

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.,

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BY

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

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

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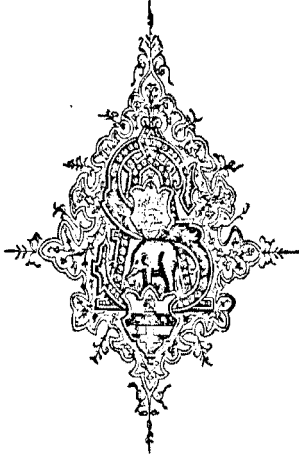
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P R E F A C E.

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 *Tárikhs* bearing the title *Firoz-Sháhi*. 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.

Barni'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 'Aláu-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 Tawárikh—A *munshí* revised by Editor.
 XI.—Tárikh-i Wassáf—Part by Sir H. M. Elliot and part by a *munshí*, revised by him.
 XII.—Tárikh-i Binákítí—A few lines by Editor.
 XIII.—Tárikh-i Guzída—Revised by Editor.
 XIV.—Tárikh-i 'Aláf.—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 XV.—Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí, of Zíáu-d dín Barní—Editor.
 XVI.—Tárikh-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 Tárikh-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.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 121, five lines from bottom, omit "(Pilibhit)."
- „ 146, omit the note : "Jhâin must be Ujjâin."
- „ 158, Gold Stars. See note of Sir Walter Elliot in Thomas's Coins of the Pathân Sultâns, new edition, page 169.
- „ 303, para. 3, line 11, omit the word "silver."
- „ 311, line 16, to the word "Torâbând," add a note, "Possibly this is a pun on the words *Terâ 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 "Sarsûti," add "Sirsah."
- „ 430, to note 1, add, "This is Fîroz Shâh's bridge."
- „ 463, line 7, to "*jîns* (specie)," add a note, "See note in Appendix, p. 626."

APPENDIX.

A.—POEMS OF AMIR 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 *Khazánu-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 *Túrikh-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 din 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 Barúí (*suprà*, 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. KIRĀNU-S SA'DĀIN OF AMĪR KHUSRŪ.

["The Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Planets," the poem in which Khusrū celebrates the meeting of Sultān Kai-kubād, with his father, Nāsiru-d dīn, Sultān of Bengal. This poem was completed in Ramazān 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 Khusrū'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 dīn Kai-kubād, king by virtue of three descents: the first from Sultān Shamsu-d dīn Altamsh, the grandfather of his grandmother; the second from Nāsiru-d dīn Mahmūd Shāh, the father of his grandmother; the third from Ghiyāsu-d dīn Balban, his grandfather. Praise of the city of Delhi, which has three large forts and thirteen gates; of the *Masjīd-i Jāma'* 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 Kilokharí 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 *Díván* called *Wastu-l hayát*, 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 *ráis* 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 Chin 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 Kará Khán 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 'A'riz 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 Klán-i Jahán, the active defeater of armies.' Then the wise 'Ariz, 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. * * * 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 Sarnak, Kili, 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. * * * Their cheeks were as broad as an inverted bowl, and their eyes and heads looked as if they had been bathed in gore. * * * 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. Klán-i Jahán returned happy and triumphant. He bound the Mughal captives in a string, and led them camel-hearted like a drove of these quadrupeds. Not one of these marauding Turks was slain until the skin had been layed from his head."

¹ In allusion to the name of Tamur, which in Turki 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 Rabi’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, Tátári 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 Ghogra.

"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.

din Dabú with a message inviting to peace, but he returned without effecting anything. Description of the hot season.

Mu'izzu-d din Kai-kubád, on his arrival from Delhi, pitched his camp at Oudh (Ajúdhya), on the bank of the Ghágra. Násiru-d din, 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 'Ariz, 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 Zil-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 Delhi. Conclusion, in which he expresses a hope that his errors may be leniently dealt with.

2. GHURRATU-L-KAMAL, MIFTAHU-L FUTUH.

The *Ghurratu-l-kamál* is the third and longest of the four *Diváns* of Amír Khusrú. The *Miftáhu-l futúh*¹ is a *Masnáví* included in the *Diván*, 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 *Masnávís*, from one of which the second extract which follows is taken; but in a very beautiful old copy of all the *Diváns*, in the possession of Nawab Zíáu-d dín Khán of Delhi, 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 *Masnáví* is included. The first *Diván* 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 *Sultáni*. Thus, in one passage he says:—

خرک در عهد تو سلطان سخن خسرو لاجین سلطانی شده است

Most of the *kasidas* in this *Diván*, 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 *'Ariz*.

The second *Diván* 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 Delhi.

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 n. 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 'Ariz Táju-d-dín, Fathu-l mulk Sharfu-d-din, Alp Khán Gházi son of Azhdar Malik, Náib Sháh Malik Ikhtiyáru-d dín 'Ali bin Aibak, and other nobles.

The third *Dicán* 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 din, the son of Kai-kubád, and afterwards became king under the title of Jalálu-d dín, Sultán Ruknu-d dín Ibrahim, youngest son of Jalálu-d dín, who sat for a short time on the throne of Delhi after the murder of his father Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Ikhtiyáru-d dín 'Ali bin Aibak, Saifu-d-daula Bárbak, Táju-d dín, Alp Khán Gházi, 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 Klán and Khán-i 'a'zam Kadr Khán. This *Dicán* contains also odes on new year festivals and the *'Ids*, and, besides the *Masnatís* mentioned above, the poet addresses one to his brother Zahid Khán, descriptive of his accompanying the royal army in 687 n. to Oudh. Another is in praise of the palace at Kulúkhari and of its founder Sultán Kai-kubád. Size of the work, 4to.; 694 pages of an average of 15 lines.

The fourth *Dicán* is called the *Dakiya nakiya*, "the pure remnant," containing poems written by Amir 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 Gauji-shakar, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Sultán Kutbu-d dín Mubárak Sháh, Shamsu-l Hakk Khizr Khán, eldest son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Nasru-l-Mulk Hájji, Hamidu-d-daula, Táju-d-daula, Fakhr-u-d dín

Púlád Tughlik, Mu'izzu-l Hakk, A'zam Alp Khán, Malik Ikhtiyáru-dín Sa'di, Malik Hisámu-dín Khán-i 'a'zam and Násiru-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-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 Jhán. 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 Delhi, 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 Mir of Karra. Pride had inflated his brain with wind, which extinguished the light of his intellect, and a few *sipáhis* 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 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 Kirmáni 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 (*afyhán*); how, at another time, I made the blood flow in Júnjúla, 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. Arkali 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 *sipáhis* stood ready before the commander, as a hill of iron or a sea of flame." * * * "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." * * *

"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. * * 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." * * *

"In the centre of the line was the great Arkalí Khán, whose standards were united with victory." Mir 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-tigin, "who could split a spear with an arrow;"¹ the other 'Aláu-d din. Another attendant was his son Káji; another, Kiki Malik, the governor of Kol; another was Malik Nusrat Mu'azzam, the chief *dácat-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 Inji, 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 Ghúzi.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 *Wasta-l-hayit* Khusrú calls him *Maliku-s shark*, King of the East, and the son of Azhdar Khán.

towards Bhojpúr,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 *ráis* of the Ganges, for he had the power of crossing the river at his pleasure. Like Dará, 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 "Musulmán's 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 Jád."

"Whatever live Hindú fell into the king's hands was pounded into bits under the feet of elephants. The Musulmán's, 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 *kotwal*, 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 Wakwák.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 Farrukhabád, in the central Doab.

² Kábar is in Rohilkhand.

³ (Qya, *Chahaltan*, forty persons.)

⁴ See extract from Kazwini in Glanville's *De rebus Indico*, p. 196, respecting the island of Wakwák, and the trees which produced that sound.

for the purpose of plunder and punishment, and he collected such wealth from the *ráis*, *ráos*, and *ráuas*, 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 Sirí, near the city." * * *

Advance upon Ranthambor.¹

On Thursday, the 18th of Rabi'ü-l-awwal, the Sháh held a *darbár*, distributed robes of honour, and gave red umbrellas, *dárbáshes*, and standards to two of his confidential servants, and selected also Ruknu-d din Ibrahim 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 Sirí towards Ranthambor. The first march was to Solráit, thence to Chandáwal, "where he encamped for some time." * * * Thence to Rewári 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 *sipáhis*, 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 Jháin.

From this place, Karri Bahádur was sent on with a few archers to reconnoitre as far as the hills of Jháin, 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 'Ariz Malik, the chief Karíbak, Malik Katlagh-tigin, 'Azam Mubárak, the *amir* of of Nárnaul, Ahmad Sarjándár, Mahmúd Sarjándár, the chief huntsman Ahmad, and Ankú and Abáji Akhurbak. They advanced at full speed to within two *parasangs* of Jháin, when they entered a narrow pass in the hills, and alarm spread in Jháin."

The *rái* was in affright, and sent for Gurdan Saini, who was the most experienced warrior amongst the 40,000 *rácats* 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 Saini took 10,000 *rácats* with him from Jháin, 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 Jháin, 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 *rácats* 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 Jháin.

Three days after this, the king entered Jháin 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 'ūd (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 Jhain 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 Kuwári, to plunder Málwa, and shed the blood of the false religionists. When he was two *parasangs* beyond the Kuwári, 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 Mubarak 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 Delhi.

The king returned towards Delhi, with "an army so encumbered by booty, that it could not proceed more than a *mil* 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 Síri. 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 Khilji.

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

"'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." ○ ○ ○ "He who has been honoured by the chief of the 'Abbásis, 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 Bhilsán. 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 Deogir, "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 Lakhnauti, but those of Deogir 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 *ráis* 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 Mir 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'Inamorata*." 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 din. Khizr Khán, as told by Barní, fell under his father's displeasure and was put in confinement. Upon the death of 'Aláu-d din, the traitor and would-be-usurper, Malik Náib Káfúr, caused the eyes of the prince to be put out. When Kutbu-d din Mabárák 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-nama*, of Nizámi.

brothers murdered. The fate of Dewal Rání is doubtful. Khusrú (*infra* 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 Parwári," 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 *Dicán*, called *Hastu-i-Ayat*. He was taken prisoner on the borders of Multán, in the 34th year of his age, or 684 H. (1285 A.D.). See *supra* p. 122.

finds perfect honour and security. In learning Delhi can now compete with Bokhára, 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 crows¹ 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 Musulmán are at amity, and the very fish are Sunnis.”²

•
The Ghorian Emperors of Delhi.

Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad bin Sâm, Kutbu-d dín Aibak; “That flaming wave drove the Rái 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 Bahráam.—'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 Musulmán 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 Nizámi, in the preface to the *Taju-l Ma'ásir*, speaks of the هندوان زاغ صفت “crow-like Hindus;” and again in the chapter on the conquest of Ajmir “Hindus crow-faced.” هندوان زاغ چيرو.

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 dīn Kai-kubād.—Shamsu-d dīn Kai-kubād.

Jalálu-d dīn Fīrōz Khiljī.

"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 dīn Khiljī.

"He was the first who, while yet only an Amír, placed an 'amírí 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 dīn was the first who used an 'amírí, 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 Fatáh* of golden 'amírís.

چو زرین قلعه بر کوه بود

عمارهای زرین قاب می داد

and Cháran, and Ulugh Khán¹ 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 Kailí⁴ 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 Ráví. One was Tibú, 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 *supra* 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 “Kili,” but this shows what Khusrá's pronunciation was. See *supra* p. 196, and Beng. Jour., 1866, p. 199.]

⁵ See *supra* p. 193.

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 Tátars flowed in such torrents that it reached to the girths of the horses. Ikbál and Tihú 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 Jihún had no power to carry away even an ant from Hindústán. Behold a great marvel which marked the good fortune of 'Aláu-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, Sicána.

The poet passes to the conquests of 'Aláu-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, Jháin, 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 *rúcats* and *rúuas* were beyond number. This fort was two weeks' journey distant from Delhi, 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 (*supra* 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 *razár*, 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*, Mallak¹ 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 Satal² Deo. Many iron-hearted *gahrs* 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 “Mallak.” See *suprá* p. 76.]

² [Or “Satal.” See *suprá* p. 78.]

³ [See *suprá* 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 *rá* 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 Delhi, be able to plunder the country of Ma'bar and the seas, with a mere movement of his eyebrow!"

The Capture of Dewal Rání.

The author proceeds to the more immediate subject of his poem. Shortly after 'Aláu-d din'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 Rání 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 Panchani for the conquest of the whole of Gujarát, and fled with his daughter and private attendants to seek the protection of the *rá* of Desgir, by name Saikh Deo, the son of the Rái-Ráyán, Rám Deo.

When the chief of Desgir learnt the approach of Rái Karan,

he sent his brother, Bhelan 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 Delhi, where she was made over to her mother in the palace. She was then eight years of age.

Loves of Khizr Khán and Dewal Rání.

The Sultán wished to betroth Dewal Rání 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 Ráni.

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 quēen-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 Aulá.

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 Delhi 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, *dárbásh*, 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 Delhi 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 Delhi 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-hájíb*.

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 Mubárák 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 Mubárák Sháh sent a ruffian named Sháidi to Gwalior, to murder the three princes Khizr Khán, Sháidi 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 Hindi Language.

“When I came to examine it from beginning to end, I found most of the names (words?) in it were Hindi. 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 Hindi words (language) inferior to the Pársi. 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 Hindi. Arabic, in speech, has a separate province, and no other language can combine with it. The Pársi 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 Dari.

“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 Hindi. If you ask whether there are the sciences of exposition and rhetoric, I answer that the Hindi 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 Hindi, 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? • • • 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 Klurásáni who considers every Hindi 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 country¹ 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 AMIR 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 Mubárák 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, Mubárák 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 *Kirdánu-s Sa'dáin*; Jalálu-d dín Firóz, on whom he had written *Kasidas* and *Masnawís*; 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, to whom he had dedicated his *Khamsa*, and addressed panegyrical poems.

The accession of Kutbu-d dín Mubárák Sháh on Sunday, the 24th² of Muharram, 716 H.³ (April 18th, 1316 A.D.). After remaining in Delhi for a year, he proceeded to the Dekhin for the conquest of Deogir, at the head of a large army. His first march was to Tilpat, about seven *kos* from Delhi, and, after a march of two months, he

¹ A play upon *sacra*, 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.

arrived on the borders of Deogir, where he received the submission of all the *ráis* and *ránas* of those parts, except Rághú, the deputy and minister of the late Rái Rám Deo. Rághú, on learning the approach of the king, fled to the hills in open rebellion.

Khusrú Khán was detached with a powerful army to repel him, and a royal tent accompanied, in order to do honour to the expedition. One of his officers, named Katlagh, the chief huntsman, seized some of Rághú's adherents, from whom it was ascertained that he had nearly 10,000 Hindu cavalry under him. Khusrú Khán attacked him in a defile, and completely routed him. "The Hindus, who had pretended to independence, were either slain, captured, or put to flight. Rághú himself was most severely wounded; his body was covered with blood; his lips emitted no breath. He entered some cave in a ravine, which even a snake could scarcely penetrate. Khusrú Khán, with thanks to God after his glorious victory, looked towards the royal tent and kissed the earth. He made over the charge of the army to the 'Ariz, and returned expeditiously to the seat of the throne, for his majesty had urgently summoned him. The king received him with a hundred flattering distinctions, and raised him to the highest honours. May his good fortune always so prevail, that he may bestow benefactions upon his slaves!"

The Second Sphere.

Khusrú Khán is despatched for the conquest of Arangal (Warangal), in Tilang,¹ with an army consisting partly of Hindus. "The king said, 'Turn your face to Tilang to demand *jizya*.'" "The royal pavilion was pitched at the end of the street, and on each side were ranged the other tents." The army advanced march by march, and the Hindus committed as many ravages as the Turks. Wherever the army marched, every inhabited spot was desolated. "Arangal had two walls, the centre of mud, the inner of stone." "When the army arrived there the Hindu inhabitants concealed themselves in the hills and jungles." "The Hindu horsemen of the *rái* vaunted themselves in every direction that they were as bold as lions, and the heralds, whom they call *bards*,² surrounded them, singing their

¹ There is no account of this expedition in Ferishta.

² خطابات هندو کہ کریند بردش

praises. The singers kept on resounding the pæans which they use in the wars of their *râis*. The Brahmans, after their own fashion, offered up their prayers, accompanied by the voices of the minstrels." "The chiefs, in appearance, were valiant, but trembling in their hearts. Hindus made an attack upon Hindus, to try their respective strength. If the Turks had charged, they would have annihilated the enemy, for, from time immemorial, the Hindus have always been the prey of the Turks."

The army encamped three bow-shots from Arangal, and the Khán ascended an eminence from which he might examine the fort. "On all sides of it, for the distance of two *mîls*, there were fountains and gardens, calculated to gratify those who are in search of pleasure. All its fruits were mangoes, plantains, and jacks; not cold apples or icy quinces. All the flowers which he saw were Hindu; the *champat*, *keora*, and jasmine. When the great Khán witnessed all this, he prayed Almighty God for assistance, and then returned to his camp."

A skirmish described. "The Hindu horsemen were more than 10,000; the foot soldiers were beyond all calculation. The horsemen on our side were altogether only 300, or even less." Notwithstanding these disproportionate numbers, the Hindus were completely routed, when great booty in jewels and gold fell into the hands of the victors. "They pursued the enemy to the gate, and set everything on fire. They burnt down all those gardens and groves. That paradise of idol-worshippers became like hell. The fire-worshippers of *Bod* were in alarm, and flocked round their idol."

In the morning Khusrú Khán attacked the outer wall, and obtained possession of part of it, when the Hindus sallied from the inner fortress in order to repel the Musulmáns. The Khán ordered many of his horsemen to dismount, and made such a vigorous onset that he seized the principal bastion of the outer fortress, which was crowded with Hindus, many of whom were slain, and many taken prisoners; among the latter was Antil Malha, the commander of the *Râi's* forces.

Next morning, the Khán advanced to the ditch and besieged the inner fortress. He ordered Khwaja Hujá, the *Arif*, "to distribute the army to the proper posts, to dig the trenches, and spring a mine,

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 Khalifa 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 (*manza*) 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 "Badr-kot, 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 (*dárbásh*) 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, Mulárák Sháh had departed from Deogír, towards Delhi, in the month of Jumáda-l ákhir, 713 H. (August 5th, 1318 A.D.).

When Mulárák Sháh arrived at Delhi, he gave orders for the building of a *Jamá Masjíd*, by the most skilful architects, and when that was completed, he gave orders for completing the city and fort of Delhi, 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 Khalifa’s dynasty was overthrown, the Pársis established themselves in it. Thenceforward, everything that was Arab, became subject to Pársi 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 Bâghchadád. 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 Pársi, 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 Pársi, 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, Lahori, Kashmirí, the language of Dugar,¹ Dhúr Samundar, Tilang, Gujarát, Ma’bar, Gaur, Bengal, Oulli, Delhi 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 Kashmir. 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 Brahmani 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*, *parrámas*, and *námals*. The language possesses rules for composition and eloquence. The language is very precious, inferior to Arabic, but superior to Dari; 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 *joyí* 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 infect another’s body by their own breath. In the hills on the borders of Kashmir 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 Deogir, 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 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 *chaugín*.—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 Irán, 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, 1313 A.D.), and that it contains 4,500 lines.

5. IJAZ-I KHUSRUWI.

[This work, sometimes called *Iashá-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 Delhi, 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 *munshí*, 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-dásh*t 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 Ghazúin 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 *farmáa* 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 Ghaznin, 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 Delhi, assembled in the *Jámá 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.—KASAID 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 Badri 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 Tippeo'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 Kháid from the 'Abbási Khán's.

Gabriel, from the firmament of Heaven, has proclaimed the glad tidings, that a robe of honour and Patent have reached the Sultán from the Kláifa, just as the verses of the Kurán honoured Muhammad by their arrival from the Court of the immortal God.
• • • The India 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. * * * A veritable 'Td has arrived to the Faithful, now that twice in one year a *khila't* has reached the Sultán from the *Amiru-l Múminín*. * * * Rajab arrived here on his return in the month of Muharram, 746 H.¹ (May, 1345 A.D.). * * * The king now never mentions his desire of sitting on an ivory throne, since his enemies sit on the point of elephants' tusks.² * * * 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 Delhi 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 Khalifa, 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 Khalifa. 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 Khalifa'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 Khalifa, 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 'Abbásis;" 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, Rám, 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

under each star are arranged a thousand banners. In each course behind the screens are a thousand songsters, melodious as nightingales. If the palace of a thousand pillars were not like Paradise, why should rewards and punishments be distributed there like as on the day of judgment? Certainly this abode of happiness, Khurramábád, is chosen as a royal residence, because there the king, by his execution of the laws, acknowledges his subservience to the Khalífa of the world, Abú-l Rabi' Sulaimán, the celebrated Imám, to whom the Khusrú of Hind is a servant and slave in body, heart, and soul. This Khusrú is a holy warrior, Muhammad Tughlik, at whose gate the King of Chín and Khitá is in waiting, like a Hindu porter. * * * The blade of thy sword smites the necks of thy enemies, and with equal power does thy hand wield the pen, clothed in a yellow tunic, like a Hindu.

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On the Capture of Nagarkot.

When the sun was in Cancer, the king of the time took the stone fort of Nagarkot, in the year 738 H. (1337 A.D.). * * * It is placed between rivers, like the pupil of an eye, and the fortress has so preserved its honour, and is so impregnable, that neither Sikandar nor Dárá were able to take it. Within are the masters of the mangonels; within also are beauties resplendent as the sun. Its chiefs are all strong as buffalos, with necks like a rhinoceros. Its inhabitants are all travelling on the high road to hell and perdition, and are *ghúls*, resembling dragons. The exalted king of the kings of the earth arrived at night at this fortress, with 100,000 champions. His army contained 1,000 stars, and under each star 1,000 banners were displayed. * * * Muhammad Tughlik is obedient to the laws of Muhammad, the apostle, and the orders of his vicegerent, Abú-l Rabi' Sulaimán Mustakfi, the essence of the religion of the prophet, the light of the family of Khalífas, the Imám of God, to whom the king is a servant and slave in body, heart, and soul.

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The Author is despatched to Deogir.

On the 1st of Sha'bán, in the year 745, represented by the letters in "The power of the king," orders were issued that I should go to

the country of Deogír, and I was thus addressed : "Oh, Badr, accompanied by Jamál Malik, the poet, and Nekroz, the slave, take thy departure with a pomp worthy of Rustam. May he who accomplishes all designs aid thee; may the God of both worlds protect thee; but speak not of Deogír, for it is Daulatábád to which I allude, a fort exalted to the heavens ! Although it is but a point in my kingdom, it comprises what is equal to 1,000 kingdoms of Jamshíd. * * * Go to the court of the governor of the country, Katlagh Khán, and acquire honour by this presentation, and having thy mouth in honey, say thus from me : ' Oh thou, from whose lips sugar distils, in whose fortunate¹ breast the light of the flame of the knowledge of God is reflected; thou, that art the best of those possessed of gold; thou, that art the essence of those who are excellent among men; thou, whose bounteous hand is so munificent that the fathomless ocean is but a drop compared with it; come, and gratify me by your arrival, as water does the thirsty. If thou hast any desire to reach the summit of thy exaltation, proceed towards the north.² Come and feast thy eyes upon the black *khila't*, so propitiously sent by the Imám of the time, and look with due reverence on the Patent which has issued from the Khalifa Abú-l 'Abbás Ahmad, the sun of the earth, and the shadow of God. It is through his justice that an antelope is able to seize the tail of a wolf. Use every exertion to come to the royal court, for henceforward you and I have obtained everlasting salvation.'

"When thou, oh Badr, hast delivered this address to the Khán, kiss his hands and bow down, like a pen dipping into an inkstand. Obey every order that he gives, and deem yourself honoured with every gift that he presents. * * * When the equipage of Jalálat Khán proceeds in state to the throne of the Sultán, the king of earth and sea, proclaim to the world that the Khwája is coming, like the resplendent sun, with 100,000 footmen, 100,000 horsemen, 100,000 spears, and 100,000 bows, sitting in his silver *ambá'ri*, like the moon in the milky way."

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¹ *Mubarak* is the Persian translation of *Katlagh*.

² The annotator says, "Proceed on a mission to the Khalifa;" but this is a very imperfect interpretation.

In Commemoration of the Building of Khurramábád.

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The inscriptions over its gateway record, in verse, the praise of the Khalifa repeatedly; may his throne be established to eternity, as well as that of the King of the World, who has declared that it is his pleasure to serve the Imám of God. The Sháh has given it the name of Khurramábád, and Zahíru-l Jaiúsh was its architect, the slave of the lord of the universe, the prelate of religion, the most select among the pious. This fortunate building was completed in Muharram, in the year 744 H. (June, 1343 A.D.). Badr has strung the pearl of this ode in one night, and made it worthy of ornamenting the ears of the nobles of the land.

On the same subject.

° ° ° ° ° ° ° °

Without, though the courts, full of armies, are raising a tumult and uproar, yet within it is so quiet, that prayers for pardon can be offered up.¹ ° ° ° All is so still and clear that the ear of man might hear the humming of a fly's wing reverberate like music. ° ° ° Speak not of a fort, speak not of a sarái, for in appearance and stability it is like the Ka'bah of Paradise. Zahíru-d dín erected this blessed structure by the propitious order of the Khusrú of the time, the director of the architects, and in the name of the Khalífa. May his life be prolonged for the confirmation of the religion of Muhammad, the Apostle of God. It was completed on the date, "Enter thou into Paradise," or, that I may explain more openly, 744 H. I have been entitled by the king, Fakhru-z zamán; call me not by that name, but rather the sweet-noted parrot.

In Celebration of the Completion of the Shah-náma.

In the year of Arabia, represented by "the power of the king" (745 H., 1344 A.D.), heaven completed the verses which I had strung together. Every line was like a pearl, which dazzled the eye in the dead of night. ° ° ° The whole of the poem is filled with praises of the king, Sháh Muhammad, the defender of the law

¹ In allusion to the mode in which these multi-columned buildings are constructed, so as to render the centre compartments private, while externally all appears exposed.

of the Prophet, and by right the ruler of the earth, by order of the Imám. Everywhere crowned heads swear fealty to him, everywhere celebrated men are the slaves of his behests.

° ° ° ° ° ° ° °

C.—MASALIKU-L ABSAR FI MAMALIKU-L AMSAR

OF

SHAHÁBU-D DÍN ABU-L 'ABBÁS AHMAD.

[“Travels of the Eyes into the Kingdoms of Different Countries.” This is the work of Shahábu-d dín 'Abú-l 'Abbás Ahmad, also called 'Umari and Dimashki, or native of Damascus. He was born in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.), and died at Damascus in 749 (1348 A.D.). Shahábu-d dín says little about himself and his family, but he mentions that his ancestors were, like himself, employed in the service of the Sultán of Egypt. His father, Kázi Moháfu-d dín, was secretary of secret despatches at Damascus, and after being dismissed from that office, and remaining some time without employ, became chief of the department of secret correspondence in Egypt. Shahábu-d dín assisted his father in both his offices, but he incurred disgrace, and retired into private life at Damascus, and so lived until his death.

Shahábu-d dín was a man of very considerable learning and ability. He studied different sciences under men of celebrity, and his extensive works testify to his learning, research, and literary activity. He is known to have written seven different works, inclusive of the one now under notice. Most of his writings have perished, or are at least unknown, but the *Masálik*, which is the most important of them in its extent and research, has come down to us in an imperfect state. The complete work consisted of twenty volumes, but of these only five are known to be extant. They are in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, and in 1838 M. Quatremère published in Tome XIII. of the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.* his description and specimens of the work, from which the present notice and the following extracts have been taken by the Editor. So early as 1758 Deguignes gave a short notice of the MS. in the

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, Lárs, 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-I Fidá and Juwainí; 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-I Fath 'Umar, a lawyer, and a native of the province of Oudh, who had lived long at the court of the Sultán of Delhi, the dominions of that monarch consisted of twenty-three principal provinces. 1. Delhi. 2. Dawákír (Deogir). 3. Multán. 4. Kalrán (Kuhram). 5. Sámána. 6. Siwistán. 7. Uch. 8. Hasi (Hansi). 9. Sar-suti (Sirsah). 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. Jáj Nagar. 23. Tilanj Darusamand (Telingana (?) and Dwára-samudra).

According to the account of Shaikh Mubárak, the city of Delhi is the capital of the kingdom of India. Next comes *Daukír* (Deegír), which was founded by the Sultán of that empire, and named by him "*Kabbata-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 carriers, 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.



I questioned the Shaikh Mubárak about the city of Delhi and the court of its sovereign, and I obtained from him the following details. "Delhi consists of several cities which have become united, and each of which has a name of its own. Delhi, 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 Khalíl, this description applies only to the old houses of Delhi, for the new ones are built differently. According to the same informant, Delhi 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 *Hanafis*. 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 Burhánud 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 *malíks*,¹ then the *amírs*, then the *isfah-sálárs* (generals), and, lastly, the officers (*jaud*). 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 *athlétas* (*pahlawán*), runners, (*shattár*), and men of every kind. They have excellent horses, magnificent armour, and a fine costume. • • • 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.

counted 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 *malíks*, *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 *malík*, 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 *malíks*, 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 *malík*, 1,000; the *amír*, 100; and the *isfah-sálár* a smaller number. The *kháns*, *malíks*, *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 *malík* 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 *sirs* 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, 'Irak, 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 Delhi or imported from China and 'Irak. 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 *amirs* and their wives. Every year he gives away 10,000 Arab horses, of excellent breed, sometimes with saddle and bridle, sometimes without. * * * 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 *naib*, chosen from among the *kháns*, who bears the title of *Amiriya*, and enjoys, as his official appanage, a considerable province, as large as 'Irak. He also has a *wazir*, who has a similar large appanage. This officer has four deputies called *sháks*, who receive 20,000 to 40,000 *tankas* per annum. He has four *dabirs*, 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 *Kazir-i Kazát*, which office is held, at the time I am writing, by Kamálu-d din, son of Barhánu-d din, has ten towns, producing a revenue of about 60,000 *tankas*. This dignitary is also called *Sadr-i Islám*, and is the chief officer of justice. The *Shiká-h-i Islám*, who corresponds to our *Shakhs-ah shaykh*, has

the same revenue. The *Muhtasib*, or chief of the police, has a vi lage 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 Mubárah, 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*, *malíks*, *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. • • •

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 Jakán*. The *fakírs*, whether natives or strangers, are under the *Shaíkh-i Islám*. Lastly, all travellers, ambassadors, or others, men of letters, poets, both native and foreign, are all under the *dabírs*, or secretaries. • • •

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 *fakir* 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 *Hudáya*, which expounds the principles of the school of Abú Hanifa. 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. * * *

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. * * *

The Sultán never ceases to show the greatest zeal in making war upon the infidels, both by sea and land. * * * 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 din 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, Delhi and Deogir, 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 Mubarak 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 hashtkání*.¹ The *dirham hashtkání* 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 hashtkání* answers to four *dirhams sultání*, otherwise called *dukání*. A *dirham sultání* is worth the third of a *dirham shashkání*, which is a third kind of silver coin current in India, and which is worth three-fourths of the *dirham hashtkání*. A piece, which is the half of the *dirham sultání*, is called *yakání* (piece of one), and is worth one *jítal*. Another *dirham*, called *duázdahkání* (piece of twelve), passes for a *hashtkání* and a half. Another coin, called *shánzdahkání*, corresponds to two *dirhams*. So the silver coins current in India are six, *i.e.* the *dirham shánzdahkání*, the *duázdahkání*, the *hashtkání*, the *shashkání*, the *sultání*, and the *yakání*. The least of these pieces is the *dirham sultání*. 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 sultání*, which is worth a quarter of the *dirham* of Egypt and of Syria. The *dirham sultání* is equal to eight *fals* [or *fulús*]; the *jítal* to four *fals*; and the *dirham hashtkání*, which corresponds exactly to the silver *dirham* of Egypt and Syria, is worth thirty-two *fals*.

The *rill* of India, which is called *sir*, weighs seventy *miskáls*, which, estimated in *dirhams* of Egypt, is worth 102½. Forty *sirs*

¹ I retain the original spelling, as Mr. Thomas contends that *kání*, and not *gání*, is the true reading. As, however, the Arabic has no *g*, but uses *k* for it, this passage decides nothing. See *suprà*, p. 357.

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 hashtkánís*, 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 hashtkánís*. 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 Mubarak 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-dín Isfahání, gave me the following details. Kutbu-dín Shirázi 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*, Shamsu-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 Burhánud dín Abú Bakr bin Khallah Muhammad Bazzí, the *Sufi*. 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 *babins*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 *Babin* in Hindi signifies a snake's hole, and in Hindu belief snakes keep guard over India's 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 Delhí 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 *shaiikh*. 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 Tanji, 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 Shah, King of Hind and of Sind. • • •

The *barid* or post in India is of two kinds. The horse-post is called *shuk*, and is carried on by means of horses belonging to the Sultan stationed at every four miles. The foot-post is thus arranged. Each mile is divided into three equal parts, called *diacah*, 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, *wazíras*, 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 [Súnra], 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.

Dehli 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. Sirí, also called Dáru-l-Khiláfat or Seat of the Khalifat. The Sultán gave it to Ghiyásu-dín, grandson of the Khalif 'Abbáside Al Mustansir, when he came to visit him. Sultán 'Aláu-dín and his son Kutbu-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. * * *

The chief *Kázi* 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 off 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 din Altamsh.

Shamsu-d din Altamsh was the first who reigned in Dehli with independent power. Before his accession to the throne he had been a slave of the *amir* Kutbu-d din Aibak, the general of his army and his lieutenant. When Kutbu-d din 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 *Kází*-I Kuzát Wajihu-d din al Kásání. They entered into his presence and sat down, the *Kází*-I 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 Ghiyásu-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 (*halim*), 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.

• • • 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 Delhi 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 Musulmán's, 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 Delhi, and entered the palace. The father placed Mu'izzu-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-dín returned to his territories, and some years after died there, leaving several children, among whom was Ghiyásu-dín Bahádur, whom Sultán Tughlúk made prisoner, and whom his son, Muhammad, released after his death. So the kingdom remained in the peaceable possession of Mu'izzu-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-dín. It was this prince who built the minaret of the northern court of the great mosque at Delhi, which has no equal in the universe. An inhabitant of India informed me that Mu'izzu-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-dín Firóz Sháh Khiljí, rose up against him.

Sultán Jalálu-dín.

When, as we have just described, Sultán Mu'izzu-dín was attacked with hemiplegia, his lieutenant, Jalálu-dín, revolted against him, and, going out of the city, he encamped upon a hill in the neighbourhood, beside a mortuary chapel called Jaisháni. Mu'izzu-dín sent out *amírs* to attack him, but all whom he sent with this object swore fidelity to Jalálu-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 *amir* 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 *amir* 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 Khiljí.

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 *muktasib*, or inspector of the markets, whom the Indians called *ráis* or chief, had to attend before him. It is said that one day he questioned the inspector about the dearth 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 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. Shádi 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 *amirs*, who was called Al Alf,¹ because his master had bought him for 1,000 (*alf*) *tanakas*, that is,

¹ *Hazar dinári.*

2,500 African *dinárs*. This Malik Náib 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 Delhi, 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 Náib 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 Delhi, and it is impregnable. I resided there some time. When Malik Náib took the prince to this strong fort, he gave him into the charge of the *kotwál*, or the commandant, and of the *mufrids* or *zanánis* (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 Náib to send some one to fetch Khizr Khán, that he might proclaim him his successor. Malik Náib 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 Náib raised his younger son, Shahábu-d dín, to the throne. The people took the oath of obedience to him, but Malik Náib kept him under his own direction, and after depriving Abú Bakr Khán and Shádi 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 Mu-bashir. 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 *mufriids*, 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 Shahábu-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 Shádlí 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 723 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. *Manjunks* 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. * * * 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 *amirs* 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 *amir*. They all submitted to him with the exception of Tughlik Sháh, father of Sultán Muhammad Sháh, who was then governor of Dáulpúr, 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 *Khánu-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. • • • Such conduct was one of the causes which made Khusrú Khán late-

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 *sháikh* 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 *gohwání*, or groom. This took place in the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, 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 Dibálpúr; 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 Dibálpúr, 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 Delhi, 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'Obsson 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 Delhi 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 Delhi. 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. • • •

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

fakirs 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 *kítú*, 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 din. 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 Timúr, Malik Tigin, 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 Timúr 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 Delhi a saint, Nizámu-d dín Badáúni. 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 din 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. * * *

It was to the skilful management of the *vazír*, Khwájá-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 *vazír* 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 din, son of Burhánu-d din, of Ghazní, chief *kázi*. 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. * * *

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. * * * 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. * * * The third door abuts upon the hall of audience, an immense chamber called *Hazár-sután*, 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. * * * 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. • • •

On one occasion the Sultán sent a part of his army, under Malik Yúsuf Bughrá, to fight against the Hindus in the mountains near Delhi. 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 Delhi.

One of the most serious charges against this Sultán is that he forced all the inhabitants of Delhi to leave their homes. His motive for this act was that the people of Delhi 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 Delhi, 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 *manjanik*, 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 Baháu-d dín.

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; * * * there was a fierce battle, * * * and the Sultán's troops gained the victory. Baháu-d dín fled to one of the Hindu princes, called the Rái of Kambila. * * * This prince had territories situated among inaccessible mountains, and was one of the chief princes of the infidels.

When Bahá'u-dín made his escape to this prince, he was pursued by the soldiers of the Sultán of India, who surrounded the *rái'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 Bahá'u-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 *rái* of Kambila, 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 *rái*, 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 *rái* 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 Muslim, and we were companions and friends.

After the death of the *rái* of Kambila, the troops of the Sultán proceeded towards the country of the infidel with whom Bahá'u-dín had taken refuge, and surrounded it. This prince said, "I cannot do as the *rái* of Kambila did." He seized Bahá'u-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 *kázi*, 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 Karáchl (in the Himalayas).

This is a vast mountain, three months' journey in length, and ten days' journey from Delhi. 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 Nakhbia, 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 *kázi* 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 *amirs* 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 Nakhbia 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 Musulmán were retreating, 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 Musulmán only three chiefs escaped—the commander Nakhbia, Badru-d din 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 Sharif Jalálu-d dín in the Province of Ma'bar, etc.

The Sultán had appointed the *sharif*, 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 *fakirs* 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. * * *

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 *sharif* 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. * * * When the Sultán saw this calamity, he returned to Daulatábád. * * * On his journey he was taken ill, and the rumour spread that he was dead. * * * 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). * * *

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 Delhi. [*Rebellion of 'Ainu-l Mulk.*] The *wazír* conducted (the prisoner) 'Ainu-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. * * * The sons of the *amírs* surrounded the captive, insulted him, spat in his face, and buffeted his companions. * * * 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. * * * The Sultán returned to his capital after an absence of two years and a half. He pardoned 'Ainu-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. * * * The famine being unendurable, the Sultán ordered provisions for six months to be distributed to all the population of Delhi. 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 Delhi.

The Sovereign mounted his horse to enter his capital. * * * Over his head was carried a parasol, and before him was carried the *gháshiya*, 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 TARIKH-I
FIROZ SHAHI OF ZIAU-D DIN BARNI.

A full translation of Barni'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.

Kilá-ghari.—The proper spelling is said to be Kilokhari. 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 *Kilokharí*, and indeed Sir H. Elliot has written it so (p. 525 *suprà*). Syud Ahmad, in the *Asáru-s Sandáid*, also writes it so. But on the other hand, the *Aráish-i Mahfil* calls it *Kilúgarbí*, and this is the spelling of General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Report on Delhi*. Without pretending to say which is right, the latter pronunciation is most acceptable to my ear.

Kuhrám کهرام.—Mr. Blochmann says the name is properly *Gulrám*, 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 *Kohráam*. 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 Jád.*—The reading in the *Journal* is "(crossed) at the fort of *Bághpat*, after which he encamped in the plain of *Jád*." The words in the text are "*guzar káth ubrah kard*," *i.e.* He passed over the ford (*guzar*) of *káth*. This reading is confirmed by one of my MSS., the other one has simply *guzar-gáh*. For *káth* the *Journal* reads "*Bághpat*," though no authority is offered. I followed the plain reading of the last-named MS., thinking that *káth* might perhaps be *ghát*, a Hindi word for ferry or ford. Mr. Blochmann notices a "*Joondhpoor*" on the *Junna*, opposite to *Bághpat*, which he thinks may be *Jád*.

P. 162. *Jalandhar*.—Some variants of this name have been noted. To these may now be added *Jarámánjar*, from Major Fuller's MS.; and *Járan-nánjar*, from *Badáuni*.

P. 165-6. "*The accursed Zūd.*" Major Fuller's MS. agrees as to "Zūd," but adds *al'ain*, like the printed text. In my MSS. it is clearly the usual epithet "*al la'in*," the accursed. The real name is Dawá or Dáúd. See *suprà* p. 548.

P. 172. *Jháin*.—Mr. Blochmann says, "Jháyín lies near Rantambhúr. It is known under the name of *Naushahr* (new city), Badáúni, i. p. 190. See Elliot, old edition, p. 193." The proximity of Jháin 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 Jháin as two distinct places (see also Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1870, p. 26).

P. 172. *Akat Khán*.—Mr. Blochmann writes: "I have written *Ikít Khán* instead of *Ukat*, which Major Fuller's translation has. *Ikít* 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 ún (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 ghúr 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 Badáúni (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 *Tuzak-i Jahángíri*: "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 آنک از گاومیش یا [تا] گوسندد هرچه شیر آور بود چرائی بستانند
 و چرائی تعیین شد و از پس هر خانه سکونت کری [کرهی] طلب نمایند
 تا بیج غبئی [غبئی] و شتر گزیه در ستن خراج نمایند

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 *Baláhar* is the village watchman, or sweeper, but Barni 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 Delhi 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 شتر كرده and شمتی, 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 acceptance had to be sought; and this may be, *the passing of 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 *karkî* or *garhî* (*masâhat o karhî o charâi*), which Mr. Blochmann fairly renders as a "house tax." Such may be the meaning of the word *garî* in the passage before us, though I think the context is against it.

P. 182. *Sharaf Kûi*.—Mr. Blochmann says that, according to Major Fuller's MS., the correct reading is *Kâini*, from *Kûin*, the well-known town in Persia. This is probably right. I followed the printed text; for my best MS. presented the variants of "*Sharaf Âli*" and "*Sharaf Kâzi*," and the other had "*Sharaf Fûi*."

P. 192. Major Fuller and Mr. Blochmann are in difficulties about the pay which 'Alâu-d dîn 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 dawist si chahâr tankah wa do aspah ba haftâd o hasht tankah bisgir shud wa mustakim gashit*," 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 (*bisyar*)." 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 داده تحصیلداران
 تعیین 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 بستانند چون اهل
 قلعه^۱ این حکم را بشنیدند هرچه جنس در میان ایشان بود ببهایی
 کلان میدادند تا آنکه هرچه از کمان و تیر و شمشیر در میان آن
 جماعت بود همه را آورده 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 Timúr'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.

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