during my reign, foreigners should dare to make a commotion in my cradle. If my holy warriors should not be able to protect me, infidels may well commit their ravages in my country. Dominion over all the world is mine, why should I feel any anxiety about the designs of others? What will the people of every kingdom say? I am king, and destroy the forts of enemies. How can the owl dare with long talons to snatch prey from the nest of the falcon? A dog may be very bold after a deer, but how can he contend with a lion? It is I who take every year from the *ráís* of Hind tribute in elephants and money. Sometimes I pay my army by assignments upon Gújarát, sometimes upon Deogír.[1] All my swift horses I obtain from Tilang, all my vigorous elephants from Bengal. Treasures of mine are deposited in Málwa and Jájnagar. My tunics are obtained from Khitá, the borders of Chín are tied in my waistband. Shall I take the cotton from my ears and attend to this perfidious tribe with their quilted dresses? The bones of their army will I pound into flocks of cotton. Though their hordes be like ants and locusts, I shall tread them under foot like insects on the road. My heart disposes me to leap from my throne and lay the head of Karáchán beneath my feet; but again I should feel foul scorn that my sword should be tarnished with the blood of a dog. No one would condescend to shoot an arrow at a dead body; it is only a pellet-ball that is fit for such vile game as this.'

"When he had finished these words, the wise *'Ariz* summoned the army. The king said, 'I desire that thirty thousand serviceable

[1] This is also so spelt by Badr-Chách, and is the usual mode adopted by Khusrú and other writers of this period. It is also authorized by coins.

cavalry may be told off for the pursuit of the Mughals. At the head of them set the swordsman, Bárbak Khán-i Jahán, the active defeater of armies.' Then the wise *'Á'riz*, by order of the Sháh, detached the army in pursuit of the enemy. The *Bárbak* took post in the centre, and prepared for fight, and a hundred chiefs of lofty stature were under his orders. o o o They proceeded from place to place with such expedition that they outstripped the morning breeze. In that country not a name or vestige remained of any building where the vile feet of the Mughals had trod. From the boundary of Sámána as far as Láhnúr (Lahore), not a house was left standing except at Kasúr."

The Mughal Army Repulsed.

"When the army of Islám reached its destination, it was as a river watering a thirsty soil, for the deserted country was again inhabited, and when the ungodly infidels heard of its arrival, they fled swifter than an arrow from a bow. They turned away from their plunder to flight, and thought themselves fortunate in escaping with their lives. Notwithstanding that Tamúr exhibited activity and strength, he became soft as wax, though as firm as steel.[1] Sarmak, Kílí, Khajlak, and Baidú, fled away hastily and shamelessly all of them, as if a stone had fallen among a brood of chickens. The whole tribe turned up their garments and fled to the foot of the hills in all directions. The Mughals turned their backs to the advancing army, and when their faces were seen they were black and harsh. Bárbak was behind them with relentless revenge, putting all to the sword who fell in his way. o o o Their cheeks were as broad as an inverted bowl, and their eyes and heads looked as if they had been bathed in gore. o o o The army of Islám in pursuit dyed the hills like tulips with their blood. Some few of these ass-bodied fools managed to effect their escape, but the rest, both old and young, were put to the sword, or taken captive. Khán-i Jahán returned happy and triumphant. He bound the Mughal captives in a string, and led them camel-hearted like a drove of those quadrupeds. Not one of those marauding Turks was slain until the skin had been flayed from his head."

[1] In allusion to the name of Tamúr, which in Turkí means iron.

"When the world had derived benefit from this victory, the leader of the army indulged in wine. He convened an assembly, after the manner of the Kaiániáns, and the golden goblets circulated freely. A drop of fragrant wine was first poured on the earth. The *barbat* and the timbrel resounded. Many presents were given to his friends and to the soldiers, and many excuses were offered on their part. Every one arose from that assembly happy and rejoiced, and took the way to their own homes. When the guests had all departed, the master of the revels sat down to drink wine. A few of his intimate friends were invited to this private feast. The wine, which quivered in the cup like the heart of an infidel, was drunk off in the name of the King of Islám."

In celebration of Spring.—The festival of the new year.—The five royal umbrellas, black, red, white, green, and rose colour.

The king set out for his Eastern expedition in the middle of Rabí'u-l awwal, 687 H. The first march was made from the New City to the borders of Tilpat and Afghánpúr. On the army's return from the expedition against the Mughals, the booty and captives were presented before the Sultán, Tátárí horses, and other rarities.

Description of the Mughals.

"Bárbak advanced straight to the place of salutation, and bowing his body, brought his forehead to the earth. From the common soldier to the lord of tymbals, all obtained the honour of kissing hands, and received royal rewards without measure for their services,—standards of golden cloth, horses, and other rarities. There were more than a thousand Tátár infidels and warriors of other tribes, riding on camels, great commanders in battle, all with steel-like bodies clothed in cotton; with faces like fire, with caps of sheep-skin, with their heads shorn. Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel. Their stink was more horrible than their colour. Their faces were set on their bodies as if they had no neck. Their cheeks resembled soft leathern bottles, full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from cheek-bone to cheek-bone. Their nostrils resembled rotten graves, and from them the hair descended as far as the lips. Their moustaches were of

extravagant length. They had but scanty beards about their chins. Their chests, of a colour half black, half white, were so covered with lice, that they looked like sesame growing on a bad soil. Their whole body, indeed, was covered with these insects, and their skin as rough-grained as chagreen leather, fit only to be converted into shoes. They devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth."

"I have heard another story about them, that what one man vomits another eats, but this is no great wonder, for they are Turks of Kai.[1] Their origin is derived from dogs, but they have larger bones. The king marvelled at their beastly countenances, and said, that God had created them out of hell-fire. They looked like so many white demons, and the people fled from them everywhere in affright."

Their Punishment.

When they were carried out from the royal presence they were put to the slaughter. "Spears without number bore their heads aloft, and looked denser than a forest of bamboos;" others were trodden to death by elephants. After several had been slaughtered in this manner, "the remnant were reserved to be paraded about from city to city; sometimes they had respite, at others punishment." The king then called for wine, and devoted himself, as usual, to pleasure and revelry.

The armies of Dehli and Bengal advance to the Ghágra.

"The country-conquering army advanced, and heaven and earth became as one through the dust which arose." After two marches the Jumna was crossed at Jewar, "which place, from the encamping of the army, was denuded of corn and grass." Bárbak was appointed to the command, and he arrived with the army on the banks of the Sarú (Sarjú). He was joined by Chhajjú, the Khán of Karra, at the head of several thousand horsemen, and by the Khán of Oudh and his party.

When Násiru-d dín, the King of the East, who was encamped on the other side of the river, heard of his arrival, he sent Shamsu-d

[1] Meaning both "vomit" and "a tribe of Mughals." In the next line, "dogs" bears the same equivocal meaning, there being also a Mughal tribe of Sag. It seems strange that the author should sometimes confound the Turks and Mughals. In some passages he discriminates very accurately between them.

dín Dabú with a message inviting to peace, but he returned without effecting anything. Description of the hot season.

Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-kubád, on his arrival from Dehli, pitched his camp at Oudh (Ajúdhya), on the bank of the Ghágra. Násiru-d dín, from the opposite side, sent his chamberlain to deliver a message to Kai-kubád, who, by way of intimidation, himself discharged an arrow at him, which induced him to return to his master without crossing the river, at which the King of the East was much grieved and angered.

Next day the King of the East sent another officer to convey a threatening message, mentioning, amongst other things, the number and power of his elephants. He was answered by the son in a similar spirit.

He then tried the effect of sending a message of reconciliation, and requesting an interview, which was acceded to. The King of the East sent his youngest son, Kai-káús, to Kai-kubád, with jewels and elephants. In return, Kai-kubád sent his own son, Kaiomars, accompanied by the *'Á'riz*, with some rare presents.

Interviews between the Father and Son.

Each is invited by the other to ascend the throne. The son said to the father, "Here is the throne, it is thy seat, I am a slave ready to obey orders." The father said to the son, "This is a mistake, it is of you that this honour is worthy." Again, the son said to the father, "Advance and ascend, for the throne will be exalted by thy presence." Again, the father said to the son, "Oh, thou that wearest a crown, my empire will be established through the credit of thy name."

"Long they continued in this gentle altercation, and no one could see the step of either advance. And when the father saw that the respect of his son exceeded all bounds, he said, 'I have one desire near to my heart, and, thanks be to God, that it now approaches fulfilment, and that is, oh, fortunate one, that I may place thee on the throne with my own hand; because thou didst ascend the throne in my absence, and I was not there to take thy hand, though, it is true, thou hadst no need of my aid, for by thy own power didst thou establish thyself in the kingdom."

"He then seized his son's hand, and seated him on the throne, and when he had descended again from it, he stood with his hands joined, and all were astonished at the scene. The son sat but a short time on the throne, when he descended, and approached his father. The officers of state stood on each side, holding trays of jewels in their hands, which they poured upon the heads of the two kings, and the ground before them was strewed with rubies, pearls, silver, and gold."

When the father had confirmed the possession of his son upon the throne, he exclaimed with a loud voice before the assembled throng, "This day enough has been accomplished, to-morrow we will convene another assembly. Thanks be to God, that I have attained my wishes, and I have seen the desire of my heart accomplished!" He then kissed his son's head, and returned in his boat to the other side of the river, and again the son filled his own boat with a flood (of wine). A torrent flowed from the ocean of wine, and all immersed themselves in it till they became drunk, and lost all respect for their king, as well as their own senses.

Next day, the Sultán selected some horses, and sent them as a present to his son, and at night the King of the East again embarked on a boat, and visited Kai-kubád. A full description of the festivities on the occasion. The father gave the son a valuable Bengal elephant, "a jewelled crown, lofty on all sides," and "a throne made of wood, but covered with gold, standing on four feet, with supports for the arms of the king." The crown was placed upon the son's head, and they sat together upon the throne.

The father requested from his son the gift of a white canopy and black cap, both of which had been used by Balban. These were promised to him, and he retired, declaring his intention of returning the next day. The Sultán then returned to his usual enjoyments.

Next morning, the Sultán sent the white canopy and black cap to his father, and the bearer was rewarded with a robe of honour and presents.

In the evening, the father again embarked on a boat, to have an interview with his son, when he took occasion to instil into his ears good advice respecting the future management of his country, and returned at midnight to his own camp.

The next day, both armies prepared to return to their respective countries. "The army of the east, towards the east, the army of the west, marched towards the west." An affectionate interview first took place between the two kings, and they finally parted from each other. No one else was allowed to be present. A bridge was made over the river, to facilitate communication between the two armies. Deep grief was expressed on both sides, on taking leave, and, locked in each other's arms, the father reiterated the advice he had before given. On the departure of his father, the son solaced his woes by drinking wine.

As the rainy season had commenced, and the river Ghágra began to rise, the Sultán's army moved from the bank of the river towards Oudh, and encamped at Kautpúr. Khán-i Jahán was appointed to the government of Oudh, and directed to remain there.

The Author speaks of himself.

"I, who had been in the service of Khán-i Jahán, previous to this, received from him now greater kindness than ever. He took me to Oudh with him, and treated me with such consideration, that I forgot my own country. There I remained with him two years. and knew no sorrow or want. I left my family, to attach myself to him. My mother, who was old, and always telling her beads, remained at Dehli, distressed at my absence. Night and day she was sorrowful that this worthless person was not near her, and used always to write letters inviting me to return. Though my heart was wounded at her grief, I did not like to ask her to come to me, When I was deeply grieved at these perpetual remonstrances, and my heart was greatly unsettled, I mentioned the circumstances to my master, and showed him my mother's letters. He, with his usual greatness, granted my request, and allowed me leave to return to my home, and sent me two trays of gold to enable me to proceed on my journey, which I prosecuted with the rapidity of an arrow, as my mother's grief had filled my heart with anxiety."

"I had travelled a whole month, without drawing rein, and arrived in the month of Zi'l-Ka'da at the city. Smiling like a flower in a garden, I visited my friends, and thus fulfilled my heart's desire, and was restored to life after death. I placed my head at

the feet of my mother, who, when she saw me, embraced me with tears in her eyes, and when relieved from her solicitude, fulfilled the vows which she had made, in consideration of my safe return."

"Two days after, the news of my arrival was conveyed to the king, and the chamberlain came to call me to his presence. I went and placed my face upon the earth, while my heart was in trepidation. I drew out from my waistband the panegyric I had written, and read it out with a loud voice. The king was greatly pleased at my verses, and honoured me in the eyes of my companions. He treated me with great kindness, and gave me a dress of honour of his own wearing, and two bags of *dirhams*, and enrolled me amongst his special attendants. My heart was replete with joy, and my poor house was filled with gold. His majesty said, 'Oh, most perfect of poets, whose very crumbs other poets are glad to pick up, if you will, the wish of my heart can be accomplished. I will give you as much as you like, and no desire of yours shall be left ungratified.' I bowed to the ground, and replied, 'Oh, king, what am I capable of, but writing a few laudatory verses, that I should be treated with such condescension? Your majesty bestows everything upon the needy; what need then can you have of such poor services as mine? My imagination is not lively, and I have no accomplishment, but that of being able to write some indifferent Persian. If the wish of his majesty can be gratified by such poor attainments, I am ready to be honoured with his commands.'"

"When I had thus offered my excuses to the king, he thus addressed me: 'It is my desire, that you should undertake the trouble of writing in verse an account of the interview between the two kings, namely, my honoured father and myself.' When he had said this, he pointed to the treasure before him, and told me to take it away, bestowing upon me at the same time a dress of honour."

He determined to effect what the king desired, and after giving the subject much consideration, and secluding himself from all society, and trusting in God, after revolving the subject in his mind for three months, he completed the poem in six months, in 3944 verses, in the month of Ramazán, 688 A.H. (September, 1289 A.D.), and in the 36th year of his age.

Verses upon his pen, inkstand, and paper. Entry of the king into

city of Dehli. Conclusion, in which he expresses a hope that his errors may be leniently dealt with.

---

2. GHURRATU-L-KAMA'L, MIFTA'HU-L FUTUH.

The *Ghurratu-l-kamál* is the third and longest of the four *Díwáns* of Amír Khusrú. The *Miftáhu-l futúh*[1] is a *Masnaví* included in the *Díwán*, but most commonly considered to be a separate poem, in consequence of the extreme rarity of such an arrangement. I have seen respectable copies of the *Ghurratu-l-kamál*, in which this poem is included, as well as other *Masnavís*, from one of which the second extract which follows is taken; but in a very beautiful old copy of all the *Díwáns*, in the possession of Nawab Zíáu-d dín Khán of Dehli, and which bears the seal of the Tarkhán prince, Jání Bég, being, therefore, about one hundred and fifty years old, neither this nor any other *Masnaví* is included. The first *Díwán* of Amír Khusrú is the *Tuhfatu-s sighar*, "the present of youth," containing the poems which he wrote from the 16th to the 19th year of his age. These were written in the time of Sultán Balban, and contain several panegyrics addressed to him. In compliment to his sovereign title, he here frequently assumes to himself the poetical designation of *Sultání*. Thus, in one passage he says:—

خرک در عهد تو سلطان سخن خسرو لاچین سلطاني شده است

Most of the *kasídas* in this *Díwán*, which are not devoted to the Sultán, were written in celebration of new year festivals and the *'Ids*, or addressed to the king's eldest son, Nusratu-d dín Sultán Muhammad Káán, known better as Khán-i Shahíd, or the Martyr Khán, and to contemporary ministers and nobles. The *Tarjís* are addressed to the author's spiritual teacher, Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, Sultán Balban, and his son above named. It includes also a poem in praise of Malik Ikhtiyáru-d dín, the *'A'riz*.

The second *Díwán* is the *Wastu-l-hayát*, "the middle of life," containing the poems written from the 24th to the 32nd year of his life. These are in praise chiefly of Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, and the

[1] There is a work of this name on morals, by Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk of Dehli.

prince above named, then Governor of the Panjáb and Multán, who was slain in an action with the Mughals at Depálpúr, at the close of the year 683 H. The poet was in his service. One panegyric is addressed to Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-kubád, and another to Ikhtiyáru-d-daula Chhajjú Khán-i mu'azzam, the son of Kishlú Khán, nephew of Sultán Balban, and Governor of Karra Manikpúr. Others are addressed to the 'Áriz Táju-d-dín, Fathu-l mulk Sharfu-d-dín, Alp Khán Ghází son of Azhdar Malik, Náib Sháh Malik Ikhtiyáru-d dín 'Alí bin Aibak, and other nobles.

The third *Díwán* is the *Ghurratu-l-kamál*, "perfect light," containing poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life. It opens with an interesting preface, containing some autobiographical notices, of which I have availed myself in another article. These poems comprise panegyrics upon Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, Sultán Kai-kubád, Sháyista Khán, who for a short time ruled the state in the name of Shamsu-d dín, the son of Kai-kubád, and afterwards became king under the title of Jalálu-d dín, Sultán Ruknu-d dín Ibráhím, youngest son of Jalálu-d dín, who sat for a short time on the throne of Dehli after the murder of his father Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Ikhtiyáru-d dín 'Alí bin Aibak, Saifu-d-daula Bárbak, Táju-d dín, Alp Khán Ghází, and Táju-d-daula Malik Chhajjú; an elegy upon the death of Khán-i Khánán Mahmúd, Sultán Ikhtiyáru-d dín the son of Jalálu-d dín, and benedictions addressed to his other sons, Khán-i mu'azzam Arkalah Khán and Khán-i 'a'zam Kadr Khán. This *Díwán* contains also odes on new year festivals and the *'Ids*, and, besides the *Masnavís* mentioned above, the poet addresses one to his brother Zahíd Khán, descriptive of his accompanying the royal army in 687 H. to Oudh. Another is in praise of the palace at Kílúkharí and of its founder Sultán Kai-kubád. Size of the work, 4to.; 694 pages of an average of 15 lines.

The fourth *Díwán* is called the *Bakiya nakiya*, "the pure remnant," containing poems written by Amír Khusrú from the 50th to the 64th year of his age. There are in it panegyrics on Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, Shaikh 'Aláu-d dín, grandson of Shaikh Faridu-d dín Ganj-i shakar, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Sultán Kutbu-d dín Mubárak Sháh, Shamsu-l Hakk Khizr Khán, eldest son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Nasíru-l-Mulk Hájí, Hamídu-d-daula, Táju-d-daula, Fakhru-d dín

Púlád Tughlik, Mu'izzu-l Hakk, A'zam Alp Khán, Malik Ikhtiyáru-d dín Sa'dí, Malik Hisámu-d dín Khán-i 'a'zam and Násiru-d dín. There is an elegy on the Sultán's death on the 8th of Shawwál, 715 H. and some *Masnavís* on the marriage of the princes and other matters.

ABSTRACT.

Preface.

Praise of God and the Prophet.—Panegyric upon Sultán Jalálu-d dín Fíróz Sháh Khiljí.—Concise account of the four victories of Fíróz Sháh.

"Hail to Sultán Fíróz! who rapidly accomplished four victories in one year. In the first victory, he made the head of one rebel roll upon the dust. In the second victory, he moistened the point of his spear with the head of a second rebel. By the third victory, he cleansed Hindústán from the darkness of his enemy. The fourth victory was achieved in another way, when he fell like a hurricane on Jháín. But what are four victories for such a hero as his majesty! he has a thousand others in his sleeve. Long may he survive to rule with conquest and kingly pomp, and may the key of the capital of the seven climates remain secure in the hands of his slaves!"

Victory over Chhajjú, Governor of Karra.

The accession of Fíróz Sháh to the throne of Dehli, on Tuesday, the 3rd of the second Jumád, 689 H. "He despatched his orders to the corners of the world, and established the *khutba* on a new foundation. The turbulent throughout the whole world rubbed their faces upon the earth in respect and obedience. They girt up their loins and placed their heads upon the ground, and then stood obedient in the audience-chamber. They proclaimed the sound of the *khutba* above the moon. They distributed gold in the name of the king of kings. They all made effort to show their obedience, except the faithless Chhajjú, the Mír of Karra. Pride had inflated his brain with wind, which extinguished the light of his intellect, and a few *sipáhís* from Hindústán, without any religion, had supported the credit of his authority. Neither fear nor hope was able to inform them that a particle cannot contend with the sun."

"The Sháh received intelligence of that new disturbance, and how

that Chhajjú was advancing expeditiously with the Hindú thieves. Outrageous like a male lion, he became greatly perturbed, and exclaimed, in the violence of his anger, 'Bravo! Is there any man in in the world who dares to raise dust in my plain? What weakness has that wretch seen in me, that he dares to peer where my arrow can penetrate? If he has not seen the splendour of my sword, he must have heard its renown from afar. He must have heard how from Ghazna, Kirmán, and Barghand, I have extended my conquests as far as Darband; how I have issued orders for the shedding of the blood of my enemies, who have become like worms, when they hear the whizzing of my Kirmání blade; how, at one time, from the heads of the Mughals, I have filled my cup with blood, and stuck their inverted skulls upon the top of my standards; how, at another time, my spears have wounded the Afgháns, until the hills resounded with lamentations (*afghán*); how, at another time, I made the blood flow in Jánjúha, so that a boat might have glided within the hills of Júd. The Hindús themselves cannot conceive how full I have made hell. What did that ignorant thoughtless man imagine, that he dared advance his foot into my territory?'

"When he had thus given vent to his anger, he forthwith ordered the prince to advance. Arkalí Khán proceeded, swift as the wind, accompanied by an army like a hill of steel. He then directed that gold, to any amount that was necessary, should be distributed to the army, from the treasury of his mercy. Although only eight months' pay was due from the royal coffers, yet ten months' pay was bestowed upon the troops. The body of each man as he carried away his wealth was bent down by the load, like the crescent of the new moon. The *sipáhís* stood ready before the commander, as a hill of iron or a sea of flame." o o o "In this order, the king of the fourth inhabited portion of the earth carried forth his standards outside the capital. He made one or two halts to adjust the affairs of the army." o o o

"The king remained in the rear, the prince was in advance. The king made two marches in one, and the prince marched even quicker. Mile after mile he hastened on, and rapidly passed the Jumna and Ganges towards his destination," and then encamped on the bank of the Ráhab.

The enemy was encamped on the opposite side, and had seized all the boats on the river, but "the royal army crossed the river on a few boats, called *zauraks*, like the wind, and spread confusion through the camp of the enemy. They fell on the evil-disposed crowd, and dyed the earth everywhere with their blood. When they were satiated with that victory, they returned in triumph. On their arrival, they placed their heads on the ground in token of respect, and proclaimed the first victory of the king, who rewarded them with gifts beyond calculation. o o In the depth of night that stony-hearted rebel, oppressed with grief, fled towards the hills, leaving his camp on the bank of the river, and took the road of Júbála. The commander remained two days plundering the camp, and then, hastening in pursuit, came up to them while retreating in confusion." o o o

"In the centre of the line was the great Arkalí Khán, whose standards were united with victory." Mír Mubárak Bárbak commanded the right wing, and Malik Mahmúd the left. On the left near the prince, was Malik Fakhr Dawwal, and Mu'azzam Ahmad on his right.

In the front of the array were two champions, the nephews of the king: one Malik Katlagh-tigín, "who could split a spear with an arrow;"[1] the other 'Aláu-d dín. Another attendant was his son Kájí; another, Kíkí Malik, the governor of Kol; another was Malik Nusrat Mu'azzam, the chief *dáwat-dár*. The contending parties fought the whole day, "during which the sword found no rest," and at night the Khán of Karra, hearing that the king himself was on the point of joining the prince's army, fled with a few attendants to Injí, concealing his departure by the beating of drums, as if he was preparing to renew the combat on the morrow.

His army, thus deserted by its leader, came over to the king and begged forgiveness. Some were bound as prisoners, and some kept under surveillance, but the rest were admitted into the favour of the king.

Victory over Alp Ghází.[2]

The Sultán, on leaving the city, went towards the Ganges, and remained some time encamped at Baglána. After that he departed

[1] The same expression occurs in the *Bostán*.

[2] In the *Wastu-l-haydt* Khusrú calls him *Maliku-s shark*, King of the East, and the son of Azhdar Khán.

towards Bhojpár,[1] and his light illumined the banks of the Ganges. By his hands a work was completed, which had been difficult of accomplishment to former kings; for when he arrived at the Jumna and Ganges, by the power of his art he constructed a bridge over both those rivers. He collected gold from the *ráís* of the Ganges, for he had the power of crossing the river at his pleasure. Like Dárá, he went on full of hope, and his faithful *sipáhís* accompanied him as far as Kábar.[2] When the Sháh arrived at the land of Kábar, a contest ensued, and the "Musulmáns made their swords rusty with the blood of the Hindús." The king was here joined by his son, "who gave the first congratulation after the victory, and was then appointed to the government of the Province of Múltán, and his father gave him power from the river to the hill of Júd."

"Whatever live Hindú fell into the king's hands was pounded into bits under the feet of elephants. The Musulmáns, who were Hindís (country-born), had their lives spared," and were distributed amongst the chiefs as slaves; and he made many over to the son of the *kotwál*, that he might parade them through the cities. "No one of these slaves was slain by the sword, except Alp Ghází, who suffered on account of his misdeeds; for he had, without just cause, killed Chahaltan,[3] and the wretch received this retribution from fate." * *

When the Sháh had made the country over to his own friends, he determined to proceed towards Hindústán, and open a way through the forest to Lakhnautí. He cut the jungle that intercepted his passage, and cleared the road of the robbers who infested it, and suspended them from boughs, so that they looked like the trees of Wákwák.[4] "When the Sháh had cut down this jungle of Taraya, he created an earthquake in the walls of life, that is, slaughtered many of the inhabitants, and as he was about to lay his axe upon Rúpál, that chief protected himself by an advance of gold. His heaven-like umbrella then advanced to Kashún,

[1] This is not the Bhojpúr of Behár, but a place near Farrukhábád, in the central Doáb.

[2] Kábar is in Rohilkhand.

[3] [Qy., *chihal-tan*, forty persons?]

[4] See extract from Kazwíní in Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, p. 196, respecting the island of Wákwák, and the trees which produced that sound.

for the purpose of plunder and punishment, and he collected such wealth from the *ráis*, *ráos*, and *ránas*, that his treasury was overflowing."

"Thence he went towards Bálághatrak, as it was necessary to discharge his arrows against the Mughals. Hail glorious morn of prosperity, for that sun rose on high! His standards ascended rapidly, stage by stage, for a period of one month, and the road was illumined by the light of his army."

"On Monday, the last day of Muharram, 690 H., the neighbourhood of the city was blessed by the king's arrival. He did not delay and plant his flags in the city, because another victory was urging him on; but during the month of Safar he gave himself up to enjoyment at Sírí, near the city." o o o

Advance upon Ranthambor.[1]

On Thursday, the 18th of Rabí'u-l-awwal, the Sháh held a *darbár*, distributed robes of honour, and gave red umbrellas, *dúrbáshes*, and standards to two of his confidential servants, and selected also Ruknu-d dín Ibrahím for marks of special favour. "The *maliks* of the kingdom, according to their respective ability, showered gold upon the head of the king."

The king then marched from Sírí towards Ranthambor. The first march was to Sohráit, thence to Chandáwal, "where he encamped for some time." o o o Thence to Rewárí in two marches. Thence to the country of Nárnaul. "Thence the march was to Beohán, where the people had their mouths shut through thirst. The earth was dry, and in it not a blade of grass had sprung up anywhere, through drought. The *sipáhís*, whom a river would not have satisfied, how could they procure enough water from two or three wells?" A hundred camels, however, were here laden with water, to satisfy the necessities of the army. The king killed several tigers on this expedition. Hills were on each side covered with peacocks. "Two weeks he was employed in passing this hilly tract, when the Sháh arrived on the borders of Ranthambor." The Turks began to plunder on every

[1] The original says "conquest of Ranthambor," but this heading is not suited to the text.

side, "and the king sent out horsemen to collect information." The Hindús were killed or enslaved, as far as within four *parasangs* of Jháín.

From this place, Karrí Bahádur was sent on with a few archers to reconnoitre as far as the hills of Jháín, from which place 500 Hindús made a sally. "They were wounded with the poisoned arrows of the Turks, and exclaimed in Hindí, 'Strike, strike.' Seventy were killed and forty wounded, and, though they were reinforced, they retreated to the hills, and the royal troops returned to camp, and reported to the king what had occurred. Next day, the king despatched 1,000 men under Malik Khurram 'Áriz Malik, the chief Karíbak, Malik Katlagh-tigín, 'Azam Mubárak, the *amír* of of Nárnaul, Ahmad Sarjándár, Mahmúd Sarjándár, the chief huntsman Ahmad, and Ankú and Abájí Akhurbak. They advanced at full speed to within two *parasangs* of Jháín, when they entered a narrow pass in the hills, and alarm spread in Jháín."

The *rái* was in affright, and sent for Gurdan Sainí, who was the most experienced warrior amongst the 40,000 *ráwats* under the *rái*, and "had seen many fights among the Hindús. Sometimes he had gone with the advance to Málwa; sometimes he had gone plundering in Gújarát." The Sainí took 10,000 *ráwats* with him from Jháín, and advanced against the Turks, and, after a severe action, he was slain. Upon which the Hindús fled, and in the pursuit many were slain and many taken prisoners, but only one man was wounded among the royal troops.

Great consternation spread in Jháín, and at night the *rái*, and all the Hindús with him, fled to the hills of Ranthambor, and the victorious troops returned to the king, and presented the plunder they had obtained, the heads which they had cut off, armour, horses, swords, and "a string of *ráwats* with their hands bound." The king allowed them to retain their booty, and distributed gold to them besides, and robes of honour.

The Capture of Jháín.

Three days after this, the king entered Jháín at mid-day, and occupied the private apartments of the *rái*, where he admired the exquisite colours and carving on the stone, "on which the figures were

so beautifully cut, that they could not be exceeded in wax. The plaister was so beautifully made, that it reflected the image of one looking at it, and the mortar was mixed with sandal. The wood-work was all of *'úd* (aloe-wood)."

He then visited the temples, which were ornamented with elaborate work in gold and silver. Next day he went again to the temples, and ordered their destruction, as well as that of the fort, and set fire to the palace, and "thus made a hell of paradise." The foundations of Jháín were so destroyed, that the army of the Sháh was enriched by the discovery of burnt treasures, and "so much gold was laden upon elephants, that who could tell its amount? This enormous wealth made rich men of beggars, for in every ruin a treasure had been found. While the soldiers sought every opportunity of plundering, the Sháh was engaged in burning the temples, and destroying the idols. There were two bronze images of Brahma, each of which weighed more than a thousand *mans*. These were broken into pieces, and the fragments distributed amongst the officers, with orders to throw them down at the gates of the *Masjid* on their return."

Malik Khurram then departed in pursuit of the infidels to their retreat in the hills, and took countless prisoners. Another party was detached under *Sarjándár*, "across the Chambal and Kuwárí, to plunder Málwa, and shed the blood of the false religionists. When he was two *parasangs* beyond the Kuwárí, he came upon an open plain to which a narrow pass led. Here he found a crowd collected who had escaped the sword of the *malik*, and he plundered them to such an extent, that it is beyond my power to describe." The party returned, and met the king on the banks of the Chambal, to which river he had moved his camp. Thence Mubárak Bárbak was detached in another direction towards the Banás, where he plundered according to the fashion of the time. Malik Jándárbak Ahmad was detached in another direction. He also plundered and massacred "from the hill of Lára to the borders of Mára."

The King's return to Dehli.

The king returned towards Dehli, with "an army so encumbered by booty, that it could not proceed more than a *míl* a day." He

first visited on his route the hills of Bayáná, and as the road was "difficult on account of rivers and hills," he allowed his officers to march in any direction they chose. The Sultán proceeded more leisurely in the rear.

On the king's return to Dehli, he held the second anniversary of his accession, on the 3rd of Jumáda-l ákhir, in the palace of Sírí. Description of the festival. "Each bride who witnessed the procession from the housetop, when she gazed at the countenance of the king, tore up her marriage settlements," in love and despair.—Concluding praises of the king, "who achieved two victories in different quarters of the country in one year." The author speaks of his work. "When I commenced this history, I thought of writing falsehoods, but truth seized my hand and restrained me." The poem was finished on the 20th of Jumáda-l ákhir, 690 H.

Conquests of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí.

o o o o o o o

"'Aláu-d dín, that king whose court is like Jamshíd's, who has conquered the east and protects the west, whose fortune is lofty, whose commands are obeyed." o o o "He who has been honoured by the chief of the 'Abbásís, who has destroyed the country of the sun-worshippers. When the arm of his fortune was raised, he became the ruler of Hindústán. When he advanced from the capital of Karra, the Hindús, in alarm, descended into the earth like ants. He departed towards the garden of Behár, to dye that soil with blood as red as a tulip. He cleared the road to Ujjain of vile wretches, and created consternation in Bhílsán. When he effected his conquests in that country, he drew out of the river the idols which had been concealed in it.

As this was but a small adventure in his sight, he determined to proceed towards Deogír, "where he overcame Rám Deo." "But see the mercy with which he regarded the broken-hearted, for, after seizing that *rái*, he set him free again. He destroyed the temples of the idolaters, and erected pulpits and arches for mosques. He captured two-and-twenty elephants, in battles raging like the stream of the Nile. He captured also Bengal elephants from Lakhnautí, but those of Deogír were of a different stamp,—not such as knew

only how to eat their full, but such as could discharge arrows and brandish swords.[1] Were I to attempt to recount the plunder of jewels and gold, no measure or balance would suffice, for the treasure had been accumulated by the *ráís* from of old. Camels and mules were laden with rubies and diamonds, and every kind of precious stone, and the most experienced jewellers were unable even to guess at their value, and who can tell of the heaps of amber, and the costly silks? He returned victorious with this booty, in order to accomplish new conquests."

He advanced again from Karra, with iron in one hand and gold in the other; he gave a crown to one chief, while he took off the head of another. He marched to Dehli and set up his kingly throne, while all the world were in astonishment at the marvel that Dehli should be taken by Karra. The whole city declared that no one had ever been blessed with such good fortune. When he had established himself upon the throne, he began to think of the neighbouring countries. All the independent chiefs bowed down their heads, except the ill-fortuned Mír of Multán. That wretch was not of such importance that the Sháh should himself undertake any expedition against him." So Ulugh Khán was despatched with orders to conclude the business speedily, and, on its accomplishment, he returned to Court; and "all, both young and old, were astonished at the success of the universe-conquering Sultán."

---

3. 'ASHIKA OF AMIR KHUSRU.

["*L'Innamorata.*" This, like the *Kiránu-s Sa'dain*, is a kind of epic or historical poem, having for its main subject the loves of Dewal Rání, daughter of the Rái of Gújarát, and Khizr Khán, eldest son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. Khizr Khán, as told by Barní, fell under his father's displeasure and was put in confinement. Upon the death of 'Aláu-d dín, the traitor and would-be-usurper, Malik Náib Káfúr, caused the eyes of the prince to be put out. When Kutbu-d dín Mabárak Sháh had ascended the throne, to secure his own position, he had Khizr Khán and other of his

[1] That elephants were once taught these useful exercises is evident from a similar passage in the *Sikandar-náma*, of Nizámí.

brothers murdered. The fate of Dewal Rání is doubtful. Khusrú (*infrà* p. 555) says that her hands were cut off while she was clinging to her husband's body, and implies that she was left among the slain, though he says not so distinctly. Firishta asserts that she was taken into Kutbu-d dín's harem, and that she was also taken after his death by the villain, Khusrú Khán. Barní, who was intimately acquainted with the facts, is silent upon the subject, so that it may be hoped that the high-born damsel escaped that union with "the foul Parwárí," which would have been worse than death.]

ABSTRACT.

Praise of God and the Prophet.—Panegyric on the author's spiritual teacher, Nizám-d dín Aulyá and on the Emperor 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí.

The author a captive in the hands of the Mughals.

"At the time that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the Mughals,[1] may such days never return! travelling in a sandy desert, where the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream on the roadside. Although the naphtha of my life was heated, I would not inflame it with oil by drinking a draught of water. I merely wetted my lips, and obtained a little relief after my exhaustion. But my thirsty guard dismounted from his horse, and both he and his horse drank their fill of water and expired immediately."

The Author relates the cause of writing this Poem.

He states that he went one day to visit Khizr Khán, who asked him to write a poem upon that prince's love for Dewal Rání; and Khizr Khán causing the account which he had himself written descriptive of his own passion to be produced, he consigned it to the author, who agreed to versify it.

Encomium on Hindústán.

"Happy Hindústán, the splendour of Religion, where the Law

[1] He gives a brief notice of this captivity and of the hardships which he endured from exposure, boils upon his feet, fatigue, and thirst, in his second *Díwán*, called *Wastu-l-haydt*. He was taken prisoner on the borders of Multán, in the 34th year of his age, or 684 H. (1285 A.D.). See *suprà* p. 122.

finds perfect honour and security. In learning Dehli can now compete with Bokhárá, for Islám has been made manifest by its kings. The whole country, by means of the sword of our holy warriors, has become like a forest denuded of its thorns by fire. The land has been saturated with the water of the sword, and the vapours of infidelity have been dispersed. The strong men of Hind have been trodden under foot, and all are ready to pay tribute. Islám is triumphant, idolatry is subdued. Had not the law granted exemption from death by the payment of poll-tax, the very name of Hind, root and branch, would have been extinguished. From Ghazní to the shore of the ocean you see all under the dominion of Islám. Cawing crows[1] see no arrows pointed at them; nor is the *Tarsá* (Christian) there, who does not fear (*taras*) to render the servant equal with God; nor the Jew who dares to exalt the Pentateuch to a level with the Kurán; nor the *Magh* who is delighted with the worship of fire, but of whom the fire complains with its hundred tongues. The four sects of Musulmáns are at amity, and the very fish are Sunnís."[2]

The Ghorian Emperors of Dehli.

Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad bin Sám, Kutbu-d dín Aibak; "That flaming wave drove the Ráí of Kanauj into the Ganges, where he was drowned, and took from him fourteen hundred elephants." Shamsu-d dín Altamsh.—Ruknu-d dín Fíróz.—Sultán Raziya.—Mu'izzu-d dín Bahrám.—'Aláu-d dín Mas'úd.—Násiru-d dín Mahmúd; "It was a wonderful time, one career of victory; in every house was joy and gladness. The Musulmáns were powerful, the Hindus peaceful, and no one knew even the name of Mughal." Ghiyásu-d dín Balban; "He was a king bounteous and powerful, an elephant in his time would avoid treading on an ant. During his reign the Mughals found entrance to these parts, sometimes they ravaged the country, sometimes they professed allegiance. In anger

[1] Hindus. Badr Chách has the same expression to signify Hindus; and Hasan Nizámí, in the preface to the *Tájú-l Ma-ásir*, speaks of the هندوان زاغ صفت "crow-like Hindus;" and again in the chapter on the conquest of Ajmír "Hindus crow-faced," هندوان زاغ چهره.

[2] A play upon the word signifying scaly.

came they on with inflamed visage and obtained gifts from the king. Whether this invasion was a loss or a benefit, it passed away, and what was destined came to pass."—Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-kubád.—Shamsu-d dín Kai-kubád.

Jaláłu-d dín Fíróz Khiljí.

"He made the blood of the infidels to flow in streams, and formed bridges with their heads. He went from Multán to Ghazní, and thence invaded the Tátárs, dyeing the country with their blood and covering the whole land with their heads. He made Turkistán so entirely Hindí, that he took the life from the Turks by means of his Hindus. When he again turned his face this way from that country, he stretched his arm to slaughter the Khokhars,[1] and shed blood on all the five rivers of the Panjáb." "By his wise measures he forged for the Mughals chains both of iron and gold."

'Aláu-d dín Khiljí.

"He was the first who, while yet only an Amír, placed an *'amárí* upon his elephants."[2] On his advance to Dehli he lavished money profusely on the way. "The fort of Dehli fell before the mangonel of his gold. His largesses offered him the aid of catapults, and presents of jewels yielded him as much victory as balistas." Shortly after his accession, he despatched troops to Multán and Sind, where he was victorious.

The Mughal Invasions.

"Shortly after, the Sultán of religion determined to wreak the vengeance of a hundred years upon the Mughals. They were coming on to be destroyed by his beheading sword, like moths in the flame of a candle. First they came to the borders of Manjúr

[1] The Gakkhurs most probably are meant.

[2] It is usual in India to say that 'Aláu-d dín was the first who used an *'amárí*, or canopied seat upon an elephant, but, as here stated, he was the first to use one while yet only a Prince. In the preceding reign we read in the *Miftáhu-l Futúh* of golden *'amárís*.

عماریهای زرین قاب مي داد چو زرین قلعه بر کوه پولاد

and Chárán, and Ulugh Khán[1] attacked them like Káran, and by the force of his sword made them food for jackals.

"After that, the audacious infidel Katlak Khwája,[2] one of the strongest branches of that accursed tree,[3] advanced that year to Kailí, and the Sháh regarded that boldness as a happy omen. The king moved on for two *parasangs*, in order that he might come to action within the borders of Kailí. The vile Katlak Khwája was confident and bold, but it was as if an owl were contending with a falcon. The king ordered Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán to advance with determination to the fight, and those two rapid dragons made the hills and forests quake. Ulugh Khán pursued the Mughals like a panther after its prey, and those who escaped the sword fell victims to the arrows. The hill of Kailí[4] was drowned in a torrent of blood and the heads of the *gabrs* rolled down like a weighing pan (*kail*)."

"After that, Targhí, the headstrong, bit the dust when he was struck with a hatchet, and for a time religion was freed from the troubles caused by the infidels."

"Afterwards the sand of the desert was saturated with the blood of the armies of Turták and 'Alí Beg.[5] The army of religion came rushing on like a river, overwhelming the Mughals in its waves. The two Turk Kháns were suddenly captured by a Hindu servant of the Court."

"Subsequently, three other active warriors, who outstripped the wind in their fleetness, came rapidly to the neighbourhood of Múltán, and lit up the flame of insurrection on the banks of the Rávi. One was Tíhú, another Ikbál the stubborn, the third Kabak determined both in fight and hatred. Their soldiers were countless as the sand, and infuriated by the fate of Turták and 'Alí Beg. His majesty despatched his principal minister, Káfúr (camphor), the splendour of Islám, against them, in order that by his fragrance he might

[1] [I have no complete copy of this poem, but only some extracts and abstracts. In some the name is written Alaf Khán, in others Ulugh Khán; the latter is certainly right. See *suprà* pp. 43 and 162.]

[2] [This is here the spelling; not "Katlagh."]

[3] He was son of Amír Dáúd [or Dawá] Khán, ruler of Turkistan, and Máwaráu-n nahr.

[4] [This name has hitherto been given as "Kilí," but this shows what Khusrú's pronunciation was. See *suprà* p. 166, and Beng. Jour., 1869, p. 199.]

[5] See *suprà* p. 198.

dispel the offensive smell arising from their dead bodies. He went so expeditiously that, in ten nights, he performed the journey of a whole month. The blood of the Tátárs flowed in such torrents that it reached to the girths of the horses. Ikbál and Tíhú fled together towards the rivers, and were glad to save their lives by abandoning the plunder which they were carrying off. But Kabak was taken like a partridge (*kabak*),[1] and that learned dog was sent with a collar round his neck to the king of the world. The victory was obtained by the aid of God, and the Mughal had enough of his attempts at revenge.

"From that day the torrent of the Jíhún had no power to carry away even an ant from Hindústán. Behold a great marvel which marked the good fortune of 'Aláu-d dín, may he always remain king! A deadly blast from hell blew over that country, and dissolved by its fire even iron into wax. They all died, and though Búyahia escaped, as he had the life of a dog, yet his power was ignominiously destroyed; and so entirely had all their turbulence subsided in this country, that no one heard anything more about them."

Conquest of Gujarát, Chitor, Málwa, Siwána.

The poet passes to the conquests of 'Aláu-d dín, in Hindústán. Ulugh Khán sent against the Rái of Gujarát, "where the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the *gabrs*." The conquest of Somnát, Jháín, and Ranthambor, whose ruler was "Pithú Rái, descended from Pithaurá, but an hundred hundred thousand times more proud than he. Ten thousand swift Arabian horses were his, and elephants with *'amáris* on their backs. Soldiers and *ráwats* and *ránas* were beyond number. This fort was two weeks' journey distant from Dehli, and its walls extended for three *parasangs*. Terrible stones were sent against them with such force that the battlements were levelled with the dust. So many stones were thrown, pile upon pile, that it would have required thirty years to clear the road to one of the gates." The king took the fort in one month, and made it over to Ulugh Khán.

[1] [The name is given as "Kank" (or Kanak) in Barní (*suprà* p. 199), but this proves it to be Kabak. See also p. 73.]

The conquest of Chitor, which was named Khizrábád, after Khizr Khán, who was here honoured with being allowed to bear a red canopy over his head.

"After that, the king's attention was directed towards the south, in order that he might seize the country of the Southern *ráis*. Koká, the *wazír*, commanded the army, and he was stronger in the country of Málwá than the *rái*. He had more than 40,000 cavalry, and his infantry were without number. 10,000 men were sent against him by his majesty, and they destroyed his entire force. The Hindus were captured and slaughtered in heaps, and only the *rái*, Malhak[1] Deo, escaped to the hills." This conquest was effected by 'Ainu-l mulk. Mándú taken, "a wonderful fortress four *parasangs* in circumference."

Siwána is next proceeded against by his majesty in person. "The strong-armed *rái* of that place was Satal[2] Deo. Many iron-hearted *gabrs* were in his service. The army sat down before it for five or six years, and did not, during that time, succeed in destroying half a bastion, but after one attack made upon that hill by the king, it was moved from its foundations by the troops like a flowing river."

The conquest of Telingána, Ma'bar, Fatan.

The conquest of Tilangí, where the *rái* is made to send "a golden idol and an hundred elephants, and treasure beyond all calculation."

The army proceeded to Ma'bar, that it might "take the shores of the sea as far as Lanká, and spread the odour of the amber-scented faith," and thence returned to Deogír, from which place the *rái* fled at their approach, and, after plundering the country, they proceeded towards the sea-coast.

"There was another *rái* in those parts, whose rule extended over sea and land, a Brahmin, named Pandyá Gurú. He had many cities in his possession, and his capital was Fatan,[3] where there was a temple with an idol in it laden with jewels. He had many troops and ships; and Musulmáns, as well as Hindus, were in his service. He had a thousand elephants of Ma'bar and innumerable horses. The *rái*, when the army of the Sultán arrived at Fatan, fled away,

[1] [Or "Mahlak." See *suprà* p. 76.] [2] [Or "Sutal." See *suprà* p. 78.]
[3] [See *suprà* p. 32.]

and what can an army do without its leader? The Musulmáns in his service sought protection from the king's army, and they were made happy with the kind reception they met with. 500 elephants also were taken. They then struck the idol with an iron hatchet, and opened its head. Although it was the very *Kibla* of the accursed *gabrs*, it kissed the earth and filled the holy treasury. Wealth and jewels were taken from it in such quantities that they would have outweighed a mountain. After the business of the *rái* of Ma'bar was completed, the army returned victorious, and received due rewards from the fortunate king. May God grant him success, that he may take a whole world without moving from his throne! May he, sitting at Dehli, be able to plunder the country of Ma'bar and the seas, with a mere movement of his eyebrow!"

The Capture of Dewal Ráni.

The author proceeds to the more immediate subject of his poem. Shortly after 'Aláu-d dín's accession to the throne, he sent his brother, Ulugh Khán, with a large army towards Gujarát and Somnát. The ruler of those countries was Rái Karan. In an action between him and the Khán he sustained a defeat and fled, and his treasures, wives and concubines fell into the enemy's hands. On his return from Gujarát, the Khán presented all the booty he had taken to the king, and amongst other captives was the wife of Rái Karan, Kanwalá Dí, celebrated for her beauty, who was taken into the king's Seraglio.

The Ráni had two daughters by Rái Karan; both had been carried off by their father in his flight. The eldest died, but the youngest, Dewal Dí, survived.

Kanwalá Dí solicited of the king that this daughter might be sent for and made over to her, and as the king was well disposed to meet her wishes, he demanded her from Rái Karan, who was preparing to send her, accompanied with many presents, to the king, when he took alarm at the large army which had marched under Ulugh Khán and Panchamí for the conquest of the whole of Gujarát, and fled with his daughter and private attendants to seek the protection of the *rái* of Deogír, by name Sankh Deo, the son of the Rái-Ráyán, Rám Deo.

When the chief of Deogír learnt the approach of Rái Karan,

he sent his brother, Bhelam Deo, to demand Dewal Dí in marriage. Rái Karan felt himself compelled to accede to the proposal, and he was preparing to send his daughter when he was attacked by the king's army, and Panchamí, who commanded the advance-guard, seized Dewal Dí, whose horse had been wounded and lamed by an arrow. She was taken to Ulugh Khán, and Rái Karan fled. According to the king's order, Ulugh Khán sent Dewal Dí to Dehli, where she was made over to her mother in the palace. She was then eight years of age.

Loves of Khizr Khán and Dewal Ráni.

The Sultán wished to betroth Dewal Ráni to his son Khizr Khán, who was then ten years old, and Kanwalá Dí agreed to the marriage, as she had an affection for Khizr Khán in consequence of his resemblance to her brother. The children were accordingly admitted to each other's presence, and indulged in youthful gambols, and became attached to each other.

The mother of Khizr Khán objected to this match, and was desirous of betrothing him to the daughter of her brother Alp Khán, who was himself anxious to speed the preparations for the ceremony. Upon which it was represented to the mother, that as Khizr Khán had conceived an affection for Dewal Dí, he ought to be separated from her. This was accordingly done, and they were placed in different apartments, but as they were able to have occasional interviews, their growing attachment ripened, and four go-betweens on each side conveyed affectionate messages from one to the other.

The queen-mother, apprehensive of these interviews, determined to send the girl to the Red Palace. Khizr Khán's distress upon the occasion, when he tears his clothes and exhibits other signs of frantic grief. The queen foregoes her intention, when Khizr Khán recovers his serenity. The young pair contrive a secret assignation, when they become senseless through emotion. The queen again determines on sending Dewal Dí to the Red Palace. On her way there she has an interview with Khizr Khán, when he presents her with a lock of his hair to preserve as a memento, and she in return gives him a ring.

Marriage of Khizr Khán with the daughter of Alp Khán.

This marriage was solemnized in Ramazán, 711 H. (Jan. 1312 A.D.). The decorations of the city upon the occasion. Triumphal arches, dancing, singing, music, illuminations, rope-dancing, jugglery. "The juggler swallowed a sword like water, drinking it as a thirsty man would sherbet. He also thrust a knife up his nostril. He mounted little wooden horses and rode upon the air. Large bodies were made to issue out of small ones; an elephant was drawn through a window, and a camel through the eye of a needle.[1] Those who changed their own appearance practised all kinds of deceit. Sometimes they transformed themselves into angels, sometimes into demons. Balls were made to be sometimes white and sometimes black, in imitation of the fitful vicissitudes we are subject to upon earth. They sang so enchantingly that they could make it appear as if a man was dying, and as if after an interval he was again made alive."

The marriage of Khizr Khan with Dewal Rání.

Dewal Dí, on learning Khizr Khán's marriage, writes him a letter full of reproaches, to which he replies by excuses. The grief of the two lovers and their solicitations to heaven. The deep distress of Khizr Khán is reported to the queen-mother, and it is represented to her, that as it is lawful for a Musulmán to marry four wives, he might be allowed to marry Dewal Dí also. She relents, and as the Sultán has from the beginning given his consent to Khizr Khán's marriage with Dewal Dí, she is sent for from the Red Palace and married to him.—The complete happiness of the lovers at their union.—Khizr Khán becomes one of the disciples of the Saint Nizámu-d dín Aulyá.

Rupture between 'Aláu-d dín and Khizr Khán.

The poet again proceeds to some historical details.—Misunderstanding between the Sultán and Khizr Khán, and the imprisonment of the latter.—The cause was this: the Sultán being ill of fever, Khizr Khán made a vow that, in the event of his recovery, he would

[1] This is in the original, and shows that those who object to the common reading of the Bible have no good ground for any alteration. The phrase is universal in the East to express any difficulty.

proceed bare-footed on a pilgrimage to some shrines. When the Sultán recovered in some degree, Khizr Khán set out on his expedition to Hatánpúr, but in consequence of his feet getting blistered he was persuaded by his attendants to mount on horseback. Amír Khusrú here observes that when the prince had such a spiritual teacher as Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, he should have performed his pilgrimage to him, and not have sought out other shrines; that it was to this that his ill-fortune is to be ascribed. Malik Káfúr, the eunuch, was not slow to take advantage of this indiscretion of the Khán, and represented that this non-fulfilment of his vow was a personal insult to the Sultán.

The Sultán first wreaked his vengeance on the Khán's maternal uncle and father-in-law, Alp Khán, who was assassinated in Dehli by his orders. He then caused an angry letter to be written to his son, telling him not to return to his presence without orders, and assigning Amroha to him as a residence, and the country from the Ganges to the foot of the hills as his hunting-ground, where game was so plentiful that "he might kill ten antelopes with one arrow." He was directed to remain there for two months, after which he would be summoned, when the king had recovered his composure. Meanwhile, he was to send back the royal insignia he had received, the canopy, *dúrbásh*, standards, and elephants, which would be retained by the king until he had again restored the Khán to his good graces.

This *farmán* was sent by an ugly courier called 'Ambar, who brought it in one night from Dehli to beyond Meerut, where the Prince was encamped. The Prince was deeply afflicted at the contents, but returned the royal insignia under the charge of Malik Hisámu-d dín, while he himself, with tears in his eyes, crossed the Ganges and went to Amroha.

He had only been there two or three days, when his agitation was so great that, without a summons, he determined to return to his father, who, being on the point of death, received him kindly, his affection for him having revived in this extremity. Malik Káfúr, again successfully practising his wiles, persuaded the Sultán that till his recovery it would be wise to confine the Khán in the fort of Gwalior. The Sultán consented, but bound Káfúr by solemn

oaths not to attempt the life of the Prince, who was accordingly carried off from Dehli to Gwalior in two days. There his faithful Dewal Rání became the companion to and solace of his miserable imprisonment.

Death of 'Aláu-d dín and subsequent massacres.

'Aláu-d dín, partly through bodily infirmity and partly through mental distress, died on the 7th Shawwál, 715 H. (Jan., 1316 A.D.), when Malik Káfúr placed the king's youngest son, Shahábu-d-dín 'Umar, upon the throne, and despatched Sumbul to Gwalior to blind Khizr Khán. When Sumbul had completed his inhuman deed, he was promoted to the office of *Náib-hájib*.

A short time afterwards, the slaves and guards of the late king slew Malik Káfúr, and conveyed the intelligence to Khizr Khán, to show that the curse that he had pronounced against Káfúr had been fulfilled.

Kutbu-d dín Mubárak Sháh then ascended the throne in the beginning of 716 H. (1316 A.D.). After displacing his brother, 'Umar, he sent to demand Dewal Rání from his brother Khizr Khán, who returned an indignant refusal. Vexed at this opposition, and determined to rid himself of all rivals, the wretch Mubárak Sháh sent a ruffian named Shádí to Gwalior, to murder the three princes Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, and 'Umar. After this butchery had been committed, the garrison violated the ladies of their households. The devoted Dewal Rání, in clinging to the body of her husband, was wounded in the face and had her hands cut off by the assassins. Not long after the murder of the princes, the villains went into the *zenána* and murdered all the females. All the members of the royal family were buried in the Bijymandar bastion of the fort of Gwalior. The conclusion.

"Prince Khizr Khán then ordered a confidential servant to place me near the narrative of his love, without attracting the attention of the bystanders. When my eyes fell on the heart-exciting tale, tears fell from them involuntarily. I immediately assented with all my heart, to the wish of the prince, the apple of the eye. My head was exalted by the honour of my selection, and I retired with the narrative in my hand."

The Hindí Language.

"When I came to examine it from beginning to end, I found most of the names (words?) in it were Hindí. I pondered a long time with myself how I might join the coarse cloth with the fine, but as some kind of junction was requisite, I thought that no wise man would regard a necessity as a fault. But I was in error, for if you ponder the matter well, you will not find the Hindí words (language) inferior to the Pársí. It is inferior to the Arabic, which is the chief of all languages. The prevalent languages of Rái and Rám, I know, from reflecting well on the matter, to be inferior to the Hindí. Arabic, in speech, has a separate province, and no other language can combine with it. The Pársí is deficient in its vocabulary, and cannot be tasted without Arabic condiments; as the latter is pure, and the former mixed, you might say that one was the soul, the other the body. With the former nothing can enter into combination, but with the latter, every kind of thing. It is not proper to place the cornelian of Yemen on a level with the pearl of Darí.

"The language of Hind is like the Arabic, inasmuch as neither admits of combination. If there is grammar and syntax in Arabic, there is not one letter less of them in the Hindí. If you ask whether there are the sciences of exposition and rhetoric, I answer that the Hindí is in no way deficient in those respects. Whoever possesses these three languages in his store, will know that I speak without error or exaggeration.

"If I were with reason and justice to speak to you of the merits of Hindí, you would object to what I advance; and if I were to swear to the truth of my assertions, who knows whether you would credit me or not? It is true, I know so little, that my acquaintance with it is but as a drop in the ocean; yet from tasting it, I am well aware that the fowl of the desert is deprived of the waters of the Tigris. He who is far from the Ganges and Hindústán can boast himself of the Nile and Tigris. When a man sees only the nightingale of China in a garden, how does he know what the parrot of Hindústán is? o o o He who has placed only guavas and quinces in his throat, and has never eaten a plantain, will say it is like so much jujube. The Khurásání who considers every Hindí a fool will think even a *pán* leaf of no more value than grass. A wise and

just man, and he who has travelled through several countries observantly, will believe these assertions of Khusrú; for if the conversation should turn on Hind or Rám, he will speak fairly, and not without ground asseverate his own opinion, like the man who said that Basra was superior to Syria. And if any one chooses to speak with partiality, no doubt he will be ready to class my (Indian) mangoes below (foreign) figs. They call Hind black, and that is true enough, yet it is the largest country[1] in the world. You should look on Hindústán as Paradise, with which it is in fact connected, for, if not, why did Adam and the peacock come to adorn it from that blissful spot?

---

4. NUH SIPIHR OF AMÍR KHUSRÚ.

["The Nine Heavens (or Spheres)." This is one of the separate poems of Amír Khusrú, written, as he tells us, in his old age. Its historical notices relate to the reign of Kutbu-d dín Mubárak Sháh, in whose time it was written."]

ABSTRACT.

The First Sphere.

Praise of God and the Prophet, and of the author's spiritual teacher, Nizámu-d dín Aulyá. Panegyric on the reigning monarch, Mubárak Sháh. The author tells us that he was more than sixty years old when he wrote this poem, and had already written poems on the three preceding monarchs: Kai-kubád, respecting whom he had written the *Kiránu-s Sa'dain;* Jalálu-d dín Fíróz, on whom he had written *Kasídas* and *Masnavís;* 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, to whom he had dedicated his *Khamsa*, and addressed panegyrical poems.

The accession of Kutbu-d dín Mubárak Sháh on Sunday, the 24th[2] of Muharram, 716 H.[3] (April 18th, 1316 A.D.). After remaining in Dehli for a year, he proceeded to the Dekhin for the conquest of Deogír, at the head of a large army. His first march was to Tilpat, about seven *kos* from Dehli, and, after a march of two months, he

[1] A play upon *sawdá*, meaning both "black" and "country."

[2] Ferishta says, the 7th.

[3] This is the date given in the MS. used, but in some loose extracts the date is 717 (April 9th, 1317 A.D.). See *supra* pp. 211 and 555.

the length of which was equal to 150 yards at that time." When the *rái* witnessed these bold advances, he became alarmed, and "sent wise messengers with expressions of his submission and duty to the powerful one, saying, 'If I have wealth, or elephants, or country, it is mine only through the protection of the king. I will give all my wealth, my gold, my elephants, if I am allowed to escape with my life.' When the great Khán heard that message, he thanked Almighty God for his victory." The Khán replied: "The Khalífa who sent me to this country ordered me to demand three conditions from the Hindus: First, that they should make profession of our faith, in order that its saving tidings may be proclaimed throughout the world; second, that, in the event of refusal, a capitation tax should be levied; the third is, if compliance with these demands be refused, to place their heads under the sword. It is my recommendation that the *rái* come forth and place his face upon the ground, in front of the royal pavilion."

The *rái*, in apprehension of his life, refused to leave the fort, but sent jewels, clothes, sandal, gold, horses, elephants, and other valuables to the Khán, by way of *jizya*. There were one hundred elephants and twelve thousand horses. The rapacious Khán, however, was not satisfied with all this, but sent a message to intimate that what had been sent was but "a leaf in the garden of the *rái's* wealth;" he therefore enjoined him to send everything in his possession, or to prepare for war. The *rái* solemnly affirmed that he had nothing left of all his former wealth, "As I am *rái* and have a regard for my own fair name, I would not tell a lie, which would not obtain credence."

To this the Khán replied that if the *rái* were speaking truth, he could have no objection to submit to an ordeal. "He should thrust his hand into hot oil, and if he sustain no injury from the heat, no suspicion will exist against him." To this the *rái* would not consent, but on the demand of the Khán, made over some of his relations as hostages, and wrote a letter, saying, "If any concealed treasure should hereafter be discovered, the fault will be with me, and I am responsible. This written promise soon arrived from Arangal, and it was stamped with the seal of Mahádeo."

The Khán then received from the *rái*, five districts (*mauza'*) of his

country (*aktá'*), an annual tribute of "more than a hundred strong elephants, as large as demons, 12,000 horses, and gold and jewels and gems beyond compute. The *rái* assented to the whole, with heart and soul, and wrote an engagement to this effect and confirmed it." He then made a long speech, entreating the consideration of the king, in the course of which he observes, that "the relation between Turk and Hindu is that of a lion and antelope, and the Turks, whenever they please, can seize, buy, or sell any Hindu." The Khán relinquished all the ceded and conquered territory, except "Badrkot, a fort as high as heaven, which the Khán had an object in demanding."

The *rái* then ascended the rampart of the fort of Arangal, and turning his face towards the royal pavilion, he bowed to the earth. "Thus did he for three days, out of respect to the pale of religion; he turned towards the pavilion, and kissed the earth. He then again, tremblingly, addressed the commander in these words: 'I hold from the late Sultán several emblems of military pomp and dignity. What order is there respecting them? shall I continue to use them, or return them to you?' The Khán replied, 'As these were bestowed on you by the late Sultán, why should the reigning one wish to take them back from you? But it is right to pay due respect to his majesty, by sending the canopy (*dúrbásh*) and standard to the royal pavilion, in order that the former may be replaced by a new one, as the beams of the former sun no longer shine.'" The *rái* accordingly returned the insignia, which were lowered before the empty pavilion of the king, and were then returned to the *rái*, with the standard unfurled, and a new canopy.

Khusrú Khán, after this ceremony, returned in triumph to the king, by whom he had been summoned in haste. But before his arrival, Mubárak Sháh had departed from Deogír, towards Dehli, in the month of Jumáda-l ákhir, 718 H. (August 5th, 1318 A.D.).

When Mubárak Sháh arrived at Dehli, he gave orders for the building of a *Jámi' Masjid*, by the most skilful architects, and when that was completed, he gave orders for completing the city and fort of Dehli, which his father, 'Aláu-d dín, had left in an unfinished state.

The Third Sphere.

Praises of Hindústán.—Its Climate.—Animals.—Learning and Languages.

"This is a well-known fact, that the language spoken by conquerors who have established themselves, when it has been disseminated amongst people, great and small, has become the common language of the country. Just as in Baghdád, where originally but little Persian was spoken, when the Khalífa's dynasty was overthrown, the Párśís established themselves in it. Thenceforward, everything that was Arab, became subject to Párśí rules, and the herd acquired respect for the language of the shepherds. The city, which was called Baghdád in Arabic, became converted in its first syllable into Bághchadád. Turkí became just as prevalent, when the Turks conquered the country, and the language of the chiefs bore fruit in a new soil."

"Hind has observed the same rule in respect to language. In olden time it was Hindúí. When the tribes, great and small, became intermixed, every one, bad and good, learnt Párśí, and all the other languages which existed never moved from their bounds. As God had taught them all, it is not proper to call them all bad. With the exception of Arabic, which, in consequence of the Kurán being written in it, is the most excellent and eloquent of languages, all the tongues differ from one another, and each one has some peculiar merit of its own. This one exclaims, 'My wine is better than all others.' Every one loses himself in his own cup, and no one admits that his own wine is vinegar. In short, it would be useless to enter into further discussion respecting Párśí, Turkí, and Arabic."

"As I was born in Hind, I may be allowed to say a word respecting its languages. There is at this time in every province a language peculiar to itself, and not borrowed from any other—Sindí, Lahorí, Kashmírí, the language of Dugar,[1] Dhúr Samundar, Tilang, Gujarát, Ma'bar, Gaur, Bengal, Oudh, Dehli and its environs. These are all languages of Hind, which from ancient times have been applied in every way to the common purposes of life.

[1] This may be considered the country between Lahore and Kashmír. Though now used by us in a more restricted sense, the natives assign to it wider limits.

"But there is another language more select than the others, which all the Brahmans use. Its name from of old is Sahaskrit, and the common people know nothing of it. A Brahman knows it, but Brahmaní women do not understand a word of it. It bears a resemblance to Arabic in some respects, in its permutations of letters, its grammar, its conjugations, and polish. They have four books in that language, which they are constantly in the habit of repeating. Their name is *Bed*. They contain stories of their gods, but little advantage can be derived from their perusal. Whatever other stories and fables they have, is contained in *kabits*, *parwánas*, and *námahs*. The language possesses rules for composition and eloquence. The language is very precious, inferior to Arabic, but superior to Darí; and though the latter is certainly sweet and melodious, yet even in that respect this language does not yield to it."

Mention of some of the powers of sorcery and enchantment possessed by the inhabitants of India. "First of all, they can bring a dead man to life. If a man has been bitten by a snake and is rendered speechless, they can resuscitate him after even six months. They put him on a river which flows towards the East, and he speeds on his voyage as swift as lightning. When he arrives on the borders of Kámrú, an experienced witch instils life into him."

"Another mode is this, and the power is possessed by the Brahmans as a secret; namely, that they can bring a man to life after his head has been cut off. I will tell you another story, if you will not be alarmed at it, that a demon gets into one's head and drinks as much wine as satisfies him, and whatever he utters in this state, is sure to become true. Another is, that through their art they can procure longevity by diminishing the daily number of their expirations of breath. A *jogí* who could restrain his breath in this way lived in an idol to an age of more than three hundred and fifty years."

"Another process is, that they can tell future events by the breath of their nostrils, according as the right or left orifice is more or less open. They can also inflate another's body by their own breath. In the hills on the borders of Kashmír there are many such people. Another is, that they know how to convert themselves into wolves, dogs, and cats. They can also extract by their power

the blood from one's body and infuse it again. They can also, even while moving, affect a man, whether old or young, with bodily disease. They can also make a body float from shore to shore. They can also fly like fowls in the air, however improbable it may seem. They can also, by putting antimony on their eyes, make themselves invisible at pleasure. Those only can believe all this who have seen it with their own eyes."

"Though this be all sorcery and incantation, yet there is one marvel which you must acknowledge to be fact, that is, that a woman in her senses will burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband, and that a man will burn himself for his idol or for his master. Though this be not legitimate in Islám, yet see what a great achievement it is! If this practice were lawful amongst us, pious devotees might surrender their lives to the air."

When Khusrú Khán was returning to the king after the defeat of Rághú, he received intelligence on the road that Rána Harpál had rebelled, and taken up a position in the hills at the head of a powerful army. The Khán went in pursuit of him, and was vigorously attacked two or three times by the rebel, who, in the end being desperately wounded, was taken captive, and his army put to flight. He was brought, bound hand and foot, before the king, who gave orders that he should be put to death; after which his body was delivered to his attendants to be burnt. "When his way had been taken towards hell by the sword, the king gave his body to the other hellites, that this great infidel and little Satan might become one of its chief ornaments of their kingdom. The hellites who had accompanied him out of regard and had fought by his side, also afforded food to the flames of the infernal regions. Those hellites did not desire that he should be burnt by himself alone, so they accompanied him into the flames, and hell was gratified by that sacrifice."

In the beginning of the month of Rajab, 718 H., the king, on his return towards Dehli from Deogír, crossed the Nerbadda in a boat. "Nerbadda is a river which flows very rapidly, and is so deep that it cannot be fathomed. Swifter than an arrow, and about two bow-shots broad from shore to shore, even an expert swimmer dare not attempt to cross it." On the day of the passage of the river, the captured elephants arrived in the royal camp from Telingána.

The Fourth Sphere.

Admonitions and precepts for kings, chiefs, soldiers, and the common people.

"I have heard a story that, in Dehli, about five or six hundred years ago. there was a great *rái*, called Anangpál. At the entrance of his palace he had placed two lions, sculptured in stone. He fixed a bell by the side of the two lions, in order that those who sought justice might strike it, upon which the *rái* would order them to be summoned, would listen to their complaints, and render justice. One day, a crow came and sat on the bell and struck it; when the *rái* asked who the complainant was. It is a fact, not unknown, that bold crows will pick meat from between the the teeth of lions. As stone lions cannot hunt for their prey, where could the crow obtain its usual sustenance? As the *rái* was satisfied that the crow justly complained of hunger, having come to sit by his stone lions, he gave orders that some goats and sheep should be killed, on which the crow might feed himself for some days."

The Fifth Sphere.

The king's fondness of hunting.—His preserves.—Praise of the seasons of Hindústán.—Dialogue between the king's bow and arrow.

The Sixth Sphere.

Birth of Prince Sultán Muhammad on the 23rd of Rabí'u-l awwal, 718 H. (June 25th, 1318 A.D.).—The king distributes gold and jewels among the nobles after seeing the child.—Its education.

The Seventh Sphere.

Encomium upon spring and new year's day; on flowers and birds.—The king's public audience, and the honours and robes bestowed by him upon the nobles, especially upon Khusrú Khán.

The Eighth Sphere.

The king's skill in the game of *chaugán*.—Dialogue between the bat and the ball.

The Ninth Sphere.

The poet exalts his own merits, and boastingly says that though at that time, in all 'Ajam and Írán, the two poets of chief celebrity

were Shaikh Sa'dí Shírází and Hakím Humám Tabrízí, yet he excelled them both; because, whatever might be the merit of their verses, they possessed not the same multifarious accomplishments as himself.

He tells us that he was sixty-five years of age, and becoming infirm, when he concluded this poem on the 30th of Jumáda-s sání, 718 H. (August 24th, 1318 A.D.), and that it contains 4,509 lines.

---

5. I'JÁZ-I KHUSRUWÍ.

[This work, sometimes called *Inshá-i Amír Khusrú*, is a collection of *farmáns*, despatches, and letters by Amír Khusrú. It is rather an extensive work. A MS. belonging to Nawáb Zíáu-d dín, of Dehli, consists of 382 pages of small writing, nineteen lines in the page. The documents it contains are, as usual, written in the most grandiloquent style, a very small amount of information being wrapped up in a bewildering maze of words. The following abstract, made by a *munshi*, of a portion of one despatch, relates to a matter upon which the historians are silent. Barní says nothing of 'Aláu-d dín's ascendancy at Ghazní, and Firishta (I. 364) speaks only of plundering expeditions into that and the neighbouring countries.]

EXTRACT.

Abstract (Book IV., Sec. iii., Letter 3) of part of an *Arz-dáshi* of Hájib Badr to the address of Prince Khizr Khán, the eldest son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí. The letter has no date.

This servant, Badr, begs to state, for the information of his highness Prince Khizr Khán, son of Iskandar-i sání ('Aláu-d dín), that, according to the royal orders, he marched with an army, and, after travelling through the various stages, he reached the banks of the Indus. He crossed the river in boats, and, proceeding onwards, arrived at Ghaznín in winter. The season was exceedingly cold. The Mughals of the place were in great alarm, from fear of the Musulmán army. But when the purport of the royal *farmán* was read to them, they became comforted, expressed their obedience, and were happy. As the king had ordered that the *khutba* of his name should be read in Ghaznín, all the Muhammadans, who had con-

cealed themselves in mountains and ravines, as well as all the elders and principal Musulmáns of Ghaznín, who were looking with the eye of expectation towards Dehli, assembled in the *Jámi' Masjid* of the city, and on Friday the *khutba* was read in the name of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. The noise of the acclamations of joy and congratulations rose high from all quarters. The vest of honour, which was sent by the king for the reader of the *khutba*, was put on his shoulders. One of the walls of the mosque, which was decayed and had fallen down, was newly raised.

On the same Friday, before the assembly of the Muhammadans, when the name of the king was pronounced in the *khutba*, he (Badr) offered, near the pulpit, the jewels which he had brought with him, and also one plate full of gold. He threw them down on the earth, and people fell on them and picked them up. The Mughals saw this from the top of the walls of the *Masjid*, and spoke something in their own tongue. In these days some of the infidels have embraced the Muhammadan faith.

B.—KASÁID OF BADR CHÁCH.

[The author of these Odes, whose real name was Badru-d dín, "the full moon of religion," was more familiarly known as Badr-i Chách, from his native country of Chách, or Tashkand. He came to India and attracted some notice at the Court of Muhammad Tughlik, as may be gathered from the following extracts of his poems. His *Kasáid*, or Odes, were lithographed at Lucknow in 1845, and there is a short notice of them in Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo's Library, and in Sprenger's Catalogue of the Oude Libraries, p. 367. Beyond this, nothing is known of him. The following extracts and notes are entirely the work of Sir H. Elliot.]

Congratulations on the Arrival of a Khila't from the 'Abbási Khalífa.

Gabriel, from the firmament of Heaven, has proclaimed the glad tidings, that a robe of honour and Patent have reached the Sultán from the Khalífa, just as the verses of the Kurán honoured Muhammad by their arrival from the Court of the immortal God. • • • The Imám has given the Sháh absolute power over all the world, and this intelligence has reached all other Sháhs throughout

the seven climates. The Patent of the other sovereigns of the world has been revoked, for an autograph grant has been despatched from the eternal Capital. The wells of the envious have become as dry as that of Joseph, now that the Egyptian robe has been received in Hindústán from Canaan. o o o A veritable *'Íd* has arrived to the Faithful, now that twice in one year a *khila't* has reached the Sultán from the *Amíru-l Múminín*. o o o Rajab arrived here on his return in the month of Muharram, 746 H.[1] (May, 1345 A.D.). o o o The king now never mentions his desire of sitting on an ivory throne, since his enemies sit on the point of elephants' tusks.[2] o o o Be happy, oh Badr, for by the grace of God, and liberality of the king, your difficulties have ceased, and the period of benefactions has arrived.

Decorations of Dehli upon the same occasion.

Yesternight, at the time that the sun, the king with the golden garments, invested itself with a black mantle, and the king of the host of darkness,[3] whose name is the moon, filled the emerald vault with sparks of gold, a robe of honour and a patent of sovereignty arrived, for the king of sea and land, from the lord Khalífa, the saint of his time, Ahmad 'Abbás, the Imám of God, the heir of the prophet of mankind. An order went forth that the embroiderers of

[1] This is a very difficult passage, and variously interpreted. I have made as much sense of it as it seems capable of bearing. The literal translation is: "On the very date on which one month was in excess of the year 700 from this journey, in the month of Muharram, the before Sha'bán arrived." The chronogrammatic value of "one month" is forty-six; some copies, by the omission of the *alif*, make it "forty-five," and some only "nine," which latter is out of the question. Rajab is the month before Sha'bán, and that is also the name of the ambassador who had been sent by Muhammad Tughlik to the Khalífa. Firishta says one *khila't* arrived in 744 H., and another in 747 H. Here a contemporary says the second arrived in 746 H., or it may be 745 H., and that both *khila'ts* arrived within one year. The introduction of the Khalífa's name upon Muhammad Tughlik's coins begins as early as 741 H.; but this must have occurred before the arrival of an ambassador, and sufficiently accounts for the errors in the name of the reigning Khalífa, which do not occur at a period subsequent to this embassy. See E. Thomas, *Coins of the Patan Sultans*, New Edition, pp. 254, 259, and Fraehn, Recensio, p. 177.

[2] That is, your enemies are placed before elephants, to be gored or trampled to death by elephants.

[3] There is a double meaning here—the "host of darkness" being, in the original, "the army of Hind;" and the "black mantle," "the *khila't* of the 'Abbásís;" which image also occurs in the preceding ode.

curtains should prepare a beautiful and costly pavilion in the centre of four triumphal arches, which were so lofty that the vault of heaven appeared in comparison like a green fly. Each arch was adorned with golden vestments, like a bride. The floors were spread with beautiful carpets, and there were ponds of water to excite the envy of Kansar, the rivulet of paradise. In the chambers poets recited verses; songsters, like Venus, sang in each balcony. The chamberlains were in attendance, with their embroidered sleeves; the judges, with their turbans; the princes, with their waistbands. All classes of the people assembled round the buildings to witness the scene. This gay assemblage had collected because a *khila't* and Patent had been sent by the lord Imám. The contents of it were: "May everything on the face of the earth, in the fire and in the water, remain under the protection of the king—Turk, Rúm, Khurásán, Chín, and Shám—both that which is good, and that which is bad! If an azure canopy be granted, the heaven is at his command; if a red crown be desired, the sun will provide it. Let his titles be proclaimed from every pulpit—the Sultán of East and West, the King of Kings by sea and land, the Defender of the Faith, Muhammad Tughlik, the Just, in dignity like Saturn, in splendour like the Messiah!" The Imám has sent a *khila't* black as the apple of the eye, calculated to spread the light of the law through the hearts of men. For fear of the justice of thy government, the hart and the lion consort in the forest. May the eyes of thy enemies shed tears of blood. May he who raises his head against thy authority, have his face blackened, and his tongue slit, like a pen-reed; and so long as the moon is sometimes round as a shield, and sometimes bent like a bow, may arrows pierce the heart of thy ruthless enemies. May every success attend Badr through thy good fortune, and may he never be visited by any calamities of the time!

In Celebration of a Festival.

Doubtless, this festival appears as if it were held in Paradise, in which armies of angels stand on the right and left. A thousand crowned heads are bowed in reverence; a thousand throned warriors stand awaiting orders; a thousand stars (armies) are there, and

Journal des Savants, and he frequently refers to the author under the surname of *Marakashí* in his *Histoire des Huns;* but M. Quatremère shows this title of *Marakashí*, or "native of Morocco," to be a mistake.

The MS. is a small folio of 231 leaves, and consists of six chapters. 1. Description of Hind and Sind. 2. The Empire and family of Changíz Khán. 3. The Kingdom of Jílán. 4. The Kurds, Lúrs, and other mountain tribes. 5. Turk states in Asia Minor, with notices of the empires of Trebizond and Constantinople. 6. Egypt, Syria, and Hijjáz.

At the close of his notices of India, he mentions the name of Muhammad Tughlik as the reigning sovereign, and the general tenor of his observations points unmistakably to that able but perverse ruler. The author quotes occasionally the works of other authors on geography and history, and among them Abú-l Fidá and Juwaíní; but he depends principally on the oral information supplied by intelligent and learned travellers with whom he had come in contact. His method of gathering and using information is apparent in the following extracts. The work stood high in Oriental estimation, and was often quoted by later writers—among others by the author of the *Nuzhatu-l Kulúb*.]

EXTRACTS.

India is a most important country, with which no other country in the world can be compared in respect of extent, riches, the numbers of its armies, the pomp and splendour displayed by the sovereign in his progresses and habitations, and the power of the empire. * * * The inhabitants are remarkable for their wisdom and great intelligence; no people are better able to restrain their passions, nor more willing to sacrifice their lives, for what they consider agreeable in the sight of God.

According to the information of Siráju-d dín Abú-l Fath 'Umar, a lawyer, and a native of the province of Oudh, who had lived long at the court of the Sultán of Dehli, the dominions of that monarch consisted of twenty-three principal provinces. 1. Dehli. 2. Dawákír (Deogir). 3. Multán. 4. Kahrán (Kuhrám). 5. Sámána. 6. Siwistán. 7. Uch. 8. Hasí (Hansí). 9. Sarsutí (Sírsah). 10. Ma'bar.

11. Tilank (Telingana). 12. Gujarát. 13. Badáún. 14. Oudh. 15. Kanauj. 16. Lakhnautí. 17. Bihár. 18. Karra. 19. Málwa. 20. Láhor. 21. Kalanor (Gwalior?). 22. Jájnagar. 23. Tilanj Darusamand (Telingana (?) and Dwára-samudra).

According to the account of Shaikh Mubárak, the city of Dehli is the capital of the kingdom of India. Next comes *Dawákír* (Deogír), which was founded by the Sultán of that empire, and named by him "*Kabbatu-l Islám*, or the Metropolis of Islám." This place, said the Shaikh, is situated in the third climate. When I left it six years ago the buildings were not completed, and I doubt if they are yet finished, the extent it covers being so great, and the number of its intended edifices so vast. The king divided it into quarters, each of them intended for men of the same profession. Thus there was the quarter of the troops, that of the ministers and clerks, that of the *kázís* and learned men, that of the *shaikhs* and *fakírs*, and that of the merchants and those who carry on trades. Each quarter was to contain within it everything necessary for its wants, mosques, minarets, markets, baths, mills, ovens, and workmen of every trade, including even blacksmiths, dyers, and curriers, so that the inhabitants should have no necessity to resort elsewhere for buying or selling, or the other requirements of life. Each quarter was to form a separate town, entirely independent of those surrounding it.

o o o o o o o

I questioned the Shaikh Mubárak about the city of Dehli and the court of its sovereign, and I obtained from him the following details. "Dehli consists of several cities which have become united, and each of which has a name of its own. Dehli, which was one among them, has given its name to all the rest. It is both long and broad, and covers a space of about forty miles in circumference. The houses are built of stone and brick, and the roofs of wood. The floors are paved with a white stone, like marble. None of the houses are more than two stories high, and some only one. It is only in the palace of the Sultán that marble is used for pavement. But if I can believe the Shaikh Abú Bakr bin Khallál, this description applies only to the old houses of Dehli, for the new ones are built differently. According to the same informant, Dehli comprises an aggregate of twenty-one cities. Gardens extend on three sides of

it, in a straight line for twelve thousand paces. The western side is not so furnished, because it borders on a mountain. Dehli contains a thousand colleges, one of which belongs to the *Sháfa'is*, the rest to the *Hanafís*. In it there are about seventy hospitals, called *Dáru-sh Shifá*, or houses of cure. In the city, and those dependent upon it, the chapels and hermitages amount to 2,000. There are great monasteries, large open spaces, and numerous baths. The water used by the people is drawn from wells of little depth, seldom exceeding seven cubits. Hydraulic wheels are placed at their tops. The people drink rain-water, which is collected in large reservoirs constructed for that purpose, the distance across each of them being a bowshot, or even more. The chief mosque is celebrated for its minaret, which, in point of altitude, is said to have no equal in the world. If the statement of Shaikh Burhánu-d dín Búrsí can be believed, the height of this part of the edifice is 600 cubits.

According to Shaikh Mubárak, the palaces of the Sultán of Dehli are exclusively occupied by the Sultan, his wives, concubines, eunuchs, male and female slaves, and *mamlúks*. None of the *kháns* and *amírs* are permitted to dwell there. They make their appearance there only when they come to wait upon the Sultán, which they do twice a day, morning and afternoon. Afterwards, each one of them retires to his own house.

As regards the great officers of State, those of the highest rank are called *kháns*, then the *maliks*,[1] then the *amírs*, then the *isfahsálárs* (generals), and, lastly, the officers (*jand*). The court of the sovereign comprises eighty *kháns*, or even more. The army consists of 900,000 horsemen, some of whom are stationed near the prince, and the rest are distributed in the various provinces of the empire. All are inscribed in the registers of the State, and partake of the liberality of their sovereign. These troops consist of Turks, inhabitants of Khatá, Persians, and Indians. Among them are to be found *athletæ* (*pahlawán*), runners, (*shattár*), and men of every kind. They have excellent horses, magnificent armour, and a fine costume. o o o The Sultán has 3,000 elephants, which, when ac-

[1] The French translation says "rois," but I have no hesitation in substituting "*malik*," which is no doubt the original word.

coutred for battle, wear a covering of iron gilded. * * * He has 20,000 Turk *mamlúks*. * * * It is not the same in India as in Egypt and Syria, where the *maliks*, *amírs*, and generals have in their service men whom they maintain out of their own resources. In India the officer has only to care for himself. As to the soldiers, the Sultán summons them for service, and they are paid from the public treasury. The sums granted to a *khán*, a *malik*, an *amír*, or a general, are given exclusively for his own personal maintenance. The chamberlains and other dignitaries; the military men, such as the *kháns*, the *maliks*, and the *amírs*, all have a rank in proportion to the importance of their employ. The *isfah-sálárs* (generals) have no right to approach the Sultán. It is from this class that governors and other similar functionaries are chosen. The *khán* has 10,000 horse under his command, the *malik*, 1,000; the *amír*, 100; and the *isfah-sálár* a smaller number. The *kháns*, *maliks*, *amírs*, and *isfah-sálárs* receive the revenues of places assigned to them by the treasury, and if these do not increase, they never diminish. Generally speaking, they bring in much more than their estimated value. The *khán* receives a grant of two *lacs* of *tankas*, each *tanka* being worth eight *dirhams*. This sum belongs to him personally, and he is not expected to disburse any part of it to the soldiers who fight under his orders. The *malik* receives an amount varying from 60,000 to 50,000 *tankas*, the *amír* from 40,000 to 30,000, and the *isfah-sálár* 20,000, or thereabouts. The pay of the officer varies from 10,000 to 1,000 *tankas*. A *mamlúk* receives 500 *tankas*, and all receive, in addition, food and raiment, and forage for their horses. Soldiers and *mamlúks* do not receive grants of land-revenue, but draw their pay in money from the public treasury. The officers have villages of which they receive the revenues. As this same traveller observed to me, the revenues of these lands, if they do not increase, certainly do not decrease. Some of the officers receive double, and even more than that, in excess of the estimated value of their grants.

The slaves of the Sultán each receive a monthly allowance for their maintenance of two *mans* of wheat and rice, and a daily allowance of three *sírs* of meat, with all the necessary accompaniments. Besides, he receives ten *tankas* per month, and four suits of clothes every year.

The Sultán has a manufactory, in which 400 silk-weavers are employed, and where they make stuffs of all kinds for the dresses of persons attached to the Court, for robes of honour and presents, in addition to the stuffs which are brought every year from China, 'Irák, and Alexandria. Every year the Sultán distributes 200,000 complete dresses; 100,000 in spring, and 100,000 in autumn. The spring dresses consist principally of the goods manufactured at Alexandria. Those of the autumn are almost exclusively of silk manufactured at Dehli or imported from China and 'Irák. Dresses are also distributed to the monasteries and hermitages.

The Sultán keeps in his service 500 manufacturers of golden tissues, who weave the gold brocades worn by the wives of the Sultán, and given away as presents to the *amírs* and their wives. Every year he gives away 10,000 Arab horses, of excellent breed, sometimes with saddle and bridle, sometimes without. o o o As to the hacks which the Sultán distributes every year, their number is incalculable. He gives them in lots or by hundreds. Notwithstanding the number of horses in India, and notwithstanding the numbers annually imported, the Sultán has horses brought from all countries, and buys them at high prices for presents. These animals are consequently always dear, and yield a good profit to the horse-dealers.

The Sultán has under him a *náíb*, chosen from among the *kháns*, who bears the title of *Amriya*, and enjoys, as his official appanage, a considerable province, as large as 'Irák. He also has a *wazír*, who has a similar large appanage. This officer has four deputies called *shak*, who receive 20,000 to 40,000 *tankas* per annum. He has four *dabírs*, or secretaries, each of whom receives the revenue of a large maritime town. Each of them has under his orders about 300 clerks, the lowest and worst paid of whom receives 10,000 *tankas* a year. Some of the highest rank have towns and villages, and some have both (pay and lands) to the value of fifty (thousand).

The *Sadr-i Jahán*, or *Kázíu-l kuzát*, which office is held, at the time I am writing, by Kamálu-d dín, son of Burhánu-d dín, has ten towns, producing a revenue of about 60,000 *tankas*. This dignitary is also called *Sadru-l Islám*, and is the chief officer of justice. The *Shaikhu-l Islám*, who corresponds to our *Shaikhu-sh shuyúkh*, has

the same revenue. The *Muhtasib*, or chief of the police, has a village which brings him in about 800 *tankas*.

At the Court of this prince there are 1,200 physicians, 10,000 falconers, who ride on horseback, and carry the birds trained for hawking, 300 beaters to go in front and put up the game, 3,000 dealers, who sell the articles required for hawking, 500 table companions, 1,200 musicians, not including the *mamlúk* musicians to the number of 1,000, who are more especially charged with the teaching of music, and 1,000 poets skilled in one of three languages, Arabic, Persian, or Indian. All these are men of fine taste, who are included in the establishment of the Court, and receive magnificent presents. If the Sultán hears that one of his musicians has sung before any other person, he has him put to death. I asked my informant what pay these various officers received, but he did not know; he could only inform me that the table companions of the prince held some of them one, and some of them two towns; and that each of them, according to his rank, received 40,000, 30,000, or 20,000 *tankas*, without taking into account dresses, robes of honour, and other presents.

According to Shaikh Mubárak, the Sultán gives two audiences daily, in the morning and in the evening, and a repast is then served, at which 20,000 men are present, *kháns*, *maliks*, *amírs*, *isfah-sálárs*, and the principal officers. At his private meals, that is, at his dinner and supper, the Sultán receives learned lawyers to the number of 200, who eat with him and converse upon learned matters. Shaikh Abú Bakr bin Khallál Bazzí told me that he asked the Sultán's cook how many animals were killed daily to supply the royal table, and the reply was 2,500 oxen, 2,000 sheep, without taking into account fatted horses and birds of all descriptions. o o o

The *amriya* has under his charge the army and the people at large. Lawyers and learned men, whether inhabitants of the country or foreigners, are under the inspection of the *Sadr-i Jahán*. The *fakírs*, whether natives or strangers, are under the *Shaikhu-l Islám*. Lastly, all travellers, ambassadors, or others, men of letters, poets, both native and foreign, are all under the *dabírs*, or secretaries. o o o

When the Sultán goes hunting his suite is less numerous. He

only takes with him 100,000 horsemen and 200 elephants. Four wooden houses of two stories are carried in his train by 200 camels. Tents and pavilions of all kinds follow. When he travels from one place to another, for pleasure or for other motives, he takes with him 30,000 horsemen, 200 elephants, and 1,000 led horses, with saddles and bridles worked with gold, and with other trappings of gold, set with pearls and jewels.

The Sultán is generous and liberal, and at the same time full of humility. Abu-s Safá 'Umar bin Is'hák Shabalí informed me that he saw this monarch at the funeral of a *fakír* of great sanctity, and that he bore the coffin on his shoulders. He is noted for knowing the Holy Book by heart, as also the law book called *Hidáya*, which expounds the principles of the school of Abú Hanífa. He excels in all intellectual accomplishments. He possesses in the very highest degree a talent for caligraphy. He is given to religious exercises, and is careful to regulate his passions. To these advantages he adds literary acquirements. He is fond of reciting verses, composing them, and hearing them read, when he readily seizes their most hidden allusions. He likes to consult with learned men, and to converse with men of merit. He is also particularly fond of contending with poets in Persian, a language which he knows perfectly, and understands all its niceties of expression. o o o

The stories I have been told of the benevolence and generosity of this Sultán towards strangers, and to all who have recourse to him, pass all belief. o o o

The Sultán never ceases to show the greatest zeal in making war upon the infidels, both by sea and land. o o o Every day thousands of slaves are sold at a very low price, so great is the number of prisoners. According to the unanimous statements of the travellers I have cited, the value, at Dehli, of a young slave girl, for domestic service, does not exceed eight *tankas*. Those who are deemed fit to fill the parts of domestic and concubine sell for about fifteen *tankas*. In other cities the prices are still lower. Abú-s Safá 'Umar bin Is'hák Shabalí assured me that he bought a young slave in the flower of his youth for four *dirhams*. The rest may be understood from this. But still, in spite of the low price of slaves, 200,00 *tankas*, and even more, are paid for young Indian girls. I

inquired the reason, * * * and was told that these young girls are remarkable for their beauty, and the grace of their manners. * * *

According to what I heard from Shabalí, the smallest quantity of wine is not to be found either in shops or in private houses: so great is the Sultán's aversion to it and so severe the punishments with which he visits its votaries. Besides, the inhabitants of India have little taste for wine and intoxicating drinks, but content themselves with betel, an agreeable drug, the use of which is permitted without the slightest objection. * * *

From the information of the learned Siráju-d dín Abú-s Safá 'Umar Shabalí, it appears that the Sultán is very anxious to know all that passes in his territories, and to understand the position of all those who surround him, whether civilians or soldiers. He has emissaries, called intelligencers, who are divided into a great number of classes. One goes among the soldiers and people. When any fact comes under his notice which ought to be communicated to the Sultán, he reports it to the officer above him; this one, in like manner, communicates it to his superior; and so in due course the fact comes to the knowledge of the Sultán. For communicating the events which happen in distant provinces, there are established, between the capital and the chief cities of the different countries, posts, placed at certain distances from each other, which are like the post-relays in Egypt and Syria; but they are less wide apart, because the distance between them is not more than four bow-shots, or even less. At each of these posts ten swift runners are stationed, whose duty it is to convey letters to the next station without the least delay. As soon as one of these men receives a letter, he runs off as rapidly as possible, and delivers it to the next runner, who starts immediately with similar speed, while the former returns quietly to his own post. Thus a letter from a very distant place is conveyed in a very short time with greater celerity than if it had been transmitted by post, or by camel express. At each of these post-stations there are mosques, where prayers are said, and where travellers can find shelter, reservoirs full of good water, and markets where all things necessary for the food of man and beast can be purchased, so that there is very little necessity for carrying water, or food, or tents.

All through the country which separates the two capitals of the empire, Dehli and Deogír, the Sultan has had drums placed at every post-station. When any event occurs in a city, or when the gate of one is opened or closed, the drum is instantly beaten. The next nearest drum is then beaten, and in this manner the Sultán is daily and exactly informed at what time the gates of the most distant cities are opened or closed. * * *

I will now speak about the money, and afterwards about the price of provisions, seeing that these are regulated and calculated upon the value of money. Shaikh Mubárak informed me that the *red lac* consists of 100,000 *tankas* (of gold), and the *white lac* of 100,000 *tankas* (of silver). The gold *tanka*, called the *red tanka*, is equal to three *miskáls* and the silver *tanka* comprises eight *dirhams hashtkáni*.[1] The *dirham hashtkáni* has the same weight as the silver *dirham* current in Egypt and Syria. The value of both is the same, with scarcely the slightest difference. The *dirham hashtkáni* answers to four *dirhams sultánis*, otherwise called *dukánis*. A *dirham sultáni* is worth the third of a *dirham shashkáni*, which is a third kind of silver coin current in India, and which is worth three-fourths of the *dirham hashtkáni*. A piece, which is the half of the *dirham sultáni*, is called *yakáni* (piece of one), and is worth one *jital*. Another *dirham*, called *dwázdahkáni* (piece of twelve), passes for a *hashtkáni* and a half. Another coin, called *shánzdahkáni*, corresponds to two *dirhams*. So the silver coins current in India are six, *i.e.* the *dirham shánzdahkáni*, the *dwázdahkáni*, the *hashtkáni*, the *shashkáni*, the *sultáni*, and the *yakáni*. The least of these pieces is the *dirham sultáni*. These three kinds of *dirhams* are employed in commerce, and are taken universally, but there is no one of more general use than the *dirham sultáni*, which is worth a quarter of the *dirham* of Egypt and of Syria. The *dirham sultáni* is equal to eight *fals* [or *fulús*]; the *jital* to four *fals*; and the *dirham hashtkáni*, which corresponds exactly to the silver *dirham* of Egypt and Syria, is worth thirty-two *fals*.

The *ritl* of India, which is called *sir*, weighs seventy *miskáls*, which, estimated in *dirhams* of Egypt, is worth 102⅔. Forty *sirs*

[1] I retain the original spelling, as Mr. Thomas contends that *káni*, and not *gáni*, is the true reading. As, however, the Arabic has no *g*, but uses *k* for it, this passage decides nothing. See *suprà*, p. 367.

make one *man*. They do not know the way of measuring grain in India.

As to the price of provisions, wheat, which is the dearest article, sells for a *dirham hashtkání* and a half the *man*. Barley costs one *dirham* the *man*. Rice, one *dirham* three-quarters the *man;* but some sorts of this grain are higher in price. Two *mans* of peas cost a *dirham hashtkání*. Beef and goats' flesh are of the same price, and are sold at the rate of six *sírs* for a *dirham sultání*, which is the quarter of a *dirham hashtkání*. Mutton sells at four *sírs* the *dirham sultání*. A goose costs two *dirhams hashtkánis*, and four fowls can be bought for one *hashtkání*. Sugar sells at five *sírs* the *hashtkání*, and sugar-candy at four *sírs* the *dirham*. A well-fatted sheep of the first quality sells for a *tanka*, which represents eight *dirhams hashtkánis*. A good ox sells for two *tankas*, and sometimes for less. Buffaloes at the same price. The general food of the Indians is beef and goats' flesh. I asked Shaikh Mubárak if this usage arose from the scarcity of sheep, and he replied that it was a mere matter of habit, for in all the villages of India there are sheep in thousands. For a *dirham* of the money of Egypt four fowls can be bought of the best quality. Pigeons, sparrows, and other birds are sold very cheap. All kinds of game, birds, and quadrupeds, are extremely plentiful. There are elephants and rhinoceroses, but the elephants of the country of the Zinjes are the most remarkable. * * *

Our *shaikh*, the marvel of the age, Shamsu-d dín Isfahání, gave me the following details. Kutbu-d dín Shirází maintained that alchemy was a positive science. One day I argued with him, and endeavoured to prove the falsity of the art. He replied, "You know very well the quantity of gold that is annually consumed in the fabrication of various articles and objects of many kinds. The mines are far from producing a quantity equal to that which is thus withdrawn. As regards India, I have calculated that for the last three thousand years that country has not exported gold into other countries, and whatever has entered it has never come out again. Merchants of all countries never cease to carry pure gold into India, and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums. If gold were not produced in an artificial way, it would altogether have disappeared." Our *shaikh*, Shahábu-d dín, observed upon this that

what this author asserted of gold going into India, and never coming out again, was perfectly true; but the conclusion which he drew from this fact, as to alchemy being a real science, was false and illusory.

He adds the following statement: "I have heard say that one of the predecessors of the Sultán, after making great conquests, carried off from the countries he had subdued as much gold as required 13,000 oxen to carry."

I must add, that the inhabitants of India have the character of liking to make money and hoard it. If one of them is asked how much property he has, he replies, "I don't know, but I am the second or third of my family who has laboured to increase the treasure which an ancestor deposited in a certain cavern, or in certain holes, and I do not know how much it amounts to." The Indians are accustomed to dig pits for the reception of their hoards. Some form an excavation in their houses like a cistern, which they close with care, leaving only the opening necessary for introducing the gold pieces. Thus they accumulate their riches. They will not take worked gold, either broken or in ingots, but in their fear of fraud refuse all but coined money.

The following information I derived from the Shaikh Burhánu-d dín Abú Bakr bin Khallah Muhammad Bazzí, the *Sufí*. The Sultán [Muhammad Tughlik] sent an army against a country bordering upon Deogír, at the extremity of that province. It is inhabited by infidels, and all its princes bear the title of *rá* [*rái*]. The reigning prince, finding himself pressed by the troops of the Sultán, made this communication: "Tell your master that if he will leave us at peace, I am ready to send him all the riches he can desire; all he has to do is to send me sufficient beasts to carry the sum he requires." The general sent this proposition to his master, and was ordered to cease hostilities, and to give the *rái* a safe conduct. When the *rái* appeared before the Sultán, the latter heaped honours upon him, and said: "I have never heard the like of what you have proposed. What is the amount, then, of those treasures that you undertake to load with gold as many beasts of burden as we like to send?" The *rái* replied: "Seven princes have preceded me in the government of my kingdom. Each of them amassed a treasure amounting to seventy

babins, and all these treasures are still at my disposal." The word *babin*[1] signifies a very large cistern, into which there is a descent by a ladder on each of the four sides. The Sultán, delighted by this statement, ordered his seal to be put on these treasures, which was done. Then he ordered the *rái* to appoint viceroys in his dominions, and to reside at Dehli. He also invited him to turn Musulmán, but on his refusal he allowed him to adhere to his own religion. The *rái* dwelt at the court of the Sultán, and appointed viceroys to govern his territories. The Sultán assigned him a suitable income, and sent considerable sums into his territories to be distributed as alms among the inhabitants, seeing they were now subjects of the empire. Lastly, he did not touch the *babins*, but left them as they were, under seal.

D.—TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA.

Ibn Batúta was a native of Tangiers, who travelled over the greater part of Asia, and visited India in the reign of Muhammad Tughlik. Elphinstone's summary of the character and value of this traveller's writings is so brief and so much to the point that it can hardly be improved. He says Ibn Batúta "could have had no interest in misrepresentation, as he wrote after his return to Africa. He confirms, to the full extent, the native accounts, both of the king's talents and of his crimes, and gives exactly such a picture of mixed magnificence and desolation as one would expect under such a sovereign. He found an admirably regulated horse and foot post from the frontiers to the capital, while the country was so disturbed as to make travelling unsafe. He describes Dehli as a most magnificent city, its mosque and walls without an equal on earth; but although the king was then repeopling it, it was almost a desert. 'The greatest city in the world, he said, had the fewest inhabitants.'"

The extracts which follow have been selected as containing the most important and interesting events and facts which he has recorded about India. His details do not always precisely agree with those

[1] *Bábní* in Hindí signifies a snake's hole, and in Hindu belief snakes keep guard over hidden treasure.

of the regular historians. He recounted, and no doubt honestly, the information he received from the respectable and well-informed individuals with whom he was brought in contact; and there is an air of veracity about his statements which favourably impresses the reader. In his African home he carefully wrote down that which he had gathered in the free course of conversation. But, while on the one hand he doubtless heard many facts and opinions which the speakers would not have dared to commit to writing and publish, some deduction must be made on the other side for the loose statements and bold assertions which pass current when there is no probability of bringing them to the test of public judgment. Thus he distinctly relates that Muhammad Tughlik compassed the death of his father by an apparent accident, and he is probably right in his statement, but Barní records the catastrophe as a simple accident, and Firishta only notices the charge of foul play to reject and condemn it.

Ibn Batúta was received with much respect at the court of Muhammad Tughlik, and experienced in his own person much of the boundless liberality and some little of the severity of that lavish and savage sovereign. When the traveller arrived in Dehli the king was absent, but the queen-mother received him. He was presented with splendid robes, 2,000 *dínárs* in money, and a house to live in. On the return of the Sultán, he was treated yet more splendidly. He received a grant of villages worth 5,000 *dínárs* per annum, a present of ten female captives, a fully caparisoned horse from the royal stables, and a further sum of 5,000 *dínárs*. Besides this, he was made a judge of Delhi at a salary of 12,000 *dínárs* a year, and was allowed to draw the first year in advance. After this he received another present of 12,000 *dínárs*, but he records the fact that a deduction of ten per cent. was always made from these presents. He afterwards got into debt to the amount of 45,000 *dínárs*, but he presented an Arabic poem to the Sultán in which he recounted his difficulties, and the Sultán undertook to satisfy his creditors. When the sovereign left Dehli he received further marks of his favour and liberality, but subsequently he fell into disgrace for having visited an obnoxious *shaikh*. His account of his terrors is rather amusing. "The Sultán ordered four of his slaves never to lose sight of me in the audience chamber, and when such an order is given, it is very

rarely that the person escapes. The first day the slaves kept watch over me was a Friday, and the Almighty inspired me to repeat these words of the Kurán: 'God is sufficient for us, and what an excellent Protector!' On that day I repeated this sentence 33,000 times, and I passed the night in the audience chamber. I fasted five days in succession. Every day I read the whole of the Kurán, and I broke my fast only by drinking a little water. The sixth day I took some food, then I fasted four days more in succession, and I was released after the death of the *shaikh*. Thanks be to the Almighty!" His danger had such an effect upon him, that he gave up his offices and went into religious retirement, but the Sultán sent to recall him, and appointed him his ambassador to the King of China. His account of his journey through India to Malabar where he embarked, is full of interesting matter. Dr. Lee made a translation of Ibn Batúta for the Oriental Translation Fund in 1829, but the complete Arabic text with a French translation has since been published by M. M. Defremery and Sanguinetti. It is from this version that the following Extracts have been taken by the Editor.

EXTRACTS.

The Shaikh Abú 'Abdu-llah Muhammad, son of 'Abdu-llah, son of Muhammad, son of Ibráhím Al Lawátí, at Tanjí, commonly known as Ibn Batúta, thus declares:—On the 1st of the sacred month of Muharram, 734 H. (12th Sept. 1333), we arrived at the river Sind, the same as is called Panj-áb, a name signifying "Five Rivers." This river is one of the largest known. It overflows in the hot season, and the inhabitants of the country sow their lands after the inundation, as the people of Egypt do after the overflow of the Nile. From this river begin the territories of the great Sultán Muhammad Sháh, king of Hind and of Sind. o o o

The *barid* or post in India is of two kinds. The horse-post is called *ulák*, and is carried on by means of horses belonging to the Sultán stationed at every four miles. The foot-post is thus arranged. Each mile is divided into three equal parts, called *dáwah*, which signifies one-third of a mile. Among the Indians the mile is called *kos*. At each third of a mile there is a village well populated; outside of which are three tents, in which are men ready to depart.

These men gird up their loins, and take in their hands a whip about two cubits long, tipped with brass bells. When the runner leaves the village, he holds the letter in one hand, and in the other the whip with the bells. He runs with all his strength, and when the men in the tents hear the sound of the bells they prepare to receive him. When he arrives, one of them takes the letter and sets off with all speed. He keeps on cracking his whip until he reaches the next *dáwah*. Thus, these couriers proceed until the letter reaches its destination.

This kind of post is quicker than the horse-post; and the fruits of Khurásán, which are much sought after in India, are often conveyed by this means. * * * It is by this channel also that great prisoners are transported. They are each placed upon a seat, which the runners take upon their heads and run with. * * *

When the intelligencers inform the Sultán of the arrival of a stranger in his dominions, he takes full notice of the information. The writers do their best to communicate full particulars. They announce the arrival of a stranger, and describe him and his dress. They note the number of his companions, slaves, servants, and beasts. They describe his style of travelling and lodging, and give an account of his expenditure. Not one of these details is passed over. When a traveller arrives at Multán, which is the capital of Sind, he remains there until an order is received from the Sultán for his proceeding to Court and prescribing the kind of treatment he is to receive. * * *

It is the custom of the Sultán of India, Abú-l Mujáhid Muhammad Sháh, to honour strangers, to favour them, and to distinguish them in a manner quite peculiar, by appointing them to governments or to places of importance. Most of his courtiers, chamberlains, *wazírs*, magistrates, and brothers-in-law are foreigners. * * *

No stranger admitted to Court can avoid offering a present as a kind of introduction, which the Sultán repays by one of much greater value. * * When I arrived in Sind, I observed this practice, and bought some horses, camels, and slaves from the dealers. * * * Two days' march, after crossing the river Sind, we arrived at Janání, a fine large town on the banks of the Sind. It possesses some fine markets, and its population belongs to a race called Sámirah [Súmra], who have inhabited the place for a long time, their ancestors having

established themselves there since the time of its conquest in the time of Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, as is related by historians in the accounts of the conquest of Sind. * * * The people known by the name of Sámirah do not eat with any one, and no one must look at them when they eat. They do not connect themselves in marriage with any other tribe, nor will others ally themselves with them. They had at that time a chief named Unár, whose history I shall relate. * *

We arrived at the imperial residence of Dehli, capital of India, which is a famous and large city uniting beauty and strength. It is surrounded by a wall, the like of which is unknown in the universe. It is the largest city of India, and, in fact, of all the countries subject to Islám in the East.

Description of Dehli.

Delhi is a city of great extent, and possesses a numerous population. It consists at present of four neighbouring and contiguous cities.

1. Dehli, properly so called, is the old city built by the idolaters, which was conquered in the year 584 H. (1188 A.D.).

2. Sírí, also called Dáru-l-Khiláfat or Seat of the Khalifat. The Sultán gave it to Ghiyásu-d dín, grandson of the Khalif 'Abbáside Al Mustansir, when he came to visit him. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín and his son Kutbu-d dín, of whom we shall have to speak hereafter, dwelt there.

3. Tughlikábád, so called from the name of its founder the Sultán Tughlik, father of the Sultán of India whose Court we are now visiting. * *

4. Jahán-panáh, Refuge of the World, specially designed for the residence of the reigning Sultán of India, Muhammad Sháh. He built it, and it was his intention to connect all these four cities together by one and the same wall. He raised a portion of it, but abandoned its completion in consequence of the enormous expense its erection would have entailed.

The wall which surrounds Dehli has no equal. It is eleven cubits thick. Chambers are constructed in it which are occupied by the night watch and the persons charged with the care of the gates. In

these chambers also there are stores of provisions called *ambár*, magazines of the munitions of war, and others in which are kept mangonels and *ra'ádas* ("thunderer"—a machine employed in sieges). Grain keeps in these chambers without change or the least deterioration. I saw some rice taken out of one of these magazines; it was black in colour, but good to the taste. I also saw some millet taken out. All these provisions had been stored by Sultán Balban ninety years before. Horse and foot can pass inside this wall from one end of the city to the other. Windows to give light have been opened in it on the inside towards the city. The lower part of the wall is built of stone, the upper part of brick. The bastions are numerous and closely placed. The city of Dehli has twenty-eight gates. First, that of Badáún, which is the principal. o o o

The chief *Kází* of Hind and Sind, Kamálu-d dín Muhammad, son of Burhánu-d dín of Ghazni, *Sadr-i Jahán*, informed me how the city of Dehli was conquered from the infidels in 584 (1188 A.D.). I read the same date inscribed upon the *mihráb* of the great mosque of the city. The same person also informed me that Dehli was taken by the *amír* Kutbu-d dín Aibak, who was entitled *Sipáh-sálár*, meaning General of the armies. He was one of the slaves of the venerated Shahábu-d dín Muhammad, son of Sám the Ghorian, king of Ghazni and Khurásán, who had seized upon the kingdom of Ibráhím, son (grandson) of the warlike Mahmúd bín Subuktigín, who began the conquest of India.

The aforesaid Shahábu-d dín had sent out the *amír* Kutbu-d dín with a considerable army. God opened for him the gates of Lahore, where he fixed his residence. His power became considerable. He was calumniated to the Sultán, and the associates of the monarch strove to inspire him with the idea that Kutbu-d dín aimed at becoming king of India, and that he was already in open revolt. Intelligence of this reached Kutbu-d dín. He set of with all speed, arrived at Ghazni by night, and presented himself to the Sultán, without the knowledge of those who had denounced him. Next day Shahábu-d dín took his seat upon the throne, and placed Aibak below, where he was not visible. The courtiers and associates who had maligned Aibak arrived, and when they had all taken their places, the king questioned them about Aibak. They reiterated their state-

ment that Aibak was in revolt, and said, "We know for certain that he aims at royalty." Then the Sultán kicked the foot of the throne, and clapping his hands, cried out "Aibak!" "Here am I," replied he, and came forth before his accusers. They were confounded, and in their terror they hastened to kiss the ground. The Sultán said to them, "I pardon you this time, but beware how you speak against Aibak again." He ordered Aibak to return to India, and he obeyed. He took the city of Dehli, and other cities besides.

Shamsu-d dín Altamsh.

Shamsu-d dín Altamsh was the first who reigned in Dehli with independent power. Before his accession to the throne he had been a slave of the *amír* Kutbu-d dín Aibak, the general of his army and his lieutenant. When Kutbu-d dín died he assumed the sovereign power, and assembled the population to take from them the oath of allegiance. The lawyers waited upon him, headed by the Kázíu-l Kuzát Wajíhu-d dín al Kásání. They entered into his presence and sat down, the *Kázíu-l Kuzát* sitting down by his side, according to custom. The Sultán knew what they wanted to speak about. He raised the corner of the carpet on which he was reclining, and presented to them the deed of his manumission. The *Kází* and the lawyers read it, and then took the oath of allegiance. Altamsh became undisputed sovereign, and reigned for twenty-eight years. He was just, pious, and virtuous. Among his noteworthy characteristics was the zeal with which he endeavoured to redress wrongs, and to render justice to the oppressed. He made an order that any man who suffered from injustice should wear a coloured dress. Now all the inhabitants of India wear white clothes; so whenever he gave audience, or rode abroad, and saw any one in a coloured dress he inquired into his grievance, and took means to render him justice against his oppressor. But he was not satisfied with this plan, and said: "Some men suffer injustice in the night, and I wish to give them redress." So he placed at the door of his palace two marble lions, upon two pedestals which were there. These lions had an iron chain round their necks, from which hung a great bell. The victim of injustice came at night and rung the bell, and when the Sultán heard it, he immediately inquired into the case and gave satisfaction to the complainant.

Ruknu-d dín.

At his death Sultán Shamsu-d dín left three sons: Ruknu-d dín, who succeeded him; Mu'izzu-d dín, and Násiru-d dín, and one daughter named Raziya, full sister of Mu'izzu-d dín. When Ruknu-d dín was recognized as Sultán, after the death of his father, he began his reign by unjust treatment of his brother, Mu'izzu-d dín, whom he caused to be put to death. Raziya was full sister of this unfortunate prince, and she reproached Ruknu-d dín with his death, which made him meditate her assassination. One Friday he left the palace to go to prayers. Raziya then ascended to the terrace of the Old Palace, called *Daulat-khána*, close by the chief mosque. She was clothed in the garments of the wronged, and, presenting herself to the people, she addressed them from the terrace, saying, "My brother has killed his brother, and wishes to kill me also." She then reminded them of the reign of her father, and of the many benefits he had bestowed upon them. Thereupon the auditors rushed tumultuously towards Ruknu-d dín, who was in the mosque, seized him, and brought him to Raziya. She said, "The slayer must be slain." So they massacred him in retaliation for his murder of his brother. The brother of these two princes, Násiru-d dín, was yet in his infancy, so the people agreed to recognize Raziya as Sovereign.

The Empress Raziya.

When Ruknu-d dín had been killed, the soldiers agreed to place his sister, Raziya, on the throne. They proclaimed her Sovereign, and she reigned with absolute authority for four years. She rode on horseback as men ride, armed with a bow and quiver, and surrounded with courtiers. She did not veil her face. She was eventually suspected of an intimacy with one of her slaves, an Abyssinian by birth, and the people resolved upon deposing her and giving her a husband. So she was deposed and married to one of her relations, and her brother, Násiru-d dín, obtained the supreme power.

Násiru-d dín, son of Shamsu-d dín Altamsh.

After the deposition of Raziya, her younger brother, Násiru-d dín, ascended the throne, and for some time exercised royal authority.

But Raziya and her husband revolted against him, mounted their horses, and, gathering round them their slaves and such disaffected persons as were willing to join them, they prepared to give battle. Násiru-d dín came out of Dehli with his slave and lieutenant Ghiyás-d dín Balban, who became ruler of the kingdom after him. The opposing forces met, and Raziya was defeated and obliged to fly. Pressed by hunger and overcome with fatigue, she addressed herself to a man engaged in cultivating the ground and begged for food. He gave her a bit of bread, which she devoured, and then she was overpowered by sleep. She was dressed in the garments of a man; but when the peasant looked at her as she slept, he perceived under her upper garment a tunic trimmed with gold and pearls. Seeing she was a woman he killed her, stripped her of her valuables, drove away her horse, and buried her corpse in his field. He then carried some of her garments to the market for sale. The dealers suspected him, and took him before the magistrate, who caused him to be beaten. The wretch then confessed that he had killed Raziya, and told his guards where he had buried her. They exhumed her body, washed it, and, wrapping it in a shroud, buried it again in the same place. A small shrine was erected over her grave, which is visited by pilgrims, and is considered a place of sanctity. It is situated on the banks of the Jumna, about a *parasang* from Dehli.

After the death of his sister, Násiru-d dín remained undisputed master of the State, and reigned in peace for twenty years. He was a religious king. He made copies of the Holy Book and sold them, supporting himself on the money thus obtained. Kází Kamálu-d dín showed me a copy of the Kurán, written by this sovereign, with great taste and elegance. At length his lieutenant, Ghiyásu-d dín Balban killed him, and succeeded to his throne.

Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban.

After Balban had killed his master Násiru-dín, he reigned with absolute power for twenty years. He had previously been lieutenant of his predecessor for a similar period. He was one of the best of sovereigns—just, clement (*halím*), and good. One of his acts of generosity was this:—He built a house to which he gave the name, "Abode of security." All debtors who entered it had their debts

discharged, and whoever in fear fled there for refuge found safety. If a man who had killed another took refuge there, the Sultán bought off the friends of the deceased; and if any delinquent fled there he satisfied those who pursued him. The Sultán was buried in this building, and I have visited his tomb.

o o o The Sultán Shamsu-dín Altamsh sent a merchant to buy slaves for him at Samarkand, Bokhárá, and Turmuz. This man purchased a hundred slaves, among whom was Balban. When they were presented to the Sultán, they all pleased him except Balban, who was short in stature and of mean appearance. The Sultán exclaimed, "I will not take this one," but the slave cried, "Master of the World, for whom have you bought these servants?" The Sultán laughed and said, "I have bought them for myself." Balban replied, "Then buy me, for the love of God." "Good," exclaimed the Sultán. So he purchased him and placed him with his other slaves.

Balban was treated with contempt, and placed among the water-carriers. Men versed in astrology told the Sultán that one of his slaves would take the kingdom from his son and appropriate it to himself. They continually reiterated this prediction, but the Sultán in his rectitude and justice paid no heed to it. At length they repeated this prediction to the chief queen, mother of the king's sons, and she told the Sultán of it. The words now made an impression upon him, and he sent for the astrologers and said, "Can you recognize, if you see him, the slave who shall deprive my son of the kingdom?" They replied that they had a means by which they could pick him out. The Sultán ordered all his slaves to be brought out, and sat down to review them. They came before him, class after class, and the astrologers looked at them and said, "We have not yet seen him." It was one o'clock in the afternoon, and the water-carriers being hungry, resolved upon collecting a little money and sending some one to the market to purchase food. So they clubbed their *dirhams*, and sent Balban with them, because there was no one among them who was more despised than he. In the market he could not find what his companions wanted, and so he went to another market. This delayed him, and when it came to the turn of the water-carriers to be passed in review, he had not

come back. His companions took his water-bottle and pot, and putting them on the back of another youth, presented him as Balban. When the name of Balban was called, this youth passed before the astrologers, and so the review passed over without their finding the person they sought. When the review was over, Balban returned, for it was the will of God that his destiny should be accomplished.

Eventually the noble qualities of the slave were discovered, and he was made chief of the water-carriers. Then he entered the army, and became in course of time an *amír*. Sultán Násiru-d dín, before he came to the throne, married his daughter, and when he became master of the kingdom he made him his lieutenant. Balban discharged the duties of this office for twenty years, after which he killed his sovereign, and remained master of the empire for twenty years longer, as we have already stated. He had two sons, one of them was "the Martyr Khán," his successor designate, and his viceroy in Sind, where he resided in the city of Multán. He was killed in a war which he carried on against the Tátárs and Turks (Mughals). He left two sons Kai-kubád and Kai-khusrú. The younger son of Balban was called Násiru-d dín, and ruled as viceroy for his father at Lakhnautí.

Upon the death of "the Martyr Khán," Balban named Kai-khusrú, son of the deceased, as heir to the throne, preferring him to his own son Násiru-d dín. The latter had a son named Mu'izzu-d dín, who lived at Dehli with his grandfather. This young man, upon the death of his grandfather, and while his father was living, became successor to the throne under the extraordinary circumstances we will now mention.

Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín, son of Násiru-d dín, son of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban.

Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín died in the night while his son Násiru-dín was at Lakhnautí, after naming as his successor his grandson Kai-khusrú, as we have above stated. Now the chief of the *amírs* and deputy of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín was the enemy of this young prince, and he formed a plot against him which succeeded. He drew up a document, in which he forged the hands of the chief *amírs*, attesting that they had taken the oath of allegiance to Mu'izzu-d dín, grand-

son of the deceased Balban. Then he presented himself before Kai-khusrú, feigning the greatest interest in him, and said: "The *amírs* have sworn allegiance to your cousin, and I fear their designs against you." Kai-khusrú inquired what was best to be done, and the chief of the *amírs* advised him to fly to Sind and save his life. The prince asked how he was to get out of the city, as all the gates were shut; and the chief *amír* answered that he had got the keys and would let him out. Kai-khusrú thanked him for his offer and kissed his hand. The *amír* advised him to take horse immediately, and so he mounted his horse and was followed by his connexions and slaves. The *amír* opened the gate and let him out, and closed it immediately he had quitted Dehli.

The *amír* then sought an audience of Mu'izzu-d dín, and took the oath of submission. The young prince inquired how he could be Sultán, when the title of heir presumptive belonged to his cousin. The chief of the *amírs* then informed him of the ruse he had used against his cousin, and how he had got him to leave the city. Mu'izzu-d dín thanked him for his exertions, and accompanied him to the palace of the king, where he called together the *amírs* and courtiers who swore allegiance to him in the course of the night. When morning came, the population followed the same course, and the authority of Mu'izzu-d dín was firmly established. His father was still alive, and was in Bengal at Lakhnautí. When he heard of what had taken place, he said, "I am the heir of the kingdom; how, then, can my son have become master, and have gained absolute power, while I am alive?" He set off for Dehli with his troops. His son also took the field at the head of his army, with the design of repulsing him from Dehli. They met near the town of Karra, on the banks of the Ganges, a place to which Hindus resort in pilgrimage. Násiru-d dín encamped upon the Karra side of the river, and his son, Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín, upon the other, so that the river ran between them. They were resolved upon fighting each other; but God wished to spare the blood of Musulmáns, and imbued the heart of Násiru-d dín with feelings of pity for his son. So he said to himself, "If my son reigns, it will be an honour to me; it is only right, then, that I should desire that." At the same time God filled the heart of Mu'izzu-d dín with sentiments of submission to

his father. Each of these two princes entered a boat, and, without any escort of troops, they met in the middle of the river. The Sultán kissed the foot of his father and made his excuses; and the latter replied, "I give thee my kingdom, and confide the government of it to thee." Thereupon he took the oath of fidelity, and was about to return to the provinces he possessed, when his son said, "You must certainly come into my kingdom." The father and son proceeded together towards Dehli, and entered the palace. The father placed Mu'izzu-d dín upon the throne, and stood before him. The interview which they had upon the river was called "The Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Stars," because of its happy results, in sparing the blood of the people, and in causing the father and son to offer to each other the kingdom, and to abstain from fighting. Many poets have celebrated this incident.

Násiru-d dín returned to his territories, and some years after died there, leaving several children, among whom was Ghiyásu-d dín Bahádur, whom Sultán Tughlik made prisoner, and whom his son, Muhammad, released after his death. So the kingdom remained in the peaceable possession of Mu'izzu-d dín for four years, which were like festival days. I have heard a person who lived at this period describe the happiness, the cheapness of provisions at this time, and the liberality and munificence of Mu'izzu-d dín. It was this prince who built the minaret of the northern court of the great mosque at Dehli, which has no equal in the universe. An inhabitant of India informed me that Mu'izzu-d dín was much given to the society of women and to drinking; that he was attacked by a malady which defied all the efforts of his physicians to cure, and that one side of him was dried up (paralysis). Then his lieutenant, Jalálu-d dín Fíróz Sháh Khiljí, rose up against him.

Sultán Jalálu-d dín.

When, as we have just described, Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín was attacked with hemiplegia, his lieutenant, Jalálu-d dín, revolted against him, and, going out of the city, he encamped upon a hill in the neighbourhood, beside a mortuary chapel called Jaishání. Mu'izzu-d dín sent out *amírs* to attack him, but all whom he sent with this object swore fidelity to Jalálu-d dín, and enrolled themselves in his

army. The chief rebel afterwards entered the city and besieged the Sultán in his palace for three days. An eye-witness of the fact informed me that Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín suffered from hunger, and could get nothing to eat. One of his neighbours sent him some food to appease his hunger, but the rebellious *amír* forced his way into the palace and Mu'izzu-d dín was killed.

Jalálu-d dín succeeded. He was an amiable and good man, and his gentleness made him the victim of an assassin, as we shall presently relate. He continued in peaceable possession of the throne for several years, and built the palace which bears his name. It was this building which Sultán Muhammad gave to his brother-in-law, the *amír* Ghadá, son of Muhanna, when he married him to his sister, an event which will be spoken of hereafter.

Sultán Jalálu-d dín had a son named Ruknu-d dín, and a nephew called 'Aláu-d dín, whom he married to his daughter, and to whom he gave the government of the towns of Karra and Mánikpúr, with the dependent territories. The wife of 'Aláu-d dín tormented him, and he was continually complaining of her to his uncle (and father-in-law), Sultán Jalálu-d dín, until dissension arose between them on the subject. 'Aláu-d dín was a sharp and brave man, who had often been victorious, and the ambition of sovereignty took possession of his mind, but he had no wealth but what he won by the point of his sword by despoiling the infidels. He set out to carry the holy war into the country of Deogír (or Daulatábád), which is also called the country of Kataka, of which mention will be made hereafter. Deogír is the capital of Málwa and of Marhata (the country of the Mahrattas), and its ruler was the most powerful of all the infidel kings. In the course of this expedition, the horse of 'Aláu-d dín stumbled against a stone and threw his rider. 'Aláu-d dín heard a sort of jingling noise made by the stone. He ordered the place to be dug up, and a considerable treasure was found under the stone, which he divided among his companions. When he arrived at Deogír, the ruler submitted and surrendered the city without fighting, making valuable presents to his conqueror. 'Aláu-d dín returned to Karra, but did not send any portion of the spoil to his uncle. Certain persons stirred up the feelings of his uncle against him, and the Sultán summoned him. He refused to go to Court,

and the Sultán then said, "I will go and bring him, for he is to me as a son." Accordingly he set out with his army, and marched until he reached the bank of the river opposite to Karra, at the same place where Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín had encamped when he went to meet his father, Násiru-d dín. He embarked on the river to go and meet his nephew. The latter also took boat with the intention of making an end of the Sultán, and he said to his companions, "When I embrace him, kill him." When the two princes met in the middle of the river, the nephew embraced his uncle, and his companions despatched the Sultán as he had instructed them. The murderer seized upon the kingdom, and took command of the troops of his victim.

Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad Sháh Khilji.

When he had killed his uncle he became master of the kingdom, and the greater part of the troops of Jalálu-d dín passed over to his side. The rest returned to Dehli and gathered round Ruknu-d dín. The latter marched out to attack the murderer, but all his soldiers deserted to 'Aláu-d dín, and he fled to Sind. 'Aláu-d dín took possession of the palace and reigned peaceably for twenty years. He was one of the best of Sultáns, and the people of India eulogize him highly. He personally examined the affairs of his people, and inquired into the price of provisions. Every day the *muhtásib*, or inspector of the markets, whom the Indians called *ráís* or chief, had to attend before him. It is said that one day he questioned the inspector about the dearness of meat, and he was told that it arose from the high tax upon bullocks. He ordered the tax to be abolished and the dealers to be brought before him. He gave them money, and said, "With this buy bullocks and sheep, and sell them; the price that they fetch must be paid to the treasury, and you shall receive an allowance for selling them." This (order) was carried into execution. And the Sultán acted in a similar way in respect of the fabrics brought from Daulatábád. When corn reached a high price he opened the granaries of the State, and sold their stores, until the price came down. It is said that on one occasion the price of corn rose, and he ordered the dealers to sell it at a price which he fixed. They refused to sell it at the price named. He then

ordered that nobody should purchase grain except at the government stores, and he sold it to the people for six months. The monopolists were afraid that their stocks would be devoured by weevils, and they begged permission to sell. The Sultán gave them leave, but upon condition that they sold at a price lower than they had before refused.

'Aláu-d dín never rode on horseback, either to go to public prayer on Fridays, or on festivals, or on any occasion whatever. The reason of this was that he had a nephew, named Sulaimán Sháh, whom he loved and favoured. One day he mounted his horse to go a-hunting with this nephew, and this one conceived the idea of dealing with his uncle as he, 'Aláu-d dín, had dealt with his uncle Jalálu-d dín, that is, of assassinating him. So when the Sultán alighted to take breakfast, he discharged an arrow at him and brought him down, but a slave covered him with a shield. The nephew came up to finish him, but the slaves told him that he was dead. He, believing them, rode off and entered the women's apartments in the palace. The Sultán recovered from his fainting fit, mounted his his horse, and gathered together his troops. His nephew fled, but he was captured and brought before the Sultán. He slew him, and after that ceased to ride on horseback.

'Aláu-d dín had several sons, whose names were—1. Khizr Khán, 2. Shádí Khán, 3. Abú Bakr Khán, 4. Mubárak Khán, also called Kutbu-d dín, who became king, 5. Shahábu-d dín. Kutbu-d dín was treated unkindly by his father, and received very little notice. The Sultán bestowed honours on all his brothers—that is, he granted them banners and drums; but on him he conferred nothing. But one day the Sultán said to him, "I really must give you what I have given your brothers." Kutbu-d dín replied, "It is God who will give it me." This answer alarmed his father, who became afraid of him, The Sultán was then attacked by the malady of which he died. The wife by whom he had his son Khizr Khán, and who was called Máh-hakk, had a brother named Sanjar, with whom she conspired to raise Khizr Khán to the throne. Malik Náíb, the chief of the Sultán's *amírs*, who was called Al Alfí,[1] because his master had bought him for 1,000 (*alf*) *tankas*, that is,

[1] *Nasír dínári.*

2,500 African *dínárs*. This Malik Náíb got knowledge of the plot and informed the Sultán. Thereupon he gave his attendants this order: "When Sanjar enters the room where I am, I will give him a robe. As he is putting it on, seize him by the sleeves, throw him down, and despatch him." This order was exactly executed.

Khizr Khán was then absent at a place called Sandabat (Sonpat), one day's journey from Dehli, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried there. He had made a vow to walk thither on foot, and pray for the health of his father. But when Khizr Khán heard that his father had killed his maternal uncle, he was greatly concerned, and tore the collar of his garment, as the Indians are in the habit of doing when any one dies who is dear to them. His father, on hearing this, was much annoyed, and when Khizr Khán appeared before him, he reprimanded and censured him. Then he ordered irons to be put upon his hands and feet, and gave him into the charge of Malik Náíb above mentioned, with orders to convey him to the fortress of Gwalior. This is an isolated fort, in the midst of idolatrous Hindus, at ten days' journey from Dehli, and it is impregnable. I resided there some time. When Malik Náíb took the prince to this strong fort, he gave him into the charge of the *kotwál*, or the commandant, and of the *mufrids* or *zamánís* (regularly enrolled soldiers), and told them not to say that their prisoner was the son of the Sultán, but to treat him honourably. He was the Sultán's most bitter enemy, so they were to guard him as an enemy.

Finally, the Sultán's malady growing worse, he told Malik Náíb to send some one to fetch Khizr Khán, that he might proclaim him his successor. Malik Náíb acquiesced, but he delayed from day to day to execute the order, and whenever his master inquired about the matter, he replied that his son would soon arrive. He continued to act thus until the Sultán died.

Sultán Shahábu-d dín, son of 'Aláu-d dín.

When the Sultán 'Aláu-d dín was dead, Malik Náíb raised his younger son, Shahábu-d dín, to the throne. The people took the oath of obedience to him, but Malik Náíb kept him under his own direction, and after depriving Abú Bakr Khán and Shádí Khán of

sight, he sent them to Gwalior. He also ordered their brother Khizr Khán, who was imprisoned in the same place, to be blinded. They were imprisoned, as well as Kutbu-d dín, but the minister spared the sight of the latter. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín had two slaves, who were his personal attendants; one was called Bashír and the other Mubashir. The chief princess, widow of 'Aláu-d dín, and daughter of Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín, sent for them, recounted the benefits which they had received from their late master, and said, "This eunuch, Malik Náíb, has treated my children in the way you know of, and now he wants to kill Kutbu-d dín." They replied, "You shall see what we will do." It was usual for them to pass the night near Malik Náíb, and to enter armed into his presence. They went to wait upon him the following night in his *Khurram-gáh*, as the Indians call a kind of room constructed of planks and hung with cloth. Here the *wazír* slept;—on the terrace of the palace during the rainy season. It so happened that he took the sword worn by one of these conspirators, brandished it, and returned it. The slave then struck him with it, and his companion gave him another blow. Then they cut off his head, and, carrying it to the prison of Kutbu-d dín, and throwing it down at his feet, delivered him from captivity. The prince went and joined his brother, Shahábu-d dín, and stayed with him several days, as if he had been his lieutenant, but at length he resolved to depose him, and carried out his design.

Sultán Kutbu-d dín, son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín.

This prince deposed his brother Shahábu-d dín, cut off one of his fingers, and sent him to Gwalior, where he was imprisoned with his brothers. The kingdom came peaceably into the hands of Kutbu-d dín, who left Dehli, his capital, to proceed to Daulatábád, forty days' journey distant. The road between these two places is bordered with trees, such as the willow and others, so that the traveller might think himself in a garden. In the space of every mile there are three *dáwas*, or posting-houses, of which the arrangements have been already described. At each of these stations the traveller finds all that he needs, as if his forty days' journey lay through a market. Thus the road goes on for six months' journey, till it reaches the country of Tilang and Ma'bar. At every station there is a palace for the

Sultán and a corner for the traveller, and poor people have no need to carry with them provisions for their journey.

After Sultán Kutbu-d dín had set off on this expedition, certain *amírs* determined among themselves to revolt against him, and to place a son of his imprisoned brother Khizr Khán upon the throne. This child was about ten years old, and was near the Sultán. When the latter heard of this plot of the *amírs*, he took his nephew, seized him by the feet, and dashed his head against the stones till his brains were scattered. He then sent an *amír*, named Malik Sháh, to Gwalior, where the father and uncles of the child were confined, with orders to kill them all. Kází Zainu-d dín Mubárak, *kází* of this stronghold, gave me the following account:—"Malik Sháh reached us one morning, whilst I was with Khizr Khán in his prison. When the captive heard of his arrival, he was frightened, and changed colour. The *amír* came in, and he said to him, 'Why have you come?' and he answered, 'Upon a matter which concerns the Lord of the World.' The prince asked if his life was safe, and he answered 'Yes.' Thereupon the *amír* went out and called for the *kotwál*, or commandant, and his *mufrids*, or soldiers, to the number of 300; he sent for me, as well as the notaries, and produced the order of the Sultán. The men of the garrison read it, then went to Shaháb-u-d dín, the deposed Sultán, and cut off his head. He was very collected, and showed no sign of fear. Then they beheaded Abú Bakr and Shádí Khán. When they went to decapitate Khizr Khán, he was overcome with fear and stupor. His mother was with him, but the executioners shut the door against her and killed him. Then they dragged the four bodies to a ditch, without either wrapping them in shrouds or washing them. They were exhumed after some years and were interred in the tombs of their ancestors." The mother of Khizr Khán survived some time. I saw her at Mecca in the year 728 H. (A.D. 1327).

The fort of Gwalior here spoken of is situated on the top of a high mountain, and appears, so to speak, to be cut out of the rock itself. There is no other mountain in face of it. There are subterranean cisterns in it, and it contains also about twenty bricked wells. *Manjaníks* and *'arrádas* are mounted on the walls. The passage to the fortress is up a spacious road, which elephants and

horses can ascend. Near the gate of the fort there is the figure of an elephant, sculptured in stone, carrying its driver. When seen from a distance, it seems to be a real elephant. At the base of the fortress there is a fine town, built entirely of white hewn stone, mosques and houses alike. No wood is seen except in the doors. It is the same with the palace of the king, the domes and halls. Most of the business men of this town are idolaters, and there are about 600 horsemen of the royal army there, who never cease to fight with the infidels by whom the place is surrounded.

When Kutbu-d dín had killed his brothers, and he had become sole master, without any one left to fight with him or revolt against him, God raised up against him his favourite servant, the most powerful of his *amírs* and the highest in dignity, Násiru-d dín Khusrú Khán. This man attacked him unawares, killed him, and remained absolute master of the kingdom. But this did not last long. God raised also against him one who dethroned and then killed him. This was the Sultán Tughlik, as will hereafter be fully recorded, God willing!

Khusrú Khán Násiru-d dín.

Khusrú Khán was one of the principal *amírs* of Kutbu-d dín. He was brave and handsome. He had conquered the country of Chanderi, and also that of Ma'bar, which are among the most fertile regions of India, and are at a distance of six months' journey from Dehli. Kutbu-d dín liked this man very much, and showed great fondness for him;—this was the cause of the Sultán's meeting death at his hands. o o o One day Khusrú Khán told the Sultán that several Hindus desired to become Musulmáns. It is one of the customs in this country that, when a person wishes to become a convert to Islám, he is brought before the king, who gives him a fine robe and a necklace and bracelets of gold, proportionate in value to his rank. The Sultán told Khusrú to bring the Hindus before him, but the *amír* replied that they were ashamed to come by day on account of their relations and co-religionists. So the Sultán told him to bring them at night.

Khusrú Khán gathered a troop of Indians, chosen from among the bravest and greatest; his brother, the *Khán-i Khánán*, was

among them. It was the hot season, and the Sultán slept on the roof of the palace, having only a few eunuchs around him. When the Indians bearing their weapons had passed four gates of the palace and arrived at the fifth, Kází Khán, the keeper of the keys, was startled by their proceedings, and suspected that they had some evil design in view. So he prevented their entrance, and said he would not let them pass without a distinct order from the mouth of the king himself. Finding themselves thus stopped, they fell upon him and killed him. The noise arising from this contention grew loud and reached the Sultán, who asked what it was, and Khusrú Khán told him that it was made by the Indians, who were coming to make their profession. Kází Khán had opposed their entrance, and hence a tumult had arisen. The Sultán was alarmed and rose to go into the inner part of the palace, but the door was closed and the eunuchs stood near it. The Sultán knocked at the door. Khusrú Khán then seized him in his arms from behind, but the king was the stronger and threw him down. The Indians entered, and Khusrú Khán called out to them, "Here he is upon me, kill him!" So they murdered him and cut off his head, which they threw from the roof of the palace into the court-yard.

Khusrú Khán sent immediately for the *amírs* and *maliks* who were not yet aware of what had happened. Each party that entered found him seated on the throne. They took the oath (of allegiance) to him, and when morning came he proclaimed his accession, despatched his orders into all the provinces, and sent a robe of honour to each *amír*. They all submitted to him with the exception of Tughlik Sháh, father of Sultán Muhammad Sháh, who was then governor of Díbálpúr, in Sind. When he received the robe of honour which Khusrú had allotted to him, he threw it on the ground and sat upon it. Khusrú Khán sent his brother, the *Khán-i Khánán*, against him, but Tughlik defeated him and afterwards killed him, as will be narrated in the account of the reign of Tughlik.

Khusrú Khán, upon becoming king, showed great favour to the Hindus, and issued objectionable orders, such as an order prohibiting the slaughter of bullocks, in deference to the practice of the idolatrous Indians, who do not allow these animals to be killed. o o o Such conduct was one of the causes which made Khusrú Khán hate-

ful to the Musulmáns, and made them incline in favour of Tughlik. Khusrú's reign did not last long, and the days of his power were not numerous, as we shall relate.

Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh.

The *shaikh* and pious *imám* Ruknu-d dín ° ° ° gave me the following account in his hermitage at Multán. Sultán Tughlik belonged to the race of Turks called *Karauna*,[1] who inhabit the mountains between Sind and the country of the Turks. He was in a very humble condition, and went to Sind as servant of a certain merchant, as his *golwání*, or groom. This took place in the reign of 'Aláu-d dn, whose brother, Ulú Khán,[2] was governor of Sind. Tughlik entered his service and was attached to his person, being enrolled among his *piádas* or footmen. Afterwards he distinguished himself by his bravery, and was entered among the horsemen; then he became a subordinate *amír*, and Ulú Khán made him his master of the horse. Finally, he became one of the great *amírs*, and received the title of *al malik al ghází*, "warlike prince." I have seen the following inscription, which is placed over the sacrarium of the mosque which he built at Multán: "I have fought with the Tátárs twenty-nine times, and have defeated them. It is for this that I have been called 'the warlike prince.'"

When Kutbu-d dín became king, he made Tughlik governor of the town and district of Díbálpúr; and he made his son (the present Sultán of India) superintendent of the imperial stables. He was called *Jauná*, the Sun; when he became king he called himself Muhammad Sháh. Kutbu-d dín being dead, and Khusrú Khán having succeeded, he confirmed Jauná in his office as master of the horse. When Tughlik wanted to rebel, he had 300 comrades in whom he put confidence in the day of battle. He wrote to Kishlú Khán, who was then at Multán, three days journey from Díbálpúr, calling upon him for assistance, reminding him of the favours of Kutbu-d dín, and urging him to exact vengeance for the murder of that king. The son of Kishlú Khán resided at Dehli, and, consequently, he replied to Tughlik that if his son were with him he

[1] See Jour. Asiatique, Tome II., 1844, pp. 516, 517. D'Ohsson Hist. des Mongols, IV., p. 46.

[2] Ulugh Khán.

would certainly help his design. Tughlik wrote to his son, Muhammad Sháh, to inform him of his resolve, and desiring him to fly from Dehli to meet him, bringing with him the son of Kishlú Khan. The young nobleman contrived a stratagem against Khusrú Khán, which was successful. He told him that the horses had grown fat and heavy, and that they required exercise. Khusrú Khán accordingly gave permission for taking them out. So the master of the horse mounted on horseback every day, and, followed by his subordinates, he rode about from one to three hours; he even extended his absence to four hours, so that one day he was out till noon had passed, which is the time when the Indians dine. The Sultán sent out to look after him, but nothing could be heard of him, and he joined his father, together with the son of Kishlú Khán.

Tughlik then openly rebelled and collected his forces. Kishlú Khán also joined him with his soldiers. The Sultán sent out his brother, the *Khán-i Khánán*, to give them battle, but they totally defeated him, and his army passed over to their side. The *Khán-i Khánán* returned to his brother; his officers were slain and his treasure captured. Tughlik then proceeded towards Dehli. Khusrú Khán went out to meet him with his army, and encamped near the city at a place called Asyá-bád, that is to say, the windmill. He ordered the treasures to be opened, and he gave away the money by bags, not by weight or definite sums. The battle began between him and Tughlik, and the Indians fought with the greatest fury. Tughlik's troops were defeated, his camp was pillaged, and he remained surrounded by his 300 old companions. He cried, "Whither can we fly? We shall be taken everywhere and killed." The soldiers of Khusrú were busy plundering, and were scattered, so that there remained only a few near him. Tughlik and his companions went against him. In this country the presence of the sovereign is always indicated by the umbrella carried over his head. o o o

When Tughlik and his companions advanced against Khusrú, the fight began again between them and the Hindus: the Sultan's troops were routed, and none remained near him. He took to flight, dismounted from his horse, threw away his garments and arms, and keeping only his shirt, he let his hair fall upon his shoulders as the

fakírs of India do. Then he went into a garden near at hand. The people gathered round Tughlik, who proceeded towards the city. The governor brought him the keys. He entered the palace and lodged in one of its wings; then he said to Kishlú Khán, "Be thou Sultán!" The Khán replied, "Rather you." They disputed together, but at length Kishlú Khán said to Tughlik, "If you refuse to be Sultán, your son will obtain the sovereign power." Tughlik was averse to this, so he accepted the government, and sat upon the royal throne. The nobles and common people took their oaths to him.

After three days Khusrú Khán, still concealed in the same garden, was hard pressed by hunger. He came out of his hiding-place and walked about. Then he met the keeper of the garden, and asked him for some food. The man had none to give him, so Khusrú gave him his ring and told him to go and pawn it, and buy food. When this person went into the market with the ring, the people had their suspicions, and they took him to the police magistrate. The latter conducted him to Tughlik, to whom he made known who had given him the ring. Tughlik sent his son Muhammad to bring in Khusrú, and Muhammad seized him, placed him on a *tátú*, or baggage-horse, and brought him to his father. When Khusrú went into the presence of Tughlik, he said: "I am hungry, give me something to eat." The new sovereign ordered him to be served with *sharbat*, food, beer, and lastly betel. When he had eaten he rose and said, "O Tughlik, deal with me after the manner of kings, and do not dishonour me." Tughlik complied with his request; he ordered him to be beheaded, and he was executed on the very spot where he had killed Kutbu-d dín. His head and his body were thrown from the roof of the palace, as he had done with the head of his predecessor. Afterwards, Tughlik ordered his corpse to be washed, wrapped in a shroud, and buried in a tomb which he himself had built. Tughlik was a just and excellent prince, and he enjoyed the sovereign power in peace for four years.

When Tughlik was firmly established in his capital, he sent his son, Muhammad, to make the conquest of Tilang, three months' march from Dehli. He sent with him a considerable army, attached to which were the principal *amírs*, such as Malik Tímúr, Malik Tigín, Malik Káfúr the seal-bearer, Malik Bairam, and others.

When Muhammad arrived in Tilang, he was desirous of revolting. He had for a companion a man called 'Ubaid, who was a poet and lawyer. He ordered him to spread a report of the Sultán Tughlik being dead, for he supposed that all men, on hearing this intelligence, would in hot haste tender him their oath of fidelity. This news spread among the soldiers, but the *amírs* did not believe it. Every one of them beat his drums and revolted. No one remained near Muhammad, and the chiefs wished to kill him. Malik Tímúr prevented them, and protected him. He fled to his father with ten horsemen, whom he called his "faithful friends." His father gave him money and troops, and commanded him to return to Tilang, and he obeyed. But the Sultán was acquainted with his design; he killed the lawyer 'Ubaid, and he ordered Malik Káfúr, the seal-bearer, to be put to death. A tent peg was driven into the ground, and the upper end of it was sharpened. This was driven into the throat of Káfúr, who was placed thereon, face downwards, and it came out by one of his ribs. Thus he was left. The other *amírs* fled to Sultán Shamsu-d dín, son of Sultán Násiru-d dín, son of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban, and established themselves at his Court (at Lakhnautí).

The fugitive *amírs* dwelt with Sultán Shamsu-d dín. Soon afterwards he died, leaving his throne to his son, Shahábu-d dín. This prince succeeded his father, but his younger brother, Ghiyásu-d dín Bahádur Búrah (this last word signifies in the Indian language *black*), overpowered him, seized upon the kingdom, and killed his brother Katlú Khán, and most of his other brothers. Two of them, Sultán Shahábu-d dín and Násiru-d dín, fled to Tughlik, who marched forth with them to fight with the fratricide. He left his son Muhammad in his kingdom as viceroy, and advanced in haste to the country of Lakhnautí. He subdued it, made the Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín prisoner, and set off on the march to his capital, carrying his prisoner with him.

There was then at Dehli a saint, Nizámu-d dín Badáúní. Muhammad, the Sultán's son, often visited him, to pay him respect in the eyes of his followers and to implore his prayers. The *shaikh* was subject to ecstatic fits, in which he lost all control of himself. The Sultán's son directed his servants to let him know when the

shaikh was in one of these fits. When he was seized with a fit the prince was informed, and he went to him. As soon as the *shaikh* saw him he exclaimed, "We give him the throne." Afterwards he died while the Sultán was absent, and the Sultán's son, Muhammad, bore his bier upon his shoulder. The father heard of this; he suspected his son and threatened him. Other actions had already aroused suspicions in Tughlik against his son. He was annoyed to see him buy a great number of slaves, and make magnificent presents to secure friends. Now his anger against him increased. The Sultán was informed that the astrologers had predicted that he would never enter again the city of Dehli on returning from his expedition. He replied by threats against them.

When he came near to his capital, on his return from the expedition, he ordered his son to build for him a palace, or, as these people call it, a *kushk*, near a river, which runs by a place called Afghánpúr. Muhammad built it in the course of three days, making it chiefly of wood. It was elevated above the ground, and rested on pillars of wood. Muhammad planned it scientifically, and Malik Záda was charged to see the plans carried out. This man was afterwards known by the title of Khwája-i Jahán. His real name was Ahmad, son of Ayás. He was then inspector of buildings, but he afterwards became chief *wazír* of Sultán Muhammad. The object which these two persons kept in view in building the *kushk* was this,—that it should fall down with a crash when the elephants touched it in a certain part. The Sultán stopped at this building and feasted the people, who afterwards dispersed. His son asked permission to parade the elephants before him, fully accoutred. The Sultán consented.

Shaikh Ruknu-d dín told me that he was then near the Sultán, and that the Sultán's favourite son, Mahmúd, was with them. Thereupon Muhammad came and said to the *shaikh*, "Master, it is now the time for afternoon prayer, go down and pray." I went down, said the *shaikh*, and they brought the elephants up on one side, as the prince and his confidant had arranged. When the animals passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultán and his son Mahmúd. I heard the noise, continued the *shaikh*, and I returned without having said my prayer. I saw that the building had fallen.

The Sultán's son, Muhammad, ordered pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, but he made signs for them not to hurry, and the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig, and they found the Sultán, who had bent over his son to save him from death. Some assert that Tughlik was taken out dead; others, on the contrary, maintain that he was alive, and that an end was made of him. He was carried away at night to the tomb which he had himself built near the city called after him Tughlikábád, and there he was interred. o o o

It was to the skilful management of the *wazír*, Khwája-i Jahán, in constructing the edifice which fell upon Tughlik, that he owed the position he held with Sultán Muhammad, and the partiality which the latter had for him. No one, whether *wazír* or otherwise, enjoyed anything like the consideration in which he was held by the Sultán, and never attained the high position which he possessed near him.

Sultán Abú-l Mujáhid Muhammad Sháh.

When the Sultán Tughlik was dead, his son Muhammad took possession of the kingdom, without encountering either adversary or rebel. As we have said above, his name was Jauná; but when he became king he called himself Muhammad, and received the surname of Abú-l Mujáhid. All that I have recounted about the history of the Sultáns of India, I heard and learned, or, at least, the greater part, from the mouth of Shaikh Kamálu-d dín, son of Burhánu-d dín, of Ghazní, chief *kází*. As to the adventures of this king, the greater part came under my own observation while living in his territories.

Muhammad is a man who, above all others, is fond of making presents and shedding blood. There may always be seen at his gate some poor person becoming rich, or some living one condemned to death. His generous and brave actions, and his cruel and violent deeds, have obtained notoriety among the people. In spite of this, he is the most humble of men, and the one who exhibits the greatest equity. The ceremonies of religion are dear to his heart, and he is very severe in respect of prayer and the punishment which follows its neglect. He is one of those kings whose good fortune is great, and whose happy success exceeds the ordinary limit; but his dis-

tinguishing characteristic is generosity. I shall mention among the instances of his liberality, some marvels of which the like has never been reported of any of the princes who have preceded him. I call God, his angels and prophets, to witness that all I say about his boundless munificence is the plain truth. o o o

The palace of the Sultán at Dehli is called Dár-sará, and it has a great number of gates. At the first there is a troop of men posted on guard. o o o Outside the first gate there are stages on which the executioners sit who have to kill people. It is the custom with this people that whenever the Sultán orders the execution of a person, he is despatched at the door of the hall of audience, and his body remains there three days. o o o The third door abuts upon the hall of audience, an immense chamber called *Hazár-sutún*, or "the thousand columns." These pillars are of varnished wood, and support a wooden roof painted in the most admirable style. Here people seat themselves, and in this hall the Sultán holds his great public audiences. [*Etiquette of the Court.—Many instances of the Sultán's liberality and generosity.*]

When drought prevailed throughout India and Sind, and the scarcity was so great that the *man* of wheat was worth six *dínárs*, the Sultán gave orders that provisions for six months should be supplied to all the inhabitants of Dehli from the royal granaries. o o o The officers of justice made registers of the people of the different streets, and these being sent up, each person received sufficient provisions to last him for six months.

The Sultán, notwithstanding all I have said about his humility, his justice, his kindness to the poor, and his boundless generosity, was much given to bloodshed. It rarely happened that the corpse of some one who had been killed was not to be seen at the gate of his palace. I have often seen men killed and their bodies left there. One day I went to his palace and my horse shied. I looked before me, and I saw a white heap on the ground, and when I asked what it was, one of my companions said it was the trunk of a man cut into three pieces. This sovereign punished little faults like great ones, and spared neither the learned, the religious, nor the noble. Every day hundreds of individuals were brought chained into his hall of audience; their hands tied to their necks and their feet

bound together. Some were killed, and others were tortured, or well beaten. It was his practice to have all persons in prison brought before him every day except Friday. This day was to them a day of respite, and they passed it in cleaning themselves and taking rest. God preserve us from evil!

The Sultán's murder of his brother.

The Sultán had a brother named Mas'úd Khán, whose mother was a daughter of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. This Mas'úd was one of the handsomest fellows I have ever seen. The king suspected him of intending to rebel, so he questioned him, and, under fear of the torture, Mas'úd confessed the charge. Indeed, every one who denies charges of this nature, which the Sultán brings against him, is put to the torture, and most people prefer death to being tortured. The Sultán had his brother's head cut off in the palace, and the corpse, according to custom, was left neglected for three days in the same place. The mother of Mas'úd had been stoned two years before in the same place on a charge of debauchery or adultery. o o o

On one occasion the Sultán sent a part of his army, under Malik Yúsuf Bughrá, to fight against the Hindus in the mountains near Dehli. Yúsuf started with nearly all his men, but some of the soldiers stayed behind. He wrote to the Sovereign informing him of the fact, and he directed search to be made throughout the city, and every man who had remained behind to be apprehended. Three hundred of them were taken. The Sultán ordered all of them to be killed, and he was obeyed.

Destruction of Dehli.

One of the most serious charges against this Sultán is that he forced all the inhabitants of Dehli to leave their homes. His motive for this act was that the people of Dehli wrote letters full of insults and invectives against the Sultán. They sealed them up, and writing upon them these words, "By the head of the king of the world, no one but himself must read this writing," they threw them at night into the hall of audience. When the Sultán opened them he found that they contained insults and invectives against himself. He decided to ruin Dehli, so he purchased all the houses and inns

from the inhabitants, paid them the price, and then ordered them to remove to Daulatábád. At first they were unwilling to obey, but the crier of the monarch proclaimed that no one must be found in Dehli after three days.

The greater part of the inhabitants departed, but some hid themselves in the houses. The Sultán ordered a rigorous search to be made for any that remained. His slaves found two men in the streets: one was paralyzed, the other blind. They were brought before the sovereign, who ordered the paralytic to be shot away from a *manjaník*, and the blind man to be dragged from Dehli to Daulatábád, a journey of forty days' distance. The poor wretch fell in pieces during the journey, and only one of his legs reached Daulatábád. All the inhabitants of Dehli left; they abandoned their baggage and their merchandize, and the city remained a perfect desert.

A person in whom I felt confidence assured me that the Sultán mounted one evening upon the roof of his palace, and, casting his eyes over the city of Dehli, in which there was neither fire, smoke, nor light, he said, "Now my heart is satisfied, and my feelings are appeased." Some time after he wrote to the inhabitants of different provinces, commanding them to go to Dehli and repeople it. They ruined their own countries, but they did not populate Dehli, so vast and immense is that city. In fact, it is one of the greatest cities in the universe. When we entered this capital we found it in the state which has been described. It was empty, abandoned, and had but a small population.

Rebellion of Bahâu-d dîn.

Sultán Tughlik had a nephew, son of his sister, named Baháu-d dín Gushtasp, whom he made governor of a province. This man was a brave warrior, a hero; and when his uncle was dead he refused to give his oath to the late Sultán's son and successor. The Sultán sent a force against him; o o o there was a fierce battle, o o o and the Sultán's troops gained the victory. Baháu-d dín fled to one of the Hindu princes, called the Rái of Kambíla. o o o This prince had territories situated among inaccessible mountains, and was one of the chief princes of the infidels.

When Baháu-d dín made his escape to this prince, he was pursued by the soldiers of the Sultán of India, who surrounded the *ráí's* territories. The infidel saw his danger, for his stores of grain were exhausted, and his great fear was that the enemy would carry off his person by force; so he said to Baháu-d dín, "Thou seest how we are situated. I am resolved to die with my family, and with all who will imitate me. Go to such and such a prince (naming a Hindu prince), and stay with him; he will defend thee." He sent some one to conduct him thither. Then he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lighted. Then he burned his furniture, and said to his wives and daughters, "I am going to die, and such of you as prefer it, do the same." Then it was seen that each one of these women washed herself, rubbed her body with sandal-wood, kissed the ground before the *ráí* of Kambíla, and threw herself upon the pile. All perished. The wives of his nobles, ministers, and chief men imitated them, and other women also did the same.

The *ráí*, in his turn, washed, rubbed himself with sandal, and took his arms, but did not put on his breastplate. Those of his men who resolved to die with him followed his example. They sallied forth to meet the troops of the Sultán, and fought till every one of them fell dead. The town was taken, its inhabitants were made prisoners, and eleven sons of the *ráí* were made prisoners and carried to the Sultán, who made them all Musulmáns. The Sultán made them *amírs*, and treated them with great honour, as much for their illustrious birth as in admiration of the conduct of their father. Of these brothers, I saw near the Sultán, Nasr, Bakhtiyár, and the keeper of the seals, who carried the ring with which the Sultán's drinking-water was sealed. His name was Abú Muslím, and we were companions and friends.

After the death of the *ráí* of Kambíla, the troops of the Sultán proceeded towards the country of the infidel with whom Baháu-d dín had taken refuge, and surrounded it. This prince said, "I cannot do as the *ráí* of Kambíla did." He seized Baháu-d dín, and gave him up to the army of the Sultán. They bound his legs and tied his arms to his neck, and so conducted him to the Sultán. He ordered the prisoner to be taken to the women, his relations, and these insulted him and spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be

skinned alive, and as his skin was torn off, his flesh was cooked with rice. Some was sent to his children and his wife, and the remainder was put into a great dish and given to the elephants to eat, but they would not touch it. The Sultán ordered his skin to be stuffed with straw, and to be placed along with the remains of Bahádur Búra,[1] and to be exhibited throughout the country. When these arrived in Sind, of which country Kishlú Khán was then governor, he ordered them to be buried. When the Sultán heard this he was offended, and determined to make away with Kishlú Khán, who was the friend of Sultán Tughlik, and had helped him in obtaining the supreme power.

Rebellion of Kishlú Khán.

As soon as the Sultán was informed of what Kishlú Khán had done in the matter of burying the two skins, he sent for him. Kishlú Khán instantly understood that the Sultán intended to punish him, so he did not attend to the invitation. He revolted, spread his money about, raised troops, and sent emissaries among the Turks, Afgháns, and Khurásánians, who flocked to him in great numbers. His army was equal to that of the Sultán, or even superior to it in numbers. The Sovereign marched in person to fight him, and they met at two days' journey from Multán, in the desert plain of Abúhar. In this battle the Sultán showed great prudence. He placed Shaikh 'Imádu-d dín, who resembled him (in person), under the royal canopy, whilst he himself moved off during the heat of the battle with 4,000 men. The enemy endeavoured to take the canopy, thinking it was the Sovereign who was under it. 'Imádu-d dín was killed, and they thought that the Sultán had perished. The soldiers of Kishlú Khán were intent only on plunder, and separated from their chief, who was left with only a few men. Then the Sultán fell upon him and cut off his head. When Kishlú Khán's troops knew this, they took to flight.

The Sultán then entered Multán, where he seized the *kází*, Karímu-d dín, and ordered him to be flayed alive. He brought with him the head of Kishlú Khán, which he caused to be suspended over his own door. I saw it there when I arrived in Multán.

[1] Ghiyásu-d dín Bahádur Búra, King of Bengal, whom he restored to his kingdom, and afterwards defeated and killed. The skin of this victim was torn off and stuffed.

Disaster suffered by the army in the mountain of Karáchíl (in the Himalayas).

This is a vast mountain, three months' journey in length, and ten days' journey from Dehli. Its king was one of the most powerful of the Hindu princes, and the Sultán of India sent an army to fight with him, commanded by Malik Nakbia, chief of the inkstand bearers. The army consisted of 100,000 horse and a large number of infantry. They took the town of Jidiya, situated at the foot of the mountain, and the places adjacent, making prisoners, plundering, and burning. The infidels fled to the heights of the mountain, abandoning their country, their flocks, and the treasures of their king. The mountain has only one road. Below lies a valley; above, the mountain itself; and horsemen can only pass one by one. The troops of the Sultán ascended by this road, and took possession of the town of Warangal, in the upper part of the mountain. They seized upon everything it contained, and wrote to their Sovereign informing him of their victory. He sent them a *kází* and a preacher, and ordered them to remain in the country.

When the great rains came on, the army was attacked by disease, which considerably weakened it. The horses died, and the bows grew slack, so the *amírs* sought permission from the Sultán to leave the mountain during the rainy season, to descend to its base, and to again take up their position when the rains had ceased. The Sultán consented. So the commander Nakbia took all the property he had secured, whether provisions, metals, or precious stones, and distributed them among the troops, to carry them to the bottom of the mountain. When the infidels found that the Musulmáns were retiring, they waited for them in the gorges of the mountain, and occupied the defiles before them. They cut down old trees, and cast them from the heights of the mountain, and these killed all with whom they came in contact. The greater part of the men perished, the rest were taken. The Hindus seized the treasures, merchandize, horses, and arms. Of all the Musulmáns only three chiefs escaped—the commander Nakbia, Badru-d dín Malik Daulat Sháh, and a third whose name I have forgotten.

This disaster deeply affected the army of India, and weakened it in a marked manner. Soon afterwards the Sultán made peace with

the inhabitants of the mountain, on condition of their paying him a certain tribute. They owned, in fact, the land at the foot of the mountain, and this they could not cultivate without the permission of the Sultán.

Rebellion of the Sharíf Jalálu-d dín in the Province of Ma'bar, etc.

The Sultán had appointed the *sharíf*, Jalálu-d dín Ahsan Sháh, to be governor of the country of Ma'bar, which is at the distance of six months' journey from Dehli. This Jalálu-d dín rebelled, usurped the ruling power, killed the lieutenants and agents of the Sovereign, and struck in his own name gold and silver money. On one side of the coins there was impressed the following (letters): "*toe* and *he*, *ye* and *sín*," (these letters, which form the titles of the 20th and 26th chapters of the Kurán, are among the epithets bestowed upon Muhammad,) and (the words) "father of *fakírs* and of the indigent, the glory of the world and of religion." On the other face the following: "He who puts his trust in the help of the All-merciful, Ahsan Sháh Sultán." The Sultán, when he was informed of this revolt, set forth to suppress it. o o o

Executions by means of Elephants.

The elephants which execute men have their tusks covered with sharp irons, resembling the coulter of the plough which turns up the ground, and with edges like those of knives. The driver mounts the elephant, and, when a person is thrown in front, the animal winds his trunk round him, hurls him into the air, and, catching him on one of his tusks, dashes him to the ground, when he places one of his feet on the breast of the victim. After this he does as he is directed by his rider, under the orders of the Sultán. If the Sultán desires the culprit to be cut in pieces, the elephant executes the command by means of the irons above described; if the Sultán desires the victim to be left alone, the elephant leaves him on the ground, and (the body) is then stripped of its skin.

Campaign in Ma'bar.

The Sultán arrived in the country of Tilang, and proceeded to-

wards the province of Ma'bar, to repress the *sharíf* of the country, who had rebelled. He halted at Badrakot, capital of Tilang, three months' march from Ma'bar. Pestilence then broke out in his army, and the greater part of it perished. o o o When the Sultán saw this calamity, he returned to Daulatábád. o o o On his journey he was taken ill, and the rumour spread that he was dead. o o o Amír Hushanj, when he heard this rumour, fled to an infidel prince named Burabrah, who dwelt in lofty mountains between Daulatábád and Kúkan Tanah (Tána in the Konkan). o o o

Famine.

Dearth made its appearance in various provinces, and the Sultán proceeded with his troops to encamp on the Ganges at ten days' journey from Dehli. [*Rebellion of 'Aínu-l Mulk.*] The *wazír* conducted (the prisoner) 'Aínu-l Mulk to the presence of the Sovereign. The rebel was mounted on a bull and was quite naked, saving only a scrap of stuff tied by a string round his waist. o o o The sons of the *amírs* surrounded the captive, insulted him, spat in his face, and buffeted his companions. o o o The Sultán directed that the prisoner should be dressed in clothes like those of conductors of pack-horses, that he should have four chains put upon his legs, that his hands should be fastened to his neck, and that he should be given into the custody of the *wazír*, Khwája-i Jahán. o o o The Sultán returned to his capital after an absence of two years and a half. He pardoned 'Aínu-l Mulk.

During the time that the Sultán was absent from his capital in his expedition to Ma'bar, a famine arose and became serious. The *man* of wheat rose to sixty *dirhams* and more. Distress was general, and the position of affairs very grave. One day I went out of the city to meet the *wazír*, and I saw three women, who were cutting in pieces and eating the skin of a horse which had been dead some months. Skins were cooked and sold in the markets. When bullocks were slaughtered, crowds rushed forward to catch the blood, and consumed it for their sustenance. o o o The famine being unendurable, the Sultán ordered provisions for six months to be distributed to all the population of Dehli. The judges, secretaries, and officers inspected all the streets and markets, and sup-

plied to every person provisions for half a year, at the rate of one pound and a half, Mughribi weight, each. * * *

Entry of the Sultán into Dehlí.

The Sovereign mounted his horse to enter his capital. * * * Over his head was carried a parasol, and before him was carried the *ghâshiya*, or saddle-cloth, trimmed with gold and diamonds. Some small balistas were placed upon elephants, and as the Sultán approached the city, gold and silver pieces, mixed, were discharged from these machines among the people.

Appointment as Ambassador.

After I had passed forty days in the hermitage, the Sultán sent me some saddled horses, slaves of both sexes, and clothes, and money for my expenses. I dressed myself, and went to wait upon the Sovereign. * * * When I arrived, he showed me greater honour than ever he had done before, and said, "I have sent for you to make you my ambassador to the King of China, for I know your love for voyages and travels." He furnished me with all that was necessary, and named the persons who were to go with me.

E.—NOTE TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE TÁRÍKH-I FÍROZ SHÁHÍ OF ZÍÁU-D DÍN BARNÍ.

A full translation of Barní's history of the reign of 'Aláu-d dín has appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal since the one in this work was printed. That translation was made by the late Major Fuller, Director of Public Instruction in the Panjab, and has been revised and annotated by Mr. Blochmann, the editor of the Journal. Those who are curious may now ascertain the value of the passages omitted from this work. The translation has enabled me to correct one or two slips in my own translation, and mine may, I hope, render a similar service to the other. I proceed to notice some of Mr. Blochmann's notes.

Kílú-gharí.—The proper spelling is said to be Kílokharí. The pages of this work afford abundant evidence of the great uncertainty in the spelling of names, both of places and persons. The same was

formerly the case in Europe, and although the printing-press has settled the orthography of most names, it has not in all cases decided the mode of spelling. Add to the various spellings the doubts arising from the defects of the Persian alphabet, where *k* is nearly always made to duty for itself and *g* also, and where a single dot changes the power of a letter, the difficulty and hazard of dogmatizing are sufficiently obvious. The name may be *Kílokharí*, and indeed Sir H. Elliot has written it so (p. 525 *suprà*). Syud Ahmad, in the *A'sáru-s Sanádíd*, also writes it so. But on the other hand, the *A'ráish-i Mahfil* calls it Kílúgarhí, and this is the spelling of General Cunningham, in his Archæological Report on Dehli. Without pretending to say which is right, the latter pronunciation is most acceptable to my ear.

Kuhrám کہرام.—Mr. Blochmann says the name is properly *Guhrám*, and if he has found it written with a *g*, it is good evidence of what his author thought it to be. Mr. Blochmann condemns me for spelling it incorrectly, Kohrám; but my spelling was *Kahrám*, which I have since modified to *Kuhrám*, upon the assurance that the local pronunciation is Kohrám. These Persian writers are not the best authorities upon Hindu names; the vulgar pronunciation is a far better guide to the true etymology, even as the rustic in England is more correct than his betters when he says, Peters'am and Lewis'am, instead of Peter-sham and Lewi-sham.

P. 160. *Plain of Júdh.*—The reading in the Journal is "(crossed) at the fort of Bághpat, after which he encamped in the plain of Júd." The words in the text are "*guzar káṭh ubrah kard*," *i.e.* He passed over the ford (*guzar*) of *káṭh*. This reading is confirmed by one of my MSS., the other one has simply *guzar-gáh*. For *káṭh* the Journal reads "Bághpat," though no authority is offered. I followed the plain reading of the last-named MS., thinking that *káṭh* might perhaps be *ghát*, a Hindí word for ferry or ford. Mr. Blochmann notices a "Joondhpoor" on the Jumna, opposite to Bághpat, which he thinks may be *Júdh*.

P. 162. *Jálandhar.*—Some variants of this name have been noted. To these may now be added *Jarúmanjúr*, from Major Fuller's MS.; and *Járan-manjhúr*, from Badáúní.

P. 165-6. "*The accursed Zúd.*" Major Fuller's MS. agrees as to "Zúd," but adds *al'aín*, like the printed text. In my MSS. it is clearly the usual epithet "*al la'ín*," the accursed. The real name is Dawá or Dáúd. See *suprà* p. 548.

P. 172. *Jháín.*—Mr. Blochmann says, "Jháyín lies near Rantambhúr. It is known under the name of *Naushahr* (new city), Badáúní, i. p. 190. See Elliot, old edition, p. 193." The proximity of Jháín to Rantambhor is clear, for it is said to be within a day's march; but in page 193 *suprà*, Barní speaks of "New City" and Jháín as two distinct places (see also Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1870, p. 26).

P. 172. *Akat Khán.*—Mr. Blochmann writes: "I have written *Ikit Khán* instead of *Ukat*, which Major Fuller's translation has. *Ikit* is Turkish, and means *young*, and would thus be the opposite of *Ulugh*, which means old, senior."

P. 172. *Bádih.*—"The place Badah may be the *mauza'* of Bádah, south-west of the town of Jhársah."

P. 175. "*The Sultán proceeded to Rantambhor.*"—To this the Journal adds, "and pitched his camp at Ran." Mr. Blochmann adds, "rather *on the Ran.* Major Fuller's MS. has, correctly, *dar ran*, instead of the absurd *dar án* of the Ed. Bibl. Indica." One of my MSS. agrees in this "absurd" reading, and the other, still more distinctly, has "*darún.*" The exact words are "*dar Rantambhor raft wa dar án* (*darún*) *lashkargáh sákht,*" "went to Rantambhor, and there pitched his camp." A few lines lower, Major Fuller's translation runs, "the soldiery used to fill the bags with sand, and throw them into the [ravine] of the Ran." This second mention of "the Ran" is not to be found in the printed text, nor in either of my MSS.; they all agree in simply saying, "*dar ghár mi andákhtand,*" "and threw them into the holes." Thus neither the printed text nor my two MSS. of Barní afford any countenance to the word Ran. But though Barní is thus silent about the Ran, Mr. Blochmann has ample authority for asserting the existence of such a place. He refers to Badáúní (ii. 207), who says that Akbar attacked Rantambhor from "the top of the hill of Ran, which commands the fort;" and he quotes the following from the *Túzak-i Jahángirí*: "On Monday, I inspected the fort of Rantambhor. There are two mountains oppo-

site to each other: one is called *Ran*, and the other *Tambhor*. Though the fort is on the latter, people call it 'Rantambhor.' It is very strong, and has plenty of water. The Ran also is a strong position; in fact, the only one from which the fort can be taken." This explanation of the name is rather at variance with Colebrooke's etymology, already quoted in Vol. II. p. 324. He says it is a corruption of *Rana-sthamba-bhramara*, "bee of the pillar of war."

P. 182. *Khútas and Baláhars.*—The general meaning of these terms is sufficiently obvious from the context, but as I could find no authority for fixing a precise meaning upon them, I left the words untranslated. Major Fuller translated them as "landlords and tenants." Mr. Blochmann adds in a note, "*Baláhar* may be Hindústáni, and signify *a low-caste servant*.[1] *Khút* is a rare Arabic word, signifying *a fine strong man*. From the passages below it is quite clear that these terms mean *the strong and the weak*, and most probably *landlords and tenants*, as translated." Major Fuller says in a footnote that the words are unintelligible to him; and Mr. Blochmann adds, "If I did not know that Major Fuller's. MS. had *khútah* with a *kh*, I would say that *khútah* was a blunder for *fotah* with *f*. I have never seen these terms used in any other book." The spelling is confirmed by both my MSS.

P. 182. Mr. Blochmann offers an amendment of Major Fuller's translation in respect of the principles of taxation. My translation differs slightly from both. The author's words from the Print (p. 287), with variants from the MSS., are—

دویم آنکه از گاومیش یا [تا] گوسفند هرچه شیر آور بود چرائي بستانند
و چرائي تعین شد و از پس هر خانه سکونت کري [کرهي] طلب نمایند
تا هیچ غبتي [غبني] و شتر گربه در ستدن خراج نماند

Both Major Fuller and Mr. Blochmann translate *Gao-mesh* by *cow* instead of *buffalo*, but the chief difference appears in the subsequent part of the sentence. My rendering is, "The second related to buffaloes

[1] According to Wilson's Glossary, the *Baldhar* is the village watchman, or sweeper, but Barní speaks of him as a tenant, or payer of revenue.

and sheep,[1] and other animals from which milk is obtained. A tax for pasturage, at a fixed rate, was to be levied, and was to be demanded for every inhabited house, so that no animal, however wretched, could escape the tax." The last clause is a free rendering of the original words.[2] Major Fuller's translation, as amended by Mr. Blochmann, runs, "They should levy a grazing tax on every animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat. And this grazing tax was established. Also for every house they should demand a dwelling tax, so that no opportunity might be left for evasion or subterfuge in levying the tax." The passage is very obscure, and, as Mr. Blochmann says, the difficult words are, "*az pas i har khánah*," etc. I have read the words, "*sakúnat gari*," as a compound, meaning "inhabited." Mr. Blochmann takes the word *gari* to mean house-tax. This rendering, however, seems to be inadmissible here. The text tells us that two regulations were made, one concerning the land, the other relating to milch animals. A house-tax would make *three* regulations instead of *two*, for a house-tax could not be classified as part of a tax on milch animals. The words "*az pas*," "*in the rear*" of every house, probably mean that the back premises were to be searched for the animals. Pasturage in Dehli and Sarhind is scanty, and the practice, as I learn, is to turn the animals out to the common pasturage in the day under the charge of herdsmen and boys, and to allow them to come home in the evening.

[1] The word *gosfand* means both *sheep* and *goat*; it would have been better if I had adopted the latter meaning.

[2] The difficulty rests in the words غبتي and شتر كربه, which, from the way they are connected, ought to have a similarity of meaning. For *ghabat*, or *ghubbat*, I can find no satisfactory definition; it means a *young eagle*, and this meaning may perhaps be extended to mean any *young animal*. *Shutur-garbah* is a phrase used to express the extremes of difference or incongruity, as,—a cat and a camel! or, as in our nursery language, "a Cat and a King!" (See Roebuck's Proverbs, I. 268). The general sense of the passage, according to this view, would be—"So that no young animal (?) or any one as worthless as a cat compared with a camel, might be passed over in the collection of the tax." Mr. Blochmann has taken it differently. For *ghabat* he must have read *ghaibat*, *concealment*, and as the ordinary meaning of *shutur-garbah* is not in accordance with this, a new acceptation had to be sought; and this may be, *the passing off a bad thing for a good, as a cat for a camel*. The construction of the sentence favours Mr. Blochmann's interpretation, but it requires, first, an amendment of the text; secondly, a probable, but, as far as I know, an unauthorized rendering of *shutur-garbah*.

Empty stomachs insure a speedy and certain return, thus affording the inspector an excellent opportunity to count them in the folds and sheds. There is something, however, to be said on the other side. In the following page of the text (288), and in page 323 (Journal pp. 8 and 47), along with the land measurement and pasture tax, there is a tax mentioned called *karhí* or *garhí* (*masáhat o karhí o charái*), which Mr. Blochmann fairly renders as a "house tax." Such may be the meaning of the word *garí* in the passage before us, though I think the context is against it.

P. 182. *Sharaf Kái.*—Mr. Blochmann says that, according to Major Fuller's MS., the correct reading is *Kaíní*, from *Káín*, the well-known town in Persia. This is probably right. I followed the printed text; for my best MS. presented the variants of "*Sharaf 'Alí*" and "*Sharaf Kázi*," and the other had "*Sharaf Fái.*"

P. 192. Major Fuller and Mr. Blochmann are in difficulties about the pay which 'Aláu-d dín settled for his horse-soldiers. Their translation says, "I will give 234 *tankas* to a *Murattab*, and 78 *tankas* to a *do-aspah*; from the former I shall require two horses, with their corresponding equipments, and from the latter one with its usual gear." So the *do-aspah*, or *two*-horse man, is made to have only *one* horse, and Mr. Blochmann admits in his note that, "to call a man a *do-aspah* because he joins the army only with one horse is extraordinary." The passage is not without its difficulty, and I do not insist upon the exact accuracy of my own rendering; but it is at least consistent with the terms of the text and with common sense. *Murattab* I consider to be the general term for the fully-accoutred horseman, who was to receive 234 *tankas* per annum, and 78 *tankas* in addition if he were a *do-aspah*, with a second horse. So the passage reads, "I would pay them 234 *tankas* regularly, and I would allow 78 *tankas* (in addition) to those who keep two horses, requiring, in return, the two horses with all the necessary appointments. So also as regards the men of one horse, I would require the horse and his accoutrements." In confirmation of this view, a passage, which I have not translated (p. 319 of the text), says, "*hashm i murattab ba duwíst sí chahár tankah wa do aspah ba haftád o hasht tankah bisyár shud wa mustakím gasht*," which, as I read it, says, "the allowance of the horseman (*murattab*) was fixed at 234 *tankas*, and

that of the *do-aspah*, or two-horse man, at 78 more (*bisyár*)." Mr. Blochmann's translation runs, "a *Murattab* could be enlisted for 234, and a *do-aspah* for 78 *tankas*."

P. 193. In line 9 of "Regulation III.," for "a time when,' read "a quarter where." I gratefully acknowledge this correction, and also one in p. 183. As the latter required a sentence to be recast, I have, for the benefit of the reader, cancelled the page.

In p. 97, I have noticed the inaccuracies of the edition printed in the Bibliotheca Indica. Mr. Blochmann makes many corrections, and points out numberless errors; but no doubt, taking into account the imperfect and unsatisfactory MSS. from which it was taken, he says, "the edition is on the whole good."

Since the printing of p. 468, a friend has taken exception to my suggested rendering of the word *jins* by the term *specie*. The citation of the original word *jins* indicates its employment in an unusual sense, for the ordinary meaning of the word is *things, articles, goods, species*. So the interpretation suggested in the passage in question can only be justified by the terms of the context. The passage runs thus:—

چون ارکان دولت مال امانی بر مردم قلعه قرار دادند تحصیلداران تعین کردند [و ایشان بگرفتن مال مشغول شدند آن بدکاران در ادای مال اهمال میکردند چون حقیقت بعرض من رسید امر کردم که هرچه ایشان در عوض نقد و جنس بدهند بقیمت بسیار بستادند چون اهل قلعه][1] این حکم‌را بشنیدند هرچه جنس در میان ایشان بود ببهای کلان میدادند تا انکه هرچه از کمان و تیر و شمشیر در میان ان جماعت بود همه‌را آوردند در عوض زر دادند

If this passage is tested logically, the *jins* of the *nakd o jins* of the

[1] The words in brackets are omitted in one MS.

first clause must be something different from the *jins* which was received in its stead. It must have been something which could be concealed, or payment could not have been evaded; and so it could hardly have been grain, for corn stacks and granaries could not be hidden, and Tímúr's soldiers never showed any scruple in helping themselves to all that was wanted in that way. Lastly, the *nakd o jins* of the first clause is covered in the last clause by the word *zar* (gold, money) as an equivalent. In the writer's mind it was evidently associated with *nakd* (cash), and *zar* (gold). The loose term "valuables" may, perhaps, represent it more nearly than "specie," but it is clearly something allied to money.

END OF VOL. III.