

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

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

EDITED AND CONTINUED

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS fourth volume of the History of India traverses the disordered interval between the irruption of Tímúr and the culmination of Musulmán glory under Akbar ; but the thread of the history is not perfect, as the annals of some of the reigns have to be drawn from later works, and will appear in the succeeding volume. The period is one which has been less illustrated than any other in the seven centuries of Muhammadan rule, for, with the exception of Bábar's Memoirs, no work of mark has come down to us, and the authorities within the reach of European students have hitherto been scanty and incomplete.

The *Tárikh-i Mubárah Sháhi* now makes its first appearance. It is an exceedingly rare work, and a knowledge of it has long been anxiously desired, for it covers that "hiatus of about sixty years" which Col. Lees thought it would be difficult to fill up from "contemporaneous historians." It is not a work of any literary pretensions, and it can only be regarded as a plain unvarnished chronicle of the period over which it travels. Such as it is, however, it is a contemporary record, and all later writers have been directly or indirectly indebted to it for the history of the troublous times which followed the invasion of Tímúr. Sir H. Elliot's MS. is incomplete, but as Nizám Ahmad, the author of the *Tabakát-i Akbari*, made great use of this

work, and often quoted long passages verbatim, the deficiencies of the former have been supplied, by quoting from the latter such passages as were required to complete the history of the Saiyid dynasty down to the end of the reign of 'Aláu-d dín in 1450 A.D.

The Extracts from the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain* consist of some short passages relating to Tímúr's invasion; but the major portion are devoted to the events of the author's embassy to the Rájá of Bijnagar, and throw considerable light upon the condition of India in the fifteenth century. 'Abdu-r Razzák was a florid writer, and relates his travels in the grand style; but the portions relating to Tímúr's invasion are written in a plain unpretending narrative remarkable by the contrast. It is hardly credible that both could have come from the same pen. The part relating to Tímúr was probably copied or translated, but as only some Extracts of the first volume of the MS. have been available, we are in ignorance as to what account 'Abdu-r Razzák gives of his authorities. The style of the portion devoted to the history of Tímúr is very like that of the *Malfúzát-i Tímúri*, and so closely follows the details of that work and the *Zafar-náma*, that it has been necessary to print only a few lines as specimens.

The Extracts from the *Habíbu-s Siyar* appertain to the history of the Ghaznivides, and so they are supplemental to the accounts given of that dynasty in the second volume, though, from the date of their composition, they appear in this volume. Sir H. Elliot had so fully annotated these passages as to enhance their intrinsic value, and to justify their publication out of their natural order.

To these Extracts are appended Sir H. Elliot's translations from the Odes of 'Unsurí and the *Díwán* of Salmán, which appear in the Appendix, and upon which he evidently bestowed considerable labour and attention.

Of the Extracts from the Autobiography of Bábar little need be said. These Memoirs are the best memorials of the life and reign of the frank and jovial conqueror; they are ever fresh, and will long continue to be read with interest and pleasure. To have passed these over on the ground of their previous publication would have left a blank in this work which no other writer could supply. Who but himself could have so fully and openly described his aims and feelings, or who could have exhibited that adaptability of character and that ready appreciation of the manners and prejudices of his new subjects? All the important passages relating to India have therefore been extracted from Leyden and Erskine's translation, and they will be the more acceptable since the original work has now become scarce and dear. A new French translation by M. Pavet de Courteille from Bábar's own Turkí version of the Memoirs made its appearance just in time to furnish materials for a few notes and comparisons; but the differences between the translations from the Persian and Turkí versions are not so great as might have been expected.

The Afghán dynasty, which followed that of the Saiyids, has plenty of Chronicles, but no work approaching the dignity of a history. The spirit of clanship has always been strong among Afgháns, and their writers exhibit a greater affection for personal anecdotes and family feuds than for matters of public policy. All the

works relating to this dynasty abound with anecdotes and stories, many of which are trivial and uninteresting. The *Tárikh-i Sher Sháhí*, though written in a spirit of eulogy, does not tend to raise the character of Sher Sháh, who has enjoyed a reputation apparently above his merits. That he was an able administrator is no doubt true, but the account which this work gives of his regulations and arrangements does not show them to be of a very enlightened order. He was a cautious rather than an enterprising commander, and was more prone to seek success by crafty and crooked courses, than by the exercise of valour and daring. His soldier-like death in the trenches has cast a ray of martial glory upon his memory; but the treacherous betrayal of Bábí Fath Malika of Bengal and the cold-blooded murder of the prisoners of Ráísín would bedim a much brighter fame than he ever achieved.

The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí*, another of these Afghán chronicles, is of a similar character, and can claim no great literary merit; still the Extracts here printed are the best available authority for the period of which they treat. They enter into details, and furnish many scraps of information hitherto inaccessible, and, in so doing, they afford the means of arriving at a true estimate of the characters of Sultáns Sikandar and Islám Sháh. The work closes with the death of Dáúd Sháh and the extinction of the Afghán dynasty.

The Memoirs of Sher Khán, Khawás Khán, and Shujá'at Khán, which appear in the Appendix, are from the pen of Sir H. Elliot. The Extracts from the *Wáki'át-i Mushtáki* will show the true value of a work once often

quoted, but now little known. It is a favourable specimen of the anecdotal literature of the age, and though asserting no claims to be considered as a consecutive historical record, it contains numerous interesting passages better worthy of attention than many of the stories recorded by the professed historians.

The following is a list of all the articles in this volume, with the names of the writers.

- XX.—Tárikh-i Háfiz Abrú—Sir H. M. Elliot and the Editor.
 XXI.—Tárikh-i Mubárah-Sháhi—Editor.
 XXII.—Matla'u-s Sa'dain—Probably Mr. C. J. Oldfield, B.C.S.
 XXIII.—Rauzatu-s Safá—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 XXIV.—Khulásatu-l Akhbár—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 XXV.—Dastúru-l Wuzrá—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 XXVI.—Habíbu-s Siyar—Mr. H. Lushington, B.C.S.
 XXVII.—Tárikh-i Ibráhímí—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 XXVIII.—Túzak-i Bábarí—Leyden and Erskine's translation.
 XXIX.—Tabakát-i Bábarí—Editor.
 XXX.—Lubbu-t Tawárikh—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 XXXI.—Nusakh-i Jahán-ára—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 XXXII.—Tárikh-i Sher Sháhi—Mr. E. C. Bayley, B.C.S.
 XXXIII.—Tárikh-i Dáúdí—"Ensign" Chas. F. Mackenzie.

APPENDIX.

- A.—Notes on Matla'u-s Sa'dain—Col. Yule.
 B.—Odes of 'Unsurí—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 C.—Díwán of Salmán—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 D.—Memoir of Mír Alí Sher—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 E.—Memoir of Khawás Khán—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 F.—Death of Shujá't Khán—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 G.—Wáki'at-i Mushtáki—A *munshi* and Sir H. M. Elliot.
 H.—Bibliographical Notices—Sir H. M. Elliot.
 I.—Autobiography of Tímúr—Editor.

A slight change has been made in the title-page, in

order to make it more accurately descriptive of the altered position of the Editor, who has had to take a larger share of actual authorship than was at first contemplated. To Sir H. M. Elliot belongs the merit of the whole design and plan of the work, and the collection of the mass of the materials; but a great deal remained to be done in the way of selection and translation at the time of his premature decease. The amount of matter required to carry out his designs has proved to be much greater than was supposed when the publication was commenced, and the Editor has had to trace out and translate all that was necessary to complete the work. He has endeavoured to the best of his judgment and ability to finish each volume according to the plan laid down; but he is fully conscious of having fallen short of what Sir H. M. Elliot would have accomplished had his life been spared.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

	PAGE
XX. <i>Tárikh-i Háfiz Abrú</i>	1
XXI. <i>Tárikh-i Mubárák Sháhi</i> , of Yahyá bin Ahmad	6
XXII. <i>Matla'ú-s Sa'dain</i> , of 'Abdu-r Razzák	89
XXIII. <i>Rauzatu-s Safá</i> , of Mírkhond	127
XXIV. <i>Khulásatu-l Akhbár</i> , of Khondamír	141
XXV. <i>Dastúru-l Wuzrá</i> , of Khondamír	148
XXVI. <i>Habíbu-s Siyar</i> , of Khondamír	154
XXVII. <i>Tárikh-i Ibráhími</i> ; or, <i>Tárikh-i Humáyúni</i> , of Ibráhím bin Harírí	213
XXVIII. <i>Túzak-i Bábari</i> ; or, <i>Wáki'át-i Bábari</i> : The Auto- biography of Bábar	218
XXIX. <i>Tabakát-i Bábari</i> , of Shaikh Zain	288
XXX. <i>Lubbu-t Tawárikh</i> , of Yahya bin 'Abdu-l Latif	293
XXXI. <i>Nusakh-i Jahán-ará</i> , of Kází Ahmad	298
XXXII. <i>Tárikh-i Sher Sháhi</i> ; or, <i>Tuhfat-i Akbar Sháhi</i> , of 'Abbás Khán Sarwání	301
XXXIII. <i>Tárikh-i Dáúdí</i> , of 'Abdu-Illa	434

APPENDIX.

A.—Notes on the <i>Matla'ú-s Sa'dain</i>	514
B.—Odes of 'Unsurí	515
C.— <i>Diván</i> of Salmán	518
D.—Memoir of Mír 'Alí Sher	527
E.—Memoir of Khawás Khán	528
F.—Death of Shujá't Khán	532
G.— <i>Wáki'át-i Mushtáki</i>	534
H.—Bibliographical Notices	557
I.—Note on the Autobiography of Tímúr	559

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 99, to note 2, add, "and Yule's edition, vol. ii. p. 320."
" 109, last line, for "*kichú*" read "*kichri*."
" 118, 119, for "beams" read "slabs."

APPENDIX.

A.—NOTES ON THE *MATLA'U-S SA'DAIN*.

[THE Editor is indebted to Col. H. Yule for some notes on the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*, which did not reach him in time for insertion in their proper place.

Page 96. "The ninety cities of the islands of *Díwah-Mahall*." For Sir H. M. Elliot's reading شهر نود Col. Yule considers the words of Quatremère's MS. to be preferable, viz., شهر نو *Shahr-i nau*, or "New city," a name by which Siam was known to the Malays and the mariners of the Persian Gulf in the middle ages.

P. 96. "Zirbád." "This is a phrase translated from the Malay, meaning 'below the wind,' or 'leeward,' and is applied by the Malays to the countries east of the Straits of Malacca. The expression occurs in the '*Ain-i Akbari*, Blochmann's translation, p. 91, but the true meaning is not there given to it." It is also used in the well-known *Bágh-o Bahár*, and there it seems to apply to 'Burmah and other countries between India and the Straits.

P. 103. "Bandána." "In spite of Bandana handkerchiefs, there is no such port as this in Malabar. I have no doubt the real word is 'Fandaraina' or 'Fandarána.'" See note in *Journ. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv., p. 345. Quatremère's reading was "Bendianeh." The MS. of the East India Library agrees with Sir H. Elliot's reading بندانه Bandána.

P. 113. "Zaitún." "This is the name of the Chinese city whence satin was brought, *hodie* *Thsinancheu* or *Chincheu*, and my belief is that our word satin came from Zaitún."

P. 124. "Báknúr." "This reading of one of the MSS. is the correct one. It is the port in Northern Malabar, called *Baccanore* by our old voyagers."—See *Cathay, and the Way thither*.

B.—ODES OF 'UNSUBI.

[Abú-l Kásim Hasan bin Ahmad 'Unsurí, of Balkh, rose to a high position by the exercise of his poetical talents. He was one of the poets entertained at the Court of Mahmúd of Ghazní. They are said to have been 400 in number. He was reckoned their chief, and it was his duty to read and report upon the productions of the poets who sought for the patronage of the Sovereign. He wrote a series of Odes describing the victories of the Ghaznivides, of which the following is an Extract, translated by Sir H. M. Elliot. He died in 431 or 441 H. (1039 or 1049 A.D.).]

*Ode in praise of Sultán Mahmúd Ghazniví.—Jaipál.—Multán.—
Thánesar.—The display of booty from India.*

Oh! thou who hast heard of the virtues of kings from history, come hither and clearly discern the virtue of the Khusrú of Irán.
• • • If thou regardest his face, thou wilt find it more auspicious than that of the sun. If thou regardest his wealth, thou wilt find it more abundant than the sand of the desert or the drops of a shower. The son resembles the father; for when the matter is so excellent that which proceeds from it must be equally so. In whatever business he undertakes, he acts like a hero; he is swift to hunt lions; the line of his army is as indissoluble as a ring; when he rides he is as much a part of his horse as sugar dissolved in milk forms one liquid. The eye of day is blinded by the dust raised by his steed; from its neighing the ear of heaven is deafened. His family around him are like the army of Yájúj; his troops are as firm as the wall of Sikandar. With his body erect, his heart filled with revenge, his sword drawn, he resembles an enraged male lion pursuing its prey. The attack of the King of the World has exterminated his enemies root and branch, as the blast when it destroyed the tribe of 'Ad. The foundations of his fort are as strong as iron, and its bastions are as lofty as heaven. When men walk along its ramparts, you would say they were taking their way along the galaxy.

Thou hast heard the account of Jaipál, the King of the Hindus, who was exalted above the other chiefs of the world. His army

was more numerous than the stars of heaven; the stones on the face of the earth did not equal it, or the drops of rain. His soldiers had so imbrued their hands in blood, that their swords were as red as the morning dawn. Hadst thou seen his spears gleaming, like tongues of flame through black smoke, thou wouldst have said his host was dispersed in the wilderness of hell. Sense fled from the brain at fear of him; and the light of the eye was confounded. The Lord of Khurásán dispersed in his attack the whole of that army on the plain of Pesháwar. Thou knowest the history of his expedition to Multán, or if thou knowest not, consult the "Crown of Victories."¹ In the *Sháh-náma* will be read the story of Faridún crossing the Tigris without a boat. The tale may be true, or it may not be true; if thou knowest it to be not true, put no faith in the narrative. But [Mahmúd] crossed the Chandáha, the Síhún, the Rahwáli, and Behat,² yet he had neither boat nor anchor, notwithstanding that thought could not fathom their depth, and the breeze was unable to pass over their breadth. On his road to Multán he took two hundred forts, each of which was a hundred times stronger than Khaibar.³ As the King passed from the right to the left, he dispersed all his foes, and in his contempt regarded them as vile. Their armour was shattered, their bodies wounded, their hopes depressed, their swords broken, their hearts confounded, their shields cast away. Vestiges of the blood of his enemies, which the Sháh spilt, still remain in that country, for its air is full of clouds and its soil bright red. He marred the beautiful gardens of Gang and Thánesar, because they were places of pilgrimage to the Hindus. He threw down the idol's head at the entrance of the plain of Ghaznín, because it was, as it were, the helmet of Hind.

• • • The enemy's blood will flow for years over the wide plains of that country. The mother who has witnessed the battles of that region will bring forth no more children through affright; for the feet of the camels and the swords of the warriors are yet red with the blood of the inhabitants.

No one, except God the giver, can rightly enumerate the booty

¹ The famous work by Abú-l Fzál Baihaki.

² The Chináb, the Indus, the Rávi, and the Jelam.

³ A famous fortress in Arabia.

which the Prince of 'Ajam brought back with him. In one direct line, as far as Balkh, it was displayed; and the road became like one *sardí*, fitted up with the puppets of Barbar. Villages and towns became distracted at the colours and odours arising from the strings of rubies and the balls of ambergria. Baghdád could not produce such rarities, nor Shustar [Súsa] such beauties. The sand of the deserts is not greater than were the heaps of jewels piled up before the King of the World. If this surpasses belief, read the "Crown of Victories," the text of which is a necklace, and its commentaries like pearls. The Sháh of Khurásán has conquered all his opponents by the help of God, in a manner which no one amongst men has done before him. Though the moon shines in a dark night and is very brilliant, yet it pales before the light of day. Though every Sháh may say, "I am aloe-wood, because I also am of the same nature," yet that only can be known when tested in the fire and censer. * * * Who upon this earth resembles the King in excellence? What thorn resembles the pine and cypress? Princedom, nobility, wealth, and religion are excellent through his possession of them, as trees are valuable through the fruits they produce. As long as in every time men throughout the world are affected by pleasure and sorrow, by the decrees and preknowledge of God, may the life of the King of the World endure, and his wealth be abundant, his heart at ease, and his hand upon the wine and cup!

Ode in celebration of Sultán Mahmúd.

Hail! Lord of Khurásán and son of perfection, on whom Almighty God has bestowed dignity and pomp. Thou art the right hand of the State, from whom the State has acquired honour, the asylum of the faith, from whom the faith has derived splendour. God has abolished mortality from the creation, in order to secure the eternity of his government. The tree of his liberality has risen to heaven, every leaf of which is dignity, and every fruit is wealth. From the utmost bounds of the sea and land he has united in his donations all the munificent largesses which have ever been scattered over the earth. If you look at his face, your heart will be gladdened; if you hear his name, you may consider it a happy omen. * * * In

Turkistán there are no houses which he has not saddened ; in Hind there are no cities which he has not levelled with the ground. Wherever there is wisdom, wherever there is excellence, every one takes an example in both from thee. Wisdom has no value till it derives approval from thee ; excellence makes no impression till it draws its model from thee. * * * * From fear of thee the heart of the infidel becomes black ; the heart of the pious is illumined by the light of thy religion. Before thy benefactions are made, a request is issued that they might meet with acceptance. If I were not to wish for a long life, in order to serve thee, all that I possess in the world which is lawful would change its nature.

C.—DIWAN-I SALMAN.

[Khawája Mas'úd bin Sa'd bin Salmán wrote poems in praise of the Ghaznvide sovereigns Mas'úd, Ibráhím, and Bahrám Sháh. A few facts respecting his life are to be gathered from his works. He suffered a long imprisonment, for he speaks of the nineteenth year of his incarceration. His writings throw some light upon the Ghaznvide period. He died in 525 H. (1131 A.D.) according to some, and in 520 H. (1126 A.D.) according to others. The following translations are the work of Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

The conquest of Tabarkhinda, Bāria, and Ghor.

* * * * *

As power and the strength of a lion was bestowed upon Ibráhím by the Almighty, he made over to him the well-populated country of Hindustán, and gave him 40,000 valiant horsemen to take the country, in which there were more than 1000 *ráis*. Its length extends from Lahore to the Euphrates, and its breadth from Kashmír to the borders of Sistán. * * * What enemy has held any fort in Hindustán who has not by the power of the Sultán been placed in chains? The *rájás* and *ráis* with their armies had raised that fort to the heaven of Saturn ; but when the army of the Sháh turned his face towards it, all their joy was turned to sorrow, all their advan-

tage to loss. * * * The good fortune of the King compelled the enemy to come out of the fort in a supplicating posture to plead for mercy. Tabarhinda is stronger than Núrsádna,¹ and no place is so strong as these two in the world. Imagination cannot conceive anything so strong, and its defenders were innumerable. No breath of Islám had blown in that region, nor any fragrance of the truth visited the land. * * * Almighty God gave him victory over the people, which had not been attained by any former kings. The army of the King destroyed at one time a thousand temples of idols, which had each been built for more than a thousand years. How can I describe the victories of the King? I am not able to sound all his praises. I will mention only a few, as I cannot recount them all.

One is the conquest of Búria. I will record it in verse, but it would require a thousand *diwáns* to do it justice. 'Udú' became greatly alarmed when he saw the soldiers of the King of the East. The sun and moon became dark from the dust raised by the horses. The fish and cow² felt the burden of his army heavy. He leaped into the water like a fish when he learnt that the King's sword was death, and there was no escape from it. The King had collected some wooden boats for the fight, which floated on the flowing stream like crocodiles. He placed on each two hundred horsemen. * * * 'Udú was drowned in the river with his army like Pharaoh, and the King became victorious like Moses. 'Udú was defeated, and his magic was of no avail against the dragon-like sword of the King of the World.

One hundred thousand tongues could not describe the conquest of Ghor, and the condition of Muhammad 'Abbás. The fort was strong and lofty, and as free from the chance of removal as the mountain of Sihlán (Ceylon).

¹ Another copy reads Nausitára. Tabarhinda may be read Barhanda or Sirhinda, [and is, as we have seen in former parts of this work, an old name of Sirhind, see *supra*, p. 11.]

² One copy has 'Umar in one place, as the name of the ruler of Búria, which still exists on the banks of the Jumna; but though 'Udú means also an enemy generally, yet it resembles a Hindu name, and occurs too frequently to be merely a repetition of "the enemy."

³ In allusion to certain absurd Muhammadan notions given in the *Ma'álim-ut-Tausil*, and other commentaries and works on Cosmogony.

The capture of Dhangán and Jálándhar.

The narratives of thy battles eclipse the stories of Rustam and Isfandiyár. Thou didst bring an army in one night from Dhangán to Jálándhar. The hills were alarmed, and the clouds astonished. The horses and camels stood ready. They galloped over the narrow road and floundered in the river through the darkness of the night. The clouds around formed thrones of ice, and rivulets of blood flowed in all the ravines. The standards were flying, and the spears had their heads as sharp as thorns; and the army of the Magog of mercy made firm his tents upon the hills, in a line like the wall of Alexander.¹ * * * Thou remainedst but a short time on the top of the hills, thou wert but a moment involved in the narrow defiles. Thou didst direct but one assault, and by that alone brought destruction upon the country. By the morning meal not one soldier, not one *Bráhma*n, remained unkilld or uncaptured. Their heads were severed by the carriers of swords. Their houses were levelled with the ground by the flaming fire. * * * A fleet messenger came from Dhangán, announcing that ten thousand turbulent people, horse and foot, had collected. Thou didst take the road by night, and wast surrounded by gallant warriors. The enemy's heart quailed because of thy coming. Thou didst pass on without stopping with thy foot-soldiers like the wind. Thou didst proceed till the noise of the clarions of Sáir Sambrá arose, which might have been said to proclaim his despair, and was responded to by those of Bú Nasr Pársi, which announced thy victory to all quarters. * * * He fled unto the river Ráwa at dread of thy approach, and there he was drowned, and descended into the infernal regions; and well do I know that this end must have been less appalling than the daily fear which he entertained of the destruction which awaited him. Henceforth thou shouldst consider that the Ráwa had done thee service, and it should be reckoned as one devoted to thy will. If such a place be conquered during this winter, I will guarantee the conquest of every village near Jálándhar. I am the meanest of slaves, and hold but an exceedingly small office, but make thou over to me the accomplish-

¹ The same two similes occur in a line of 'Unsurí in an ode in praise of Sultán Mahmúd.

ment of this business. The *ráts* and soldiers will not dare to revolt, and *rájás* from fear of thee will proffer their allegiance. By the help of God, and by the force of thy prosperity, will I extirpate the practices of idolatry from this country. I will make the slain kiss the earth to the very gate of the fort. I will make a string of slaves kiss the earth to the banks of the Ráwa. * * * Thou hast secured victory to thy country and to religion, for amongst the Hindus this achievement will be remembered till the day of resurrection.¹

• • • • • • • •

The author laments the condition of his family.

For sixty years this slave's father, Sa'd bin Salmán, served the State, sometimes in distant provinces and at others at the capital. I have a young daughter and a son and two sisters in the land of Hindustán. My daughter has become blind through her tears, and my son has no employment. There are forty-three members of my family who are dependent on thy mercy, and pray for thy prosperity and welfare. Oh, thou, who deliverest thy people from evil, relieve me also from my misfortunes. From the strictness and darkness of my imprisonment, my heart is oppressed and my disposition is blackened. Though my fault is exceeding great, yet a hundred faults would not be beyond the efficiency of thy mercy.

• • • • • • • •

The author complains of his imprisonment.

Arrows and swords pierce my heart, and my niece, my daughter, and son are in pain and sickness. Day and night my heart yearns towards them. My mother and father also are afflicted. No news reaches me from them, and none reaches them from me. I am imprisoned in the lofty fort of Náí, on the top of a hill. * * * Though heaven is against me, yet the King Ibráhím, whose praises I sing, is just, and I feel no grief.

¹ There is a wildness and want of connexion in this ode which renders its precise meaning doubtful, but it is interesting as noticing the capture of Dhangán and Jálándhar. The latter place is well known, but has not before been noticed in Muhammadan annals. The position of the former is doubtful, but the description shows that it must have been far within the hills. These conquests appear to have been effected in the time of Ibráhím.

Prince Mahmúd appointed Governor of Hind.

At the silver dawn of morn a zephyr reached me from the palace, whispering that Abú-l Muzaffar Sultán Ibráhim had bestowed honour upon Mahmúd Sháh, by appointing him to the government of Hind. The *khutba* was read throughout all Hind in his blessed name, and the diadem was placed upon his head. * * * A horse was bestowed upon him as a *khil'at*. May it be attended with prosperity for him, and may he be established firmly on the throne of the country! All the astrologers declared, after making their caloulations, that it would not be long before the preachers should read from their pulpits the name of Saifu-d dawwál (Mahmúd), King of the Seven Climatea. Bú Rihán, five years previous to this, declared in the book called *Tafhím*, that a king, lord of the conjunctions, would exist upon the earth, when four hundred and sixty-nine¹ years had passed from the beginning of the Hijra. A thousand thanks every moment to God, that he has given us a puissant and merciful king!

* * * * *

The capture of A'gra.

Oh, Zephyr, proclaim the great victory to all the world. * * * Thou wert thyself present and saw all, why need I tell thee what occurred? Say how the Lord of the World, the Sword of the State and Religion, the sovereign of the great and small, in order to secure victory to Islám, brought a valiant army from the capital to the land of Hind, which he reduced to forty thousand horsemen, in order that it might not be too large and unwieldy. * * * He disregarded all other forts, and passed rapidly over the ground, sometimes encamping in forests, sometimes on broken ground. When his lofty standards passed the river, the mirror-like vault of heaven was obscured by clouds of dust. The fort of Agra is built amongst the sand, like a hill, and the battlements of it are like hillocks. No calamity had ever befallen its fortifications, nor had deceitful Time dealt treacherously with it. When it was surrounded by the army,

¹ Literally a *ts*, a *sin*, and three *jims*, according to the numerical value of those letters; but the chronology seems questionable, and the existence of Bú Rihán five years previous makes the matter still more doubtful, unless by the same computation we consider the *panje* to be fifty-five instead of five.

it looked like a point in the centre of a circle. The battle waxed warm with arrows and swords. The following night the chiefs of Jaipál had a dream. • • • When the moon arose, the Amír of Ágra, Jaipál,¹ descended from the top of the rampart to the gate of the fort. He looked towards the tent of Saifu-d daula, and made his reverence, and seizing from his waist his holy thread, held it up with both his hands. He sent a message to the King, saying, "Oh, great sovereign, I have committed a fault, and I am ready to acknowledge it. I proclaim my allegiance. Thou art my lord. I will relinquish my sins; do thou pardon my transgressions. If thou wilt grant me forgiveness, I will fill up a heap of treasure in this fortress." The King of Kings, the Sword of State and Religion, replied, "I have come to this country to prosecute a religious war. I have seen countless forts, but this holy army has taken every one of them a hundred times over. I was in search of such a large virgin fortress as this, which no king or chief has yet taken. Now that my heart has found this fort of Ágra, I will bring destruction upon it with my swords and arrows. Other kings have thought only of silver and gold. I look for nothing but pardon from the Giver of all things." He then ordered his soldiers to the attack, saying he would take the stronghold by the help of God. His soldiers surrounded the fort of Ágra, and made the day appear like night. Without, were the army of Islám; within, were the infidels. The stones discharged from the mangonels ascended to the vault of heaven, like the prayers of saints. I saw the foot-soldiers with helmet, coat of mail, and sword, creeping up like snakes to defend their walls, which could not be destroyed by stones, arrows or fire, insomuch that you would have said they had been riveted together by iron nails. A thousand assaults were made, but their hearts did not quake; a thousand wounds were inflicted, but their bodies were not maimed. The fires which they threw down from the battlements blazed like planets in the heavens. Every horseman who rode surrounded by the flames of fire escaped from the effects of it, like Ibráhím, the son of Azur; and the red element blazed round him like a garden. • • • Several days elapsed, and there was no respite from fighting by the

¹ Another copy reads Bathál.

light of day or the darkness of night. * * * The clarions of Mahmúd resounded like thunder from the clouds. From behind the walls arose the cry of "Strike, strike." The troops of the King made an assault together, and dragon-like swords defended the ramparts. The faulchions of the holy warriors made the ground of Ágra flow like a river with the blood of the enemy. * * * I saw the King plunging into the middle of the fight like a male lion, with a mandevouring scimeter in his hand. * * * At last, from the holy warriors within the fort arose the shout of "Victory to our Sovereign Lord Mahmúd." * * * Now do the kings from all quarters send their presents unto thee—loads of red gold, and files of male elephants. As so many elephants are collected, make their stables at Kananj, and appoint Chand Rái to take charge of them. May this victory be propitious to thee, and mayst thou capture by the sword a thousand such forts as these. Thou shalt be lord throughout the seven climates, as this conquest over the infidels testifies.

• • • • •

The conquest of Málwá.—The author describes his former circumstances.

Thou didst depart with a thousand joyful anticipations on a holy expedition, and didst return having achieved a thousand victories. Thou didst encamp at pleasant spots in each province in the hottest season of the year. On this journey thy army destroyed a thousand idol-temples, and thy elephants trampled over more than a hundred strongholds. Thou didst march thy army to Ujjain; Málwá trembled and fled from thee. Thy encampments were gardens, thy roads were groves. On the way to Kálinjár thy pomp obscured the light of day. The lip of infidelity became dry through fear of thee, the eye of plural-worship became blind. All the people felt alarm at thy army, and regarded it as the approach of the day of judgment. * * * All the mothers of Turkistán produce children to adorn thy Court. All the mines of Hindustán increase their production of iron to make weapons for thy wars. The wilds bring forth the various kinds of horses for thy stables. The Rúmís send cuirasses; the Russians send helmets; Rúm, Baghdád, Wásit, and

¹ *Márd márd*. This is the first use of a Hindustáni phrase in a Persian author.

Shustar forward the choice robes of their manufacture. At all times every one presents as many valuable things as his means admit. Who is able to show a living? but thou art able, thou destroying champion. Glory to my sovereign lord, and may he long live, who has a son resembling him in greatness and power. * * * May thy Government, thy actions, thy splendour, and the kingly power bestowed on thee by thy father be propitious, and prove a blessing unto thee! * * * On the top of hills my youth is wasted without any repining. My verses are remembered in every assembly; fresh mention of my name is made in every chamber. The justice and munificence of the Sultán towards me are great. He has given me bread which is sufficient, and bestows happiness upon me without alloy. My affections draw me towards my native country, my love of my daughter and my son. When I was in Hindustán, I resided upon the estate of my old father. The slave Bú Nasr appointed me to a command, like other *náibs*. But I was not a *náib*, inasmuch as I had not the means and appliances which were thought sufficient for them. I had a few servants very black, and a few horses very thin. All these appurtenances are necessary in a Government to enable the administration to be conducted with honour. The partridge and hawk do not fly together; the lion and antelope do not associate. How dare the turbulent advance their foot in opposition to thy power?

* * * * *

Prince Mahmúd congratulated on his return to Ghazná.

Thanks to the incomprehensible God, that the Amír and Sháh of Hindustán, the Sword of State and Religion, the honour of our faith, Prince Mahmúd, son of Ibráhím, has returned from Hindustán to the Sultán, the just lord of the world. * * * When thou camest over the deserts in the month of Nisan for the purpose of this interview, thou didst cross the Chandrába, the Jailám, the Wáihind, and Mahminára,² as Moses did the Nile of Egypt.

* * * * *

¹ This allusion to father and son shows that this ode is addressed to Prince Mahmúd, the son of Ibráhím.

² The Indus flows under those two towns. This portion of the stream is now called Attak as far as Kalábágh.

Conquest of Kanauj by Mas'úd III.—The author bewails his captivity, and excuses himself.

'Alá-u daula Mas'úd, by the aid of Islám, raised a thousand standards, round each of which was arrayed a gallant army. He turned his face towards Hindustán, to prosecute a holy war. * * * With a valiant army of Turks and others, and by the aid of the King, they took Mulhí, the accursed God-forsaken Chief of Hind. They placed chains on his feet and a collar on his neck. They carried him to the royal presence. Kanauj was the capital of Hind; which the infidels regarded as their pole-star. Its story is not concealed, for it was the Ka'ba of the Samanís, and the Kibla of the infidels. The treasures of Hind were collected in it, just as all rivers flow into the sea.¹ Mulhí had soldiers, wealth, elephants, and arms: conceive therefore what else he had. He had taken possession of Hind by force, for he was the Ka'ba of the wicked, and the Kibla of the infidels. His face was black, his deeds demoniacal, his religion was witchcraft, his disposition that of a tiger begotten of the devil, of the family of 'hell, a worshipper of idols. * * * He bounded up in alarm, and had such fear for his life that he looked on his sacred thread as the folds of a snake. * * * From the raining of thy swords, the garden of Hind bloomed; the bones were white as jessamine,² and the blood red as a rose. * * * Oh, powerful Lord, it is now nearly ten years that my life has been wasting with sorrow and anguish. My body has become as thin as a hair, my heart is burning and my chest is torn with my long blue nails. * * * Why should I turn my face away from thy exalted dynasty, for I have been a slave of it for seven generations. Sa'd Salmán did service for fifty years, and obtained these large estates with difficulty and made them over to me; but my enemies have taken them away from me, and my house is destroyed. I came with a petition that justice might be done, but have met no satisfaction. I know no fault or crime of my own, but my deceitful enemy planned my destruction. No one has ever seen me throw away my arms, there

¹ His hydrography is better than Bishop Hall's, who makes rivers flow from the sea.

² There is a play upon words in this couplet, "Samanistán" meaning a jessamine garden, as well as a country of Samanis, and in another passage the same simile occurs with reference to a battle-field.

was during the battle a sword in my hand, nor have I shown my back in flight, and in the disaster an arrow penetrated my eye. Let all the infidels be asked if I did not serve the Sháh like other slaves. I sing thy praises like a nightingale; why then am I cooped up like a hawk in a hill fortress?

D.—MIR 'ALI SHER.

Mir 'Alí Sher, or 'Alí Sher Amír, the enlightened minister of Sultán Husain of Persia, was born about A.H. 844 (A.D. 1440).

Mir 'Alí Sher was of an illustrious family of the Chaghatái tribe. His father, Bahádur, who was a man of deep learning and science, and whose chief pride it was to give a finished education to his children, held one of the principal offices of government during the reign of Sultán Abú-l Kásim Bábar, son of Tímúr, and 'Alí Sher was himself employed at Court, having ingratiated himself with this prince so much, as to obtain from him the title of son. He gained this favour by means of his literary accomplishments, and especially by the display of his talent as a composer of Turkish and Persian verses. When this prince died, Mir 'Alí Sher retired to Meshhed, and subsequently to Samarkand, where he devoted himself to study. Some time afterwards, Sultán Husain Bahádur Khán, having made himself master of Khurásán, invited Mir 'Alí Sher, with whom he had been educated, and for whom he entertained a great affection, for the purpose of entrusting to him the administration of the Government.

After being employed in the capacity of *díwán* and minister for some time, love of study induced him to resign, but Husain prevailed upon him to accept the government of Astarábád, which also proving too busy an occupation for one of his literary tastes, he resigned it after a short period, and bidding a final adieu to public life, passed the remainder of his days in composing Turkish and Persian works, of which Sâm Mirzá recounts the names of no less than twenty-one. Though himself an ambitious author, he was far from being jealous of the accomplishments of others, and proved himself one of the most eminent patrons of literature. Daulat Sháh the biographer, Mirkhond and Khondamír the historians, dedicated their works to him; and amongst other men of genius who were

cherished by his liberality may be mentioned the celebrated poet Jámí. He patronized also sculpture and architecture, and several edifices dedicated to religion and humanity were raised at his sole expense. He was also very partial to music, and himself composed several pieces of merit, which are said still to maintain their credit.

His collection of Odes in the Chaghatái, or pure Turkish dialect, which he wrote under the poetical title of *Nuáí*, amounts to ten thousand couplets; and his parody of Nizámí's five poems, containing nearly thirty thousand couplets, is universally admired by the cultivators of Turkish poetry, in which he is considered to be without a rival.

In the Persian language also he wrote a collection of Odes under the poetical title of *Fanáí*, from which Hájí Lutf 'Alí, in his *A'tish-kadah*, has selected the following as a beautiful specimen :

“O you who say, ‘Don't curse Yazíd, for possibly the Almighty may have had mercy on him.’ I say, if the Lord pardoneth all the evil which Yazíd did to the Prophet's descendants, He will also pardon you, who may have cursed him.”

'Alí Sher died A.H. 906 (A.D. 1500), five years before his royal friend and master Sultán Husain Mirzá, and Khondamír has recorded the date in an affectionate chronogram :

“His highness, the Amír, the asylum of divine guidance, in whom all the marks of mercy were conspicuous, has quitted the thorny brake of the world, and fled to the rose-garden of pity. Since the ‘light of mercy’ has descended on his soul, those words represent the day of his departure.”¹

E.—MASNAD 'ALÍ KHAWÁS KHAN.

There is no connected account of this officer in any of these Afghán histories. Those who treat of him separately fill their statements

¹ Compare S. de Sacy, *Mém. sur div. antiq. de la Perse*. M. Quatremère, *Journ. des Savants*, 1843, p. 387. *Gesch. d. sch. Red. Pers.*, p. 310. *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, tom. iv. 246, 290, ix. 121. *Biographical Dict.* L. U. K., n. v. *Journ. Asiatique*, Jan. 1842, p. 70. Sir G. Onseley, *Notices of Persian Poets*, pp. 50–53. Price's *Retrospect of Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., p. 656. *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 184. Erskine's *Life of Baber*, vol. i., p. 81. *Zeitschrift Deutsch. M. Gesell.*, vol. ii., 242, 256. David's *Turkish Grammar*, p. xxviii. *Biog. Univ.* vol. i., p. 655. *Sprenger's Bibliog.*, p. 2. *Tabakát-i Shah-Jaháni*, fol. 153. *Makhzanu-l Ghardib.*

with what to us are the most uninteresting events of his life. Thus, in the *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán* (MS., pp. 187-190), there is a long eulogy upon his great Muhammadan virtues, and especially his lavish prodigality¹ in behalf of lazy *fakirs*. The *Wáki'at-i Mushtáki* (MS., pp. 112-17) gives these and other particulars; but, notwithstanding its prolixity, is not complete even in these five long pages, as an hiatus occurs before we come to the time of his death. The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* (MS., pp. 291-7) also celebrates his indiscriminate liberality to these sanctimonious vagabonds, and gives as an illustration that he had no less than 2500 apartments in his palace, in each of which 100 of these obese vermin were pampered at the rate of two *sírs* of corn per diem, great and small. Doubtless, the exaggeration of numbers is enormous; but admitting even one hundredth part to be true, it again leads to the reflection which similar laudations have excited—What misery must have been entailed upon the wretched plundered people to supply the extravagances and establish the piety and benevolence of these ostentatious patrons of professed devotees.

With respect to his death, this work simply tells us that he was killed without having committed any fault. In short, all these authors dwell more upon the excellence and liberality of his cuisine, than upon his tragic end, and the deliberate perfidy and knavery of the base king at whose instigation he was murdered. There is no occasion to notice any of the political events of his life, for they will be found frequently mentioned in the reigns of Sher Sháh and Islám Sháh; but it is curious to remark that, on his first introduction to public life, when he succeeded to the title of Khawás Khán, upon the occasion of his elder brother's being drowned in the ditch of the fort of Gaur, he came into slight collision with his future murderer Islám Sháh, then Prince Jalál Khán. Khawás Khán urged an immediate attack, to which Jalál Khán gave his reluctant consent; but generously attributed the victory, when gained, to the courage and energy of Khawás Khán.²

It has been remarked at p. 465, how confused is the record of his

¹ This will be found translated in the annotations of Dr. Dorn's *History of the Afgháns*, part ii., pp. 106-8. In a little book entitled the *Shajrat Afghánia* (MS., p. 136), this profusion is attributed to Sher Sháh, but he was too wise and practical a man for such follies.

² *Supra*, p. 360.

career at the beginning of Islám Sháh's reign. It may, therefore, be necessary to mention that, after flying from Mewát with all his artillery, in which he was strong, he remained some time in Sirhind, whither 'Azam Humáyún advanced against him by Islám Sháh's orders, with 40,000 men; but they had a secret understanding with each other, and Khawás Khán retired leisurely on his advance, and entered Rohilkhand, where, after for a long time desolating the royal *parganas* at the foot of the Kamáún hills, he joined the Niázis before the battle of Ambála, and on the day of action deserted them on the plea of their wishing to exclude any man of the Súr family from the succession to the empire. His movements here appear to have been very extraordinary, for instead of joining Islám Sháh, to whom he had communicated his intentions, and from whom he might have expected to receive the immediate reward of his perfidy, he again returned to his haunts under the hills, and finally sought the protection of the Rájá of Kamáún, who conducted himself with great magnanimity during the events we shall now have to record. He entered the Rájá's country by the pass of Dabar, and fixed his residence at Alhahí. Ahmad Yádgár is the author who gives by far the fullest and most consistent account of his death in a passage extending from pp. 336 to 342 of his history, which I here proceed to abstract.

After the Rájá of Rájaurí had presented a white elephant, and so ingratiated himself with the King that he was reinstated in his territories, Islám Sháh returned from those parts, and remained some time at Ágra.

Here intelligence was brought him by his spies, that Khawás Khán had established himself upon a lofty mountain in the dominions of the Rájá of Kamáún, who had assigned him some villages for his support, as well as a daily allowance of cash. Upon this, Táj Khán Kiráni, who held the Súba of Sambhal,¹ was directed to use every possible means to get the refugee into his power. "If his hand could not reach there, he was to do it by messages, promising royal benefactions—such as the imperial districts at the foot of the

¹ This ungrateful scoundrel had owed his preferment to Khawás Khán. In the subsequent history of the Afgháns, we find him in rebellion against his liege-lord, and supporting his usurpations by the same means of lying and forgery which he found so successful on this occasion.

hills, which would be made over to him. By holding out hopes such as these, Táj Khán might be able to send him in chains to Court."

Several messages were despatched at the same time to the Rájá, who indignantly replied, "How can I throw into fetters a man who has sought my protection? As long as I have breath in my body, I never can be guilty of such baseness." Islám Sháh himself then wrote to Khawás Khán, to say that he forgave him, and wished that what had passed should all be forgotten between them; that the Ráná of Udipúr had again raised his head, and plundered several of the royal possessions, and carried off the wives and children of Musulmáns; that none of the nobles had succeeded in their measures against him; and that all their hopes were now centred in Khawás Khán. "All this is asserted with all the sincerity than can attach to an oath before God; and after that, an engagement and guarantee was engrossed on saffron-coloured cloth, and despatched. And Táj Khán was at the same time instructed to use every kind of cajolery and flattery, in order to lull that bird into security, and entice him into the net; for the wounds which his conduct had implanted in the King's breast could not be healed but by the salve of his murder."

On the receipt of these missives, Khawás Khán's immediate impulse was to obey them, but he was strongly dissuaded by his adherents and the Rájá, who represented that the King was perfidious, that he had destroyed most of his nobles, and how then could he allow Khawás Khán to escape, who had been ten times opposed to him in battle? These remonstrances were, however, of no avail.

When Táj Khán wrote to inform His Majesty that Khawás Khán had arrived within twenty *kos* of Sambhal, "The king, who entertained in his heart the most inveterate hatred, forgot his sacred promises and his oath before God, and wrote, saying, 'The moment he arrives slay him, and having stuffed his body with straw, despatch it to Dehli.'"

When Khawás Khán arrived at the town of Sirsí, Táj Khán advanced with his army to meet him, and at night sent his

¹ The *Makhsan-i Afghání* represents that the Rájá said he was incapable of affording him protection any longer, and that Khawás Khán came himself to Dehli and surrendered himself.

myrmidons to assassinate him. "On the morrow, when preparing to execute the royal commands, they found, on the removal of the sheet from his body, that it was covered with about ten *sirs* of flowers. Táj Khán was alarmed at what he had done. Nevertheless, under the peremptory instructions he had received, he cut off that head, which was the ornament of prostration in prayer, and bound it on a spear-head, like that of a common malefactor or murderer, and sent it on to its destination accompanied by the body stuffed with straw."¹ "On its arrival, Islám Sháh ordered that it should be impaled in the front of the Red Gate; and it is said, that when this was done, a black wind arose which darkened the whole world, and such an earthquake was felt that the loftiest buildings fell to the ground. From that date, moreover, calamities befell the reign of Islám Sháh."

He seems to have been buried in Dehlí; for the *Mahkzan-i Afgháni* informs us that when, after exposure for three successive nights, a load of roses, notwithstanding the doubling of the guard, was found to have been thrown over the body, Islám Sháh was inspired with remorse, and ordered that he should be solemnly interred. Firishta also says that his corpse was interred at Dehlí after his assassination by Táj Khán; that his tomb is frequented even at the present day; and that the common people, esteeming him to be a saint, go there to offer prayers for success in their undertakings.

But I have also had his tomb pointed out to me at Khawáspúr in the Upper Panjáb, between the Jelam and the Chináb. He is in that neighbourhood also held in high repute for his piety and courage; and there are several popular songs sung in his praise, under the appellation of "Sakhí" or "generous."

F.—DEATH OF SHUJA'AT KHAN.

We read so much respecting the actions of this gallant officer during the reigns of Sher Sháh and Islám Sháh,² that there is no need here to expatiate upon them. Most of the authors who have made any mention of his death³ concur in representing it as a

¹ Briggs ascribes this event to 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.), but not on the authority of his original.

² Amongst other monuments of his rule, is the town of Shujá'wálpúr, near Ujjain.

³ See *Mahkzan-i Afgháni* (MS., p. 326), and *Tarikh-i Khán-Jahán* (MS., p. 221). Firishta says he died at Málwá in 962 A.H., and the others also say *after* the death of Islám Sháh.

natural one, but as the following details appear highly probable, and are illustrative of the ignominy and baseness which prevailed at this period, I will abstract an account of them from Ahmad Yádgár (MS., pp. 345-350).

Shujá'at Khán, Gházi Khán Súr, and Háji Khán were directed by Islám Sháh to lead an expedition against Súrat Sing Ráthor, whose principality was Chonsú. The sole reason for this wanton attack seems to have been that he had a white elephant and a beautiful daughter. The elephant, though so remarkable for its docility in the stable that even children might play with its trunk and tusks, was equally celebrated in the field for its valour and ferocity, insomuch that no strange driver dare approach it.

Súrat Sing chanced to be at Dwárka when he heard of the arrival of this formidable force; but two Rájput chieftains, Kúmpá and Pampá, having been left behind to manage the army during his absence, collected ten or twelve thousand veteran soldiers, and erected an earthen circumvallation round Chonsú, with a deep ditch, protected by outworks in different places.

One day, after the army of Islám Sháh had reached that neighbourhood, they came suddenly upon the village of Nákár, where the Rájputs were standing negligently in detached bodies, and had taken no means for securing their outposts in that portion of the defences. The three nobles, after a short consultation, determined upon an immediate attack, and the lot fell upon Shujá'at Khán to lead the advance, with 4000 cavalry and seven or eight elephants. Háji Khán and Gházi Khán were to support him respectively on the right and left. The Rájputs maintained their ground against every attack of Shujá'at Khán, though directed with the utmost vigour and impetuosity; and at the same time, "the two nobles retired, both on the right and left, because Islám Sháh was ill-disposed towards Shujá'at Khán, though he pretended to be otherwise, on account of Daulat Khán Ujíála, the Khán's adopted son, who was a catamite of the King's. He had, therefore, directed them secretly on the day of battle to let him advance heedlessly, and not give him any support when he required it, in order that he might be slain." Consequently, when Shujá'at Khán found himself deserted by his colleagues, being determined to sell his life dearly,

he put himself at the head of two thousand of his own cavalry, and astonished even his infidel opponents by his deeds of gallantry, "until his horse fell covered with wounds; when, being driven to defend himself on foot with his bow and arrows, he made every bolt which he sped send an infidel to hell."

The next day, the Hindus being defeated by the other two generals, performed the *jauhar*, when one thousand women became victims in that sacrifice. Immense plunder fell into the hands of the victors, and treasure was carried off which it had taken three or four generations to amass. "The King was highly rejoiced to hear of Shujá'at Khán's death, and ordained a splendid festival to be held. He recounted to Daulat Khán Ujíála all the feats of valour which had been achieved by Shujá'at Khán and in order to assuage his grief, elevated him to the rank which had been enjoyed by his adoptive father."¹

What a paternal king! What loyal and obsequious nobles!

G.—*WAKFAT-I MUSHTAKI.*

The author of this work, Shaikh Rizku-lla Mushtáki, was born in 897 H., and died in 989 H., (1492-1581 A.D.).² In the body of the work he names his father Shaikh Sa'du-lla. He speaks of himself in his preface as having associated from early youth with the most learned men of his age, and having greatly benefited by their colloquies. From them he used to hear several extraordinary relations of bygone times, which, together with what he had derived from the exercise of his own powers of observation, he used to recount for the instruction and edification of his friends. They were so much struck with the marvels he related, and the value of

¹ Before this (if we except Ujjain, which his father was compelled to give up to him) he appears to have held no specific rank, but perhaps took precedence of all the nobles, as being the personal favourite of the King. The *Makhan-i Afghani* tells us he was at liberty to draw at any time a *lac* of rupees from the Treasury. This young and favoured person appears, from some few traits recorded of him, to have been better than the general run of his vile contemporaries. He was murdered, after his father's death, by his perfidious brother Báz Bahádur, who has left behind him a name of celebrity in Málwá.

² Nis'matu-lla calls him Mauláná Mushtáki, without giving his name (*Makhan-i Afghani*, MS., fol. 2 r.).

his communications, that they would bring him pen and ink, and beseech him to record in a more permanent form the result of his researches; and at last, upon a particular friend of his suggesting that the author should compile an historical work for the advantage of those who were partial to such inquiries, he undertook the task, and we have the result in the *Wāk'at-i Mushtākī*.

He is spoken of in terms of high commendation by Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk and Shaikh Nūru-l Hakk in the *Tārīkh-i Hakkī* and the *Zubdatu-t Tawārīkh*. He is styled uncle by both these writers;¹ but as 'Abdu-l Hakk was the father of Nūru-l Hakk, he must necessarily stand in a remoter relation to one of them. He is represented as a great traveller, as having mixed with many celebrated men, as an eloquent and learned man, consistent and pure in his conduct, much devoted to spiritual exercises, and especially in the doctrines and practices of Sūfi-ism, fully acquainted with the history of politics of his time, and his conversation as very engaging and replete with wit, repartee, and anecdote. In his Persian compositions he styled himself *Mushtāk*, in his Hindūī *Bājan*. He possessed the rare accomplishment at that time of considerable knowledge of the Hindūī language. He quotes several distichs in the course of his history, and "his *Paimāban Job Nirānjan* and other treatises in Hindi² are celebrated throughout the world." He had eight brothers, all possessed of rare qualifications; and as far as his grand-nephew can be understood, it would appear that their contemporaries were unanimous in ascribing to them the merit of having effected a considerable improvement in the popular language of the country. The family appears to have had a bias towards historical composition; for, independently of the two works noticed above, our author's grandfather, by name Shaikh Firoz, who is said to have excelled equally with his pen and sword, wrote an heroic poem upon the war between Sultān Bahlol and Sultān Husain Sharkī. 'Abdu-l Hakk mentions that he had it in his possession, but had lost it leading us to infer that it was very scarce. Shaikh Firoz died in

¹ 'Abdu-l Hakk's *Essay on the Literary History of Delhi* (MS., fol. 20 v.), and Nūru-l Hakk's *Zubdatu-t Tawārīkh* (MS., fol. 80 r.), and *Akhbār-u Akhyār* (MS., fol. 191 r.).

² The distinction between the Hindūī and Hindi is observed both by 'Abdu-l Hakk and Nūru-l Hakk, but they are evidently meant to apply to the same language.

860 H. (1456 A.D.).¹ He appears to be entitled to a portion of the saintship which attaches to the name of his grandson, for he was much devoted to spiritual exercises, indulged in visions and ecstasies, and was especially learned in the doctrines and practices of Súfi-ism. His religious preceptor was Shaikh Muhammad Miskín, who resided at Kanauj, and was much revered by his credulous disciples. It is related of him that when his house was destroyed by fire, a store of rice was burnt along with his other goods. "It matters not," said he, "the harvest of us who are scorched (with fire as well as the light divine) will not all be destroyed," and threw the grain upon the ground, when lo! every seed of the grain, when they came to reap it, was found to be double. When this marvellous produce was brought before Sultán Sikandar, he devoutly thanked God that such men were produced in his time.²

CONTENTS.

Sultán Bahlol Sháh	pp. 3-13
Sultán Sikandar	pp. 13-81
Sultán Ibráhím... ..	pp. 81-84
Bábar Bádsháh	pp. 84-86
Humáyún Bádsháh	pp. 87-91
Akbar Bádsháh	pp. 91-92
Sher Sháh	pp. 93-111
Islám Sháh	pp. 111-143
Sultán Mahmúd ('Adali) and Súr dynasty	pp. 143-146
Ghiyásu-d din Khiljí (of Málwá)	pp. 146-155
Nasíru-d din Khiljí	pp. 156-165
Sultán Muzaffar Sháh (of Gujarát)	pp. 166-167
Miscellaneous Anecdotes	pp. 168-210

Size—Small Folio, containing 210 pages of 17 lines each.

But it is not to be supposed that the treatment of the history is so methodical as the above table would leave one to suppose. On the contrary, the work is very ill-arranged, long digressions are frequently introduced, and reference is again made to reigns which have been previously disposed of, and to matters which he confesses he had forgotten. Thus, in the middle of the reign of Islám Sháh, we have an account of some of the nobles of Ibráhím Sháh, and then of Sultán Sikandar, so as to leave the impression, that here at least there must be some error of the copyist or the binder; for such a

¹ *Akhbár-i Akhyár* (MS., fol. 323 v.).

² There is an account of this saint in the *Akhbár-i Akhyár* (MS., fol. 191), and at the end of it there is a laudatory notice of *Mushtáki*. See also *Tabakát-i Sháh-Jahání* (MS., fol. 137 v.).

strange transposition could scarcely have taken place either by design, or the most treacherous lapse of memory. Anecdotes are also interspersed of the celebrated chiefs and saints of the time, and silly stories of miracles, apparitions, demons, enchantment, and jugglery deform the work—exhibiting the extraordinary credulity of the author, as well as of the age in which he lived. It contains, however, much that is interesting, and we are occasionally favoured with a few illustrations of the manners of the times. It affords, therefore, a rather copious field for extract, especially as it is exceedingly rare. Many of the stories attributed to the author's heroes are popularly related of other sovereigns.

Besides the one in my own possession, I know of only one copy of this work in India, and that is an excellent copy in the *maskh* character in the Moti Mahal library at Lucknow.¹ It is strange that the *Wāk'at-i Mushtakī* should be so uncommon, for it was much quoted by contemporaries,² and contains abundance of trivial stories well suited to the tastes and intellects of the present generation.

Khān Jahān Lodī.

In giving an account of the nobles of Sultān Sikandar's time, I shall not speak of those whom I have not seen, but only of those with whom I was personally acquainted. I commence with those who were in his service while at Agra.

Masnād 'Alī Husain Khān, who was called Khān Jahān Lodī, had made it a rule that whatever fixed salary³ he gave to his soldiers, he never deducted anything from it; but when, after the lapse of ninety years, the sovereignty departed from the Afghāns, their allowances were stopped.

It was also his rule, that every one of his attendants should be present whenever he was in his camp; but when he was in his palace, if any person went to him there, he would ask him why he came. If the man replied, he came to salute him, he would say, "You have

¹ [Col. Lees had never seen a copy; and although he had met with the name of "Masnāna Mushtakī," he did not know the title of his book. Journ. R. A. S., vol. iii., n. s., p. 454.]

² Besides the instances quoted above, see Nizāmu-d din Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* (MS., fol. 2 v.), and Allah-dād Faizi Sirhindī, *Akbar-nāma* (MS., fol. 1 v.).

³ استنابت a new use of the word.

come of your own accord, there is no necessity for your attendance, except when I am in the camp. Now, though I am at home, you still come to me. It appears that you have no love for your own family. What must they think of you?" After saying this, he would immediately dismiss him, not even allowing him to sit down.

If any person died, his allowances were transferred to his son. If he had no son, they were given to his sister's or brother's son, or son-in-law, or any of his relations who survived him. If there was no such relation, his wife was ordered to bring her brother or nephew, and the allowance was given to him. If she also had none, she was advised to adopt a son from her other relations; and if she had no relation, then any well-born child. If she had any fit slave, she was allowed to adopt him, but she was enjoined to send him to school, and teach him the arts of archery and riding. In short, in no manner was any fixed allowance ever stopped. If any learned or religious man had an interview with him, he was favoured with the grant of a village, a piece of land, or some pension. He always took care of his neighbours, and repaired the mosques which had fallen into disrepair.

One morning, Bandagí Mían Ládán Dánishmand went to the Khán Jahán, and when he asked him what brought him there so early, he answered that he wished to eat *khichrí*, but that he thought he could not have it prepared in time; he had therefore thought of some rich man in whose house he could find it ready. He remembered the Khán, and immediately came to him. The Khán said that he never ate *khichrí*, but other things were being made ready; if he liked *khichrí*, it should be prepared for him. The Mían answered, "The same difficulty exists here: while you are getting it ready, the time for eating it will have passed. The Khán said, "While it is getting ready I will send for some sweetmeats for you from the *bázár*." The Mían said, "Very good, but tell the man to bring the money to me. I will direct him what he should bring." When the money was brought, the Mían said to the man, "Give it to me, and you go and prepare the *khichrí*." In short, when it was ready, and the Mían had finished it, he said he had eaten too freely, and it would be very troublesome for him to stand the motion of a litter. The Khán asked, "Why do you go in a litter, have you no horse?" He

replied that a horse which goes uneasily is worse than a litter, and that his horse had very unpleasant paces. The Khán said, "I will give you one of my own horses which goes very easily." The Míán exclaimed, "Why should I not ride if there be such a horse at my disposal!" The Khán ordered his men to bring a certain horse, and it was brought just as it stood in the stable, with only its clothing on it. He ordered it to be made over to the Míán, who said, "In consequence of my belly being so full, I complained of the litter; but now a greater difficulty has arisen, for I never can ride a horse with a naked back." The Khán smiled, and sent for a saddle, which was brought and put on the horse. The Míán then asked whether he was to keep the animal at his house, or send it back. "Keep it at your house," replied the Khán. The Míán said there was nobody to take care of it. On this he was told that a servant should be employed on monthly wages for the purpose. The Míán again asked what it ate, and was told that it always ate pulse, coarse sugar, and clarified butter. The Míán said, "Where are such things to be got in this poor man's house?" So these were also ordered to be given to him. Again he said, "When this saddle becomes old, another will be required, and new clothing will also be needed when the old is worn out." He was told to take away those articles also. He then said, "It would be very troublesome to send the horse-keeper every day for its food; it would be a great favour if you were to grant me a village, the income of which will do for all these expenses at once, viz., the wages of the groom and the horse's food, and its saddle, and its clothing, and its green fodder." This request of his was also complied with, and a village was granted him in the district of Badáún. On his taking leave, he said he had taken his dinner and received a horse and a village, but the litter-carriers who had brought him there had got nothing. On this some money was given to them, and then at last the Míán took his departure. Such was the generosity of Khán Jahán Lodi!

When he died, his son, whose name was Ahmad Khán, neither got the title of Khán Jahán nor his father's rank. Míán Zainu-d dín and Míán Zabaru-d dín were two officers of the deceased Khán Jahán, and his army and *parganas* were given over to their charge. A royal *farmán* was also sent at the same time to the address of

Zainu-d dín, informing him that these privileges were granted by His Majesty of his own free motion, and not in consequence of Zainu-d dín's connexion with Khán Jahán Lodí. From that time Zainu-d dín took the muster of the army, and had charge of the *parganas*. The *jágr* of the archers was maintained, to be enjoyed by them. To Ahmad Khán, son of Khán Jahán, a tract was granted from the district of Kaithal, in the name of his mother, besides an annual allowance of one *lac* of *tankas* for the purchase of horses, one *lac* of *tankas* for his clothing, and another *lac* for betel-leaves and other miscellaneous expenses. * * *

Mián Zainu-d dín.

I shall now mention some of the moral qualities of Mián Zainu-d dín, in order to show that the officers of those days were so excellent that even divines of the present age are not equal to them. He rose so early that he bathed and read all his prayers and performed all his religious duties before sun-rise. In the daytime, he read the ten divisions of the *Kur'an*, standing all the time on his legs. He went over seventeen divisions of that book every day, and never sat down while he was performing this duty. He also read one of the *takmilas* of Ghausu-s Saklain, and the whole of *Husn-i Hasín*, besides other miscellaneous prayers, and went through five hundred different postures of devotion, all standing. From midnight till noonday he was always employed in worship. During this time he never spoke on worldly subjects; if there was anything necessary to be done, he directed his servant to do it by signs. While he was taking his meals he discoursed on scientific subjects. He dined always with learned and religious men, and took a little rest after his dinner. In the afternoon he used to speak on secular subjects, and give directions respecting household business, and other matters which it might be necessary for him to speak of. After this, he again attended his prayers, and performed other religious duties. He then read the evening prayers, repeating them much oftener than is enjoined by his religion. He did not obtain leisure from these religious performances till four hours and a half of the night had passed; and then he sat a little with his friends, and took as a supper some fruit or rice boiled in milk. Having done this he retired to

his chamber. None of his servants of either sex neglected to read their prayers. Whenever he brought any slave from the market, he first placed him under the care of a tutor, in order that he might learn his prayers and become acquainted with the precepts of the Muhammadan law, till which time he gave him no employment. On Friday nights, from the time of evening prayer, if there was any Hindu in his assembly, he turned him out, and would not even look on the face of a Hindu during that night. One day three persons came from the Sultán to call him, but he would not go; and it was reported to His Majesty that although three men had been sent for Míán Zainu-d dín, yet he had not chosen to come. The Sultán replied that it was Friday night, and he will not come; he may be called after he has done with his prayers. He kept fast on Thursdays and Fridays, besides the common fasting days. He never neglected these duties in any season—summer or winter. He always attended public prayers on Fridays, even if he was ten *kos* off. His kitchen was so large that food was given to every one three times a day, whether he belonged to his own people or was a stranger, and from whatsoever place he came. In the month of Ramazán, rice boiled in milk was given to every applicant in the evening, when they broke fast, and also early in the morning. Whatever any person wanted to eat was given to him.

Every year he called all his relations, male and female, from Dehli to Ágra, to see them. On their departure he asked them all what they wished to have, and gave them what they asked. Whenever, by way of charity, he paid the expenses of a marriage ceremony, whether the bridegroom was his relation, neighbour, or a stranger, he gave the bride money, clothes, a bed with its appurtenances, and also a *pálkí* if she were of sufficient rank. In short, he did all that is required of a father. If any guests came into the house of those who lived on his estate, he sent all kinds of food for them from his own kitchen in such quantity that not only was it sufficient for them, but for their servants also. During the anniversary days of the Prophet's death (may peace be to him!) food of the value of two thousand *tankas* was daily prepared during the twelve days. On the first and last day of the festival, victuals of all kinds, and of good flavour, and *kaléd* were prepared in large quantities, at the expense of four

thousand *tankas*. It should be considered what would now be the value of four thousand *tankas* of those days. At last, when Sultán Sikandar died, he lost his Government. Ahmad Khán, son of Khán Jahán Saiyid, and he both continued without any employment; and they had saved no money to live on. Still many people continued faithfully to serve him, and he also continued benevolent to all, according to the extent of his means; but he was often in want of money to meet his expenses.¹

One day Shaikh Sa'du-lla, father of the writer of this book, who from infancy was attached to him, went to him unexpectedly, and saw papers before him which he tore one by one into pieces and gave to his slave, who steeped them in a basin of water. The Shaikh asked him what he was doing. The Míán replied that some great and noble persons had taken money from him which he did not give them with the intention of receiving back. They, however, had sent him the bonds. Now that he was without employment or means of subsistence, he thought that he might not be able to resist the temptation of knowing himself to be in possession of these bonds, which amounted in value to three *lacs* of *tankas*, and might wish to avail himself of them. Also that his sons after his death might come forward and claim the money, if he did not destroy these bonds during his lifetime.

His friends also had similar noble dispositions. My father, for instance (may God be merciful to him!), had a numerous family. When Zainu-d dín's expenses were reduced, my father's family and friends remonstrated with him for continuing on his establishment, observing that other persons holding offices of greater emoluments no longer remained in the service of the Míán, whereas he remained for two or three years. He replied that it was through the wise dispensation of God that he got his employment, that people who are compelled to work for their livelihood, if pay be withdrawn, will no longer serve, and that what he wished was moderate, and that his desires were satisfied. He had accumulated, he said, enough during

¹ The vicissitudes of such an ostentatious fool affect us with no sympathy. The only excuse that can be advanced for this vicious extravagance is, that if the chiefs did not expend all their extortionate gains as fast as they were acquired, the Sultán would have done it for them.

his service to enable him to maintain himself and the Mían for two or three years. And upon his friends again remarking that they well knew he had nothing of his own, he said he would sell his houses and books, he would have no care as long as anything remained in his possession. So, without receiving any salary, he remained three years with Mían Zainu-d dín, and after his death, four years with his sons, serving the family altogether for a period of fifty-five years.

There was a Mughal by name Mámún. Having resigned his situation at some other place, he entered the service of Mían Zainu-d dín. Soon after Sultán Sikandar died, and the Mían became poor, the Mughal remained still faithfully attached to him, for he was a very good man. * * *

One day, his son was leading a mare to the river to water, and in the sand he felt something under his foot. The boy took it up, and saw that it was a scabbard of gold. He brought it immediately to his father, and showed it to him, saying that he had found it in the bed of the river. Mámún took the boy by the hand and brought the scabbard to Mían Zainu-d dín, requesting him to make it over to its owner. The Mían sent it to the *wazír's* office. In those days it was a rule that if any person found a thing lying in any place, he was to bring it to the police, and it was hung at the arch of the city gate. If an owner appeared, and on inquiry established his claim, it was delivered to him. It appeared, that a Hindu named Jugráj, was passing through the gate, when he recognized the scabbard, and informed the police that it belonged to him. They asked him if he remembered how much the gold on it weighed. He replied fifteen *tolas*. After inquiry the article was given over to him. * * * On ascertaining who the discoverer was, Jugráj offered him two hundred *tankas*, but he would not accept them. His friends advised him to take the money, because it was offered to him as a free gift. But he strenuously declined to receive any remuneration.

On every Monday the Mían repeated the prayers *khatam durúd* 200,000 times; and gave boiled rice worth four hundred *tankas* in alms to the name of the Prophet, may peace be to him! On Thursdays he repeated the *ikhlá's* 100,000 times, and prepared sweetmeats at the expense of four hundred *tankas* to be offered in the name of the

Saint Ghausu-s Saklain. These oblations were made without any deviation twice every week. What a fortunate time it was when the King was so good, and the officers so worthy of him!

The second brother, whose name was Míán Zabarud dín, was also exceedingly pious. • • • He generally lived eight months in Dehli, and four months in Agra. As long as he was in the former place he every Monday invited to the *Shams-i Haús* an assembly of learned and religious men, Súfis, poets, literary persons, singers, and musicians. He had a very large and liberal kitchen, from which victuals were freely distributed. On Wednesdays, an assembly of the same people was convened in the monastery of Sultánu-l Masháikh, on the banks of the Jumna. In the same manner the party assembled every Thursday at the place where the print of the Prophet's feet was preserved in one of the palaces in Firozábád. On Fridays he attended the weekly prayers in the city. Again, on Saturdays a party was collected in a palace at the village of Múlcha, and there he amused himself with hunting for two days. He also took there his female establishment and tents with him; but if he went to any place for one night only, they never accompanied him.

• • • • •

Khawás Khán.

Khawás Khán, who was the predecessor of Míán Bhúa, having been ordered by the Sultán to march towards Nagarkot, in order to bring the hill country under subjection, succeeded in conquering it, and having sacked the infidels' temple of Debí Shankar, brought away the stone which they worshipped, together with a copper umbrella, which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindu characters, representing it to be two thousand years old. When the stone was sent to the King, it was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it for the purpose of weighing their meat. From the copper of the umbrella, several pots were made, in which water might be warmed, and which were placed in the *masjids* and the King's own palace, so that every one might wash his hands, feet, and face in them, and perform his purifications before prayers. Previous to the time when Khawás Khán was appointed, the *jágirs*

of some people of that part of the country amounted to three *lacs* of *tankas*. He increased them to fifteen *lacs*. When he returned to the Court, being seized by a fatal sickness, he intimated that he had something to say to the King, and was asked whether he would send the message, or wished to speak himself. He replied he wished to speak personally. The King said if he had strength enough to come, he might, and if not he himself would go to him. Upon this, the Khán came to Court, seated in his *pálkí*, and informed the King that he had brought the *díwán's* and his own accounts, and requested that somebody might be ordered to examine them. His Majesty replied, "I had appointed you my Viceroy, invested with full power. What accounts have I to settle with you? What you did was just as if I had done it myself." The Khán again said, "I have given some things to people without your royal orders; if you maintain the grants, it is good; if not, you may deduct their value from my pay." There were some meritorious people who had very little maintenance, and some again were entirely destitute. Their provision formerly amounted only to three *lacs* of *tankas*, which he had increased to fifteen *lacs*. His Majesty said, "I have just told you that you were my Viceroy, and I know that whatever was done, was done for my advantage, and therefore I readily sanction it." He then ordered the papers to be brought, and had them all steeped in water and obliterated.



The nobles of Sultán Sikandar's reign.

Among the great nobles of Sultán Sikandar's time was Saif Khán Acha-khail. He had 6000 horse under him, and was deputy of 'Azam Humáyún, the *jágírdár* of Karra, who used to buy 2000 copies of the *Kur'án* every year, and had 45,000 horse under his command, and 700 elephants. There were also Daulat Khán-khání, who had 4000 cavalry; 'Alí Khán Ushí, who had 4000 also; Fíroz Khán Sarwání, who had 6000. Amongst other nobles there were 25,000 more distributed. Ahmad Khán also, the son of Jumál Khán Lodi Sarang-khání, when he was appointed to Jaumpúr, had 20,000 cavalry under him. Sultán Sikandar went twice against the infidels of Bhata, when the *rájá* fled, and placed the river between him

and pursuit. But his country was ravaged before the Imperial troops returned.

Mughúlá and the Rájá of Champáran.

Mián Husain Farmulí was *jágir*dár (*makta'*) of Sáran and Champáran, which are called Jal-khet, or field of water. He was a very brave man. Besides the villages comprising his *jágir* (*muwájib*), he had taken 20,000 villages from the infidels. At one time, when he himself was proceeding towards the territory of Champáran to attack the Rájá, and was encamped on the banks of the Gandak, Mughúlá Kirání, who was one of his nobles, wanted to know how far the Rájá was from there. He was told that he was in the fort on the other side of the river. He again asked how many *kos* it was. The people said that the river alone divided them, but that the breadth of the stream was seven *kos*. Mughúlá, on hearing that only the stream intervened, said, "The infidel chief is on the other bank, and I am sitting on this. What kind of Islám is this if I delay? He then made a vow that until he had attacked him he would hold every kind of food and drink as unlawful as a carcass. Saying this he rose up, and mounted his horse, exclaiming, "In the name of God!" All the people advised him not to be so precipitate, as the stream was seven *kos* in breadth. He said he would not mind even if it were seventy *kos*, because he had taken a vow upon himself, let the event be what it may! He then plunged his horse into the stream. In some places he obtained a footing on the bottom: in others, where it was deeper, he was obliged to make the animal swim. His people also followed him in the same manner. Haibat Khán, Bahádur Khán, and Ikhtiyár Khán, who were also nobles of the Kirání tribe, when they heard that Mughúlá had thrown himself into the river, followed the example, and all the soldiers of the army, wheresoever they were encamped, went and plunged into the stream.

Mián Husain, who was in his tent, asked what the uproar was about, and was told that the whole army had gone towards the river; that Mughúlá had entered it first, and afterwards every person that heard of his feat had emulated the example. The Mián also took horse, and overtook Mughúlá in the water, and urged him

to go back. He replied, "You employed me for service, and now I shall do my duty. When the work cannot be done by a servant, it is time for the master to take the trouble upon himself. To-day you shall see my exertion. Do you return in safety—I will not." Although he was much dissuaded, he would not listen to anything; so the Míán was also obliged to go on, because the whole army had thrown themselves into the water. At sunset they approached the infidel Rájá, reposing happy in the thought that a large river was between him and his enemy, and that even in a whole year it would be impossible for them to cross it. Suddenly an uproar arose in the city, for it was reported from the watch-tower that the Afgháns had arrived, but the Rájá would not credit it, and was engaged in his pastimes when the Afgháns were upon him, and forced him to fly for his life. By the will of God, that day Mughúlá became a martyr. Míán Husain greatly lamented his loss, and said, "Would to God that to-day there had been no victory, for that and the plunder combined are no compensation for the loss sustained in the death of Mughúlá!"

Thus, after a duration of two hundred years, destruction fell upon the kingdom of the Rájá; and all the riches and treasures which were amassed during that period were dispersed in plunder. The shoes of the infidels who lost their lives in this action were collected by Shaikh Dáúd Kambú,¹ who was a *shikkár* of Míán Husain; and when melted down no less than 20,000 *mohurs* of gold were obtained from them.



Other nobles of Sultán Sikandar's reign.

One half the whole country was assigned in *jágir* to the Farmulis, and the other half to the other Afghán tribes. At this time, the Lohánis and Farmulis predominated. The chief of the Sarwánis was 'Azam Humáyún, and the principal chieftains of the Lodís were four, viz. Mahmúd Khán, who had Kálpí in *jágir*; Míán 'Alam, to

¹ We find this monster mentioned elsewhere in the *Wakí'at-i Mushtakí* as taking out his dagger, and boasting that no less than 20,000 men had fallen its victims, by way of intimidating the Shaikhrádes of Chánderí, where he was employed by Husain Khán to superintend his police arrangements.

whom Etáwá and Chandwár were assigned; Mubárák Khán, whose *jágir* was Lucknow; and Daulat Khán who held Lahore. Amongst the Sáhú-khails, the chiefs were Husain Khán and Khán Jahán, both descended from the same ancestor as Sultán Bahlol; Bahlol, son of Kálá, son of Bahrám; Husain Khán, son of Fíroz Khán, son of Bahrám; and Kutb Khán Lodí Sáhú-khail, who flourished in the time of Sultán Bahlol.

I shall now give an account of the Farmulís. The districts (*ikhtá'*) of Sárán and Champáran were held by Mían Husain; Oudh, Ambála, and Hodhna, by Mían Muhammad Kálá Pahár; Kanauj by Mían Gadái; Shamsábád, Thánesar, and Sháhábád by Mían 'Imád; Marahra by Tátár Khán, brother of Mían Muhammad; and Hariána, Desúá, and other detached *parganas* by Khwájagi Shaikh Sa'id. Each of these possessed surpassing bravery and courage, but the sons of Shaikh Sa'id were pre-eminent above all for their learning and generosity. Shaikh Sa'id also himself, besides his nobility, possessed a great many excellences. He was a great favourite of Sultán Sikandar, who said one day, that it was thirty years since the Khwájagi had been associated with him, and yet he had never done anything to offend him. He never told any story twice over; and every difficult question that he put to him, always met with a ready solution.



Mían Ma'rúf Farmulí

He was a saintly, courageous, and generous man. From the time of Sultán Bahlol to that of Islám Sháh, he fought in every battle-field, but always escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or present from any king, and would never eat food from the house of any Hindu. At the time that the Ráná of Chitor invited Mían Husain Farmulí and other nobles to an entertainment, the Ráná took a favourite dish, and stood offering it to Mían Ma'rúf, saying, "All the other nobles have honoured me by partaking of my vianda, and have eaten; pray do you gratify me and do the same, by turning your hands towards this repast." He replied, "I never yet have eaten from the house of a Hindu." The Ráná said, "Only be so kind as to accept the hospitality of your slave." He reiterated

his refusal, "In the whole of my life I have not done such a thing, nor can I now consent to do so." Míán Husain, addressing him in the Afghán language, said, "Many things should be done for expediency's sake. To-day, there is an object in the concession; so put your hands into the dish." Míán Ma'rúf replied, "You are my superior, it is for you to gratify him." At last, when all the nobles vehemently pressed him to comply, he took up a little with two of his fingers and placed it in the corner of his napkin, promising that he would eat it. But when he departed thence, he opened the napkin and threw its contents upon the ground. So determined was he, when he had once taken a notion into his head.

In the action between Sher Sháh and Mál Deo, he was wounded with a sword. At that time he was one hundred and seven years old. One of the anecdotes related of him on this occasion is illustrative of his usual self-denial. Sher Sháh sent him 300,000 *tankas* as a recompense for the wound he had received. But he sent it back with the remark, that he had never accepted remuneration from the King, and still less could he do so now, as the infliction of a wound had been sustained solely in the cause of God.

• • • • •

Sher Sháh.

[During the reign of Sher Sháh many regulations were made, and many forts built. He resumed the rent-free tenures, and made new grants on his own part. No person of high or low degree who went into his presence departed empty and without receiving something. He fixed a daily payment of 500 *tolchas* of gold upon the poor-house (*langar-i fukará*), and night and day he was considerate and liberal to the needy. He settled allowances upon the blind and helpless of every place and village and city. Two institutions were kept up during his reign without any interruption: one, the religious establishments (*imárat khárah*), and the other the houses for the poor; for these two institutions confer a general benefit. His private kitchen was very extensive, for several thousand people fed there every day. Whoever wanted food went to his kitchen and ate under an order which he had issued. He himself used to take his meals with learned men and *sháikhs*. There was such security in

the country during his reign that thefts and highway robbery were unknown. When such a thing occurred, the *mukaddams* of all the surrounding villages were seized, and restitution for the robbery was exacted from them. Examinations were held in the villages, and precautions taken that the like should not occur again. From Gaur to the confines of his dominions, in every direction, he had built *saráis* and halting places at every *kos*; and pots of water were placed at the doors of the *saráis* for the use of Musulmáns and Hindus. At every *sarái* a *masjid*, a royal chamber (*khánah-i bádsháhi*), and a well were constructed; and to every mosque a *mu'azzin* (crier), an *imám* (priest), and *shikkdár* (manager) were appointed, and lands were allotted at the place for their support. From Gaur to the confines of Oudh,¹ a road was made having *saráis*, gardens, and shady and fruit-bearing trees. Another road with gardens and *saráis* from Benares to the country of Mándú near to Burhánpúr. Another road with gardens and *saráis* from A'gra to Júdhpúr. Another from Bayána to Jaunpúr and to Ajmír. There were 1700 *saráis*, and at every *sarái* there were pairs of horses ready, so that news travelled 300 *kos* in one day. [Here follows the story quoted in the note on page 418.]

Sher Sháh was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were issued and acted upon; there was no need of further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning (*fajar*) arrived. When it was time for prayers, he performed his devotions in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the horses brought to receive their brands. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and audited

accounts. He summoned to his presence the officers of every country from which he received revenue and tribute, and received their accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace. He kept money (*khazána*) and revenue (*kharáj*) in all parts of his territories, so that, if necessity required, soldiers and money were ready. The chief treasury was in Rohtás, under the charge of Ikhtiyár Khán. In the country of the Gakhars he had a fort upon the top of a hill, and he maintained a large force there, to the command of which the three great chiefs Masnad-i 'Ali Khawás Khán, Haibat Khán Niyází, and 'Ysá Khán Niyází and other *amírs* were (at different times) appointed. He had 3000 elephants in his stables, and the number was daily increasing. The whole of the territories in his possession contained 13,000 *parganas*, for which *shikkdárs* were appointed. His forces were numerous, and of every kind of horse and foot. Every man who came was entertained. 25,000 infantry and *lafgandárs* were attached to his person; 7000 *lafgandárs* were in the fort of Handu (Mandú?); 3000 *lafgandárs* were at Chitor; 1800 at the fort of Bantambhor; 500 at the fort of Bayána; 1000 *lafgandárs* at Gwaliyar (Gwálíor); and 1000 infantry at the fort of Rohtás. It was known that a suitable garrison was maintained in every fort in the country. The force of horse under the royal command consisted of 150,000, some of whom were appointed on service, and others were sent to their own homes. In every *pargana* there was a *shikkdár*, a *munsif*, a treasurer, a Persian writer, and a Hinduwi writer, and in every *sarkár* there was a chief *shikkdár* and a chief *munsif*. At the branding time every man came forward and showed his horse¹ and rendered his account. *Munsifs* were appointed for examining the brands in the armies on the frontiers, and the King himself occasionally made visits to different parts for this purpose. He kept one army in the upper country, as has been already mentioned, one army in Bengal, one at Rohtás, one in Málwá, one at the fort of Chitor, one in Khajwára, one in the

¹ The word in the MS. is *براق* 'arms;' but in the translation it has been read as *براع* 'a horse.'

country of Dhandhera, one in Nágor and Júdhpur, and in the fort of Rantambhor and Bajwára. No fort in the country was without a garrison or a commandant.]

Sultán Mahmúd of Mandú.¹

[The beginning of this passage is defective.] One day a merchant arrived with a large company. Amín Sháh, according to his custom, demanded a present. The merchant replied that he was a trader under Sultán Fíroz, who had strengthened the fort of Karnál, and that he was taking grain thither. Amín Sháh said, no matter who he was, he must pay the regular due, and go on his way. The merchant told Amín Sháh he was going to the King, and that if he would forego the duty, he (the merchant) would induce the King to grant him the country of Mandú, and to send him a horse and a robe. Did he prefer this or the custom duty? Amín Sháh said, that if this were done, he also would become one of the servants of the King, and would serve him to the best of his power. So he allowed the merchant to pass. When the merchant came into the presence of the King, he represented that there was a man by name Amín Sháh, who was *zamíndár* of Mandú, and had all the roads in his power. If the King were to send a *farmán* conferring on him the territory of Mandú, which was entirely desolate, he would secure tranquillity. The King sent a robe and a horse by that same merchant, who proceeded to Amín Sháh, and presented them to him, and expressed his devotion. From this day forth Amín Sháh gave up walking on foot, and took to riding. He also made his friends ride, enlisted horsemen, and promoted the cultivation of the country.

After his death, his son named Hoshang succeeded him. He became King, and assumed the style of royalty. The country of Mandú became prosperous, forts were built at different places, and armies were raised.

A man by name Mahmúd Mughís Khilji came to Hoshang, and entered his service. He advised him to confer eighteen places in *jágír* on his (the King's) eighteen sons, so that no stranger might obtain admission, and that they might acquire power during the

¹ [In this work also the name is written Mandú, not Mándú.]

King's lifetime. Hoshang acted accordingly. This Mahmúd was a treacherous man, and aspired to sovereignty. He first separated the King's sons from him. Afterwards he became his minister, and gave his daughter in marriage to the King, in order to secure a position by this relationship. Thus he first became minister, and afterwards a relation of the King. Twelve years he cherished his schemes without imparting them to any one. He consulted only with himself. He had constructed a place in his house where he used to sit. When he came from the King's Court, he went into it, and there he talked to himself about what he had done, and what he must do if the result were as he expected. One day his father remarked that whenever Mahmúd returned from the King's Court, he attended to nothing else, but went straight into that room. He was curious to know what his son did there. So when Mahmúd went into that place, his father also secretly repaired thither, and listened to what he said. He heard him speaking of sovereignty. So the father stepped in, and struck him on the head with both his hands, demanding why he entertained designs of royalty, and asking if he wished to ruin himself and all his family. Mahmúd said, "O imprudent man! you have disconcerted my scheme of twelve years, and have broken down a throne." His father went out from the place, and told the King his son's insane design, and warned him against the intended treachery. Hereupon Mahmúd feigned sickness, hung up curtains at his door, and took to his bed. When it was daybreak, the King sent some servants to see him. The King sent some physicians to ascertain the facts. Mahmúd drew the curtains close, and made the room dark. He placed a pot near him, and having caused an animal to be butchered, he drank its blood. When the physicians came, he called them to him, but they could not see anything through the darkness. It is customary for physicians when they pay a visit, after waiting a little while, to feel the pulse of the patient. As it was very dark, they required a little light that they might see him and feel his pulse. He arose hastily and asked for the basin. When it was placed before him, he forced himself to vomit, and then called for the lamp that they might see what he had thrown up. He then drew back his head, and rolled about as if in pain. When the lamp was lighted, and the basin was put

before the physicians, they saw it was full of blood. So they did not feel his pulse, but went and told the King that he was in a very bad state. Whether he was loyal or unloyal, he had only a few minutes to live, for he must die in a short time. The King sent his wife to take a last look of her father. When she came, he (Mahmúd) told her that Hoshang had numerous sons, and that what he had done was to obtain the throne for his grandson. She, however, must help him in one matter. When she asked what that was, he said she must give some deadly poison to Hoshang. She confessed she had such a thing, and promised to give it to him. So he sent her back, and she went and performed her task.

On the night when Sultán Hoshang died, Mahmúd arose and placing his grandson upon his knee he seated him upon the throne. He surrounded him with men on whom he could rely, and raised the canopy over his head. He issued a proclamation to the nobles, and had robes of honour prepared. Then he called them before him one by one. Every one that recognized him received a robe, and was dismissed by another door; but every one that refused was killed there and then, and his body put out of sight, so that at length all his adversaries were removed. After a time he killed his grandson also, and himself became King. So he who had been *wázir* was now King. In the course of his reign he made his eldest son, (afterwards) Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín, his *wázir*.

Account of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Khiljí, King of Mandú.

He was a religious and righteous king. He was a careful observer of religion, but he also enjoyed the pleasures of the world. It was his custom that he kept every night some thousand gold *mohurs* under his pillow, and in the day he gave them away to deserving people. In his *karam* there were seventy women who knew the *Kur'án* by heart, and it was the rule that when the Sultán was dressing they were to read it out, and not to leave off till he had finished putting on his clothes.

One day a person brought a hoof of an ass, and said it was the hoof of the ass of Christ (may peace be to Him!). He gave him 50,000 *tankas*, and took it from him. Well, four persons brought four hoofs. He took them all, and granted 50,000 *tankas* to each

one of them. Afterwards another person came and brought another hoof, and the same sum was ordered to be given to him. One of his courtiers observed, "My lord, an ass has only four feet, and I never heard that it had five, unless perhaps the ass of Christ had five." He replied, "Who knows? It may be that this last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. Go and give this man also 50,000 *tankas*."

He had ordered his private servants and personal attendants that when he was in the enjoyment of pleasure or engaged in any worldly pursuit, they should place a piece of cloth before him, and tell him it was his coffin shroud. This they did, and he took warning from it. He would rise up, perform his ablutions, beseech forgiveness from Almighty God, and then engage in worship. He had also enjoined the attendants in his *haram* to awake him from sleep; and if he did not arise, to throw water on him, or pull him off from the bed, so that he might not neglect the night prayers. Also, that if he were even sitting in a pleasure party, and the time for the night prayer arrived, they should take him by the hand and lead him away. He never uttered to them any improper or querulous words. Intoxicating liquors he would never look upon with his eyes nor hear of. One day a potion (*ma'jūn*) was made for him, and when it was ready he was informed of it. He said it was not to be brought to him until he had heard the names of the ingredients in it. Accordingly, the list was brought and read to him. He heard it. There were three hundred and more ingredients in it, and among them was one drachm of nutmeg. He said the medicine was of no use to him. More than a *lac* of *tankas* had been spent for it, but he ordered it to be brought and thrown into the drain. A person begged that it might be given to somebody else; but he replied, what he could not allow himself to take, he would not give to others. One day the horse on which he used to ride fell sick. On it being reported to him, he ordered medicine to be given to it. Next morning, the horse was well. He asked if it was better, and the people replied yes. He then asked if it recovered of itself, or if medicine had been administered. He was told that medicine had been given. He then asked what medicine. The people said, what the physicians prescribed. The King thought it might be something that was pro-

hibited by religion, and therefore they would not tell what it was. He ordered the horse to be turned out of his stable, and left free in the jungle. He was told that such a horse should not be set at large in the forest, but should be given to somebody. The King again said, why should he allow to others what he did not approve of for himself.

On one occasion one of the neighbours of Shaikh Mahmúd Nu'mán, who was with the Sultán, left the city of Dehli, as other people had left that city and had returned successful. He told Shaikh Mahmúd that, having remembered the King, he had come from Dehli; for he had his daughter to marry, and he wanted the Shaikh to get the King to give him something. The Shaikh said he would give him as much as he required. But the man refused, saying that as other people had received the King's bounty, he also hoped to obtain something from him, and that he would gain respect among the people of his tribe by obtaining the bounty of the King of Mandú. The Shaikh said, what he was going to give, the recipient might represent as having been received from the King; for who would know that the King had not given it? The man replied that he had set his heart upon gaining his object, and that he would do it himself without the intervention of another. The Shaikh replied, the other people who had come there were the descendants of great men, and he had obtained property for them through their ancestors' names, or they themselves possessed some merit which he could praise. But, said the Shaikh, "You are neither noble nor eminent. How can I recommend you to the King?" The man replied that he did not know, but that he had come to the Shaikh, and that he must by his own means or other introduce him to the King; for His Majesty was very generous, and would give him whatever fate had ordained. The Shaikh was in a great difficulty. When he went to His Majesty's Court, this man also went after him. When they reached the palace gate, wheat was being dispensed in alms to *fakirs* and women. The Shaikh said, "Take a handful of wheat." The man went and brought it. The Shaikh gave him his handkerchief to keep the grains in it, and the man took it and did accordingly. When the Shaikh went before His Majesty, this man also followed him thither. The King asked who the man was that was standing

behind him. The Shaikh replied, he had learnt the Kur'án by heart; that he had come from Dehli, and had brought some grains of wheat, over each of which he had read the whole Kur'án. The King said, "Then I ought to go to him; why have you brought him here?" The Shaikh replied that the man was not worthy that His Majesty should go to him. "Let him be what he is," said the King, "but the present which he has brought is such that I should go on my head." The Shaikh observed that His Majesty would act according to his goodness, but that, as a servant of his Court, he was afraid he should be blamed by the ministers of the age for taking his Sovereign to the house of an unworthy person. The King told him not to consider the outward appearance, but to have regard to what concerned religion and the soul. At last the Shaikh decided that the man should be in the *jámi' masjid* on Friday, and that His Majesty might take the present from him there. This was approved of by the King, and on Friday the man came. The Shaikh, when the prayers were over, reminded the King, who ordered him to tell the man to ascend the pulpit. When he did so, the King spread out the lower part of his garment, and the man cast down the grains.

H.—BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF WORKS OF THE PERIOD.

I

Zainu-l Akhbár.

This work is quoted in the Histories of Firishta and Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshí as one of the authorities on which their statements are founded; but it does not appear for what particular period of Indian History they are indebted to it for information. The only knowledge I have of it is derived from the account of Sir W. Ouseley, who describes it thus:—

"The *Zainu-l Akhbár* is a very curious and extraordinary work; containing the ancient history of Persia, of the Jewish, Christian, Magian, and Hindu religious fasts and ceremonies, Annals of the Muhammadan kings and *Khalifas*, Geographical notices, anecdotes, and chronological tables," etc.

“A most valuable work in illustrating the history and antiquities of Asia. Of this excellent work I have never seen another copy.”¹

Size—Small folio, containing 527 pages.

II.

Tárikh-i Hind.

Hájí Khálfa mentions (No. 2340) a work under this title, composed by Muhammad bin Yúsuf Hirwí. He says that it contains an account of the notable things in the country of Hind, and he adds, “To this Title are to be referred the histories of New West India, which a late author has translated into Turki from the *lingua franca*, with additions. In it he has given a full account of the country known by the name of Yangí Dunyá, “the new world.” The *Tárikh-i Hind* is no doubt the same work as *Bisálu-i 'Ajáib wa Gharáib-i Hindustán*, since the author of that treatise also bears the name of Muhammad Yúsuf Hirwí. This *Bisála* is twice quoted in the *Haft Iklím* under “Kálpí.”

It is probably the same *Tárikh-i Hind* which is quoted in the *Tárikh-i Alfi*, the *Habíbu-s Siyar*, and the *Nafahátu-l Ins*. As the last two in their quotation from the *Tárikh-i Hind* show the author to have been contemporary with, and to have conversed with Khwájá Hasan Dehliví, who was a disciple of Nizámú-d dín Ahmad, he must have flourished about the beginning of the eighth century of the Hijra, for Nizámú-d dín died A.H. 725.

III.

Tárikh-i Pádsháhán-i Hind;

Tárikh-i Pádsháhán-i Humáyún.

The first work is described in Stewart's Catalogue (p. 17) as an abridged history of the Muhammadan kings of Hindustán till the accession of the Emperor Akbar. It is probably the same as the work of that name noticed by James Fraser (*Catalogue of Manuscripts collected in the East, 1742*), as well as by Von Hammer (*Gesch. d. ved. Pers.*, p. 411).

¹ See Sir W. Ouseley's *Oriental Manuscripts, No. 704*, and *Epitome of the Anc. Hist. of Persia*, p. xii.

The second is the title of a work in the Catalogue of Capt. Jonathan Scott's Library (Ouseley, *Oriental Collections*, vol. i., p. 370).

L—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TIMUR.

[In a very kind and appreciative review of the Third Volume of this work,¹ Dr. Sachau, of Vienna, has re-opened the question as to the authenticity of the *Malfúzát-i-Timúrí*. The old arguments for and against were noticed in the account given of the book in Vol. III.; but as it is a matter of some literary interest, Dr. Sachau's objections are here quoted in full.

"The last two works in the series of chronicles described in this volume refer to Timur. The first of them, *Malfúzát-i-Timúrí*, pretends to be an autobiography of Timur. The reader will be astonished to learn how that monster—who knew so well how to sack and burn cities, to slaughter hundreds of thousands of his fellow-creatures, to lay waste almost one-half of the then civilized world in a marvellously short time—in his leisure hours received inspirations from Clio; that he, in short, was a Tatar Cæsar. Even admitting that he knew how to write, we cannot believe in his authorship of the book in question, and that for the following reasons.

"A certain 'Abû Tâlib Hûsainî presented to the Emperor Shâhjahân a Persian translation of an autobiography of Timur, from his 7th to his 74th year, written originally in Chagatâi. The original, he stated, had been found in the library of a Pasha of Yaman. This story sounds strongly apocryphal. First of all, it is not very likely in itself that Timur should have written his own history. But Bâbar had done so, likewise Jahângîr. Why should not also the father of the family, Timur himself, have had this 'family predilection'? Certainly it was a very good business to produce such a work at the court of Shâhjahân. It is not necessary to suppose that this prince himself believed in the authenticity of the book, but probably he deemed it in his interest to adopt the story as it was produced, and to make people believe in it.

"Professor Dowson shows (p. 390), from the preface of the *Zafar-nâma*, composed by Shâraf-aldin Yazdî, A.H. 828, only thirty years

¹ Academy, No. 34, 15th October, 1871.

after Timur's death, that certain officers in the suite of Timur were always employed to write down everything that happened to him, in fact to compose court-chronicles both in Turki and Persian. There is no reason to doubt this statement of Yazdi; it is from these materials that he composed his eulogy, not to say history, of Timur. But were these materials ever gathered and formed into one coherent composition, into a book? This we can hardly believe to have been the case if we remember the statement of Yazdi, that his patron Ibrahim, Timur's grandson, tried to procure for him 'from all parts of his dominions copies of the *works* relating to the life of Timur' (p. 391). But admitting that such a book existed, how then, did it happen that it remained unnoticed for centuries under the reigns of all Timur's descendants as far as Sháhjahân? If, after the death of Timur, another dynasty had come into power, it would be only natural that they should have tried to destroy every memorial of their predecessors. But that was not the case; members of his family were sitting on the thrones of Persia, Transoxiana, and India. Further, are those court-chronicles identical with the *Mal'úzát-i-Timurí*, as Professor Dowson seems to believe (p. 340)? The editor states quite correctly with regard to Yazdi's *Zafar-náma* and the *Mal'úzát*, that one is a mere reproduction of the other. And from this fact we conclude that the *Mal'úzát* are forged upon the basis of Yazdi's work. In the first instance, the *Mal'úzát* are composed in the strict form of an autobiography ('I said,' 'I ordered,' etc.), and we can scarcely assume that this was the form of the above-mentioned court-chronicles. Secondly, if Timur had been an author himself, Yazdi would certainly have mentioned it, and would, page after page, have enlarged on his stylistic attainments. But such is not the case."

Dr. Sachau, in the first place, deems it to be incredible that a monster like Timúr ever wrote his memoirs, even if he were able to write at all. It has never been contended that they were actually written by Timúr with his own hand, but that the book was produced under his personal direction and superintendence, and that he intended it to pass as his autobiography. That Timúr was "a monster" is certain, but why this should disqualify him from writing a history of his life is not manifest. Other monsters have

taken a pride in the record of their iniquities and atrocities, but then their opinions of themselves and of their deeds differed widely from the verdict passed upon them by mankind.

That the story of the discovery of the book "sounds strongly apocryphal," has been admitted from the first. It gives ground for very great suspicion, but it would not be conclusive, even if the book were entirely destitute of evidence as to its authenticity.

It would certainly have been "a very good business to produce such a work at the court of Sháh Jahán," if the work had been written in the prevailing style. But the book in question tells a plain straightforward tale, devoid of all that varnish and tinsel which a forger, in accordance with the prevailing taste, would have lavished upon his work to make it acceptable. The reception it met with shows what was thought of it: Another writer was commissioned to assimilate it to the *Zafar-náma*.

"The *Malfúzáti* are composed in the strict form of an autobiography ('I said,' 'I ordered,' etc.), and we can scarcely assume that this was the form of the above-mentioned court-chronicles;" but why not? and in what form should an autobiography be written? The Memoirs of Bábar, Tímúr's descendant, are written in the very form objected to, as the pages of the present volume show. It may even be that these very memoirs were the incentive and the model of Bábar's. Both are written in a similar style; plain, out-spoken, and free from reticence or apology. Bábar's character is plainly impressed upon his memoirs. Is not Tímúr's equally manifest in the *Malfúzáti*?

"Lastly, Dr. Sachau thinks that if Tímúr had been an author, Yazdí would certainly have mentioned it, and would, page after page, have enlarged on his stylistic attainments." Perhaps so. But, "if Tímúr had been an author," Yazdí employed himself in reproducing his work in an improved style. He could not very well have lavished praises on the style of a work which he so laboriously endeavoured to supersede. On the other hand, it would have been somewhat dangerous, at the court of Tímúr's grandson, to boast of having improved the writings of such a redoubtable character. Yazdí, however, distinctly tells us that Memoirs of Tímúr's life were written under the direction of Tímúr himself, that they were read in his

presence, and received "the impress of his approval."¹ Under such circumstances the autobiographical form is very likely to have been employed, even though Tímúr never wrote a line himself.

Dr. Sachau agrees that the Memoirs and the *Zafar-náma* are reproductions the one of the other; but his view is, that the Memoirs are derived from the *Zafar-náma*. Against this it may be urged, first, that Yazdí confesses that he used writings which had "received the impress of Tímúr's approval," and so acknowledges the pre-existence of something in the shape of Memoirs. Secondly, the *Zafar-náma* comprises neither "the Institutes of Tímúr" nor his "Testament," which form one part of the Memoirs; so, these at least were not taken from the *Zafar-náma*. Lastly, the Memoirs contain many little matters of detail which are not to be found in the *Zafar-náma*. So, if the one work "is a mere reproduction of the other," the larger work full of minor details cannot have been reproduced from the lesser work, in which those details do not appear. The *Zafar-náma* may have been entirely derived from the Memoirs, but it is scarcely possible that the Memoirs were wholly drawn from the *Zafar-náma*.

The *Tabakát-i Bábarí* noticed in this volume reproduces Bábar's Memoirs with all the graces of Persian rhetoric, and stands in the same relation to Bábar's Memoirs as the *Zafar-náma* does to the *Malífúzá-t-i Tímúrí*. There is no question as to the priority of Bábar's writings. In this case at least, the natural course prevailed, and the simple narrative preceded the highly elaborate and polished composition. Are not the two cases of Tímúr's and Bábar's Memoirs more likely to be similar than contrary?

In the present volume there are two or three short extracts of the History of Tímúr, as given by 'Abdu-r Razzák in his *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*. Sir H. Elliot's Library contains only some portions of this part of the work, and no perfect copy of the MS. is accessible, so at present it cannot be ascertained whether 'Abdu-r Razzák acknowledges the source from which he derived the History of Tímúr. That he borrowed it or translated it from a previous writer is apparent—for nothing can be more dissimilar in style than the two volumes of the *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*. The History of Tímúr is as

¹ See vol. iii., p. 290.

simple and plain as Tímúr's own Memoirs: the Embassy to India is narrated in the high style, in language almost as florid and ornate as that of the *Zafar-náma*. It is easy to see which style the author preferred. Where then did he get his History of Tímúr? If he translated or adapted Tímúr's Memoirs as given in the *Malfúzát*, the simplicity of style will be accounted for. It can never be believed that he drew his history from the *Zafar-náma*, transferring it from a style which he himself cultivated and must have admired, into a plain narrative, uncongenial to his taste and unsatisfactory to him as an ambitious writer. If 'Abdu-r Razzák did not use the *Malfúzát*, he must have used some work remarkably similar to it. No such work is known.

Tímúr's Memoirs profess to have been written in Turkí, and the translation into Persian was not made until long after the date of the *Malla'u-s Sa'dain*. A careful collation of several pages of the Persian version of the Memoirs and of the *Malla'u-s Sa'dain* shows no identity of language. So the latter work may have been derived from the original Turkí version of the Memoirs, but the Persian version of the Memoirs was not stolen from the *Malla'u-s Sa'dain*.

The chief and only tenable arguments against the authenticity of the work are the time and place of its discovery, and the fact of the original Turkí version never having come to light. The force of these objections is fully acknowledged; but they are not and cannot be decisive. The considerations above urged must have some weight in countervailing them, but a more forcible argument than all may be drawn from the Memoirs themselves. These seem to bear the impress of originality and authenticity. The style of the work is such as no forger would have been likely to adopt; while the personal and family matters, the petty details, the unreserved expression of the ferocious thoughts and designs of the conqueror, and the whole tenor of the work, seem to point to Tímúr himself as the man by whom or under whose immediate direction and superintendence the Memoirs were written.—J. D.]