

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

**THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS
OF THE LATE
SIR H. M. ELLIOT**

Edited by Prof. John Dowson

**SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) LTD.
CALCUTTA**

First Published 1871
Second Reprint 1953

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In this volume we reprint the sixteenth and seventeenth articles from the Vol. III of the original edition of this work. The articles bear the titles of *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* of Shams-i Siraj 'Aff and *Futuhat-i Firoz Shahi* of Sultan Firoz Shah respectively. The first of the two *Tarikhs* bearing the title *Firoz-Shahi* has already been published in the previous volume which confined itself to the history of the later eight Kings of Dehli and recorded what the author had seen during the six years of the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah, the eighth King. The present volume is exclusively devoted to the reign of that monarch.

The Editor Professor John Dawson writes as follows about the two *Tarikhs* and the short work of Sultan Firoz Shah :—

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

“ . . . “Shams-i Siraj, the author of the other *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, is a writer of a very different character. A painstaking and laborious chronicler, he enters into details of little moment to the general reader, but of importance to the historian and archaeologist. Valuable as a recorder of facts and details, he is not an author who will be read for the interest of his narrative, or the excellency of his style.

“The short but interesting work of the Sultan Firoz Shah, almost as rare in India as in Europe, is now first brought to notice. The Editor has made the translation from a unique copy belonging to E. Thomas.”

In the Appendix the Editor notices some of Blochmann's notes on the *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*.

CONTENTS

		Page
1.	The History of Firoz Shah	1
2.	Birth of Firoz Shah	3
3.	His Accession	7
4.	New Rules for Grants of Revenue	22
5.	Founding of the city of Hisar Firozah	33
6.	Building of Firozabad	38
7.	Happiness of the people during the Sultan's reign	54
8.	The plenty and cheapness in the reign of the Sultan	85
9.	Where the Sultan excelled all his predecessors	96
10.	Sultan's consideration for the unemployed	97
11.	Establishment of a house of charity and a hospital	103
12.	The Tonsure of Firoz Shah	105
13.	Suppression of unlawful practices	106
14.	Memoir of Khan-i Jahan	111
15.	Memoir of Malik Nabi Bar-bak	116
16.	<i>Futuhat-i Firoz Shahi</i> of Sultan Firoz Shah	119
17.	Note to the translation of the <i>Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi</i> of Ziau-d din Barni.	135

**TARIKH-I FIROZ SHAHI
OF
SHAMS-I SIRAJ 'AFIF**

TARIKH-I FIROZ SHAHI
OR
SHAMS-I SIRAJ 'AFIF

(This History of Firoz Shah is devoted exclusively to the reign of that monarch, and therefore has a better right to the title than Barni's history, which embraces only a small portion of the reign of Firoz, and bears the title simply because it was written or finished during his reign. Little is known of Shams-i Siraj beyond what is gleaned from his own work. He was descended from a family which dwelt at Abuhar, the country of Firoz Shah's Bhatti mother. His great grandfather, he says, was collector of the revenue of Abuhar, and was intimate with Ghiyasu-d din Tughlik before he became Sultan. He himself was attached to the court of Firoz, and accompanied him on his hunting expeditions.)

The work has met with scarcely any notice, whilst every historian who writes of the period quotes and refers to Ziau-d din Barni. The reason of this may be that Shams-i Siraj enters more than usual into administrative details, and devotes some chapters to the condition of the common people—a matter of the utmost indifference to Muhammadan authors in general. His untiring strain of eulogy could not have condemned him in their eyes, as they were accustomed to little else in all the other histories they consulted; so that we must either attribute the neglect of this work to the cause assigned, or to the fact of its having at a comparatively late period been rescued from some musty record room. The work, consisting of ninety chapters, contains an ample account of this Akbar of his time; and, making due allowance for the prevalent spirit of eulogium and exaggeration, it not only raises in us a respect for the virtues and munificence

of Firoz, and for the benevolence of his character, as shown by his canals and structures for public accommodation, but gives us altogether a better view of the internal condition of India under a Muhammadan sovereign than is presented to us in any other work, except the *Ayin-i Akbari*.

(In style, this history has no pretensions to elegance, being, in general, very plain. The author is much given to reiterations and recapitulations, and he has certain pet phrases which he constantly uses. Sir H. Elliot desired to print a translation of the whole work, and he evidently held it in high estimation. A portion of the work had been translated for him by a *munshi*, but this has proved to be entirely useless. The work of translation has, consequently, fallen upon the editor, and he has endeavoured to carry out Sir H. Elliot's plan by making a close translation of the first three chapters, and by extracting from the rest of the work everything that seemed worthy of selection. The translation is close, without being servile; here and there exuberances of eloquence have been pruned out, and repetitions and tautologies have been passed over without notice, but other omissions have been marked by asterisks, or by brief descriptions in brackets of the passages omitted. Shams-i Siraj, with a better idea of method than has fallen to the lot of many of his brother historians, has divided his work into books and chapters with appropriate headings.

(Besides this history of Firoz Shah, the author often refers to his *Manakib-i Sultan Tughlik*, and he mentions his intention of writing similar memoirs of the reign of Sultan Muhammad, the son of Firoz Shah. Nothing more appears to be known of these works. Copies of the *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* are rare in India, and Colonel Lees, who has selected the work for publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, has heard only of "one copy in General Hamilton's library, and of another at Dehli, in the possession of Nawab Ziau-d din Loharu, of which General

Hamilton's is perhaps a transcript."¹ The editor has had the use of four copies. One belonging to Sir H. Elliot, and another belonging to Thomas, are of quite recent production. They are evidently taken from the same original, most probably the Dehli copy above mentioned. The other two copies belong to the library of the Indian Office, one having been lately purchased at the sale of the Marquis of Hastings' books. These are older productions; they are well and carefully written, and although they contain many obvious errors, they will be of the greatest service in the preparation of a correct text. None of these MSS. are perfect. The two modern copies terminate in the middle of the ninth chapter of the last book. The Hastings copy wants several chapters at the end of the first and the beginning of the second book; but it extends to the eleventh chapter of the last book, and has the final leaf of the work. The other MS. ends in the middle of the fifteenth chapter of the last book, and some leaves are missing from the fourteenth. Fortunately these missing chapters seem, from the headings given in the preface, to be of no importance.

(A considerable portion of the work was translated in abstract by Lieut. Henry Lewis, Bengal Artillery, and published in the Journal of the Archaeological Society of Dehli in 1849.)

FIRST MUKADDAMA—BIRTH OF FIROZ SHAHI

Firoz Shah was born in the year 709 H (1309 A.D.). It is recorded that his father was named Sipah-salar Rajab, and was brother of Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Tughlik Ghazi. The writer of this work has given a full account of their parentage in his Memoirs of Sultan Tughlik (*Manakib-i Sultan Tughlik*). The three brothers, Tughlik, Rajab, and Abu Bakr, came from Khurasan to Dehli in the reign of 'Alau-d din, and that monarch, under Divine guid-

¹ *Jour. R. A. S., New Series, iii., 446.*

ance, treated them with great kindness and favour. All three were taken into the service of the Court, and the Sultan, observing their courage and energy, conferred upon Tughlik the country of Dipalpur, and employed all the brothers in public business. Tughlik was desirous that his brother Sipah salar Rajab should obtain in marriage the daughter of one of the *Rais* of Dipalpur; and while he was seeking a suitable match, he was informed that the daughters of Rana Mall Bhatti were very beautiful and accomplished. In those days all the estates, from the highest to the lowest, and all the jungle belonging to the Mini and Bhatti tribes, were attached to the town of Abuhar, which was one of the dependencies of Dipalpur. The author's great-grandfather, Malik S'adu-l Mulk Shahab 'Afif was then 'amaldar of Abuhar, and Tughlik Shah, after consultation with him, sent some intelligent and acute persons to Rana Mall with a proposal of marriage.

When the messengers delivered Tughlik's message, Rana Mall, in his pride and haughtiness, uttered unseemly and improper observations. This, together with the Rana's refusal, was communicated to Tughlik Shah, who then again took counsel with the author's ancestor, and after much debate it was decided that Tughlik Shah should proceed to the villages (*talwandi*) belonging to Rana Mall, and demand payment of the year's revenue. Next day Tughlik proceeded thither and demanded payment in ready money of the whole amount. The *mukaddims* and *chaudharis* were subjected to coercion, and payment in full was insisted upon. The Rana's people were helpless and could do nothing for those were the days of 'Alau-d din, and no one dared to make any outcry. In the course of two or three days they were reduced to extremities and suffered much hardship. Some trustworthy and precise persons told the author that the mother of Rana Mall, who was an old woman, when she heard of Tughlik Shah's severity to the people, proceed-

ed at the time of evening prayer into the house of her son, weeping and tearing her hair, and spoke most feelingly upon the matter. At that time Rana Mall's daughter, the future mother of Firoz Shah, was in the court-yard. When that fortunate damsels heard the wailing and crying of the Rana's mother, she inquired what was the cause of her grief; and the dame replied, "I am weeping on your account, for it is through you that Tughlik Shah is weighing so heavily on the people of this land." The author's veracious informer said that the high-spirited, noble girl exclaimed, "If the surrender of me will deliver the people from such misery, comply instantly with the demand, and send me to him; consider then that the Mughals have carried off one of your daughters..." The old lady went and told the Rana of his daughter's resolution, and he gave his assent. The Rana communicated the fact to the author's great-grandfather, when a messenger was sent to Tughlik Shah announcing the Rana's assent to the marriage, and the damsels herself was brought to Dipalpur. Before her marriage she was called Bibi Naila, but on entering the house of Sipah-salar Rajab, she was styled Sultan Bibi Kadbanu.

After the lapse of a few years she gave birth to Firoz Shah in a most auspicious hour, and Tughlik Shah distributed his bounty on all sides in token of his joy. On the very day that Firoz Shah was born, the author's grandfather, Shams-i Shahab 'Afif, also came into the world. The females of the author's ancestors then lived at Dipalpur, and constantly visited the female apartments of Tughlik Shah, and often in talking of these matters the author's great-grandfather used to say that he had frequently given Firoz Shah a cup of milk; and Firoz Shah himself, when he had reached the summit of his power and glory, used to tell the author's father that he had sucked at the breast of his grand-mother.

When Firoz Shah was seven years old his father,

Sipah-salar Rajab, died, and Tughlik Shah made great mourning for him. The widowed mother was in great distress as to the education and training of her son, but Tughlik Shah consoled her, and told her that he would look upon the child as his own, and treat him with every kindness so long as he lived. The mother of Firoz Shah had no other child, either son or daughter. Those who say that Malik Kutbu-d din was brother of Firoz Shah speak the truth, but he was born of another mother. The same was the case with Malik Naib Bar-bak; he also was his brother, but by a different mother.

Firoz Shah received instruction in the duties of royalty and the functions of sovereignty from two kings. Sultan Tughlik Shah and Sultan Muhammad Shah, and he became thoroughly conversant with all affairs of State. Tatar Khan Buzurg used to say upon this subject that Firoz Shah ought to be acquainted with regal and political duties, and that no one should feel any apprehension about him.

SECOND MUKADDAMA—FIROZ SHAH'S EDUCATION IN THE DUTIES OF ROYALTY

Firoz Shah was fourteen years old when Sultan Tughlik Shah ascended the throne. The Sultan was engaged for four years and a half in travelling about his dominions, and during that time Firoz Shah attended him, obtaining full knowledge of all public business transacted by the Sultan. On the death of Sultan Tughlik he was succeeded on the throne of Dehli by Muhammad Shah. At the accession of this monarch Firoz Shah was eighteen years of age. He was appointed deputy of the lord chamberlain (*naib-i amir-hajib*), with the title of *Naib Bar-bak*, and received the command of 12,000 horse. The Sultan was exceedingly kind and generous to him, and keeping him constantly near his person he used to explain to him, with much intelligence, all affairs of State that came up for consideration. Even at this period

Firoz Shah showed himself very kind and generous to the poor, and when any case of distress came before him he was prompt to relieve it. When Muhammad Shah divided the territories of Dehli into four parts, as the author has fully explained in his *Manakib-i Sultan Muhammad*, he placed one part under the charge of Firoz Shah, so that he might acquire experience in the art of government. The wise have said that the man who can perform the duties of one charge may guide the affairs of a State and accomplish the government of a kingdom. So the clear-sighted Sultan Muhammad placed Firoz Shah over a fourth part of his kingdom, in order that, with the Divine favour, he might become an adept in all political matters. It is commonly said that Sultan Muhammad Shah used to keep Firoz Shah continually at work in various matters, and the statement is true. But this labour was not imposed upon him out of any ill-feeling, for had the king disliked him, he would have sent him far from his court. Muhammad Shah was an illustrious king, and a most intelligent and able man, so much so that he was remarkable for his talents among the great men of Dehli. His object was to train Firoz Shah, so that he might become thoroughly versed in the duties of royalty. Thus Firoz Shah completed his forty-fifth year under the tuition of Sultan Muhammad Shah.

THIRD MUKADDAMA—ACCESSION OF FIROZ SHAH

When Sultan Muhammad Shah died, a body of Mughals plundered the baggage train and went off towards their own country. At this conjuncture all the *Khans* and princes, the learned men, *shaikhs*, and officials who were with Sultan Muhammad at Thatta, met in council and decided that nothing could be done without a leader, saying, "Dehli is distant,² and these things have happened. Sultan Muhammad is gone to Paradise, and the

² A proverbial expression.

Mughals have taken the field and have come up against us."³ In fine, a Mughal band plundered the baggage, and their insatiate desires being unsatisfied with the plunder thus wickedly obtained, they approached closer in search of further booty. The nobles of Sultan Muhammad Shah then assembled in council, and, after a long and anxious deliberation, the nobles and the administrative officers both agreed that the proper course was to place the reins of government in the hands of Firoz Shah.

Firoz Shah, through fear of God, was averse to being made sovereign, and stated that he had formed the design of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. But the divine approval of the succession of Firoz Shah was from the first made known by means of the *shaikhs*, because in attaining royalty the mode of its acquisition is an important point. Sometimes when an elder is about to quit the world he authoritatively places one of his disciples in his place, and hands over to him his prayer-carpet, although the disciple may be reluctant to undertake the serious charge. This mode of appointment is called authorization by investiture with the religious garment, and is highly honoured among *shaikhs*. So all the princes, and judges, and doctors, and *shaikhs*, and officials who had gone to Thatta with Muhammad Shah, agreed unanimously upon choosing Firoz Shah, but he was reluctant to assent, feeling the weight of the responsibility to God. This, however, is a feeling which can only be allowed to saints, because the burden of royalty is an arduous one. Every one approved the choice, and all men set their hearts upon its acceptance.

When this election was made known, Khudawand-zada, daughter of Tughlik Shah and mother of Dawar Malik, sent a message to the nobles, urging that it was not right to prefer the *Amir-hajib* to her son by Malik

³ "Du-ba-du-i ma dar-amadah."

Khusru, seeing that she was daughter of Sultan Tughlik, and sister of Sultan Muhammad. Whilst her son lived, how could any stranger sit upon the throne? Some historians add that Khudawand-zada used indecorous language upon the matter. On her message being delivered to the nobles, they all winced as if snake-bitten. It pleased nobody, but all the assembly agreed to send Malik Saifu-d din Khoju to her. The Malik was a celebrated man, and whatever he said, he said well, with dignity and firmness. He accordingly proceeded to Khudawand-zada, and addressed her in polite, though decided, language, saying, ("O woman, if thy son had been chosen instead of Firoz Shah, thou wouldest have no home to look upon nor should we have wives or children to gladden our eyes, because thy son is an incompetent person, incapable of governing. We have come into this foreign country, and a large Mughal army confronts us; if thou wishest to save thyself from that army, do thou acquiesce in what we all have determined, and the office and title of *Naib Bar-bak* shall be conferred upon thy son.") Khudawand-zada was silent, and Malik Saifu-d din returned.

All the nobles then agreed upon choosing Firoz Shah, but still he would not consent. Writers of credit report that Tatar Khan, who was president of the meeting, then stood up, and taking the arm of Firoz Shah, forced him to sit upon the throne. Upon this Sultan Firoz said to Tatar Khan, "Since you have placed this heavy trouble and grievous labour upon my shoulders, you must be patient for a while till I have performed my devotions." He then went through his ablutions, and repeated the regular form of prayer in singleness of heart. Afterwards, bowing his head to the ground, he, with tearful eyes, poured forth his supplications to the Almighty, saying, "O Lord! the stability of states, the peace, regulation, and occupations of governments do not depend upon man. Permanence of dominion de-

pends upon thy behest. O God, thou art my refuge and my strength." After this they placed the crown of empire upon his head, and invested him with the robes of sovereignty. Many persons who were present in this assembly have told the author that Sultan Firoz Shah put on the robes of royalty over his garments of mourning, and although the nobles of the late Sultan Muhammad Shah wished to remove the dress of mourning, he would not allow them, and said: "Although in compliance, with your counsels I have assumed the robes of sovereignty, still I cannot throw off my garments of mourning, for Sultan Muhammad was my lord, my teacher, and guide in all things. It was my earnest desire to make the pilgrimage to the holy temple, but I have yielded to your strenuous opposition; it will be well, therefore, that the robes of royalty should cover the garments of mourning." He was so attired, when an elephant was brought, which he mounted, and went forth in State. The heralds and attendants shouted in loud acclaim, the drums were beaten in exultation, and universal joy prevailed.

The first public act of Sultan Firoz Shah was to invest Shirabru Chashm with the duties of 'Imadu-l Mulk.⁴ The date of his accession to the throne was the 24th Muhamarram, 752 H. (March 23rd, 1351 A.D.). Firoz Shah, the sovereign elect, proceeded on his elephant to the female apartments, and threw himself at the feet of Khudawand-zada. She embraced him, and with her own hands placed upon his head a crown, valued at a *lac* of *tankas*, which had belonged to Sultan Tughlik Shah and Sultan Muhammad Shah. The Sultan Firoz Shah then returned, and general satisfaction prevailed.

FOURTH MUKADDAMA—FIROZ SHAH WARS WITH A MUGHAL FORCE

The accession of Firoz Shah made the people glad, be-

⁴"Pillar of the state"—i.e., minister.

cause they were in great alarm about the Mughal hordes. After plundering the baggage train, the Mughals had come within sight of the camp at Dehli. The *khans* and nobles assembled, and the opportunity was deemed favourable for an attack upon the invaders. The Sultan accordingly assembled his forces of horse, foot, and elephants, and attacked the enemy. A fierce battle ensued and the slaughter was great, but victory inclined to the Sultan, and the Mughals fled, abandoning their camp and baggage. The victory was complete, and all the people of the great *bazar* (*bazar-i buzurg*) who had been taken prisoners by the Mughals were set free. This was the first victory of the reign of Sultan Firoz, and he proceeded to Dehli amid general rejoicings and acclamations.

FIFTH MIKADDAMA—ON THE MISTAKE MADE BY KHWAJA-I JAHAN AHMAN AYYAZ IN SETTING UP THE SON OF THE LATE SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH

When Sultan Muhammad Shah, in the latter days of his reign, proceeded to Daulatabad (Deogir), he left three persons in (charge of) Dehli;—Malik Kabir, Katagh Khan, and Firoz Shah, who was then *Naib-i amir hajib* (deputy of the lord chamberlain). The two former died before their master, and the latter was summoned to attend his person in Thatta. Dehli being thus left vacant, *Khwaja-i Jahan* was sent thither from Thatta as representative of the absent sovereign. With him were several other nobles, Malik Kiwamu-l Mulk the *Khan-i Jahan*, Malik Hasan, Malik Hisamuddin Uzbek, and others. It is commonly reported that when the *Khwaja-i Jahan* heard that Sultan Muhammad Shah was dead, and that Sultan Firoz Shah had been chosen by the nobles and chief men to succeed him, he set up the son of Muhammad Shah in opposition at Dehli, and gained the people over to his side. But this commonly received story is not true. The author here gives the true account of this transaction

just as he heard it from Kishwar Khan, son of Kishlu Khan Bahram, one of the servants of the Court.

When Sultan Muhammad Shah died at Thatta, the chiefs of the Hazara of Khurasan, who had come to assist him, as soon as they heard of his death, plundered the chief *bazar*, as the author has related in his *Manakib-i Sultan Muhammad Shah*. In those days the baggage belonging to the forces, which were at detached stations, was plundered and the men of these detachments all fled to the city. Firoz Shah had not yet been placed on the throne. A slave named Malih Tuntun^s had been sent from Delhi by Khwaja-i Jahan to Sultan Muhammad, and just at this juncture, when the alarming news was coming in from the army, he started on his return to Delhi. On his arrival he unfolded to Khwaja-i Jahan the intelligence of the death of the Sultan, the attacks of the Mughals upon the army, the plundering of the *bazar*, and the disaffection and bloodshed among the royal forces. He then proceeded to add that Tatar Khan and the *Amir-hajib* Firoz Shah were missing, and it was not known whether they had been taken prisoners or killed by the Mughals; that many other nobles had been slain; and that such untoward events had happened in the royal army.

When the Khwaja-i Jahan heard this news, he mourned for the death of Sultan Muhammad, and also for Firoz Shah. There was great affection between the Khwaja and Firoz Shah, so that they had no reserve with each other, and it reached to such an extent that the Khwaja called Firoz his son. After the duties of mourning were completed, the Khwaja, believing the report brought by Malih to be correct, placed a son of Sultan Muhammad Shah upon the throne, and thus, through adverse fate, committed a blunder. When he

^s Var. "Tunun." Barni calls him "Altun," which is more likely.

heard that the Lord Chamberlain was alive and well, he perceived his error. But he proceeded to collect an army, and thought his best policy was to be prepared, because in affairs of State no one believes acts like his to be mistakes and errors; and until peace is made between the two parties, neither ought to be free from apprehension of grievous consequences. So the Khwaja assembled a strong force in Dehli, and took men into his service, until his army amounted to about 20,000 horse. He distributed large sums among the people, although the treasury was then at a very low ebb, in consequence of the lavish liberality of Sultan Muhammad Shah during his reign of twenty-seven years. When the money was exhausted, he gave away the gold and silver utensils, and when these had come to an end, the jewels. This profusion attracted crowds from all directions, but it was a curious fact that while they accepted the Khwaja's bounty, their hopes and prayers were in favour of Firoz Shah.

SIXTH MUKADDAMA—KHWAJA-I JAHAN HEARS OF THE ACCESSION OF SULTAN FIROZ SHAH

When Khwaja-i Jahan heard of the succession of Sultan Firoz Shah, he lamented the mistake he had made. Conflicting rumours were afloat in the two armies. It was said to be the Khwaja's determination that, as soon as the Sultan's army reached Dehli, he would place all the dependents of the nobles who were in that army on the *manjaniks*, and shoot them away. Another rumour said that the Khwaja had a powerful army and would offer a stout resistance.

When these proceedings and rumours were reported to Sultan Firoz, he called a council of all the princes and nobles in his army. It was unanimously agreed that Sultan Muhammad Shah had no son, but only a daughter who was born in the reign of Sultan Tughlik.) Where, it was asked, had the Khwaja-i Jahan found the preten-

ded son? All wise men spoke in the same strain, expressing their astonishment at the Khwaja's error, and agreeing that his actions were quite unworthy of a man of his age. Sultan Firoz finished the discussion by expressing his own surprise, and resolved the discussion by marching to Dehli. The chiefs and men of the army warmly supported him, and on the other side the people of Dehli anxiously watched for his arrival. He accordingly marched on and arrived at Multan. Up to this time he had never talked to any one, small or great, about the Khwaja-i Jahan, but had acted in the most politic manner and in strict accordance with the examples of the wisest kings. It was now fully confirmed that the Khwaja was resolved upon opposition. Sultan Firoz knew that the army of Thatta had suffered many hardships and troubles, and through the prodigality of Sultan Muhammad Shah the treasury was empty. The army had also been reduced to great straits by the assaults of the Mughals, and had been compelled to retire towards Dehli; and, besides this, the wives and children of the men were there: hence Firoz Shah was apprehensive that if the Khwaja-i Jahan's antagonism became the talk of the army, the men would be dispirited, and would think the Sultan was afraid of the Khwaja. For these reasons Sultan Firoz never talked on the subject until he reached Multan.

SEVENTH MUKADDAMA—MARCH OF FIROZ SHAH FROM THATTA TO DEHLI

When the Sultan was about to march upon Dehli, a consultation was held as to the most suitable route. The council was in favour of proceeding by way of Gujarat, so that the riches of that country might be secured. But the Sultan took another view, and said, "When Sultan Tughlik Shah marched to repress the rebellion of Khusru Khan, he went by way of Dipalpur, and by God's favour obtained the victory. I am therefore resolved

upon pursuing the same route by Dipalpur and Multan, hoping that I, in like manner, shall be brought in safety to Dehli." So he began his march by that road. When the news of his approach by way of Multan, with the elephants and baggage, reached Dehli, the people rejoiced, and many of the nobles and principal men of the place went forth to meet him. The Khwaja on seeing this defection, was sorely troubled, but he said nothing, and did nothing to prevent it. His counsellors pointed out to him that the fugitives were carrying off the wealth of Dehli to Firoz Shah, and urged him to put a stop to it by detaining their wives and children. To all this Khwaja-i Jahan gave no answer, and things went on until every one who had the power joined Sultan Firoz, and those who had not the power looked in anxious expectation of his arrival. . . .

When the Sultan arrived near Multan, while he was on the march, Malih Tuntun, the slave of Khwaja-i Jahan was perceived approaching at a distance. He came as a messenger and carried in his sword-belt a letter from the son of Sultan Muhaminad. Sultan Firoz recognized him when a long way off, and reining up his horse, he doubted in his mind whether Khwaja-i Jahan might not be dead. He then ordered the messenger to be stopped, and inquiry to be made of him as to whether the Khwaja was well. The attendants went forward and inquired as to the state of the Khwaja and of the people of Dehli. Malih replied in very haughty terms, and his answer was conveyed to the Sultan, who observed, "We must trust in God's mercy—what can Khwaja-i Jahan or others do?"

The Sultan at length entered Multan, and behaved very liberally to the *shaikhs* of the city. From thence he proceeded to Ajodhan, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikhul Islam Faridul hakk. He next marched to Sarsuti, which is ninety *kos* from Dehli. The bankers and merchants of the place assembled and

brought several *lacs* of *tankas* to the Sultan who accepted the money as a loan, and promised to repay it after his arrival at Dehli, making Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk responsible for its discharge. All the money thus received was paid to the army. . . .

EIGHTH MUKADDAMA—KIWAMU-L MULK THE KHAN-I JAHAN MAKBUL JOINS SULTAN FIROZ

As Sultan Firoz advanced, the people of Multan, Dipalpur, Sarsuti, and other places, joined his army, just as they had flocked to the support of Sultan Muhammad Shah. Men of all classes came in, nobles and plebeians, soldiers and officials. Thirty-six *rajas* of the neighbourhood joined him, and his forces greatly increased. The Sultan addressed them all in friendly, conciliatory terms, and held out promises of favours to come. The people in Dehli were anxious about the progress of the Sultan, and at length Kiwamu-l Mulk, the Khan-i Jahan Makbul, took the lead, and addressed a letter to him relating how matters stood, and announcing his intention of joining him. In every letter he expressed his ardent good-will, and the Sultan, according to his request, wrote to him in reply. It began to be whispered about in the city that Khan-i Jahan was in correspondence with Firoz Shah, and would soon be off to join him. Khwaja-i Jahan was satisfied of this being his intention by many palpable proofs, and resolved to seize the Khan and to frustrate his design. . . .

Early one morning Kiwamu-l Mulk got into a *chaudol* (kind of sedan), and with his armed retinue, his wives, children, friends, and dependents proceeded to the gate of the *maidan*. When he reached it, the sentinels attempted to bar it, but the horsemen rode up with drawn swords and frustrated their design. So Kiwamu-l Mulk, the Khan-i Jahan, then went leisurely out of the city to meet Sultan Firoz Shah. The Sultan had left Sarsuti, and, having made several marches, had reached

Ikdar, where he was joined by, and received homage from, Khan-i Jahan. Another pleasure which the Sultan received on the same day at this place was the birth^e of a son, who was named Fath Khan. The Sultan founded a town there, to which he gave the name of Fath-abad (Futtehabad).

NINTH MUKADDAMA—KHWAJA-I JAHAN MEETS THE SULTAN
 Khwaja-i Jahan heard that Kiwan-i Mulk Khan-i Jahan had joined the Sultan. . . . His mind became greatly troubled, and he reflected that as his proceedings had originated in error, no good could come of them. He resolved, therefore, to go to the Sultan and explain his error, trusting in God's protection. Accordingly he started from Dehli on a Thursday, and on the same day arrived at Isma'il,^f which is twenty-four *kos* distant. On the next day, being Friday, after prayers, he proceeded to Hauzi-i Khass-i 'Ala. Here the nobles, who were faithful to him, Malik Hasan, Malik Khattab, Malik Hisamu-d din Uzbek, and others, being uneasy in their minds, went to him and said that they perceived he was resolved upon going to Sultan Firoz, and inquired what he advised them to do. He told them that in preferring the son of Sultan Muhammad Shah, he had no object or design of his own in view. . . . When he heard that Sultan Muhammad was dead, that the Mughals were pressing on, and that Firoz Shah and Tatar Khan were missing, he acted as he thought best for the public welfare and the safety of the country. He had been guilty of many faults and errors, but the cries and pressure of

^eThe text says “in the house of Prince Firoz Khan,” but these words have been omitted to prevent confusion.

^fThis a large village on the road from Dehli to Hansi. It is now open, but, apparently, was once strongly fortified.

the people on all sides had urged him on; otherwise he would have taken no part in the matter. He then went on to say that during the late reign he had called Firoz Shah his son, and had been addressed by him as father, and his wives had been in the custom of going to the house of Firoz. He knew not what God had decreed for him, but Sultan Firoz was a kind man, and would listen to what he had to say. He would also extend his pardon to the Khwaja's supporters.

Khwaja-i Jahah was more than eighty years old. His frame was wasted and feeble, and his hair was white. . . . He was a kind-hearted man, and when his followers heard of the resolution he had taken, they wept for him, and told him that in affairs of royalty no consideration is paid to the relation of father and son; and no excuses of error can be admitted. Sultan Firoz, although a good man, could not act differently from kings in general. The Khwaja replied, "I may turn back and fortify myself in Dehli; but although I have an army and elephants, Sultan Firoz will take the place, and Muhammadan ladies will fall into the hands of the ruffians of his army. In my old age I should do that for which I should be called upon to account in the judgement. I have not much longer to live; come what may, God's will be done! "His adherents seeing him thus resolved, some accompanied him to Sultan Firoz, and some fled.

Khawaja-i Jahan accordingly proceeded to Fathabad. The author has been informed that, on his arrival, the Sultan was seated on his throne holding a court, and the Khwaja went into his presence with a chain around his neck, his turban off, a *talika* (?) on his head, and a naked sword fastened to his throat, and took his standing low down among the attendants. . . . The Sultan directed his turban to be replaced upon his head, and sent his own *chaudol* to convey him to the

grass plot, where he promised to meet and converse with him. . . .

TENI MUKADDIMAH—CONVERSATION OF THE SULTAN WITH HIS SONIA'S MORT KHWAJA-I JAHAN

Sultan Firoz was desirous that no evil should come to Khwaja-i Jahan, and wished to reinstate him as *uzmir*. . . . But the Khans, nobles and officials, having met and consulted, arrived at the unanimous opinion that it was improper to look over such a political offence. . . . They accordingly went to the Sultan and said that as Delhi had now come into his hands, and the Khwaja-i Jahan had joined him, all apprehension upon that ground was removed; they therefore desired the royal permission to set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Sultan perceived their meaning, and, speaking in kind and gentle words, said: "It was a high duty of kings to overlook any irregular acts of their officers." . . . They replied, "That the offences of royal servants were of two classes—one small, the other great. The venial offences were those against property, the graver, those against authority; the former might be excused, but the latter ought not to be forgiven. Clemency in such cases was sure to be followed by repentance. The Khwaja, in his inordinate thirst for distinction, had raised a child to the royal dignity, and had squandered vast wealth among the people". . . . Sultan Firoz saw that they were resolved, heart and soul, upon the destruction of the Khwaja. This made him very anxious and thoughtful, so that he grew pale. In this state he remained for some days—his heart rent with sorrow. At length he called 'Imad-u-l Mulk to a private interview, and told him to go to the friends and supporters of the throne and tell them that the Sultan placed the case of Khwaja-i Jahan in their hands.) They might do with him what seemed to them best, for the Sultan had given up the case. . . . They accordingly agreed

that as the Khwaja was aged, the estate of Samana should be assigned to him in *in'am*, and so he was ordered to go there and devote his days to religion. . . . The Khwaja set out for Samana, and had made some stages when Sher Khan overtook him, but did not go to see him. . . . So the unfortunate noble saw plainly that the Khan had come on no errand of mercy, but rather to effect his destruction. . . . Next day he asked Sher Khan for some tents, into one of which he went, performed his ablutions and said his prayers. . . . He then looked at the executioner and asked if he had a sharp sword, and the executioner, who was a friend of the Khwaja's showed his weapon. The old man then told him to make his ablutions, say his prayers, and use his sword. When the man had completed his devotions, the Khwaja bowed his head to his prayer-carpet, and while the name of God was on his lips his friend severed his head from his body.

ELEVENTH MUKADDAMA—ARRIVAL OF SULTAN FIROZ AT HANSI
 The Sultan being relieved from all apprehension on account of Dehli, marched in great state from Karoda towards the city. After several stages he arrived at Hansi, where he went to wait upon the Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Kutbu-d din. . . . The Shaikh said to him, "I have heard it said that you are addicated to wine; but if Sultans and the heads of religion give themselves up to wine-bibbling, the wants of the poor and needy will get little attention. . . . The Sultan thereupon said that he would drink no more. After this the Shaikh said that he had been informed that the Sultan was passionately fond of hunting; but hunting was a source of great trouble and distress to the world, and could not be approved. To kill any animal without necessity was wrong, and hunting ought not to be prosecuted farther than was necessary to supply the wants of man—all beyond this was reprehensible. The Sultan, in reverence of the Shaikh, promised to abstain from hunting. . . .

TWELFTH—MUKADDAMA—INTERVIEW WITH SHAIKH
 KUTUB-D DIN-I MUNAWAR AND SHAIKH NASIRU-D DIN
 MAHMUD AT HANSI

THIRTEEN MUKADDAMA—ARRIVAL OF SULTAN FIROZ SHAH
 AT DEHLI

When the Sultan reached Dehli, the drums of joy were beaten, and the citizens decked themselves out in their jewels and best clothes. Pavilions *kaba* were erected and were decorated according to the custom prevailing in the times of former kings. Six of these pavilions were raised, and for twenty-one days a continual festival was maintained. One *lac* of *tankas* was expended in each pavilion in food and sherbet, and no one was excluded. . . .

FOURTEENTH MUKADDAMA—THE SULTAN'S FOSTERING CARE OF THE PEOPLE OF DEHLI AND HIS REMISSION OF ARREARS . . . In those days Khawaja Fakhr Shadi was accountant general. After Sultan Muhammad returned from Daulatabad, he lent the people of Dehli property equivalent to two *krors* (of *tankas*)⁸ for the purpose of restoring the land, villages, and quarters which had fallen into ruin during the days of the famine. This money remained in the hands of the people, and Khwaja-i Jahan, after the death of Sultan Muhammad, took the people of Dehli under his protection, and they in their greediness joined themselves to him. When Sultan Firoz ascended the throne at Thatta, the Khwaja distributed jewels and diamonds among them. All the money lent and the jewels stood against the names of the parties concerned in the government books. Fakhr Shadi, the accountant, brought the fact to the notice of Firoz Shah. After thinking over the matter, the Sultan consulted Kiwamu-l Mulk as to what ought to be done, . . . and that minister replied, "That Sultan Muhammad had

⁸ "Do *kror-i mal.*"

deemed it expedient to make loans to the people, and that the Khwaja-i Jahan had squandered the jewels and wealth in prosecution of his projects and vain desires; therefore it would not be seemly to demand their restoration. The people were in great distress and poverty; if such a claim were made, they would be reduced to utter helplessness and ruin, and not one jot of the debt and jewels would be realized.".... The Sultan then asked him how he ought to proceed, and the Khan advised him to have all the accounts brought into the public court, and there to destroy them in the presence of all the people, so that they might be relieved from their great anxiety. The Sultan heartily approved of this advice, and by his direction the records of the debt and of the jewels were brought into his court, where they were publicly cancelled.... At this time the Sultan appointed Kiwamu-l Mulk his *wazir*, and bestowed upon him the insignia of his office.... The revenues of Dehli, during the forty years which Sultan Firoz reigned, amounted to six *krors* and seventy-five *lacs* of *tankas* (67,500,000).

FIFTEENTH MUKADDAMA—SULTAN FIROZ MAKES NEW RULES FOR GRANTS OF REVENUE⁹

The Sultan showed great liberality in his grants of revenue, and excited the cupidity of a host of expectants. To some he gave 10,000 *tankas*, to others 5,000, and to others 2,000, according to the respective ranks and claims of the different office-bearers. This method (of paying officials) was introduced by Sultan Firoz, and remains as a memorial of him. In the reigns of former rulers of Dehli it had never been the rule to bestow villages as stipends upon office-bearers. The author has understood from various historians that Sultan

⁹"*Nanha*"—plural of "*nan*", a loaf. Grants of revenue instead of salaries or pecuniary allowances.

'Alau-d din used to speak of this practice with disapprobation, and say that in every village granted there would be two or three hundred residents, all of whom would receive pay (from the guarantee). Such a number of pensioners would give rise to pride and insubordination, and if they were to act in concert, there would be danger of rebellion. With these feelings there is no wonder that 'Alau-d din refused to make grants of villages, and paid his followers every year money from the treasury. But when Sultan Firoz came to the throne, he dismissed such thoughts from his heart, and during the forty years of his reign he devoted himself to generosity and the benefit of Musulmans, by distributing villages and lands among his followers. In the whole of these forty years not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty.¹⁰ These facts are among the glories of his reign. . . .)

Another law made by Firoz Shah was this: If an officer of the army¹¹ died, he was to be succeeded by his son; if he had no son, by his son-in-law; if he had no son-in-law, by his slave (*ghulam*); if he had no slave, by nearest relation; and if he had no relations, by his wives. During the whole of his reign he made it a rule that, under all circumstances, the succession of every person should be clearly defined. . . .

SIXTEENTH MUKADIMMA—SULTAN FIROZ'S FOSTERING CARE OF HIS SUBJECTS

. . . . Unwise regulations had been made in former reigns, and the *raiyats* and subjects were oppressed in the payment of the revenue. Several writers told the author of this work that it was the practice to leave the *raiyat* one cow and take away all the rest. Sultan Firoz made the laws of the Prophet his guide, acting zealously upon the principles they laid down, and prohibiting

¹⁰ That is, there was no rebellion.

¹¹ "Yake az jumlah i yaran i haslim."

all that was inconsistent therewith. No demand in excess of the regular government dues was to be made, and the officer who made any such exaction was to make full reparation. Brocades, silks, and goods required for the royal establishments were to be purchased at the market price, and the money paid. . . . Such rules were made that the *raiyats* grew rich, and were satisfied. . . . Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses, and furniture; every one had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments, and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The whole realm of Dehli was blessed with the bounties of the Almighty.

SEVENTEENTH MUKADDAMA—PERFIDY OF KHUSRU MALIK AND KHUDAWAND-ZADA

While Firoz Shah was engaged at Dehli in arranging the affairs of government, Khudawand-zada, daughter of Sultan Tughlik Shah, was also residing there with her husband, Khusru Malik, in a palace which had belonged to the late Sultan Muhammad. Sultan Firoz had made it his custom to go every Friday after prayers to pay a visit to Khundawand-zada, and whenever he saw her he treated her with the greatest possible respect. She also, on her part, shewed every mark of respect to him. The Sultan and Khundawand-zada used to sit down together in the robe-room; Khusru Malik used to stand; and Dawar Malik to sit behind his mother, Khudawand-zada. When their conversation was over, the princess used to present *pan*, and the Sultan departed. So it went on every Friday. Under the decrees of God envy and rancour still lurk in the constitution of man, and so Khusru Malik and Khudwand-zada conceived the idea of hastening the end of Sultan Firoz, and of killing him treacherously in the place where he was in the habit of visiting Khudawand-zada on Fridays.

In the palace there was a long room, having two

lateral chambers. These rooms Khusru Malik filled with men armed from head to foot, and gave them instructions that when Khudawand-zada adjusted the garment round her head, they were to rush forth and cut off the Sultan's head. Khusru Malik also concealed some more armed men under the floor of the outer gateway, who were directed to fall upon the Sultan and despatch him should he succeed in escaping from the inside of the palace. . . . When Friday came, the Sultan paid his accustomed visit, and sat down to converse as usual. Dawar Malik, son of Khudawand-zada (but, as the author has been informed, by another husband than the base Khusru Malik), sat behind his mother. He took no part in the plot, and when he saw the Sultan, he made signs that he should depart quickly and secure himself in his own palace. The Sultan took the hint and rose to depart. Khudawand-zada pressed him to wait until the *pan* was served, but he said that Fath Khan was sick, and he must hasten away, but that he would come another day. The armed men in concealment were not informed of what passed, and so the Sultan escaped from the room. The men who were hidden in the gateway knew the Sultan had gone in, but they were unaware of his having come out, and so, by grace of God, the Sultan got away safe from the house of Khudawand-zada.

As soon as he got outside the house (into the court-yard), the Sultan raised a loud cry for his followers, but as it was Friday most of the nobles had gone back; Rai Bhiru¹² Bhatti remained in attendance. When the Sultan came forth very excited, he cried out in a fierce tone, "Rai Bhiru, give me the sword which thou hast in thine hand!" The Rai perceived that he was in a state of great excitement, and replied, "I will draw my sword and will follow your Majesty; will you not proceed home?" Without heeding what was said, the

¹²This name is written "chirhu."

Sultan snatched the sword from the hands of the Rai, and drew it; then getting safely away from the buildings of Sultan Muhammad's harem, he mounted to the top of the *kushk* (palace). The princes and nobles were instantly summoned, and they surrounded the dwelling of Khusru Malik and Khudawand-zada. The armed men were brought forth, and, on being questioned, told all the truth of the matter. The Sultan asked if they were not aware of what had passed. They replied with one voice that the Almighty had closed the eyes of their perception, so that they were aware of the Sultan's going into the house, but did not know of his coming out.

When the facts were proved, the Sultan ordered Khudawand-zada into retirement and settled an allowance upon her. She had very great wealth, by the power of which Khusru Malik had hoped to effect his designs; all this was brought into the public treasury. Khusru Malik was banished, and Dawar Malik was directed to pay a visit to the Sultan at the beginning of every month, wearing an overcoat and slippers on his feet.¹³

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Sultan Firoz adopts a khutba, including the names of former Sultans for the public prayers of Fridays and Festivals. Account of the edicts issued by him.

* * * * *

1. *On the names used in the khutba.*—It had been a rule among the Sultans of Dehli that the name of the reigning monarch only was mentioned in the prayers of Sabbaths and Festivals, and no reference was made to former Sultans. When Sultan Firoz came to the throne, they were about to follow the same rule, and to mention his name only in the *khutba*; but he disapproved of the

¹³“*barani pushideh wa kafsh dar pa kardeh yani bar in tariq ayid*”.

omission of former kings, and ordered that a *khutaba* should be said first in the names of former kings, and then one in which his own name should be mentioned. In accordance with this decree, the Sultans in the following list were specially selected to be named in the *khutba*:—1. Sultan Shahabu-d din Muhammad Sam; 2. Shamsu-d din Altamsh; 3. Nasiru-d din Mahmud; 4. Ghiyasu-d din Balban; 5. Jalalu-d din Firoz; 6. 'Alau-d din Muhammad Khilji; 7. Kutbu-d din Mubarak; 8. Ghiyasu-d din Tughlik Shah; 9. Sultan Muhammad; 10. Firoz Shah. Two names were selected to be mentioned after that of Sultan Firoz Shah; viz., 1. Muhammad bin Firoz Shah; 2. 'Alau-d din Sikandar Shah; and till the end of the reign these names were mentioned in the prayers. . . .

2. *Account of the edicts on matters of royalty.*—Sultan Firoz Shah issued twenty-one edicts (*sikka*) and thirty-one instructions (*alamat*) upon matters of royalty. The author here inserts their titles for the benefit of his readers. 1. On the *khutba*; 2. On the sandal-wood throne; 3. On the imperial cornelian signet, etc., etc.¹⁴

KISM II.—THE TWO EXPEDITIONS TO LAKHNAUTI AND THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST JAJNAGAR AND NAGARKOT

First Mukaddama—The first expedition to Laklnauti

About 70,000 men of the khans and maliks having

¹⁴ This list of "sikkas" has puzzled the copyists, from their having apparently understood the word "sikka" in its common signification of "coin," not in that of "rule, regulation." Taken in this latter sense, the title of the list quite agrees with its contents. The MS. of the East India Library, No. 1002, gives interlineary explanations of some of the words, which explanations are copied as part of the original text by the copyists of Sir H. Elliot's and Thomas's MSS. Sir H. Elliot's scribe appends a marginal note that "the

assembled, Firoz Shah marched with his nobles and great men to Lakhnauti. . . . Khan-i Jahan remained behind at Dehli.

Second Mukaddama.—The Sultan lays siege to Lakhnauti

Shah Firoz marched triumphantly through Hindustan and reached Bengal in great strength. . . . When he arrived on the banks of the Kosi, after resting for a short time, he found the army of Shamsu-d din posted in force on the other side of the river, near its junction with the Ganges.¹⁵ The passage appeared difficult, so the Sultan marched 100 *kos* up the Kosi, and crossed it below Champaran,¹⁶ at the place where the river issues from the mountains. Here a ford was found, but the waters ran with such force that stones of five hundred *mans* weight were borne along like straws. The Sultan ordered a line of elephants to be drawn across the river, both above and below the ford, to facilitate the passage. The upper line was to break the force of the current; the lower line was furnished with ropes, to which men carried away by the stream might cling. . . . When Shamsu-d din heard that the Sultan had succeeded in crossing the river, he fled in great alarm with all his forces to Ikdala, and the Sultan followed by way of Champaran and Rachap.¹⁷ Shamsu-d din abandoned

whole is evidently erroneous, and a correct list is desirable," and the writer of Thomas's copy thought the list so manifestly wrong that "he has not entered it in the book, but copied it on a separate piece of paper."

¹⁵ This sentence is derived from another passage which says the position was "on the banks of the Saru and Ganges, and on the Kosi, etc.

¹⁶ So in Sir H. Elliot's MS. Thomas's has "haran," and that of the East India Library "jaran."

¹⁷ Var.: "jasarat rajtar. jaran rajtar." Barni does not mention these places, but says simply the march was

the town of Pandwali, and shut himself up in Ikdala, pursued by the Sultan, who closely besieged the place and threw up batteries (*kungana*), and dug entrenchments all round it. The forces of Shamsud din came out daily from Ikdala to make a display, and were received with showers of arrows. They were at length compelled to take shelter in the islands (*gazari*) of

This plan was approved, and accordingly next day the Sultan retreated seven *kos* towards Dehli. Some *kalandars* were then craftily sent to Ikdala, with instructions that if they were brought before Shamsud din, they were to report that the Sultan was in full retreat, with all his forces and baggage, towards Dehli. The *kalandars*,

through Gorakhpur, Kharosa, and Tirkut, He represents the *rais* of Gorakhpur and Kharosa as making their submission to the Sultan and following him to Lakhnauti.

¹⁸ Barni says the rains were at hand, and the country was low and liable to deep inundations. The mosquitos also were so large and numerous that neither men nor horses would have been able to endure their stings.

being captured, were taken into the presence of Shamsu-d din, to whom they told the story they had been taught and he, believing it . . . determined to go out of Ikdala and harass the retreat.

Third Mukaddama—Battle between Sultan Firoz and Shamsu-d din. Capture of fifty elephants and slaughter of one lac of the people of Bang and Bangala

When Shamsu-d din heard that Sultan Firoz had retreated towards Dehli, he made up his mind to pursue him. Some writers say that Firoz Shah left his camp (*rakht*) standing, others that he caused part of his baggage to be burned. Sultan Shamsu-d din came out in pursuit with a force which consisted of 10,000 horse, 200,000 infantry like the infantry of Subuktigin, and fifty mighty elephants. Firoz Shah had marched seven *kos*, and the place where he was lying in wait was on the bank of the river where the eddies had formed a ford. His baggage was in the act of crossing at this ford, when, unexpectedly, the Sultan of the Bengalis came up and rushed to the attack. . . . When the Sultan heard that the enemy had arrived in great force, he proceeded to draw up his army in three divisions. Malik Dilan, the *Mir-shikar*, had command of the right wing, consisting of 30,000 horse, and the left wing, also consisting of 30,000 warriors, was commanded by Malik Hisam Nawa. The centre, consisting likewise of 30,000 men, was under Tatar Khan. The Sultan himself proceeded from one division to another, encouraging his men. . . . The elephants were divided among the three divisions. . . . All preparations being made, the drums were beaten, and the din of war arose between the two armies. When Shamsu-d din perceived the Sultan's army drawn up in battle array, he feared and trembled like a willow-leaf, for he found that he had been deluded by the *kalandars* to bring his forces out of his stronghold; all he could now do was to resign himself to the decrees of fate.

The fight began with the left wing under Hisanu-d din Nawa, and was stoutly maintained. The right wing also under Malik Dilan became hotly engaged. . . . When the time for shooting arrows was past, they used their spears and swords, and when the conflict became even yet closer, the brave warriors seized each other by the waistbands, and grappled in deadly strife. . . . After much fighting and slaughter, Shamsu-d din retreated and fled towards his own city. Tatar Khan, with the centre of the Sultan's army, strongly reinforced from both wings, pursued; and the Bengali army having abandoned Pandwah, continued its flight to Ikdala. Tatar Khan cried, "O *Shams-i siyah* (Black Sun), whither art thou running? A man ought to show his face, not turn his back: stop for a moment and feel the strength of Firoz Shah's lads!" Shamsu-d din, however, pursued his flight, heedless of everything. Forty-eight elephants were taken, and three were slain. The King of Bengal, out of all his enormous force, fled with seven horsemen, and his whole army was scattered. The place where Firoz Shah had taken his position on the river was seven *kos* from Ikdala. . . . Sultan Shamsu-d din took refuge in the fort of Ikdala, and by dint of great exertion the commander succeeded in closing the gate, but Firoz Shah's forces occupied the town. When the arrival of Firoz Shah became known, all the ladies and respectable women went to the top of the fort, and when they saw him they uncovered their heads, and in their distress made great lamentation. The Sultan saw their state and heard their wailings; he thereupon reflected that he had occupied the city, had overcome many Musulmans, had taken possession of the country, and that the *Khutba* would be said in his name. To storm the fort, put more Musulmans to the sword, and expose honourable women to ignominy, would be a crime for which he could not answer in the day of judgment, and which would leave no difference between him and the Mughals.

Tatar Khan repeatedly urged the Sultan to retain the territory he had conquered, but the Sultan was averse to annexation, observing that many of the sovereigns of Dehli had come into this country and had subdued it, but none of them had deemed it prudent to remain there long. For Bengal was a land of swamps,¹⁹ and the nobles of the country passed their lives in their islands (*jazairat*). It would not do therefore for him to act differently from all his sovereign predecessors, so Firoz Shah turned back after having changed the name of Ikdala to Azadpur. Tatar Khan acted with great bravery in this war, and pressed the retreat of Sultan Shamsu-d din with great vigour. He at one time during the pursuit resolved to put the fugitive prince to the sword, but he abandoned that design and fell back slowly to Firoz Shah. . . .

FOURTH MUKADDAMA—RETURN OF FIROZ SHAH TO DEHLI
 When the Sultan resolved upon returning home from Bengal all his followers were much pleased. An order was given for collecting the heads of the slain Bengalis, and a silver *tanka* was offered for every head. The whole army went busily to work, and brought in the heads of the slain and piled them in heaps, receiving in payment the silver *ankas*. The heads were counted and amounted to rather more than 180,000, for the battle had raged for a whole day over an extent of seven *kos*. . . .

The Sultan then turned with his army and marched quickly towards Dehli. When he reached Pandwah,²⁰

¹⁹ Three MSS. agree in reading "rahalah", or "rajalah", words which have no appropriate meaning. A note in the margin of one MS. suggests "wahal" "mud," and that reading has been here followed.

²⁰ "panduh". Stewart calls it "Pundua," and says it is near Malda.—"History of Bengal", p. 84.

the *khutba* was said in his name, and he changed the name of the place to Firozabad. The new names which he gave to Ikdala and Pandwah were made permanent and were entered in the Government records as "Azadpur, otherwise Ikdala," and "Firozabad, otherwise Pandwah." When the Sultan arrived on the banks of the Kosi the rains came on, and orders were given for the troops to embark in boats (*kishtiha-i band-kusha*). The whole army thus crossed over. When Shamsu-d din entered Ikdala, he seized the Governor, who had shut the gates, and had him executed.

As the Sultan was returning, he sent forward to Dehli a despatch announcing his conquest of Lakhnauti. Khan-i Jahan Makbul had been left in Dehli as deputy, and when the news of the victory arrived, great rejoicings were carried on for twenty-one days, . . . and great preparations were made for the reception of the Sultan. When he entered the city, forty-eight elephants, captured at Lakhnauti with their howdahs and housings, marched at the head of the victorious army. . . In this, the Sultan's first expedition to Lakhnauti, he was engaged eleven months.

FIFTH MUKADDAMA—FOUNDRING OF THE CITY OF HISAR FIROZAH

After returning victorious from Bengal, Sultan Firoz passed several successive years riding about Dehli. The author was told by his father that, in the second year after the Bengal campaign, the Sultan was in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firozah, and exerted himself actively and liberally in endeavouring to provide for the needs of the country. It was at this time that Hisar Firozah was founded. . . . In the place now occupied by the city two large and populous villages formerly stood, which were called Great Laras and Little Laras. There were fifty *kharaks* included in Great Laras, and forty in Little Laras. In this country there is no other village than the

*kharak.*²¹ The neighbourhood of Great Laras greatly pleased Sultan Firoz, and he thought it would be well to build a city there, for it was very deficient in water, and during the hot season travellers who came from 'Irak and Khurasan had to pay as much as four *jitals* for a pitcher full. So the Sultan resolved to build a city, being filled with hope that if he built a town for the benefit of Muslims. God would provide it with water. He therefore began the work, and persevered in it for several years, assisted by his nobles and great men. Hard stone was brought from the hills of Narsai, and was used with strong quicklime and burnt bricks. A fort of great extent and height was commenced. Various officers were appointed to superintend different portions of the work, and busied themselves in their respective duties, so that in course of time the fort was completed. The Sultan gave to the place the name of Hisar Firozah. When the fort was finished, a ditch was dug round it, and the earth, which was taken from its bed was spread on each side of the ditch, and along the banks of the ditch battlements were built. Inside the fort a large and deep tank was formed, the water of which ran into the ditch and replenished it from year to year. Inside the fort a palace was built, which had no equal in the world, and the various apartments of which were contrived with infinite pains. One of the arrangements of this palace was that any person, having a general acquaintance with the place, after passing through several apartments, would arrive at the centre. This central apartment under the palace was very dark, and the passages were narrow, so that if the attendants did not guide the visitor he would never be able to find his way out. Indeed, it is said that

²¹ One MS. reads "dar un zamin albatta hich dihi baghair kharak na bashad. Thomas's copy has "yani" instead of "baghair."

a servant once went into that place, and after he had been missing for some days, the guards went there in search of him and rescued him from the darkness. . . .

The Sultan, perceiving that there was a great scarcity of water, resolved in his munificence to bring a supply thither. He accordingly conducted two streams (*jui*) into the city from two rivers; one from the river Jumna, the other from the Sutlej.²² That from the Jumna was called Rajiwah, and (the other) Alaghkhani. Both these streams were conducted through the vicinity of Karnal, and, after a length of about eighty *kos*, discharged their waters by one channel into the town. The author's father was then in the service of the Court, and held the office of *Shabnavis*. He informed the author that Sultan Firoz was occupied two years and a half²³ in building the town. When it was built he laid out many garden and planted many trees, including all sorts of fruit trees. . . . Previous to this time there had been an autumn harvest, but the spring harvest failed, because wheat would not grow without water. After the canals had been dug, both harvests came to maturity.

Before this time, in the days of the old kings, this country had been entered in the revenue accounts as belonging to the division (*shikk*) of Hansi; but now that Hisar Firozah had been built, the Sultan ordered that henceforth the division should be called Hisar Firozah, and that the districts (*ikta'at*) of Hansi, Agrowah,²⁴ Fathabad, and Sarsuti, as far as Salaurah and Khizra-

²² All three MSS. agree that the canals were brought from two rivers, but the MS. of the India Office Library alone mentions the Sutlej. The cause of the omission is palpable: two lines commence with the word "Jun," and one of these has been passed over.

²³ "Du-nim;" lit. two halves.

²⁴ Two MSS. have "Agra."

bad, with some other districts, should all be included in the division of Hisar Firozah.²⁵

*Sixth Mukaddama—Settlement of the Sovereign's rental
(istikamai-i amlak)²⁶*

Firoz Shah thus established two cities by land and by water—the city of Fath-abad, of which an account has been given in a former chapter, and the city of Hisar Firozah, which has just been described. Numerous water-courses were brought into these places, and an extent of eighty to ninety *kos* in these districts was brought (under cultivation), in which there were many towns and villages, as the *kasbas* of Janid²⁷ and Dahatarath, and the town of Hansi and its dependencies. In every town and village great advantage was derived from the supply of water. The king therefore convened a general assembly of judges, lawyers, and doctors, and demanded of them an opinion upon this question: "If a man with great labour and expenditure of money conducts water into certain districts, so that the inhabitants thereof realize a large profit, ought he or not to receive any return for his

²⁵ This simply means that the new town of Hisar Firozah was made the *sadar* or chief place of the revenue division, instead of Hansi. The word "shikk" is not a common revenue term, but its meaning is that of "division, separating," and there can be no doubt of the sense in which it is here employed. Beames in the Glossary (II., 17) quotes and translates the passage with some doubt. The verb which he comments upon is given correctly in one MS., "mi nabishland;" which is certainly preferable to the inappropriate "mi-nishinad," which he adopts from the MS. 1002 of the East India Library.

²⁶ The word "amlak" is used to designate the sovereign's private rental as distinct from the revenue of the public treasury.

²⁷ The name "Janid" is found only in the MS. of the East India library.

trouble and outlay?" They were unanimously of opinion that the benefactor was entitled to the right of *sharb*,²⁸ that is to say, ten per cent. The Sultan accordingly realized his *sharb*, and included it in his rent-roll.

Like unto former kings, he brought many waste lands²⁹ into cultivation, and subject to the payment of rent; but the proceeds of such lands were devoted to the learned and religious, among whom they were apportioned, and the public treasury was by this means relieved. The king's rental was thus increased from two sources, from the *sharb*, and secondly from the newly cultivated lands.³⁰ A sum of about two *lacs* of *tankas* was in this way added to the king's revenue. No king of Dehli had ever been in the receipt of such an income as Sultan Firoz now enjoyed, and the sovereign's financial business had so greatly increased that separate officers were appointed for the control of the private income of the Sultan, and the public revenue of the State was kept distinct.

When the rainy season came on, and the rains were at their height, officers were appointed to examine the banks of all the water-courses, and report how far the inundations extended. The author's father was several times appointed on this duty. The Sultan was greatly pleased when he heard of the spread of the waters. If any village in his estate went to ruin, he dismissed the officers in disgrace, and so during his reign the country was thriving and prosperous.

²⁸ "Sharaba," an Arabic verbal root, means "to drink," as a noun, "water" or "drinking." Here it has a technical meaning.

²⁹ "Zamin-i amwat," lit. "dead lands."

³⁰ "Karyat-i ahyai," "living villages," as opposed to the "dead lands" before mentioned.

SEVENTH MUKADDAMA—INTERVIEW OF THE SULTAN WITH
THE PRECEPTOR OF THE AUTHOR AT HANSI

Sultan Firoz proceeded from Hisar Firozah to Hansi, in order to have an interview with the author's preceptor, Nuru-d din, who had succeeded to the spiritual supremacy (*sijjada*) lately vacated by the death of Kutbu-d din. (*The Sultan's object was to induce the Shaikh to remove to Hisar Firozah, but he declined, because Hansi had been the home of his ancestors and the abode of his predecessors.*) In these latter days the accursed (Mughals) have captured the city of Dehli and have plundered and laid waste the possessions of Musulmans; but through the protection of the Shaikh, the town of Hansi remained in safety, and the people of Hisar Firozah, who there took refuge, also found security.

EIGHTH MUKADDAMA—THE BUILDING OF FIROZABAD ON THE
RIVER JUMNA

. The Sultan having selected a site at the village of Gawin, on the banks of the Juinna, founded the city of Firozabad, before he went to Lakhnauti the second time. Here he commenced a palace, . . . and the nobles of his court having also obtained (*girifland*) houses there, a new town sprang up, five *kos* distant from Dehli. Eighteen places were included in this town, the *kasba* of Indarpat, the *sarai* of Shaikh Malik Yar Paran, the *sarai* of Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, the village of Gawin, the land of Khetwara, the land of Lahrawat, the land of Andhawali, the land of the *sarai* of Malika, the land of the tomb of Sultan Raziya, the land of Bhari, the land of Mahrola, and the land of Sultanpur. So many buildings were erected that from the *kasba* of Indarpat to the Kushk-i shikar, five *kos* apart, all the land was occupied. There were eight public mosques, and one private mosque. . . . The public mosques were each large enough to accommodate 10,000 supplicants.

During the forty years of the reign of the excellent

Sultan Firoz, people used to go for pleasure from Delhi to Firozabad, and from Firozabad to Delhi, in such numbers, that every *kot* of the five *kots* between the two towns swarmed with people, as with ants or locusts. To accommodate this great traffic, there were public carriers who kept carriages, mules (*sutur*), and horses, which were ready for hire at a scuttled rate every morning after prayers, so that the traveller could make the trip as seemed to him best, and arrive at a stated time. Palanquin-bearers were also ready to convey passengers. The fare of a carriage was four silver *mtals* for each person; of a mule (*sutur*), six; of a horse, twelve; and of a palankin, half a *tanka*. There was also plenty of porters ready for employment by any one, and they earned a good livelihood. Such was the prosperity of this district: . . . but it was so ravaged by the Mughals, that the inhabitants were scattered in all directions. This was the will of God, and none can gainsay it.

SINTH MUKADDAMA—ARRIVAL OF ZAFAR KHAN FROM SUNAR-GANW TO SEEK THE PROTECTION OF FIROZ SHAH

Zafar Khan was son-in-law of the king of Sunar-ganw, who was called Sultan Fakhrud din. The capital, Sunar-ganw, is before Pandwah.²¹ After Sultan Firoz returned the first time from Bengal, Sultan Shamsu-d din, in pursuit of revenge, embarked in boats, and in the course of a few days reached Sunar-ganw. Fakhrud

²¹(This sentence is doubtful. One MS. has "Takhtgah-i Sunar-ganw az takhtgah-i Pandwah peshtar ast;" two others have "az takhtgah-i Pandwah wa Sunar-ganw peshtar ast," which seems to be nonsense; and a fourth has "Pandwah wa Sathah." The application of "peshtar" is not obvious; it may relate to time, place, or estimation, but it most likely means that Sunar-ganw was a more ancient capital than Pandwah, which had been only lately established.)

din, who was commonly called Fukhra, was living without any thought of danger at Sunar-ganw, where he was taken alive and slain immediately by Shamsu-d din, who established himself in his territory. All the friends and allies of Fakhru-d din were scattered; but Zafar Khan was at that time engaged in the country collecting the revenues and examining the accounts of the collectors. When he was informed of what had happened, he was greatly alarmed, and fled from the territory of Sunar-ganw. He embarked in a boat and departed by the river, and afterwards, pursuing the most difficult roads, he at length, after many hardships, arrived at Thatta, and from thence proceeded to Dehli. He was then conducted to Hisar Firozah to pay his homage and tell his story to Sultan Firoz. . . . The author's father was then in attendance on the Sultan, and, according to his account, Zafar Khan was greatly amazed at the splendour of the court, because he had never seen the like at Lakhnauti. He made an offering of an elephant, and paid his compliments.

The Sultan having very graciously made many inquiries of him, consoled him and told him that, after all his troubles and sufferings, he should at length gain his object, and should receive the double of what he had lost at Sunar-ganw. . . . Robes were presented to Zafar Khan and his followers. On the first day he received 30,000 *tankas* to get his clothes washed,³² his title, Zafar Khan, was confirmed to him, and the sum of four *lacs* of *tankas* was granted to him and his friends. One thousand horse, and large numbers of footmen were assigned to him. He was first appointed *deputy-wazir*, and subsequently became *wazir*. . . .

On another day, when the Sultan held a court, he perceived Zafar Khan to be downcast and pensive, . . . and he inquired the reason why he was so oppressed. . .

³²"*bujah sar jama shustan.*"

He replied that . . . he was sore distressed, but that if the Sultan would consider his case, his mind would be set at ease. The Sultan directed him to proceed at once to Khan-i Jahan in Dehli, whither he himself would follow. The Khan accordingly took leave of the Sultan and proceeded to Dehli, where he was received with great kindness and respect by the Khan-i Jahan, and was lodged in the Green Palace belonging to his majesty. The Sultan soon followed him to Dehli, and, after consulting with the Khan-i Jahan, directed him to make every suitable preparation for avenging the claims of Zafar Khan.

When Sultan Shamsu-d din heard of the preparations that were making against him, he was dismayed, and felt that he could not remain in the islands of Ikdala. He deemed it expedient to remove to Sunarganw, which was in the very centre of Bengal, and there secure himself against the enemy. He accordingly proceeded thither, but the inhabitants of that place were insistent in their supplications to Sultan Firoz Shah for relief from the tyrant.

TENTH MUKADDAMA—SULTAN FIROZ'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO LAKHNAUTI

. . . As on the first occasion when the Sultan marched to Lakhnauti, his army (was large and) consisted of 70,000 cavalry, innumerable infantry, 470 warlike elephants, and many barrier-breaking boats (*kishtihā-i band-kusha*). The warlike fervour was so great at the time that many volunteers assembled in Dehli, and were sent on by the Sultan to the army. There were two outer tents (*dihliz*), and two reception tents (*bargah*); two sleeping tents, and two tents for cooking and domestic work. There were also one³³ hundred and

³³The authorities differ here; three of my four MSS. read "ham sad o hashtad, also one hundred and eighty;" the fourth has "nuham sad o hashtad, nine hundred and

eighty standards of various kinds, eighty-four ass-loads of drums and trumpets (*tabal o damamah*), and camels, asses, and horses in great numbers.

With this brave and well-appointed army the Sultan marched towards Bengal, and Khan-i Jahan was left behind as deputy in Dehli. The Khan-i 'Azam Tatar Khan accompanied the royal standards some marches, but was then sent back to Hisar Firozah. The author learned the cause of this dismissal from his father, who was then one of the royal attendants (*khawass*). The Sultan at the beginning of his reign, as is the practice of kings, used to indulge in wine from time to time. After starting on his campaign the Sultan encamped with his army and showed the utmost care and attention to its discipline. But it so happened that one morning they placed some wine before him. It is a remarkable fact that the wines which Firoz Shah used to drink were of various colours and different flavours; some were yellow as saffron, some red as the rose, some were white; and the taste of all was like sweet milk. Thus the personal attendants of this great king used to serve him with wines of different colours. One morning after prayers the Sultan called for a glass to moisten his throat, and it so happened that Tatar Khan came to wait upon him just at the same time. His arrival was announced to the Sultan, who was greatly annoyed at being thwarted in his enjoyment: so he desired his son Fath Khan to see Tatar Khan, and to put him off with some excuse. But Tatar Khan was not to be denied; in spite of all excuses he would not go away, but went in and sat down, saying that he had a statement to make. The Sultan was thus compelled to invite him in.

At that time the Sultan was lying half-naked (*chun-nihang*) on his couch; but before the Khan came in, he

eighty;" which agrees with Lieut. Lewis's translation in the Dehli Archaeological Journal.

he liked to take a little now and then; and Tatar Khan expressed his deep regret that the Sultan should indulge in such a practice. Thereupon the Sultan swore an oath that he would drink no more wine while the Khan was with the army. Tatar Khan gave thanks to God and went away. The Sultan sat musing over the matter and thought the Khan had spoken to him in a disrespectful and unkind manner. After some days the Sultan behought him that they were not near Hisar-Fitozah, the neighbourhood of which town was in a disturbed state; he therefore sent Tatar Khan thither to restore order and quiet, and the Khan accordingly took his departure.

The Sultan then marched through Kananj and Oudh to Jamupur. Before this time there was no town of any extent (*shahr-i abadan*) there, but the Sultan, observing a suitable site, determined upon building a large town. He accordingly stayed there six months, and built a fine town on the banks of the Kowah,²⁴ to which he determined to give the name of Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Tughlik Shah, and as that

²⁴ *The Gumi.*

sovereign bore the name of Jaunan, he called the place Jaunapur (Jaunpur). An account of this foundation was sent to Khwaja-i Jahan at Dehli. Jaunpur was made a (capital) city in the reign of the Sultanu-sh Shark Khwaja-i Jahan,³⁵ and I intend to give a full account of this King of the East in my memoirs (*manakib*) of the reign of Sultan Muhammad, son of Firoz. After this delay of six months, he marched for Bengal, and in due time arrived there.

Sultan Shamsu-d din was dead, and had been succeeded by Sultan Sikandar, who, fearing the invading force, fled with all his forces into the islands (*jazair*) of Ikdala. Firoz Shah surrounded these islands, and by his command all his forces built themselves wooden huts,³⁶ and prepared for battle.

ELEVENTH MUKADDAMA,—SULTAN SIKANDAR TAKES REFUGE IN HIS FORTRESS.—FALL OF A BASTION OF THE FORT

The Sultan having blockaded the islands of Ikdala, as above stated, '*arradas* (small balistas) and *mānjāniks* were erected on both sides, arrows and darts were discharged, the business of the seige went on, and conflicts occurred every day. The besieged were unable to come out of their fortress, and strict guard was kept on both sides by night and day. Suddenly one of the principal bastions of the fort of Sikandariya fell down, because it was unable to bear the men and the immense weight placed upon it. A great cry arose from the besiegers before the place and the besieged within, and both sides prepared for battle. When the alarm reached the ears of the Sultan, he looked inquiringly upon his attendants, and Prince Fath Khan suggested that the Bengal army had made a sally from Ikdala. The Sultan immediately called for his dress, and, girding on his arms, he rode to

³⁵ See Stewart's "History of Bengal," p. 96.

³⁶ "Khatkar kardeh."

the scene of the uproar. There he was met by the impetuous Hisamud-Mulla, who told him that the chief tower had fallen under the pressure of the crowds placed upon it, and urged him to make an immediate assault and capture the place. The Sultan thought over the proposition, and after serious reflection he replied to Hisamud-din, that although it was very desirable that the place should be captured, still, if it were taken by sudden assault, thousands of worthy and respectable women would be subjected to violence and indignity at the hands of graceless men, and he was therefore resolved to wait awhile and trust in Providence.) All the army expected the order for the assault but accepted patiently the royal decision.

During the night "the King of the Blacks" mounted "the eastern roof," and urging his Bengalis to work energetically, they laboured all night, and, restoring the ruined fort, were again prepared for the attack. The author has been informed by trustworthy people that the fort of Ikhdala was built of mud, so that it was soon repaired and made ready for action. Fighting recommenced and went on, of which no description can be given. Provisions at length grew short in the fort, which made the Bengalis anxious, and both parties being heartily tired of fighting, the Almighty disposed the two kings for peace.

TWELFTH MUHARRAM—CONCLUSION OF PEACE BETWEEN SULTAN SIKANDAR AND SULTAN TIROZ, WITH THE PRESENTATION OF FORTY ELEPHANTS

Sultan Sikandar and his people being in great distress, he consulted with his ministers as to the best course to be pursued to escape from their difficulties. They being unanimous, said that the people of Bengal had never been very friendly with the people of the Upper provinces.²⁷

²⁷ *Faro-dast*, "the lower country," meaning Bengal;

because the decrees of fate had so ruled; but if the Sultan would give his consent, they, his servants and well-wishers, would send a person to the ministers of Sultan Firoz Shah and make propositions of peace. Sultan Sikandar kept silence, and his advisers retired, observing that "Silence is one of the signs of assent". His ministers accordingly sent a clever, confidential agent to the ministers of Sultan Firoz to open negotiations for peace, representing that . . . the combatants on both sides were Muhammadans, and that these contentions were productive of evil to the professors of Islam; it therefore behoved the ministers of Sultan Firoz to make him disposed for peace, as Sultan Sikandar was already inclined.

When these overtures were made to the ministers of Firoz Shah, they assembled together, and, after carefully considering the matter, they agreed that the propositions were reasonable and that they would recommend them to his acceptance. These wise men accordingly repaired to his presence, and made known to him the proposals of Sultan Sikandar. He entertained the proposal, and said that as his adversary was reduced to distress, and was disposed to peace, it behoved him to listen to the proposition in conformity to the Divine precept that "Peace is good," and so stop the sword in its ravages on the people of Islam. After some consideration he replied, that he would accept the proposition, on condition that the Khan-i'azam, Zafar Khan, should be placed on the throne in Sunar-ganw. When the ministers heard this resolution of the Sultan, they . . . sent Hibat Khan as envoy, to settle the terms of peace.

The ministers of Sultan Sikandar met and received the envoy; but although Sultan Sikandar was fully acquainted with all the negotiations which had been

and bala-dast, "the upper country," meaning the provinces dependent on Dehli.

carried on, he pretended to be in ignorance. Haibat Khan was, according to trustworthy statements, a countryman of his, and had two sons in his service. When he set forth the terms on which peace might be made, Sultan Sikandar replied, that Sultan Firoz had been kind to him, and that he was very averse to carrying on war and slaughter with him. Haibat Khan conducted himself like an accomplished ambassador; what he had to say he said well, tenderly, and warmly. When he perceived that Sikandar also spoke in favour of peace, he said that the chief reason why Sultan Firoz had undertaken the campaign was the establishment of Zafar Khan in the country of Sunar-ganw. Sultan Sikandar accepted the proposed terms, and agreed to surrender Sunar-ganw to Zafar Khan. But he added, that if this were the object of the campaign, much unnecessary trouble had been undertaken; for if an order had been sent to him from Dehli, he would have placed Zafar Khan in possession of the place.

Hibat Khan returned to Sultan Firoz in high spirits, and made an exact report of all that had passed, including Sikandar's consent to allow Zafar Khan to occupy Sunar-ganw. The Sultan was satisfied, and expressed his desire to remain at peace with Sikandar, and to look upon him as a nephew. (*Hibat Khan suggested that some presents should be given to Sultan Sikandar and*) the Sultan sent into the fort of Ikdala, by the hands of Malik Kabul, otherwise called Toraband, a crown worth 80,000 tankas, and 500 valuable Arab and Turki horses, with an expression of his wish that henceforth they might never again draw the sword. The Sultan then advanced two marches, while Malik Kabul proceeded to the fort. It is credibly reported that the ditch of the fort of Iskandariya was twenty gaz broad. When Malik Kabul reached it, to show his daring, he made his horse take a leap, and the high-spirited animal carried him over in safety, to the great amazement and admiration of

the Bengalis. When Malik Kabul was received, he walked seven times round the throne of Sikandar, and placed the crown upon his head and the robes upon his breast (*expressing in strong terms the hope of peace and friendship between the two kings*). Sultan Sikandar asked him what his name was, and he replied, in the Hindi language, "Toraband." (Possibly this is a pun on the words "Tera banda," "thy slave.") The Sultan again spoke and asked if his master had other servants like him, and the Khan replied, that he was a slave in the second palace, and that 10,000 men as good as he kept night watch over the palace of his sovereign. At which Sultan Sikandar was much amazed.

Sultan Sikandar, to show his satisfaction, sent forty elephants and other valuable presents, expressing, at the same time, his desire that every year there might be a similar interchange of brotherly and friendly feeling between them. So long as these two sovereigns lived, presents and souvenirs were exchanged, as was well known to their subjects; but when they died, the people of the two kingdoms did the best they could (*rah-i khud giriftand*).

When the forty elephants were sent to Sultan Firoz, the Sultan of Bengal sent one also for Malik Kabul. Firoz Shah was greatly pleased, and, in gratifying language, he told Malik Kabul that Sultan Sikandar had done well in restoring Sunar-ganw to Zafar Khan, and that he did not intend to interfere further about it. He then sent for Zafar Khan, and directed him to proceed to Sunar-ganw, offering to remain for a time where he was, with his whole force to sustain him. Zafar Khan consulted with his friends, and they all agreed that it would be impossible for him to stay at Sunar-ganw, for all his relations and friends had perished. He therefore returned to the Sultan and said that he and his family were so happy and secure under the government of Dehli, that he had given up all desire of Sunar-ganw.

and had resolved to retain his present position in peace. For all the Sultan's persuasion he would not return. Sultan Firoz then, to the joy of his friends, went back to his garden, and sent off dispatches to Khan-i Jahan. After some time, the Sultan proceeded to Jaunpur, and from thence he went towards Jajnagar, accompanied by the forty elephants from Lakhnauti.

THIRTEENTH MUKADDAMA—MARCH OF SULTAN FIROZ FROM JAUNPUR TO JAJNAGAR³⁸

When Sultan Firoz reached Jaunpur in returning from his campaign against Bengal, he determined to proceed to Jajnagar, and his officials made every preparation for the march. The Sultan left his baggage³⁹ at Karra, and proceeding from thence he hastened to Jajnagar, which place he reached by making successive marches through Bihar. The country of Jajnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father, who was in the royal suite, informed the writer that it was in a very flourishing state, and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals, so that they recovered from the hardships of the campaign. Sultan Firoz rested at Banarasi, an ancient residence of the arrogant Rais. At that time the Rai of Jajnagar, by name Adaya, had deemed it expedient to quit Banarasi, and to take up his residence elsewhere; so Sultan Firoz occupied his palace. The writer has been

³⁸ *The Jajnagar of Cuttack.*

³⁹ Two MSS. have "hazrat shahi bangal dar karah, guzashti" "the King of Bengal" proceeded to Karra, which agrees with Lieut. Lewis's translation in the *Dehli Journal*. The other two MSS. say "hazrat shah-i bangah dar Karrah guzasht." "The Sultan left his baggage train at Karra," which is undoubtedly correct, and is confirmed by a subsequent passage in the fifteenth Mukaddama, see elsewhere.

informed that there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmans, and it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large.

The cowardly Rai of Jajnagar, when he heard of the approach of the Sultan's army, embarked on board a boat in great alarm, and took refuge on the water. All his country was thrown into confusion—some of the inhabitants were made prisoners, others fled to the hills. Their horses (*burda*) and cattle became the spoil of the army. Those who accompanied the Sultan relate that the numbers of animals of every kind were so great that no one cared to take them. Two *jitals* was the price of a horse (*burda*);⁴⁰ as for cattle, no one would buy them. Sheep were found in such countless numbers, that at every halt great numbers were slaughtered. If any were not required, they were left behind, because a plentiful supply was sure to be found at the next stage. The author has mentioned these matters to show the prosperity of the country. He has further been informed that the inhabitants had spacious houses and fine gardens; they had even gardens and walks within their houses, and fruit trees, flowers, etc., were cultivated therein. . . .

The Sultan left Banarasi with the intention of pursuing the Rai of Jajnagar, who had fled to an island in the river, having let loose a fierce elephant to occupy the attention of his enemies, and to divert them from pursuing him. This elephant was very wild, and would allow no other elephants to approach him. For three days the army was actively engaged in endeavouring to

⁴⁰ Elsewhere I assigned the meaning of "horse" to "burda," instead of "prisoner." That interpretation is here confirmed.

take him alive, but failed. By the Sultan's order he was then slain, and the Sultan with his army entered the fort. News was then brought that in the *jangal* there were seven elephants, and one old she-elephant, which was very fierce. The Sultan resolved upon endeavouring to capture these elephants before continuing the pursuit of the Rai.

FOURTEENTH MUKANDAMA—ELEPHANT HUNT. SUBMISSION OF THE RAI OF JAJNAGAR

(*Hunt of the Elephants.*) After some days the elephants were tired and were cut off from their pasture. The elephant-drivers then went into the *jangal*, and climbed up the trees; when the animals, weak with thirst and hunger, passed slowly under the trees, the drivers dropped down upon their backs, and, putting ropes and chains upon them, captured the whole eight.

After the hunt was over, the Sultan directed his attention to the Rai of Jajnagar, and entering the palace where he dwelt he found many fine buildings. It is reported that inside the Rai's fort there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannath, and to which they paid their devotions. Sultan Firoz, in emulation of Mahmud Subuktingin, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Dehli, where he subsequently had it placed in in ignominious position. The Sultan then resolved upon pursuing the Rai into his island; but the Rai sent some of his Brahmins (*patar*) to wait upon the Sultan. As Sultans consult with their clear-sighted ministers, so do *rajs*, *ranas*, and *zamindars* take counsel with their *mahtas*⁴¹ on matters of war. In the country of Jajnagar the *mahtas* are called *patars*; and Rai of Jajnagar had twenty *patars*, otherwise called *mahtas*, under whose

⁴¹ This word is written *mahta* and *matha* in the different MSS. It is evidently the Hindi *mahant* or *mahat*. *Patar* is common in Orissa.

advice he conducted all the affairs of his State. In great fear, the Rai sent five of these *patars* to wait on the Sultan, and make his submission; when they represented, with much respect, that the Rai had long been a dependent and subject of the Sultan, and they desired to ascertain the Sultan's intentions.

When the Sultan had heard what they had to say, he replied that his intentions had been friendly. He had received certain information that elephants were as numerous as sheep in the *jangal* round the Rai's dwelling, and he had proceeded thither for the purpose of hunting. When he approached, the Rai fled in alarm, and took refuge in his islands. What was the cause of this flight? After explanations, the Rai sent twenty elephants as an offering, and agreed to furnish certain elephants yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultan then sent robes and insignia by the *mahtas* to the Rai, he granted robes to them also, and then they returned home. After this the Sultan started on his return, taking with him, from the two countries of Lakhnauti and Jajnagar, seventy-three elephants, having stayed two years and seven months in those territories.

FIFTEENTH MUKADDAMA—RETURN OF FIROZ SHAH FROM JAGNAGAR BY DIFFICULT ROADS

After the Sultan had started on his return to Dehli, the guides lost their way, and proceeded over mountains and plains and along the banks of a river like the Jihun. The author's father, who accompanied the march, stated that the army ascended and descended mountain after mountain, and passed through *jangals* and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march. No road was to be found, nor any grain. Provisions became very scarce, and the army was reduced to the verge of destruction. For six months no news of the Sultan reached Dehli, and the Khan-i Jahan was in great alarm. Day after day he rode

about the environs of the city, and fear of him kept the country at peace. At the end of six months, a road was discovered, and the Sultan determined to send a messenger to Dehli. He gave public notice that all who wished to write to their families and friends might take this opportunity. This gave great satisfaction, and every man of the army, from the highest to the lowest, wrote some account of his condition. The letters were sent to the tent of the Sultan, and the number of them was so great that a camel-load of letters was sent to Dehli. When they reached the city, the Khan-i Jahan made great public rejoicing, the letters were piled in a heap before the palace, and all who expected letters were directed to come forward and receive them.

The Sultan's army having at length traversed the mountains and jungles, and hiving crossed the river, after enduring great privations and practising many expedients, came out into the open country. They thanked God for their deliverance, and the Sultan hastened to rejoin his baggage-train (*bungah*). When the Sultan was at Jajnagar, he left the baggage train at Karra, where it still remained. A *farman* was sent to Dehli announcing the return of the Sultan, and the Khan-i Jahan made suitable preparations for his reception.

SIXTEENTH MUKADDAMA—ARRIVAL OF THE SULTAN AT DEHLI. ERECTION OF KABBAS (PAVILIONS FOR PUBLIC REJOICINGS)

(*Rejoicings at Dehli.*) The author has been informed that the town of Firozabad was not yet populous, and neither the *kushk* (palace) nor the fort was erected, yet one *habba* was erected there. On the day the Sultan entered Dehli. . . . the seventy-three elephants, in gorgeous trappings, preceded him like a flock of sheep. . . . into the *Kushk-i Humayun*, without any drivers. . . .

The Sultan employed himself at Dehli in State affairs. Among his other qualities, he had a remarkable fondness for history. Just at this time Maulana Ziau-d

din Barni, the author of the *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* died, and the Sultan expressed to every learned man the great desire he felt for an historical record of the events of his own reign. When he despaired of getting such a work written, he caused the following lines, of his own composition (*az zabani khwesh*), to be inscribed in letters of gold on the walls (*'imarat*) of the Kushk-i Shikar-rav, and on the domes of the Kushk-i nuzul, and the walls (*'imarat*) of the minarets of stone which are within the Kushk-i Shikar-rav at Firozabad:-

"I made a great hunt of elephants, and I captured so many:-

"I performed many glorious deeds; and all this I have done.

"That in the world and among men; in the earth and among mankind, these verses

"Many stand as a memorial to men of intelligence, and that the people of the world, and the wise men of the age, may follow the example."⁴²

SEVENTEENTH MUKADDAMA—HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE REIGN OF FIROZ SHAH

After his return from Lakhnauti, the Sultan was much occupied with building. He completed, with much care, the *kushk* at Firozabad, and also commenced a *kushk* in the middle of that town. After the lapse of two half years, every man of the army now returned to his home. The Sultan passed his time in three ways : 1. In hunting; . . . 2. In directing the affairs of State; . . . 3. In building; . . . Through the attention which the Sultan devoted to administration, the country grew year by year more prosperous and the people more happy. He assigned thirty-six lacs of *tankas* for learned and religious men, and about a 100 lacs in pensions and gifts

⁴² The Sultan's verses certainly do not rise above the level of his exploits.

to the poor and needy. (*Every class of the community shared in general prosperity.*) One day the Sultan went hunting, and in pursuit of his quarry, having separated from his followers, he went to a garden where he met a woman (*whose conversation showed him the necessity of more strict attention to the duties of revenue administration*). During the forty years that Firoz Shah reigned, all his people were happy and contented; but when he departed, and the territory of Dehli came into the hands of others, by the will of fate, the people were dispersed and the learned were scattered. At length the inhabitants, small and great, all suffered from the inroads of the Mughals. The aged author of this work has written a full account thereof in his Description of the Sack of Dehli (*Zikr-i kharabi Dehli*).

EIGHTEENTH MUKADDAMA—CONQUEST OF NAGARAKOT. (KANGRA)

After his return from Lakhnauti, Sultan Firoz determined upon a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Daulatabad, and started thither with a suitable train of attendants and tent equipage. He arrived at Bhayana, where he rested for a while, and State affairs then necessitated his return to Dehli. Afterwards he marched with his army towards Nagarkot, and, passing by the valleys of Nakhach nuh garhi,⁴³ he arrived with his army at Nagarkot, which he found to be very strong and secure. The Rai shut himself up in his fort, and the Sultan's forces plundered all his country. The idol, Jwala-mukhi, much worshipped by the infidels, was situated in the road to Nagarkot. This idol is said to have been placed in a secluded room, where it was worshipped by the Hindus. Some of the infidels have

⁴³ This is not very intelligible; the original words are “basuit jariban zamindar” “nakhach nuh garhi bar aurad.” It may be read “Nakhach of the nine forts”.

reported that Sultan Firoz went specially to see this idol and held a golden umbrella over its head. But the author was informed by his respected father, who was in the Sultan's retinue, that the infidels slandered the Sultan, who was a religious, God-fearing man, who, during the whole forty years of his reign, paid strict obedience to the law, and that such an action was impossible. The fact is, that when he went to see the idol, all the *rais*, *ravas*, and *zamindars* who accompanied him were summoned into his presence, when he addressed them, saying, "O fools and weak-minded, how can ye pray to and worship this stone, for our holy law tells us that those who oppose the decrees of our religion will go to hell?" "The Sultan held the idol in the deepest detestation, but the infidel, in the blindness of their delusion, have made this false statement against him. Other infidels have said that Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughlik Shah held an umbrella over this same idol, but this also is a lie; and good Muhammadans should pay no heed to such statements. These two Sultans were sovereigns specially chosen by the Almighty from among the faithful, and in the whole course of their reigns, whenever they took an idol temple they broke and destroyed it; how, then, can such assertions be true? These infidels must certainly have lied!

The Rai of Nagarkot withdrew into the keep of his stronghold, which was invested by the royal forces in double, nay, even in tenfold lines. *Manjaniks* and *arradas* were erected on both sides, and so many stones were discharged that they clashed in the air and were dashed to pieces. For six months the seige went on, and both sides exhibited great courage and endurance. At length fortune inclined to the Sultan. He was one day examining the fortress, when he perceived the Rai standing on the top of his citadel. There he stood, in an attitude of humility, and stretching forth his hand in sign of distress, he clasped his hands and bowed in

First Mukaddime—Resolution of the Sultan with Khan-i Jahan about Thatta

. . . . Four whole years passed after the Sultan's return from Lakhnauti, during which he stayed principally at Dehli and attended to the affairs of his people, though from time to time he turned his thoughts towards the concerns of the people of Thatta. Whenever he spoke of this place he used to stroke his beard, and exclaim that it was a hundred thousand pities that his predecessor, Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlik, had failed in conquering it. From these indications the nobles and attendants clearly perceived that his thoughts were bent upon an expedition to that country. One day, in private consultation with his *wazir*, Khan-i Jahan, he disclosed the secret thoughts of his heart, saying "What sort of men are they of Thatta, and are they exempt from apprehension, because they opposed the

late Sultan when he entered their territory, and he ended his life before the contest was concluded? Often, during his illness, he looked at me and said, 'Would that God would turn my sickness into health, so that I might subdue these people of Thatta! If God should please to take me, still this desire will remain constant in my heart.'

'Sultan Firoz recalled to the mind of the Khan-i Jahan how Sultan Muhammad had died without accomplishing this dearest wish of his heart; and went on to say that as God had made him the successor to Muhammad, had not, then, the duty of exacting vengeance devolved upon him? The minister carefully pondered over the matter, and replied that the Sultan's views were right and expedient. Two objects might be gained: First, it was a duty to carry out the testaments and precepts of predecessors; children and brethren are bound to be zealous in avenging their deceased relatives, and this duty is more especially incumbent on kings. Secondly, it is an obligation on kings that every year they should strive to subdue fortresses, for as Sa'di says,

*"If a holy man eats half his loaf, he will give the other half to a beggar;
But if a king conquers all the world,
he will still seek another world to conquer."*

The minister being thus in accord with the wishes of the Sultan, he ordered the necessary preparations to be made for an expedition to Thatta. The ministers accordingly proceeded to inquire into the number of soldiers present and absent, and made a report of the numbers of horse and foot who were present, and of those who were absent. The report soon spread abroad that the Sultan meditated an expedition against Thatta. He had undertaken in the course of his reign several enterprises, which had gratified his people, and they now eagerly came forward to join his army. When the muster was called, four, ten, and eleven fold of irregu-

lars (*ghair-wajh*) appeared;⁴⁴ and the regulars (*wajh-dar*) through long tranquillity attended in great numbers with horses and arms. So the Sultan started for Thatta, accompanied by his nobles and followers.

SECOND MUKADDAMA—MARCH OF FIROZ SHAH TO THATTA
 Before the Sultan departed on his expedition he made pilgrimages to the saints and holy men who were buried near Dehli, as other great kings had done before him, to invoke the assistance of their prayers. This was the usual practice of the Sultan. Whenever he was about to make a journey for a month or two, he used to visit the shrines of holy men and famous kings, to invoke their aid and to cast himself on their protection, not trusting to his own power and greatness. (*Account of his devotions and charities.*)

The Sultan having thus discharged his religious duties, he placed himself at the head of his brave and numerous army, and turned towards Thatta. The author intends, in his fourth book, to give an account of the many servants who joined the royal army. In those days the author's father served in the minister's office (*dar mahal-i diwan-i wizarat*) among the great officials. The Sultan's army consisted of 90,000 cavalry and 480 elephants. The Khan-i 'azam, Tatar Khan, was now dead. The *wazir*, Khan-i Jahan, was left as viceroy in Dehli (*Tents and equipage*). When the Sultan started, he resolved to pay a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Faridu-din, at Ajodhan, and, on arriving at that town, he accomplished this object. When he reached the confines of Bhakkar and Siwistan, he issued an order for collect-

⁴⁴ I translate this passage somewhat doubtfully with the light of the context, which evidently implies that that more men were ready than were required. The words are "chun astadar maujud kasht hashim ghair wajhi chahargan dah yazdah yata." See infra.

ing all the boats of the country, and when as many as five thousand had been brought together, he placed them by thousands under the command of his principal officers, and the author's father had command of one division. The order was given to descend the river Sind, and in a few days they reached Thatta. The Sultan himself marched in company with a force along the hither bank of the river.

THIRD MUKADDAMA—DESCENT OF SULTAN ON THATTA

In these days the territory of Thatta was divided into two parts, one division lying on the hither (*kirana*) or Dehli side of the river Sindh, and the other on the farther (*guzara*) or Thatta side; both of them populated by a numerous and warlike people. At that time the Jam, brother of Rai Unar, and Babiniya, his brother's son, were masters of Thatta.⁴⁵ They made great show of their prowess and (*collecting their forces they prepared for resistance*). Mud forts had also been built in both divisions of Sind. The Jam, and Babiniya the arrogant,⁴⁶ made ready for battle; the Sultan also, having approached Thatta, arrayed his forces, and a battle seemed imminent from day to day. But grain became scarce in the army of the Sultan. A pestilence also broke out among the horses, which was a very grievous calamity, and greatly disheartened the troops of every rank. Of the whole 90,000 horses which had marched with the Sultan, only one-fourth, at the utmost, remained alive.

⁴⁵ This is according to the version of the two MSS. of the East India Library. Sir H. Elliot's and Thomas' MSS. are here defective. They omit the name "Unar," and change "Babiniya" into "Thatta" making sheer nonsense. Firishta gives only one name, "Jam Bany, the son of Jam Afra" (or, according to the text, Ghafra.)

⁴⁶ "Khud-kam," this epithet is appended to his name until he made his submission.

The dearness of grain caused great dismay; the price rose from two to three *tankas* a man, and even beyond that. When the men of Thatta saw these sufferings of their adversaries, the Jam and Babiniya resolved to seize the opportunity and to make an attack.

FOURTH MUKADDAMA—ENGAGEMENT WITH THE ARMY OF THATTA

The Jam, and Babiniya the arrogant, came forth from their fort with a large force of horse and foot, and drew up in array against the royal forces. When the Sultan heard of their advance, he also drew out his forces, and, upon examination, there proved to be hardly one-fourth cavalry. Famine also had broken down the vigour and spirit of his men. Still, like a valiant king, he made ready for battle and arranged his forces in three divisions—a centre and two wings. The elephants were divided among the three divisions. He then put on his armour, and, baton in hand, rode through the whole array, encouraging and cheering the men. This raised the spirits of his people and incited their devotion.

The Sultan passed along in front of his forces speaking words of encouragement, and all men offered up their prayers for him. Although he affected not to fear the vast force of his enemies, still, in his heart, he looked with apprehension on the weakness of his own army, and prayed to God for assistance. The enemy's numbers amounted to about 20,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry. With all this enormous force the enemy were unable to force an action, but discharges of arrows were interchanged. Heaven fought on the side of the Sultan, and such a storm of wind arose that the men were unable to open their eyes. Still, the brave men on both sides maintained a struggle. The Sultan, notwithstanding the weakness of his force, resolved to advance, and the whole army, making one vigorous and united charge, the enemy fled and took refuge in their fort. . . . The

Sultan was thus left master of the field. He then held a council, and announced his intention to retire upon Gujrat and reinforce his army, but he added that if God spared him he would return again the following year and push his enterprize.

FIFTH MUKADDAMA—RETREAT OF FIROZ SHAH FROM THATTA TO GUJARAT

(*Full account of what passed at the council, and of the determination to retreat into Gujarat to recruit, and return in the following year, when the crops would be ripe and grain plentiful*). The Sultan then gave orders for the march, which spread universal joy throughout the army. . . . The Khan-i azam (Zafar Khan), who had under his command a large force of Bengalis, had charge of the rear. When the enemy found that the Sultan had retreated, with all his forces and baggage (as they supposed), towards Dehli, they pursued. The first day the royal army made a march of ten *kos*, and the enemy coming up, a sharp encounter took place between them and Zafar Khan, in which they were repulsed: The heads of several Thatta men were cut off and sent to the Sultan. All the fleet of boats fell into the hands of the enemy, but the baggage was carried off with the army to Gujarat.

SIXTH MUKADDAMA—FALLING OF THE ARMY INTO KUNCHI-RAN (THE RAN OF KACH)

When Sultan Firoz fell back victorious, grain, which was dear, became dearer; day by day it rose higher, and the state of the horses' feet is beyond description. Grain rose to one *tanka* and two *tankas* a *sir*, and even at that price was not to be obtained. Men, through craving hunger and helpless nakedness, could not pursue their way, and in their extreme distress gave up in despair. As no corn was to be procured, carrion and raw hides were devoured; some men even were driven by extreme

hunger to boil old hides, and to eat them. A deadly famine reigned, and all men saw death staring them in the face. All the horses were destroyed, and the *khans* and *maliks* were compelled to pursue their weary way on foot. Not one steed remained in the army, and by the will of God all ranks were reduced to the same state of destitution. The guides who led the way and conducted them, had maliciously misled them into a place called Kunchi-ran. In this place all the land is impregnated with salt to a degree impossible to describe, and if the water was held upon the tongue it crystalized.

When the army was thus reduced to the extremity of despair, the Sultan had one of the false guides beheaded. Then the others came honestly before him and said: "We have dealt falsely toward you, and have led you into a place where none but you could have survived; not even things which could fly in the air and drive along like the wind. This place is called Kunchi-ran, and the sea is near. The saltiness of the water arises from this proximity, and the district is deadly." When the people heard these words of their guides, they gave themselves utterly up to despair. The Sultan ordered (the guides) to find fresh water for him and his followers, and to lead them away from this salt water. The water, indeed, was so excessively salt that all men were in amazement and despair. As far as the eye could reach, all was salt water. When, after endless labours and hardships, the wretched men found fresh water, they rushed into the middle of it. So excessive was the prevalence of salt, that if a pot of fresh water was placed upon the impregnated ground, the fresh water became salt, and no one could bear it on his tongue.

When with great difficulty and exertion they escaped from that salt country they came into a desert where no bird laid an egg, or flapped its wing, where no tree to be seen, and where no blade of grass grew. If even a lethal weed had been wanted it could not have been

found. No other desert, however fearful, could be compared with this. (*Despair of the men and distress of the Sultan*). Four calamities had at once assailed them; famine, the necessity of walking on foot, the terrors of the deadly desert, and separation from beloved ones.

For six months no news of the army reached Dehli, where every one, small and great, was in distress, believing that the Sultan and his army were lost. Khan-i Jahan, the *wazir*, by his great prudence and sagacity, managed to maintain order; and fear of him restrained all disposition to create disturbances. The fact of the disappearance of the Sultan and his army became known through all the country, and every house was filled with mourning. . . .

When Khan-i Jahan saw the perilous condition in which the country was placed, he removed all the Sultan's valuables from the palace to his own house, and issued numerous orders to restrain any exhibition of individual power. Every day he rode about the city displaying his own strength, but when he perceived that the rumour (of the king's destruction) gathered force from day to day, he feigned to have received a despatch from the Sultan announcing the safety of the royal person. This allayed all apprehension, and was the cause of great rejoicing, after which every one went on as usual with his own business. If kings had not wise and able ministers they could never leave their kingdoms, and never engage in conquest. (*Eulogy of Khan-i Jahan*.)

SEVENTH MUKADDAMA—LAMENTATIONS OF THE SOLDIERS, AND ANXIETY OF THE SULTAN IN KUNCHI-RAN

. . . . In every march thousands of men and horses died. . . . At length the Sultan in his trouble prayed earnestly for rain, . . . and God in his great mercy raised clouds in the sky. On every side they rolled up swiftly, cloud upon cloud; the rain fell, and the water-courses ran.

All men drank and used the water, and were delivered from their trouble. On the same day a road of escape was discovered. . . .

As soon as he emerged from the desert the Sultan returned humble thanks to the Almighty, and then sent a despatch to Dehli for Khan-i Jahan, "informing him of the safety of the Sultan and of all his army"⁴⁷ (which gave rise to great rejoicings in the capital).

EIGHTH MUKADDAMA--ARRIVAL OF SULTAN FIROZ IN GUJARAT

The Sultan, on escaping from the desert, marched speedily with his army into Gujarat, and his men then rested from their troubles. At that time Amir Husain, son of the late Amir Miran, *Mustaifi* of the State, governed the country of Gujarat with the titles *Maliku-sh-Shark*, Prince of the East, and *Nizam-i-Mulk*, Administrator of the State, and *Nek-nam*, of good repute. He was an active ruler, but when he waited on his sovereign, the Sultan demanded with much warinthe why he had sent no supplies and assistance for the relief of the army, and why he had allowed the army to perish. He was dismissed from his government, and his estates were resumed. The Sultan remained in Gujarat recruiting his army. The irregulars⁴⁸ having received

⁴⁷"az hal salamat khud wa jami lashkar khabar dad." The inconsistency of this statement with the picture of suffering and death, previously drawn, exceeds even the ordinary stretch of Oriental license.

⁴⁸The word translated "irregulars" is "ghair wajh," "one without pay;" it is opposed to the "wajh-dars," i.e., the regulars or pay-receivers. The first sentence of this passage is ambiguous; it runs thus: "ghair wajhi ra shashgan wa dah yazdah dahanideh taesah ghair wajhi az marhamat sultan dar zaman sawar shudaud." The general sense is obvious, and is sufficiently indicated by the translation.

six, ten, and eleven (*tankas?*) from the kindness of the Sultan, in a short time they were all horsed. Under these circumstances Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk, one of the pillars of the State of Dehli, took up the case of the regulars (*wajh-dars*) and represented to his Majesty that the irregulars had by his bounty become mounted while the regulars, through great distress, were obliged to go on foot, and were in deep trouble and despair. Their villages were in the neighbourhood of Dehli, while they were (far away and) in great distress. They had come into this country (of Gujarat) in straggling parties,⁴⁹ and how could they obtain anything from Dehli—they were indeed in a pitiable condition. The Sultan replied that he knew his regular soldiers (*wajh-dar*) were in great distress and were reduced to go on foot through the hardships they had undergone. They had rendered him their aid, but their villages were far distant, and they had the greatest difficulty to get a handful of corn. Their children, too, required maintenance, so that they were in the greatest possible difficulty. Under these circumstances he directed that loans should be advanced to them from the public treasury. In accordance with this order every man received an advance, some of a hundred, some of seven hundred, and some of a thousand *tankas*; thus they obtained new outfits and remounts. Orders were also written to Khan-i Jahan at Dehli, that no interference of any kind should be made in the villages of the regular soldiers, and that the officers of Government should be strictly enjoined to do them no harm, so that something might come to the soldiers and that their children might be maintained in comfort at home.

Sultan Firoz expended the whole revenue (*mal*) of Gujarat, amounting to about two *krors*, in refitting his

literally "eighty by

army and in the payment of his troops, so that he might march once more against Thatta. When he was on the point of departure he wrote Khan-i Jahan (*announcing his intention and directing the Khan to send him ample supplies*).

NINTH MUKADDAMA—KHAN-I JAHAN SENDS SUPPLIES TO THE SULTAN IN GUJARAT

When Firoz Shah was about to march for Thatta, Khan-i Jahan made great efforts to send supplies, and gave orders to the officials urging them to exert themselves in the collection of supplies, munitions and money. The vast quantities collected exceed all description; seven *lacs* of *tankas* were expended upon only one kind of military weapon. These provisions were despatched from day to day, and they arrived in such vast quantities in Gujarat that it was difficult to provide carriage for them. Khan-i Jahan sent with them a letter (*expressing his hope for the safety and success of the Sultan in his enterprize*).

The Sultan gave orders for the march to Thatta, which was received with much joy by the army. . . . Just at this time letters were received from Bahram Khan, son-in-law of Hasan Khan Kangu from Daulatabad, representing that Bahram Khan held Daulatabad, but that a dispute had arisen between him and the son of Hasan Kangu, he therefore solicited the Sultan to come himself and assume the seat of royalty. (*After consultation the Sultan replied that he must first conquer Thatta; he would afterwards proceed to Daulatabad*).

Postponing the affairs of Daulatabad to those of Thatta, he left Zafar Khan in charge of Gujarat. He had at first intended to place Malik Naib Barbak in charge, and the robes and titles had all been prepared; but the Sultan never transacted any business without

referring to the Kuran for an angury, and now when he tried the *fal* (augury) it was against Naib Barbak, and in favour of Zafar Khan. The latter was accordingly sent for, and the robes of investiture, the estates and full powers were given to him. Such was the trust of Firoz Shah in the indications of the Divine will.

TENTH MUKADDAMA—MARCH OF SULTAN FIROZ FROM GUJARAT TO THATTA

When the Sultan marched the second time for Thatta, many of his men, who had gone through the hardships of the first campaign, went off with their outfits to their homes. On being apprized of this, the Sultan consulted his officers, who advised him to appoint sentinels, to prevent desertions. The Sultan (*among other reasons for rejecting this advice*) said, "If the Almighty wills that I should conquer Thatta, the presence of these men is unnecessary; but if I am to fail, what can they do?" He then sent orders to Khan-i Jahan, directing him to look after all men who returned from the army to the city, and, for the sake of example, to apprehend and inflict the *tadaruk-i ma'nawi* upon all those who had been regularly retained (*chakar*) and had received money from the State. They were not to be subjected to the *tadaruk-i khusravi*. In affairs of State the *tadaruk-i khusravi*, or imperial remedy, signifies execution, banishment or amercement; but the *tadaruk-i ma'nawi*, or moral remedy, is to expose a man to the shafts of public reproach. This was following the precepts of the Prophet. . . . In obedience to these orders Khan-i Jahan directed his officers to apprehend every man who returned from the army. If, after due inquiry, a man proved to be a regular retainer, he was subjected to the *tadaruk-i ma'nawi*. Some well known offenders were exposed in the *bazars* for a day or two to the gaze of all men, and were then set free without further chastisement, and without their villages or pay being touched.

ELEVENTH MUKADDAMA—DESCENT OF SULTAN FIROZ SHAH
UPON THATTA IN A FAVOURABLE SEASON

At the commencement of his march to Thatta, the Sultan consulted the Shaikhul Islam. . . . On this occasion the boats employed were few. When he arrived in the vicinity of Thatta, the inhabitants were all busily engaged in agricultural operations, totally ignorant of his return, which was quite unexpected. When the Sultan retreated to Gujarat, the people of Thatta made a verse, which was currently repeated among them, saying. "By the will of God Sultan Muhammad Tughlik died in pursuit of us, and Sultan Firoz Shah has fled before us." The news of the Sultan's approach reached Thatta, and it was in every Sindian's mouth that the King of Hind was approaching with large armies, and that Sultan Firoz was advancing once more in great force from Gujarat. In fear of the Sultan they destroyed their crops on the bank of the Sindh, and, crossing the river, took refuge in mud forts.⁵⁰ When the Sultan arrived he perceived that the inhabitants had destroyed all their spring crop, and that they had crossed to the other side of the river, where they were busily engaged in forming batteries and entrenchments. The Sultan's troops were in good case and in high spirits, although the price of grain was as high as eight and ten *jitals* for five *sirs*, because the crop was not yet ripe. When the new grain came in the price fell. Under the orders of the Sultan the troops went out in all directions, foraging in the villages for grain. The villages on the hither side (*kirana*) of the Sindh were numerous, and the inhabitants of some had not been able to escape over the river. These were taken prisoners, and when the fact became known to the Sultan, he issued a proclamation, in which he said the prisoners were a mere hand-

⁵⁰"*hissar kuli*." Possibly a proper name, "the fort of Kali," though more likely, as translated, "mud forts."

ful; they were Musulmans, and nothing was to be gained by keeping them captive, and making them slaves. Those who had prisoners were ordered not to keep them, on pain of being deemed criminal, but to hand them over to the proper authorities. About 4,000 Sindians were accordingly brought to the government office, and were directed to be kept in secure custody; three sirs of grain being allowed to each one daily from the minister's office. At that time *mung* was five *tankas* a man, and bread (*jarrat*) four *tankas* a man. According to the orders of the Sultan *mung* was given to the prisoners, and all his orders in respect of them were obeyed. Behold the kindness and clemency of Firoz Shah!

TWELFTH MUKADDAMA—MALIK 'IMADU-L MULK AND ZAFAR KAHAN CROSS THE SINDH AND FIGHT A BATTLE WITH THE SINDIANS-

When the Sultan was posted on the hither side (*kirana*) of the river Sindh, the enemy, in great numbers, was on the opposite side (*guzara*), and occasionally crossing over skirmishes occurred. The Sultan determined to send a force over the river and harass the enemy. 'Imadu-l Mulk and Zafar Khan were appointed to the command, and were directed to cross the river. A body of Sindians, in strong force and with great bravery, disputed the passage of the river⁵¹ and resisted the crossing of men in boats. After much examination and exertion the transit was found to be impracticable. Consultations were held, and it was then determined that Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk and Zafar Khan, with a strong force, should fall back, as if proceeding towards Dehli. The fleet of boats also was directed to accompany them. The plan of operations was that they were to proceed a hundred and

⁵¹ The words of this sentence down to this point, are to be found in only one of the four MSS., No. 1002 of the East India Library.

twenty *kos* up the near bank of the Sindh, and effect a crossing just below Bhakkar. After the passage, they were to march back on the opposite side of the river, and give battle to the enemy. The plan succeeded, and the force marched down in to the territory of the enemy.⁵² Upon this the enemy, horse and foot, came forth from their forts in great numbers, and a fierce battle (*jang*) ensued which cannot be described.

Sultan Firoz was a very cautious man. The fort of Thatta was visible (from his side of the river), but from the great breadth of the stream, the land on the opposite side was not discernible. Therefore, it could not be seen how the fight with the army progressed. Sultan Firoz stood watching in expectation, his eyes now lifted to heaven and now strained over the river, in order to learn what was passing. By divine inspiration he sent a trusty man across the river in a boat with orders directing his forces to desist from battle and return to him. The combatants on both sides were Musulmans, and if the fighting went on, many innocent persons would be slain. They were accordingly directed to return by the same way they had gone. When the messenger delivered these commands to 'Imadu-l Mulk and Zafar Khan, they retreated with their whole force—marching the 120 *kos* up the farther or Thatta side of the river to Bhakkar, where they crossed back and rejoined the main army. The Sultan then said to 'Imadu-l Mulk, where can this handful of Thattians fly to, unless they creep into an ant-hole like a snake? My army shall remain here, and we will build a large city.

THIRTEEN MUKADDAMA—'IMADU-L MULK GOES TO DEHLI FOR REINFORCEMENTS

Some days after the Sultan held a privy council, in

⁵² ("Dar zamin-i Thatthiyān—into the country of the men of Thatta." The enemy are generally called "Thatthiyān," men of Thatta.)

which it was determined that 'Imadu-l Mulk should proceed to Dehli, in order to raise reinforcements, and then return to Thatta. On his taking leave the Sultan charged him not to give any orders to Khan-i Jahan about collecting the forces, for the Khan was not the man to slight or neglect the directions of his master in the smallest degree. Upon his arriving in the capital, he directed him to wait upon the Khan, and say that he had been sent to advise with him on the matter. The simple order of the Sultan was quite sufficient to ensure the despatch of reinforcements by the Khan.

(*Friendly and courteous reception of 'Imadu-l Mulk*). Khan-i Jahan sent a *lac* of tankas to 'Imadu-l Mulk for subsistence money (*'alusa*), and despatched demands for men to all the various dependencies of the State; to Badaun, Kanauj, Sandila, Oudh, Jaunpur, Bihar, Firhat, Chanderi, Dhar, the interior and exterior of the Doab, Samana, Dipalpur, Multan, Lahore and other dependencies (*ikta'at*). Khan-i Jahan used to take his seat every day for expediting the business, and 'Imadu-l Mulk used to attend and assist him. In time the force was assembled, and was despatched under the charge of 'Imadu-l Mulk, who marched with all possible speed and joined the Sultan. When he arrived he highly praised the zeal and activity of Khan-i Jahan, and the Sultan was greatly pleased to hear this commendation, and to see the arrival of the reinforcements. The new men passed in review before him, and each man received a present of clothes.

When the Sindians heard of the arrival of the reinforcements from Dehli their hearts failed them, and they began to quarrel with each other. The troops of the Sultan were, by God's grace, very well supplied with comforts, and those who had formerly deserted, being informed of this, greatly repented the step they had taken.

But a terrible famine now appeared among the

enemy. As on the former occasion, famine had occurred in the army of the Sultan, when the scarcity of grain was the cause of great misery; so now on the second occasion, the dearness of grain brought dismay upon the enemy. The cause of the scarcity was that when the Sultan retreated from his first attempt on the country, the people of Thatta returned to their old homes with great satisfaction. Being free from all apprehension of any future attack they sowed all the grain which they possessed. When harvest time came, Sultan Firoz returned from Gujarat and took possession of the crops. The Sultan's forces were thus well supplied, while the price rose very high among the enemy, amounting to one and two *tankas* per *sir*. Every day men, of high and low degree, through hunger, deserted the enemy and crossed over the river in boats to the Sultan's army. Thatta was verging to its fall, when the Jam and Babiniya reflected over the state of affairs, and resolved that the best course was to escape from trouble by timely submission. They accordingly, after much deliberation, notified their willingness to surrender through Saiyid Jalalu-l hakk wau-s shara' wau-d din Husain Bukhari.

FOURTEENTH MUKADDAMA—PEACE WITH THE PEOPLE OF THATTA

When the people of Thatta made up their minds to seek for peace, they determined upon making their overtures through Saiyid Jalalu-d din,⁵³ The Jam and Babiniya, after consideration, sent a confidential agent to Uch to make known their views. Saiyid Jalalu-d din started, and when he reached the Sultan's camp all the army turned out to show their reverential respect. . . . On his arrival the Sultan went forth to meet him and brought him with due honour into his camp. After

⁵³ Here and all through this chapter he is referred to as "Khidmat Saiyid Jalalu-d din."

they had met and shaken hands, the Saiyid said there was a holy woman in Thatta whose prayers had prevented the conquest of the place. . . but she had now been dead three days, and consequently the submission might be expected. The inhabitants of Thatta heard that the Saiyid was in the Sultan's camp, and they sent messages to him representing their great distress, and the Saiyid communicated to the Sultan all the matters which in the sorrow of their hearts they had made known to him. This excited the commiseration of the Sultan.

The state of affairs having thus been made known to the Sultan, Babiniya consulted with the Jam, and said that it had been stated to the Sultan that all the disturbance (*shor*) had arisen through him (*Babiniya*); it therefore seemed in every way most desirable that he should go first to the Sultan and make his submission; the Jam might follow, and a way might thus be opened for a satisfactory conclusion. This proposition of Babiniya's⁵⁴ pleased the Jam. He gave him permission to proceed, and next day Babiniya reached the royal camp.

FIFTEENTH MUKADDAMA—ARRIVAL OF BABINIYA IN THE CAMP OF THE SULTAN

The Sultan was out hunting, when he was informed that Babiniya had arrived in his camp. . . . He allowed no indication of his feelings to appear in his countenance. . . . Babiniya followed the Sultan to the hunting ground, where he had just killed a wolf, . . . and there he presented himself, with his turban in front of his throat and a sword upon his neck, like a repentant criminal, and, humbly approaching the Sultan, kissed his stirrup and begged forgiveness. The Sultan then graciously placed his hand on the back of

⁵⁴ His epithet of "khud-kam" is now changed to "nek-nam."

Babiniya and said, "Why were you so afraid of me? I did not wish to hurt any one, especially you; cheer up your spirits and dispel your anxiety, for you shall be twice the man you were before." He then ordered an Arab horse to be presented to Babiniya, and, closing his discourse, he went on hunting again.

On the same day, and soon after Babiniya, the Jam came to make his submission, and he also, like a wise man, went out to the hunting ground. On his being brought into the presence of the Sultan, he advanced with his turban on his head, and cast himself at the feet of the Sultan. Hanging the turban from the throat, and placing a sword upon the neck, is practised only by the offender who first approaches the sovereign, and Babiniya had already made this sign of submission. The Jam therefore retained his turban in the presence of the Sultan, but paid him due homage. The Sultan very kindly placed his hand on the back of the Jam, and spoke graciously to him. Very submissively the Jam expressed his surrender, and, in a line of his own composition, he said:

"Thou art my gracious sovereign; I am thy abashed servant."

The Sultan treated him with great kindness and care, and to him also he presented a horse. On returning to the camp, the Jain' and Babiniya received embroidered robes, and their attendants also received presents suited to their respective stations. The two captive chiefs were told to send for their wives and families, and accompany the Sultan to Dehli. This royal command they obeyed, and, with their wives and children, followed in the train of the Sultan.

SIXTEENTH MUKADDAMA.—RETURN OF FIROZ SHAH TO DEHLI

The surrender of the Jam and Babiniya spread great delight throughout the royal camp, and the Sultan

determined to return to Dehli. The son of the Jam, and Tamachi, brother of Babiniya, were placed over Thatta, and titles were conferred upon them. They paid four *lacs* of *tankas* in cash, by way of marking their allegiance, and agreed to pay several *lacs* of *tankas* in money and goods yearly.⁵⁵ The Sultan then marched for Dehli, taking the Jam and Babiniya with all their establishment in his train. Orders were given that they were to alight in front of the royal tents, and they were supplied with white carpets from the royal stores. Malik Saifu-d din Khwaju was directed to instruct them in the etiquette of the Court, and to keep watch over them. Their followers were brought from the farther side of the river, and were placed in boats to make the journey. Saifu-d din attended to them, and carefully watched over them night and day.

One day an alarm was raised that the boat containing the wives and children of Babiniya had sunk, and that therefore he must hasten (to the scene of the disaster) up the bank of the river. Saifu-d din Khwaju thought that this was a stratagem to enable Babiniya to escape and return home, so he sent his son to inform the Sultan of suspicions,) and to enquire whether he was to restrain Babiniya. The Sultan considered the point, and then said, "Go and tell your father that if Babiniya wishes to go to the river to ascertain the facts, he must go with him. If Babiniya shows any intention of going on board a boat and escaping to his home, do not attempt to prevent him, but say to him,

⁵⁵ (*This is taken from the MS. of the East Indian Library, No. 1002. The other three MSS. omit rather more than a line, and quite reverse the meaning. They say "(the new governors) accepted several lacs and horses."* The three are, however, probably right in reading "aspan" instead of "asbab," i.e., "horses" instead of "goods.").

'Babiniya, if you have the manliness and boldness, go!' then return back. I know what will happen, and so does Babiniya.'⁵⁶

Before the messenger returned from the Sultan to his father, Saifu-l Mulk, news reached Babiniya that the boat containing his children had been lost. He then returned. . . . Meanwhile the Sultan, with his army, was marching homewards, the men being delighted with the prospect of seeing home again after the two and a half year's absence. He halted for a while at Multan, and from thence he sent his "despatch of victory" to Khan-i Jahan in Dehli, which on its arrival caused great rejoicing.

SEVENTEENTH MUKADDAMA—KHAN-I JAHAN PROCEEDS TO DIPALPUR TO MEET THE SULTAN

Khan-i Jahan proceeded to Dipalpur to receive his sovereign. When they met, the Khan offered his congratulations, and presented his tribute and offerings. The Sultan recounted to him all the hardships and sufferings which his army had gone through at Thatta, and on the march into Gujarat. . . . Thatta had been a source of trouble to the sovereigns of Dehli ever since the days of Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Muhammad Sam. The splendid army of Sultan 'Alau-d din had marched towards Thatta, but the difficulties of the enterprize had rendered the attempt abortive. Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughlik lost his life in the same country (*but now the conquest had been accomplished*). The Sultan marched from Dipalpur and arrived at Dehli, where the inhabitants turned out to meet him. (*Great rejoicings*). Amid the general joy it was represented to the Sultan that the families of those men who had lost their lives and property in Kunchi-ran were in great distress. He, in consequence, issued orders that if any man had mar-

⁵⁶"*man danam wa babanhiyah.*"

ched to Thatta with him and had died in Kunchi-ran, his children should receive his allowances, and should not be troubled in any way. . . . He also directed that those who had deserted him in Gujarat, after receiving his gifts, and had returned home, were to have their livelihood and villages continued to them. He was desirous that no one should suffer on that account.

The Jam, and Babiniya "of good name," had a residence appointed for themselves and families near the royal palace, where they lived in comfort. Their dwelling received the name of the "Palace of Thatta." An annual allowance of two *lacs* of *tankas* in cash, from the imperial treasury, was assigned to the Jam, and the same amount was also granted to Babiniya. Besides this they daily received robes and so many presents from the court that they quite forgot Thatta. On court days, when the Sultan sat on his throne, they used to attend, and, with his permission, sat down on his right hand, in the second room of mirrors, below the Chief Judge. The author intends (D. V.) to speak about this in the chapter where he describes the etiquette observed at the Sultan's court in respect of the seats of the *khans*, *maliks*, and others.

After some years Tamachi, the brother of Babiniya, rebelled at Thatta, and the Sultan sent the Jam there to repress the outbreak. On his arrival, the Jam sent Tamachi to Dehli. Babiniya remained at Dehli, in attendance on the Sultan. On the accession of Sultan Tughlik Shah he was presented with an umbrella, and was sent to Thatta, but he died on the road.

EIGHTEENTH MUKADDAMA—INVENTION OF THE TAS-I GHARIYAL (A CLOCK OR BELL TO TELL THE TIME)

Many wonderful things were invented by Sultan Firoz in the course of his reign, and among the most wonderful was the Tas-i ghariyal. (*Seven different uses of the Tas in marking time and making known the hours of*

prayer, etc). It was placed on the top of the *darbar* of the *kushk* in Firozabad, and people crowded to see it.

KISM IV—RETURN OF SULTAN FIROZ FROM A TOUR OF INSPECTION, AND APPLICATION OF HIS ATTENTION TO EIGHTEEN AFAIRS OF STATE

First Mukaddama—Return of the Sultan from his tour

While the Sultan was at Dehli, attending to the affairs of his kingdom, ambassadors arrived from Ma'bar to state a grievance to him. Kurbat Hasan Kangu was king in Ma'bar. When Sultan Muhammad Shah died, and Sultan Firoz succeeded, his edicts were sent into Ma'bar, but 'the people of that country rebelled, and, going to Daulatabad, they made Kurbat Kangu king of Ma'bar. When this Kurbat held his court, he appeared decked out hand and foot with female ornaments, and made himself notorious for his puerile actions. The men of Ma'bar saw this, and, being greatly incensed against him, they rebelled. A neighbouring chief, named Bakan, at the head of a body of men and elephants, marched into Ma'bar and made Kurbat Hasan Kangu prisoner. He made himself master of all Ma'bar, which had belonged to Muhammadans; their women suffered violence and captivity in the hands of Hindus, and Bakan established himself as ruler of Ma'bar. (*The Sultan reproached them for their repudiation of his authority, and for now resorting to him in their distress, and*) told them that his army was weary and exhausted with the late campaign and long marches, but that after it had rested and recruited its strength he would proceed towards Ma'bar. . . . The ambassadors were sent back with assurances of his forgiveness, and he devoted himself to business.

One day his officers came to him in private and represented that they were very desirous of making a march to Daulatabad, for the sufferings of the people there had excited their pity. Kings were generally

ambitious to conquer kingdoms and extend their dominion, etc. . . . The army had rested and was fresh and ready. There was no necessity for the Sultan to go, for he might appoint one of his most trusted officers to the command, who would root out the wretched band, and set an example to others. There were plenty of Musulman countries round Dehli to furnish forces for the acquisition of territory; but drawing the sword against people of Islam, had ten evils for every advantage. . . . When Khan-i Jahan had finished this homily, the effect was plainly visible in the Sultan, he looked distressed and his eyes were suffused with tears. and approving their arguments, he said that . . . he was resolved never more to make war upon men of the Muhammadan faith. . . .

SECOND MUKADDAMA—THE SULTAN'S CARE TO PROVIDE SLAVES (BANDAGAN)

The Sultan was very diligent in providing slaves, and he carried his care so far as to command his great fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. When the feudatories went to court, each one according to his ability took with him beautiful slaves, dressed and ornamented in the most splendid style. They also, when they paid their annual visit, brought other presents suited to their means and station—high-priced horses of the best breeds, fine elephants, valuable garments of every kind, vessels of gold and silver, arms, camels and mules,—each man according to the extent of his fief, some as many as a hundred, some fifty, some twenty, and some eleven. They also brought slaves. Under an edict of the Sultan, all the presents which the feudatories brought were valued, and the amount was deducted from the dues payable by them to the Government. This was a regulation established by Sultan Firoz. Before his time, in

the reigns of his predecessors, the feudatories brought whatever they could, but no remission in their payments was made in consideration of their presents. Sultan Firoz saw that the expenses of his feudatoires were very large, and decreed that they should not be required to make presents.

From this arrangement two advantages were expected—the chieftains' pride would be spared (the fear of being outdone), and the gifts themselves would be more worthy of the Sultan's notice. This regulation remained in force for forty years throughout the reign. Those chiefs who brought many slaves received the highest favour, and those who brought few received proportionately little consideration. When the chiefs perceived the Sultan's eagerness for slaves, and that their efforts to get them were highly appreciated, they exerted themselves in providing them, and the numbers brought every year exceed description. Great numbers of slaves were thus collected, and when they were found to be in excess, the Sultan sent them to Multan, Dipalpur, Hisar-Firozah, Samana, Gujarat, and all the other feudal dependencies. In all cases provision was made for their support in a liberal manner. In some places they were provided for in the army, and villages were granted to them; those who were placed in cities had ample allowances, varying from 100 down to 10 *tankas*, which was the lowest amount. These allowances were paid in full, without any deduction, at the treasury, every six, four, or three months.

Some of the slaves spent their time in reading and committing to memory the holy book, others in religious studies, others in copying books. Some, with the Sultan's leave, went to the temple at Mecca. Some were placed under tradesmen and were taught mechanical arts, so that about 12,000 slaves became artisans (*kasib*) of various kinds. Forty thousand were every day in readiness to attend as guards in the Sultan's equipage.

or at the palace. Altogether, in the city and in the various fiefs there were 180,000 slaves, for whose maintenance and comfort the Sultan took especial care. The institution took root in the very centre of the land, and the Sultan looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties. To such an extent were matters carried that there was a distinct master-master (*majmu'-dar*) of the slaves, a separate treasury for the payment of their allowances, a separate *jao-shughuri*, and deputy *jao-shughuri*,⁵⁷ and a distinct *diran*, that is to say, the officers for administering the affairs of the slaves (*ashab-i diran-i bandagan*), were entirely distinct from those under the Prime Minister (*ashab-i diran-i 'az-a vizir*).

When the Sultan went out in state the slaves accompanied him in distinct corps—first the archers, fully armed, next the swordsmen, thousands in number (*hazar hazar*), the fighting men (*bandagan-i awād*), the *bandagan-i mchili*⁵⁸ riding on male buffaloes, and slaves from the Hazara, mounted on Arab and Turki horses bearing standards and axes. These all, thousands upon thousands, accompanied the royal retinue. The slaves increased to such a degree that they were employed in all sorts of domestic duties, as water coolers, butlers (etc. etc.). In fact there was no occupation in which the slaves of Firoz Shah were not employed. None of the Sultan's predecessors had ever collected so many slaves. The late Sultan 'Alzu'd din had drawn together about 50,000 slaves, but after him no Sultan had directed his attention to raising a body of them until Sultan Firoz adopted the practice . . . When the slaves under

⁵⁷The signification of this is obscure, and the copyists seem to have so deemed it. The word by the majority is written "jewashaghuri," but one varies, and gives it as "jawash ghuri."

⁵⁸"teaf bandagan mahil bar pasht nar gaumiltash sawar alihideh."

the great feudal chieftains became too numerous, some of them, by order of the Sultan, were given into the charge of *amirs* and *maliks*, that they might learn the duties of their respective employments. These *amirs* and *maliks* treated them like children, providing them with food and raiment, lodging them and training them, and taking every care for their wants. Each year they took their slaves to court, and reported upon their merits and abilities. These reports were received by the Sultan with great interest. Such was the care and attention which Sultan Firuz devoted to his slaves; but after his death, the heads of these his favoured servants were cut off without mercy, and were made into heaps in front of the *darbar*, as I will describe in my chapter on the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Firuz.

MIRI MUHAMMAD—ARRIVAL OF ROBES FROM THE KHALILA

The author has described how a robe was sent by the Khalila to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlik Shah, in the account (*ziki*) which he wrote of that Sultan. A similar robe was now sent to Firuz Tughlik with great courtesy and marks of respect. Three robes in all were sent, one for the Sultan, one for the Prince Fath Khan, and one for Khan-i Jahan, . . .

MIRI MUHAMMAD—HOW SULTAN FIRDUZ USED TO SIT IN STATE.

There were three palaces in which Sultan Firuz used to sit publicly in state. One was the *Mahal-i sahan-i gulin** (the palace of the clayey quadrangle). It was also called the *Mahal-i dikh*, i.e., the *Mahal-i angur*, or Palace of Grapes. The second was called *Mahal-i ch-haja-i chobin*. The third was the *Mahal-i bar-i 'amm*.

*This name is rendered only by conjecture, it may be "inkal gulin," etc. etc.

*Three of the MSS. write the word

or Palace of the Public Court, and it was also called *Sahn-i miyanagi*, the central quadrangle. The first palace was appropriated to the reception of the *khans*, *maliks*, *amirs*, officials and distinguished literary men. The *Mahal-i chhaja chobin* was for the reception of the principal personal attendants. The palace of the *Sahn-i miyanagi* was used for general receptions. . . .

Sultan Firoz had given up residing in Dehli, and stayed at Firozabad. When it was necessary to hold a court, he left his devotions (which are described) and proceeded to the capital to hold his Court. (*Precedence, ceremonial, and dress*). Khan-i Jahan, the *wazir* of the State, used to sit on the right near the throne. The Amir-i Mü'azzam Amir Ahmad Ikbal sat higher up and a little (*yak zanu*) behind Khan-i Jahan, which position was considered to be neither higher nor lower than that of the Khan. Malik Nizamu-l Mulk, Amir Husain, Amir Miran, who were deputies of the *wazir*, sat near the throne below Khan-i Jahan. (*Positions of the various officials*). In those days the humble author of this work, Shams-i Siraj 'Afif, used to go into the reception chamber, under the royal regulations, in attendance upon the officers of the *wazir's* department. (*Precedence and ceremonial of the Court. Reception of the Shaikhul Islam*). . . .

FIFTH MUKADDAMA—PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS OF THE NOBLES

During the reign of Firoz Shah . . . all men, high and low, bond and free, lived happily and free from care. . . . When the Sultan went to the palace, at the "great city" of Firozabad, the Khan-i Jahan used to make preparations some days beforehand for his reception, by

this is not conclusive. The fourth has chhaja, a Hindi word, meaning "gallery," and this is probably right. The title of the palace would so be, "Palace of the wooden gallery."

having the palace whitewashed and ornamented with pictures. Every possible care was taken by the Khan for the proper reception of the Sultan. (*Splendour and ceremonial of the Court. Easy condition of the people.*) Things were so plentiful and cheap; and the people were so well to do, and enjoyed such ease, that the poorest married their daughters at a very early age. Nothing in the least degree unpleasant or disagreeable happened during his reign; how wonderful is it that, since his decease, the city of Delhi has been turned upside down. Those who survive will ever call to mind the reign of Firoz Shah, and exclaim, "The reign of Firoz will always dwell upon the memory, and can never be forgotten."

SIXTH MUKADDAMA—THE PLENTY AND CHEAPNESS IN THE REIGN OF FIROZ SHAH

By the blessing of God favourable seasons and abundance of the necessaries of life prevailed in the reign of Firoz Shah, not only in the capital, but throughout his dominions. During the whole forty years of his reign there was no appearance of scarcity, and the times were so happy that the people of Delhi forgot the reign of 'Alau-d din, although no more prosperous times than his had ever fallen to the lot of any Muhammadan sovereign. 'Alau-d din took such pains to keep down the price of the necessaries of life, that his exertions have found a record in famous histories. To the merchants he gave wealth, and placed before them goods in abundance, and gold without measure. He showed them every kingly favour, and fixed on them regular salaries.⁶⁰ In the reign of 'Alau-d din the necessities of life were abundant through excellent management,⁶¹

⁶⁰(“*Mawajib*,” salaries, allowances, or pensions).

⁶¹(“*Ba hikmat-i kibriyai*.” These words may be translated “by Divine wisdom,” but they are evidently

During the forty years of this sovereign's reign, cheapness prevailed. If occasionally prices rose from bad seasons, or from scarcity of rain, and reached one *tanka* per man, it was only for a short time. The good fortune of the Sultan prevailed, so that no dearth occurred. Such was the prosperity that, throughout the Doab, from the hill of Sakrudih and Kharla to Kol, not one village remained waste, even in name, nor one span of land uncultivated. In the Doab there were fifty-two *parganas* flourishing, and a similar (state of prosperity) prevailed elsewhere. The like prosperity prevailed in every *sief* (*ikta'a*) and district (*shikk*). Thus, in the district of Samana, there were four prosperous villages within one *kos*, and the inhabitants were happy and free from care. Such perfect happiness did the kingdom enjoy in those days.

Sultan Firoz had a great liking for the laying out of gardens, which he took great pains to embellish. He formed 1,200 gardens in the vicinity of Dehli. Such of them as were private property, or were religious endowments, after⁶² due investigation of the titles, he settled for with their owners. All gardens received abundant

used authentically to the "baghair koshish," or "absence of effort" on the part of Firoz).

⁶²Three of the MSS. have "baghair without;" while the fourth (East Indian Library, No. 1002) says "bad

proofs of his care,⁶³ and he restored thirty gardens which had been commenced by 'Alau-d din. In the neighbourhood of Salaura he made eighty gardens, and in Chitur forty-four gardens. In every garden there were white and black grapes, of seven (*named*) varieties. They were sold at the rate of one *jital* per *sir*. Of the various articles grown in the gardens, the government share of the produce amounted to 80,000 *tankas*, without taking into account the dues of the owners and gardeners.

The revenues of the Doab in this reign amounted to eighty *lacs* of *tankas*; and under the fostering care of this religious sovereign, the revenues of the territories of Dehli were six *krois* and eighty-five *lacs* of *tankas* (60,850,000). The Sultan, throughout his reign, in his great sagacity and prudence, endeavoured to circumscribe the extent of his dominions, but still the revenues amounted to the sum stated. All this large revenue was duly apportioned out; each Khan received a sum suitable to his exalted position, the *amirs* and *maliks* also obtained allowances according to their dignity, and the officials were paid enough to provide a comfortable living. The soldiers of the army received grants of land, enough to support them in comfort, and the irregulars (*ghair wajh*) received payment from the government treasury. Those soldiers who did not receive their pay in this manner were, according to necessity, supplied with assignments (*itlak*) upon the revenues. When these assignments of the soldiers (*wajh-dars*)

after' verification of titles. The latter is certainly most probable.

⁶³ The text is a little confused here. I have ventured upon one emendation in reading "az inayat bisiyari istimalat bi nihayat dar baghat kardeh" instead of "az ghail bisiyari", etc. etc. All the MSS. concur in the latter reading, although it seems to make nonsense.

arrived in the fiefs (*ikta'at*), the holders used to get about half of the total amount from the holders of the fiefs. It was the practice of certain persons in those days to buy up these assignments, which was an accommodation to both parties. They used to give one-third of the value for them in the city, and receive one half in the districts. The purchasers of these assignments carried on a traffic in them, and gaining a good profit, many of them got rich and made their fortunes.

Sultan Firoz, under Divine inspiration, spread all the revenues of his territories among his people. The various districts of the fiefs were also divided. Khan-i Jahan, the *wazir*, exclusive of the allowances for his retainers, friends, and sons, received a sum of thirteen *lacs* of *tankas*, or instead of it sundry fiefs and districts. Other chiefs were similarly provided for, according to their merit; some receiving eight *lacs* of *tankas*, others six *lacs*, and others four *lacs*. All the *khans* and *maliks* grew rich in his reign, and had vast stores of wealth, and jewels and diamonds of great value. When Malik Shahin Shahna, who was *naib-amir* of the *majlis-i khass*, died, and his effects were examined, a sum of fifty *lacs* of *tankas*, in cash, was taken out of his house, besides horses, valuables, and jewels in abundance. The enormous wealth left by 'Imadul Mulk, Bashir-i Sultani, was well known, and is well remembered. An account of it will be given in the fifth book of this work. The Sultan being thus beneficent, all men, high and low, were devoted to him.

SEVENTH MUKADDAMA—AFFAIRS OF THE ARMY

⁶⁴In the reign of Firoz Shah there was an army of 80,000 and sometimes 90,000 horse, exclusive of slaves.

⁶⁴Several passages of this chapter are very obscure, and seem to have been so considered by the copyists, for the MSS. show many discrepancies and omissions.

These men remained on service all the year. Horses of little value were often brought to the registry office (*diwan*) and were passed as serviceable. Stories about this often reached the ears of the Sultan, but he treated them as if he had never heard them. When the year drew to a close, and there remained yet many men who had not presented their horses, the clerks made a statement to his Majesty of the number of men that had not yet registered their horses. An order was then issued granting two months' grace for the production of the animals. When this term was passed a statement was again made of the men who had not produced them. In those days Malik Razi, a very venerable and righteous man, was deputy 'ariz, and administered the business of the army in a very proper manner. He used to point out to the Sultan that those men who had not brought in their horses were generally members of a troop, that their assignments (*ittak*) had been sent into the districts to realize the amount of their pay, and when that was effected they would come into the city. But before this could be accomplished the year passed by, and the poor men remained in a state of distress. Many of those who had failed were employed in other business (*masalih-i-and*). On hearing these kind representations the Sultan said, that if any man had been sent on business (*masalih*) by his commanding officer, and the year should end while he was absent, without his making any statement of the fact or presenting his horse, then if he were discharged, it would go ill with him, and mourning would fall upon his house. The Sultan also directed that substitutes should be found by the officers for all men who went away on business. The soldier himself who was absent might put in his appearance at the office of the chieftain in whose district he was; he might also produce his new horse there, so that all inconvenience might be spared the poor soldier. Thus the kindness of the Sultan for his people was such as

no father or brother could show. (*Story of the Sultan overhearing a soldier complain that he was unable to produce his horse at the muster.*) The Sultan told him to go and arrange matters with the clerks of the office, and he replied that his difficulty was that he had not got the necessary money. The Sultan inquired how much was wanted, and the soldier said that if he had a gold *tanka* he could get a certificate for his horse. He then ordered a *tanka* to be given to him. On receiving the coin the soldier went to the office, and placing it in the hands of the clerks, he got the certificate; he then returned to the Sultan and expressed his thanks.

EIGHTH MUKADDAMA—REPORT MADE TO THE SULTAN BY THE SON OF 'IMADU-L MULK, AND THE SULTAN'S APPROPRIATE REPLY

Malik Is'hak, (son of) 'Imadu-l Mulk, made a report to the Sultan that many of the soldiers were old and feeble, and unfit for duty. It was therefore expedient to replace them with young and efficient men. At this period 'Imadu-l Mulk was an old man, and Malik Is'hak discharged for him the duties of the *diwan-i 'arz*. When he made this report the Sultan observed it was a very proper one; when men grew old they should be set aside, and their places should be filled by their sons or strangers; no consideration whatever should be shown to these old men. "Now," said he, "Your father is an old man, first turn him out of his office, and then I will remove all the old men from the service of the State." Malik Is'hak was silenced.

The Sultan, in the kindness of his heart, then said: "If I remove the old and inefficient men, and appoint their sons or strangers in their stead, the poor old men will be greatly troubled, and will be reduced to distress in their old age. I do not approve of dismissing them, and putting their sons in their places. This is not a

time for encouraging disobedient children. With age the heart becomes desolate, and if the old men are turned off and their sons succeed them, these sons may prove undutiful and the hearts of their poor old fathers may break in their distress. Let an order therefore be promulgated that, when a soldier grows old and incapable, his son shall succeed him, as his deputy; if he has no son, his son-in-law, and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall represent him. The veteran may thus remain at home at ease, and the young ride forth in their strength."

Addressing Is'hak, he said, "Do not make such reports. The Almighty does not take away his servants' sustenance because they are old, how then can I, his creature, dismiss my aged servants?" All the actions and words of Sultan Firoz . . . were like unto this, and are worthy of a place in history. This humble author desires to write the Sultan's memoirs, but his gracious words and generous actions are so numerous that the author makes but slow progress towards his conclusion.

NINTH MUKADDAMA—TRANSPORT OF STONE OBELISKS

After Sultan Firoz returned from his expedition against Thatta, he often made excursions in the neighbourhood of Dehli. In this part of the country there were two stone columns. One was in the village of Tobra, in the district (*shikk*) of Salaura and Khizrabad, in the hills (*koh-payah*); the other in the vicinity of the town of Mirat. These columns had stood in those places from the days of the Pandavas, but had never attracted the attention of any of the kings who sat upon the throne of Dehli, till Sultan Firoz noticed them, and, with great exertion, brought them away. One was erected in the palace (*kushk*) at Firozabad, near the *Masjid-i jama'*, and was called the *Minara-i zarin*, or Golden Column, and the other was erected in the *Kushk-i Shikar*, or Hunting Palace, with great labour and skill. The author

has read in the works of good historians that these columns of stone had been the walking sticks of the accursed⁶⁵ Bhim, a man of great stature and size. The annals of the infidels record that this Bhim used to devour a thousand *mans* of food daily, and no one could compete with him. . . . In his days all this part of Hind was peopled with infidels, who were continually fighting and slaying each other. Bhim was one of five brothers, but he was the most powerful of them all. He was generally engaged in tending the herds of cattle belonging to his wicked brothers, and he was accustomed to use these two stone pillars as sticks to gather the cattle together. The size of the cattle in those days was in proportion to that of other creatures. These five brothers lived near Dehli, and when Bhim died these two columns were left standing as memorials of him. . . . When Firoz Shah first beheld these columns, he was filled with admiration, and resolved to remove them with great care as trophies to Dehli. . . .

Removal of the Minara-i zarin—Khazrabad is ninety *hos* from Dehli, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultan visited that district, and saw the column in the village of Tobra, he resolved to remove it to Dehli, and there erect it as a memorial to future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Sembal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for

⁶⁵One MS., to the credit of the writer, omits this execration.

were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a *gaz*. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent its sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as shores, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (*do sar-i an*), and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindi *halas*.⁶⁷ The height of the obelisk was thirty-two *gaz*; eight *gaz* was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four *gaz* was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hindi characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees⁶⁸ were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them as stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan king, named Sultan Firoz, etc., etc.

Erection of the other Obelisk in the Kushk-i sikhār—This obelisk stood in the vicinity of the town of Mirat, in the Doab, and was somewhat smaller than the *Minara-i zarin*. This also was removed by Sultan Firoz, with similar skill and labour, and was re-erected on a hill in the *Kushk-i Shikar* (amid great feasting and rejoicing). After the erection

⁶⁷ A spire, pinnacle, or cupola.

⁶⁸ *Saiyurgan*." Qy. Hind. "siyura."

of the pillar a large town sprang up, and the *khans* and *maliks* of the Court built houses there. . . . Every great king took care during his reign to set up some lasting memorial of his power. So Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamash raised the large pillar in the *Masjid-i jama'* at Old Dehli, the history of which is well known. . . .

In these days, in the year 801 H (1398 A.D.), Amir Timur, of Khurasan, has marched into India, and by the will of fate has subdued the empire of Hindustan. During his stay of some days in Dehli, he inspected all the monuments of former kings. . . . and among them these two obelisks, when he declared that in all the countries he had traversed he had never seen any monuments comparable to these. . . .

TENTH MUKADDAMA—HUNTING ERCURSIONS

. . . The author proposes to describe, in succession, how the various kinds of hunting were carried on.⁶⁹ The chase of the *gor-khar* or wild ass was pursued in the deserts between Dipalpur and Sarsuti . . . during the hot season, when these animals congregate. . . . The chase of the dear, *nil-gaos*, etc., was carried on principally in the neighbourhood of Badaun and Anwala,⁷⁰ where these animals were found in great numbers. This district was waste, but well furnished with water and grass. No other such waste was to be found near Dchli. . . . Orders were given for its being retained waste for hunting purposes, otherwise it would quickly have become peopled and cultivated under the prosperous and fostering government of Firoz. . . . If a lion, tiger, or wolf was surronnded, the Sultan used to kill it first, and then pursue the other animals.

⁶⁹ He tells us that he sometimes accompanied these expeditions, and he describes the mode of proceeding in great detail and with evident gusto.

⁷⁰ *Var. Anwala, Atwala.*

ELEVENTH MUKADDAMA—BUILDINGS ERECTED
BY FIROZ SHAH

Sultan Firoz excelled all his predecessors on the throne of Dehli in the erection of buildings, indeed no monarch of any country surpassed him. He built cities, forts, palaces, *bands*, mosques, and tombs, in great numbers. Of cities, there were Hisar Firozah and Fathabad, of which the author has given an account in a previous chapter. Firozabad, Firozabad Harni Khira, Tukhlikpur-i Kasna, Tughlikpur-i Muluk-i Kamut and Jaunpur, besides sundry other places and forts which he repaired and strengthened. His places (*kushk*) were those of Firoz, Nuzul, Mahandwari, Hisar Firozah, Fathabad, Jaunpur, Shikar, Band-i Fath Khan and Salaura. *Bands*: Fath Khan, Malja (into which he threw a body of fresh water, *ab-i zamzam*), Mahapalpur, Shukr Khan, Salaura, Wazirabad, and other similar strong and substantial *bands*. He also built monasteries, and inns for the accommodation of travellers. One hundred and twenty *khankahs* (monasteries) were built in Dehli and Firozabad for the accommodation of the people of God, in which travellers from all directions were receivable as guests, for three days. These one hundred and twenty buildings were full of guests on all the three hundred and sixty days of the year. Superintendents and officers of the *Sunni* persuasion were appointed to these *khankahs*, and the funds for their expenses were furnished from the public treasury. Malik Ghazi Shahna was the chief architect, and was very efficient; he held the gold staff (of office). 'Abdu-l Hakk, otherwise Jahir Sundhar (was deputy, and) held the golden axe. A clever and qualified superintendent was appointed over every class of artisans. . . . The Sultan also repaired the tombs of former kings. . . . It is a custom among kings while they are on the throne to appropriate villages and lands to religious men in order to provide means for the maintenance and repair of their tombs. But these endow-

ments had all been destroyed, and the grantees being divested of them, were reduced to distress. . . . The Sultan carefully repaired all the tombs and restored the lands and villages after bringing into cultivation such as had been laid waste. He also sought out and restored the superintendents and officers of these endowments who had been driven out of them. . . . The financial officer (*diwan-i wizarat*) examined the plan of every proposed building, and made provision so that the work should not be stopped for want of funds. The necessary money was issued from the royal treasury to the managers of the building, and then the work was begun. Thus it was that so many buildings of different kinds were erected in the reign of Firoz Shah.

TWELFTH MUKADDAMA—CONSIDERATION OF THE SULTAN FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

. . . The Sultan gave directions that when there were any workmen out of employ in the city they were to be sent to him. The *kotwal* used to call his district officers before him, and make enquiries of them. The most respectable people, out of shame, would not make their necessities known, and such gentlemen as these were brought to the *kotwal* by his officers. . . . When they were brought before the Sultan they were all placed in employ. Men of the pen were sent into the Government establishments (*kar-khana*), intelligent men of business were placed under the Khan-i Jahan, if any one expressed a desire to be made the slave (*banda*) of any particular nobleman, the Sultan himself used to send a letter of recommendation to that noble; and if one desired to be made the slave (*banda*) of an *amir* who held a fief (*ikta'*), a *farman* was sent to that *amir*, and the applicant proceeded thither. So, few persons remained without employment, and wherever one of the unemployed was sent, there he found a comfortable settlement. . . .

THIRTEENTH MUKADDAMA—THE ROYAL ESTABLISHMENTS
(KAR-KHANA) OF FIROZ SHAH

Sultan Firoz had thirty-six royal establishments, for which enormous supplies of articles were collected, . . . and the annual outlay on which was very large. Some of them were in receipt of a regular payment (*rayati*); others had no fixed income (*ghair-rayati*). Thus among the *raiyyati* establishments there were the elephant, horse, and camel stables, the kitchen, the butlery, the candle department, the dog-kennels, the water-cooling department and other similar establishments. These received a regular monthly allowance of one *lac* and sixty thousand *tankas* for their expenses, in addition to which there was the cost of their furniture,⁷¹ and the monthly salaries of the accountants⁷² and other officers, which also amounted to one *lac* and sixty thousand silver *tankas*. In the establishments which received no regular allowance, such as the wardrobe, the *'alam-khana* or insignia, the carpet stores, and the like, new goods were procured every year according to orders given. In the winter season six *lacs* of *tankas* were expended on the wardrobe, besides the out-

⁷¹ "Rakht", furniture, fittings, plant.

⁷² The copyists seem to have been puzzled with this chapter. They all, in the early part of it, write "*hashiyh*," "border of a garment," although it makes no sense; while the correct word appears to be "*hasbah*," "an accountant," which is used in similar passages subsequently. The reading of this passage in three of the MSS. is "*kharij mashaharah hashiyah wa ashab*," but the writer of the MS. 1002, of the East India Library, seeing the inconsistency of "*hashiya*" and "*ashab*," changes the later word into "*asbab*". In another part, one MS. instead, of *'alam-khana* has "*kham-khana*," "wine cellar;" and they all write "*sar-mahi*," which has been translated as being either an equivalent, or a mistake, for "*dar-mahi*," "monthly pay."

lay for the spring and summer. 80,000 *tankas* were expended on the '*alam-khana*' in the purchase of articles, besides the salaries of the accountants and the wages of the work-people. About two *lacs* of *tankas* were expended in the carpet department. Each of these establishments was under the charge of a *khan* or *malik* of high rank; thus the wardrobe was under the superintendence of Malik 'Ali and Malik Isma'il. . . .

Khwaja Abu-l Hasan Khan was charged with the general superintendence of all the *kar-khanas*, and through him all orders were issued to the respective establishments. There was a separate financial department (*diwan-khana*) for the *kar-khanas*, in which the general accounts were kept, but the accounts were rendered to and recorded in the exchequer (*diwan-i-wizarat*). So that the exchequer not only kept an account of the land revenues (*ikt'a*), but also of the expenditure of the *kar-khanas*. There were many accountants in the various *kar-khanas* who received monthly pay. . . . The royal stables were in five different places, . . . and, beside these, some thousands of horses grazed in the neighbourhood of Dehli, and were called *sih-panj*. The camel establishment was distinct, . . . and was in the district of Dublahan, where whole villages were appropriated to them and their keepers. . . . Their numbers increased every year, because the great feudatories, when they came to Court, brought camels of all sorts among their presents to the throne. . . .

In this reign there were audits of the accounts of the fiefs. . . . When the feudatory came up from his fief to Court, he was brought before the exchequer, where an audit of his accounts was held, and the results were reported to the throne. The balance was struck, and the chieftain was questioned, after which he was sent back at once to his fief. The managers (*muharrir*) of the *kar-khanas* also had to attend in the exchequer at the end

of every year, and present abstracts of their accounts, showing the balance of cash and the stores of goods. . . .

**FOURTEENTH MUKADDAMA—ON THE STRIKING OF THE COIN
CALLED SHASHGANI**

Sultan Firoz issued several varieties of coins. There was the gold *tanka* and the silver *tanka*. There were also distinct coins of the respective value of forty-eight, twenty-four, twelve, ten, eight, six, and one *jital*, known as the *chihal o hashtgani*,⁷³ *bist o panjgani*, *bist o chahargani*, *dwazdahgani*, *dahgani*, *hashtgani*, *shashgani* and *yak jital*. When the Sultan had issued these many varieties of coins, it occurred to his benevolent mind that a very poor person might buy an article in the market, and a half or a quarter *jital* might be due to him in change, but if the shopkeeper had no *dangs* (quarters) no change could be given, and the purchaser would incur a loss. If the purchaser demanded his due, how could he get it if there was no coin in which to pay it? Contentions might thus arise between buyer and seller. The Sultan accordingly gave directions for the issuing of half *jital*, called *adha*,⁷⁴ and a quarter *jital*, called *bikh*, so that the requirements of the indigent might be supplied.

When the Sultan ordered the coinage of the *shashgani* (or six-*jital*-piece), Kajar Shah was Director of the Mint, and he exerted himself to execute the orders of the Sultan. The new coin was accordingly struck during the reign of the Sultan, under the management of Kajar Shah. When it came into circulation two sharp-

⁷³ “*Gani*”, is an aggregate particle added to numerals. The meaning of “*gani*” is exactly expressed in the vulgar phrases “a fiver,” “a tenner.” Thomas, however, finds quite a different origin for the term. See *Jour. R.A.S.*,

⁷⁴ Hindi, “half”.

individuals made a representation to the Sultan that there was a deficiency of one grain of silver in the shashgani, and prayed for an investigation to test the truth of their statement. If it proved true the officials must take the consequences. The Sultan directed his ministers to make private enquiry into the truth of the statement. Khan-i Jahan Makbul was then alive; it was the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.), and he turned his attention and political experience to the matter. He observed that the coinage of kings was like an unmarried daughter, whom no one would seek after, however beautiful and charming she might be, if any asperison had, either rightly or wrongly, been cast upon her character. So also with royal coins, if any one honestly or falsely, from interested motives, alleged a deterioration of the coinage, the insinuation would spread, the coinage would obtain a bad name, and no one would take it. On hearing this his Majesty said, what course can we take to ascertain the rights of this matter? The minister replied that it would be very impolitic to publish the secret rules (of the manufacture of the coin); but to pass the matter over would be an error, and to hold an (open) investigation would be a great mistake. The Sultan insisted that the truth must be ascertained so that his doubts might be dispelled. The minister then recommended that the two informers should be placed in confinement, and that a careful examination should be made (in private). Accordingly the informers were confined in the prison of the Exchequer (*diwan-i wizarat*), and the next day was appointed for the business of testing.

Khan-i Jahan retired, and his Majesty went into his private apartments. The minister then sent secretly for Kajar Shah, and when he arrived⁷⁵ Khan-i Jahan

⁷⁵ The words from the beginning of the paragraph to this point are found in only one of the four MSS.

addressed him saying that his officials had been very covetous, and had greatly diminished the value of the coins. It was well known in the world that government clerks and servants (*kar-kun*) were given to speculation.⁷⁶ There was no intention of charging him (Kajar Shah) with participation in this delinquency, but he had better go and make enquiry among his subordinates. If the charge of deterioration proved to be true, he (Khan-i Jahan) would devise some adroit move⁷⁷ by which the *shashgani* coin should appear to the world as of full intrinsic value: Kajar Shah returned to his office and made the necessary investigation, when it was acknowledged that the *shashgani* was one grain of silver deficient. He accordingly made a full and true report to the Sultan. The minister thereupon recommended that some goldsmiths should be called in privately to test the truth of the matter, and Kajar Shah was directed to provide them. When Kajar Shah received this instruction he proceeded to the goldsmiths and communicated to them what he had heard from the minister; telling them that they must contrive to show that matters were all right and proper. The goldsmiths replied that when they should be called to make the assay in the presence of the Sultan they would have to go naked, excepting only the barest clothing required by decency; but that if a few grains of silver could be smuggled into the palace they would throw it into the crucible. Kajar Shah then

(No. 1002 East India Library), although they are necessary to the sense.

⁷⁶ The translation here follows the general sense of the context rather than the actual word used, which is a very doubtful one. One MS. has "taufirat", another "tawafirat", the third seems to agree with this as it writes "tawafirat". The fourth has "afrat".

⁷⁷ The game of chess is here used to express the speaker's meaning.

proceeded to the charcoal dealers, and after making known his wishes they agreed to scoop out a piece of charcoal, to introduce a few grains of silver, and to seal up the aperture with wax. Next day the Sultan took his seat in a private apartment with his minister. Kajar Shah and his accusers were then called in. The goldsmiths also were brought in wearing the most scant clothing, and the charcoal dealers brought the charcoal and placed it before the goldsmiths. Several *shashgani* pieces were placed in a crucible, which the goldsmiths put upon the fire. The Sultan entered into conversation with his minister, and while he was so engaged, the workmen adroitly threw into the melting pot the piece of charcoal which contained the silver. After a while the crucible was taken off the fire and allowed to cool. It was then taken before the Sultan and (the contents were) weighed, when the weight corresponded to the estimate, and the *shashgani* proving to be of full standard value, the informers were declared to be false accusers. The Sultan presented Kajar Shah with a robe, and bestowed on him other marks of favour. Khan-i Jahan then said that as the coin had come triumphant out of the test, Kajar Shah should be mounted on an elephant and paraded round the city, so that all men might understand that the *shashgani* was of full value, and not to be charged with impurity. Kajar Shah was accordingly carried through the city in triumph, and the two informers, being shown to be false, were banished. After a while the minister caused Kajar Shah to be dismissed upon other charge. If there were no such wise ministers the affairs of States would fall into confusion, and the animadversions of the high and low would be cast upon the most excellent institutions.

FIFTEENTH MUKADDAMA—ESTABLISHMENT OF A HOUSE OF CHARITY AND A HOSPITAL

Sultan Firoz founded an establishment (*diwan-i khairat*)

for the promotion of marriages. Many needy Musulmans were distressed at having marriageable daughters, for whom they could provide no marriage portion. . . . Notice was given that any man having a marriageable daughter might apply at the *diwan-i khairat* and state his case and his poverty to the officers of that establishment, . . . who, after due enquiry, might fix an allowance of fifty *tankas* for the first class of recipients, thirty for the second, and twenty-five for the third. . . . People, small and great, flocked to the city from all parts of the country, and received grants for purchasing housekeeping requisites for their daughters. . . .

*The Shifa-khana, or Hospital, also called,
Sihhat-khana. . . .*

The Sultan, in his great kindness and humanity, established a hospital for the relief of the sick and afflicted, whether natives (*ashna*) or strangers. Able physicians and doctors were appointed to superintend it, and provision was made for the supply of medicines. The poor afflicted went to the hospital and stated their cases. The doctors duly considered and applied their skill to the restoration of health. Medicines, food, and drinks were supplied at the expense of the treasury. . . .

When the Sultan founded these institutions for the public benefit he settled some rich and well cultivated villages upon them, to provide for their expenses. Allowances were also granted to learned men and Kuran readers. The author has understood from the best authority that the sum of thirty-six *lacs* of *tankas* out of revenues of the kingdom were appropriated to the payment of wages (*idrar*), and that 4,200 afflicted persons received these monthly allowances. . . .

SIXTEENTH MUKADDAMA—FESTIVALS

Sultan Firoz used to keep the '*ids*', the *Shab-i barat*, and the *Nau-roz* (New Years Day) as public festivals. . . .

SEVENTEENTH MUKADDAMA—ENGAGEMENT OF MUSICIANS AT
THE PALACE ON FRIDAY, AFTER PRAYERS

Every Friday, after public service, parties of musicians from the four cities,⁷⁸ athletes, and story-tellers, amounting in all to about three thousand persons, used to attend at the palace.

EIGHTEENTH MUKADDAMA—INVENTIONS OR NEW
CONTRIVANCES

The *Tas-i Ghariyal* has already been described in the eighteenth *Mukaddama* of the Third Book, etc., etc.

KISM V—TONSURE OF FIROZ SHAH. THE PRINCE FATH KHAN. THE GREAT KHANS AND MALIKS. CLOSE OF THE REIGN

First Mukaddama.—The Tonsure of Firoz Shah.

The Sultan showed great respect to Shaikhul Islam 'Alau-d din and Shaikhul Islam Faridu-d din Ajodhani. As long as he lived he paid much attention to the elders of religion, and towards the end of his reign he himself became a shaveling (*mahluk*),⁷⁹ . . . In the year 776 H. (1374 A.D.), the Sultan went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi at Baharaich. He stayed there some time, and one night the spirit of Salar Mas'ud appeared to him in a dream,⁸⁰ and stroked his own

⁷⁸ The four towns or divisions of Dehli.

⁷⁹ Three of the four MSS. write "makhluk, created," instead of "mahluk, shaven," although there are passages which expressly mention the removal of the hair from the Sultan's head. Thomas's MS. has the word "mahluk" correct.

⁸⁰ The ghost of Mas'ud must apparently have attained a notoriety for revisiting the mortal world, and so the author of the "Mir-at-i Mas'udi" only adopted a popular belief in asserting that he wrote his book under the inspiration of that spirit.

beard with his hand, thereby intimating to the Sultan that age was prevailing over him, and that he must prepare for death. When he returned from the visit, many of the *khans* and *amirs*, out of love for the Sultan, performed the tonsure.

SECOND MUKADDAMA—SUPPRESSION OF UNLAWFUL PRACTICES.

Abuses which had pressed upon the people in revenue matters, mal-practices in the administration of public business, and breaches of the Holy Law were all forbidden. One of these (last) was the painting of portraits in the private apartments of kings. It was held right among monarchs to have painted chambers to gratify their eyes in retirement, but Firoz Shah, in his fear of God, prohibited the painting of portraits as contrary to the Law, and directed that garden scenes should be painted instead.

Former kings used to have ornaments of brass and copper, silver and gold, in opposition to the Law; these he interdicted. They had also used plates and drinking vessels of metal; these also were forbidden, and he used only stone and earthenware table furniture. Pictures on banners and ensigns were also forbidden.

Learned and holy men were also present in the Court of the Sultan, and whatever they objected to as being unlawful in the collection of taxes he forbade, even though it diminished the revenue. They brought to the notice of His Majesty several abuses which had sprung up in former reigns, and among them was that of *dangana*. Merchandise that had paid the regular *zakat*, after being passed, was carried off to the *zariba*, again weighed, and an impost of one *dang* per *tanka* levied. A large sum was thus raised. Merchants, both natives and strangers, were sorely vexed with the proceedings at the *dangana* office, for they were subjected to annoyances and delays by the officials, and were quite helpless.

In the city of Dehli there was an unlawful impost called *mustaghall*—a ground rent levied from houses and shops, which produced annually 150,000 *tankas*. It was also called *kira-zamin*, or ground rent. There was another unlawful tax called *jazari*, levied from butchers, at the rate of twelve *jitals* for every ox they killed, and this brought a considerable sum to the treasury. The *Rozi* was an impost upon traders. When traders, native or foreign, brought grain, salt, sugar, or other goods into Dehli, laden upon bullocks,⁸¹ the customs officers used to seize these animals for a day and send them to old Dehli. In this old city there were seven fortifications (*hisar*), built by famous sovereigns; but these buildings were old and falling to decay, and they furnished an inexhaustible supply of bricks. The trader's animals were sent to this place for a day (*roz*) by the government officials, and had to convey one load of bricks from thence to Firozabad. No merchant who came to Dehli was allowed to depart until his animals had rendered this service. This made traders reluctant to come to the city, and, consequently, grain and salt began to grow dear.

The facts of these various imposts were brought to the knowledge of his Majesty and were fully explained. The case of a trader was reported who had brought in three *mans* of cotton, which was carried to the *dangana zariba* and detained. The officials would not take three *dangs* proffered in payment, nor would they let it pass. While it was thus detained it caught fire and was burnt. Such was the hardship on traders. The *rozi* also was so oppressive that traders kept away from the city, and commodities rose in price. The *mustaghall*, or ground rent, was levied from all classes;—from widows and the very poorest people, so that it bore very hardly upon them.

⁸¹"*Sutur*," any beast of burden.

The Sultan, in his benevolence, . . . called to his presence the elders and learned men, the magistrates and revenue officers, and examined them upon these subjects. The doctors and elders all gave their opinion, which they supported by quotations from books of authority, that these imposts were opposed to the Law. So the Sultan ordered the abolition of them all. Kazi Nasrullah, who was the *Kazi* of the army, was mounted on an elephant, and was sent out to read publicly the royal proclamation of abolition. . . . The author of this work, who was then under Mur Khan, was present and heard this proclamation read. The numbers of people who crowded to hear it exceeded all computation. . . . The author has been informed that the loss incurred by the abolition of these imposts amounted to thirty *lacs* of *tankas*, per annum. This abolition was proclaimed in 777 H. (1375 A.D.).

THIRD MUKADDAMA—BURNING OF A BRAHMAN BEFORE THE ROYAL PALACE

A report was brought to the Sultan that there was in Dehli an old Brahman (*zunar dar*), who persisted in publicly performing the worship of idols in his house; and that the people of the city, both Musulmans and Hindus, used to resort to his house to worship the idol. This Brahman had constructed a wooden tablet (*muhruk*), which was covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects. On days appointed, the infidels went to his house and worshipped the idol, without the fact becoming known to the public officers. The Sultan was informed that this Brahman had perverted Muhammadan women, and had led them to become infidels. An order was accordingly given that the Brahman, with his tablet, should be brought into the presence of the Sultan at Firozabad. The judges and doctors and elders and lawyers were summoned, and the case of the Brahman was submitted for their opinion.

Their reply was that the provisions of the Law were clear: the Brahman must either become a Mussulman or be burned. The true faith was declared to the Brahman, and the right course pointed out, but he refused to accept it. Orders were given for raising a pile of faggots before the door of the *darbar*. The Brahman was tied hand and foot and cast into it; the tablet was thrown on the top and the pile was lighted. The writer of this book was present at the *darbar* and witnessed the execution. The tablet of the Brahman was lighted in two places, at his head and at his feet; the wood was dry, and the fire first reached his feet, and drew from him a cry, but the flames quickly enveloped his head and consumed him. Behold the Sultan's strict adherence to law and rectitude, how he would not deviate in the least from its decrees.

VARCITI MRKANDYA—JIZYA OR THE JIZYA FROM THE BRAHMANS

.... The *Jizya*, or poll tax, had never been levied from Brahmins; they had been held excused, in former reigns. But the Sultan convened a meeting of the learned men and elders, and suggested to them that an error had been committed in holding Brahmins exempt from the tax, and that the revenue officers had been remiss in their duty. The Brahmins were the very keys of the chamber of idolatry, and the infidels were dependent on them. They ought therefore to be taxed first. The learned lawyers gave it as their opinion that the Brahmins ought to be taxed. The Brahmins of all the four cities then assembled and went to the *Kushk-i-Shikar*, where the Sultan was engaged in building, and represented that the Brahmins had never before been called upon to pay the *Jizya*, and they wanted to know why they were now subjected to the indignity of having to pay it. They were determined to collect wood and to burn themselves under the walls of the palace rather

than pay the tax. When these pleasant words (*kalimat i pur naghmat*) were reported to the Sultan, he replied that they might burn and destroy themselves at once, for they would not escape from the payment. He could not overlook the matter as former kings had done, and they must give up all hope of it. The Brahmins remained fasting for several days at the palace until they were on the point of death. They clearly perceived that the Sultan did not intend to spare them. The Hindus of the city then assembled and told the Brahmins that it was not right to kill themselves on account of the *Jizya*, and that they would undertake to pay it for them. In Dehli, the *Jizya* was of three kinds: 1st class, Forty *tankas*; 2nd class, Twenty *tankas*; 3rd class, Ten *tankas*. When the Brahmins found their case was hopeless, they went to the Sultan and begged him in his mercy to reduce the amount they would have to pay, and he accordingly assessed it at ten *tankas* and fifty *jitals*⁸² for each individual.

FIFTH MUKADDAMA—ACCOUNT OF TWO GAINTS AND A DWARF;
ALSO OF TWO BEARDED WOMEN (AND OTHER WONDERS OF
THE REIGN)

SIXTH MUKADDAMA—MEMOIR OF THE KNAN-I 'AZAM TATAR
KHAN

Tatar Khan was of Turki origin. . . . In the reign of Ghiyasu-d din Tughlik Ghazi, a king of Khurasan made an attack upon Multan and Dipalpur, and was ravaging and wasting that country. He had a wife, a very handsome woman, from whom he could not bear to be absent, and so he took her with him on his campaign. She was pregnant, and was delivered of a child in the neighbourhood of Multan and Dipalpur. On that same night, Sultan Tughlik made an attack upon the army of her husband, which he defeated and put to flight.

⁸²“*dar nafiri dihgan tankah panjangani bastanand.*”

In the confusion the child was left in its cradle . . . and was found by the soldiers of Sultan Tughlik. The Sultan was pleased with the child, brought him up like a son, and gave him the name of Fatar Malik. He was young when that Sultan died, but grew up in the reign of Sultan Muhammad, and became distinguished for his courage, intrepidity, and military talents. . . . In the reign of Firoz Shah he obtained the title of Tatar Khan (*and many marks of distinction*). . . . He collected a great number of commentaries on the Kurān, and having secured the assistance of a number of learned men. . . . he produced the commentary which he called the *Tafsīr-i-Tatar Khani*. He also compiled a law book, called the *Fatwā-i-Tatar Khani*. . . . He died some years after the accession of Firoz Shah.

SEVENTH MUKADDAMA—MEMOIR OF KHANI JAHAN

The name of Khani Jahan was Makbul. In his state of ignorance (*i.e.* when he was a Hindu) he was called Kāmī. He was a native of Telengana, and a man of high position in his tribe, and he had attracted the favour of the *Rai* of that country. When Sultan Muhammad sent the *Rai* of Telengana to Dehli, the *Rai* died upon the road. Kāmī then presented himself to Sultan Muhammad, and made his profession of the Muhammadan faith. On being admitted to the honour of the faith, the Sultan gave him the name of Makbul, and bestowed on him many marks of his favour. Sultan Muhammad perceived in him many marks of sagacity and intelligence, so he made him deputy-wazir of Dehli, when he used to seal and place his signature on *parwanas* as follows. "Makbul, slave of Muhammad Tughlik." Although he had no knowledge of reading and writing, he was a man of great common sense, acumen and intelligence, and was an ornament to the Court. In the reign of Sultan Muhammad he received the title of Kiwan-i-Mulk, and a grant of the sief of

Multan. This was before he became deputy-wazir. In those days Khwaja-i Jahan was *wazir* of Sultan Muhammad. . . . When this Sultan died, and Sultan Firoz attained the throne, Khwaja-i Jahan was desirous of giving the crown to a son of Sultan Muhammad, and opposed Sultan Firoz, as has been related in another part of this work. Khwaja-i Jahan and Kiwamu-l Mulk were both in Dehli at the time, and when Firoz Shah approached the city, Kiwamu-l Mulk went out to meet him, and helped him to get possession of the city. He was then made *wazir* (*and received the title of Khan-i Jahan*). . . . When the Sultan departed from Dehli on affairs of State, or for hunting, he used to leave Khan-i Jahan as his deputy, who, during his absence, rode about Dehli with a great display of power, . . . having his sons, grandsons, sons-in-law, and slaves in his train. . . . During the absence of the Sultan, the city was thus kept in subjection. After the death of the Khan, the Sultan ceased from his excursions, and only went out riding in the neighbourhood of the capital.

Khan-i-Jahan had a great number of children. He was much devoted to the pleasures of the harem, and sought eagerly for pretty handmaids. It is reported that he had two thousand women of Rum and Chin in his harem, where he spent much of his time notwithstanding his onerous official duties. He had numerous sons, and the Sultan made a provision that every son born to him should from his birth receive an allowance (*nan*) of 11,000 *tankas* for his maintenance, he also provided that every daughter on her marriage should receive an allowance of 15,000 *tankas*. His sons and sons-in-law all wore caps and white waist-bands, and his magnificence reached to such a pitch, that the Sultan was often heard to say that Khan-i Jahan was the grand and magnificent king of Dehli.

'Ainu-l Mulk was also called 'Ain Mahru. . . . He was a wise, accomplished, excellent, clever man, full of

sound judgment and intelligence, . . . but during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlik his brothers had been guilty of some improper and unworthy action, through which he had properly been sent into disgrace, . . . One day Muhammad Tughlik held a general Court, . . . when he perceived 'Ainu-l Mulk, and, pointing to him, said, that the misconduct of his brothers had deprived the State of his services, and the Sultan gave orders that he should be re-instated in his position at Court. 'Ainu-l Mulk was a clever and accomplished man of the highest ability. He wrote some excellent books in the reigns of Muhammad Tughlik and Firoz Shah. One of them is the '*Ainu-l Mulki*, a popular and approved work. . . . In the reign of Firoz Shah he was appointed to the office of *Ishrafu-l Mamalik*, and entered actively upon his duties in the minister's office. But a dispute arose between him and the minister . . . which was carried to extremities. . . . The contention reached such a height that Khan-i Jahan often uttered most bitter personal remarks in the presence of 'Ainu-l Mulk, and the latter retorted in the same strain; there was no delicacy between them. . . . Khan-i Jahan told the Sultan that he could no longer stay in the country, and therefore he wished to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. . . . At length the Sultan said to Khan-i Jahan. "I have given to you the office of *Diwan-i wazarat*, all officers are under you, dismiss whom you please and give the office of *Ishrafu-l mamalik* to another." The *wazir* went home rejoiced, . . . and sent 'Ainu-l Mulk his dismissal. When 'Ainu-l Mulk received his discharge he did not go to the palace for three days, but on the third day he went and paid his respects to the sovereign. The Sultan called him near, and observed that he world is ruined by dissensions, . . . and as a quarrel had arisen between Khan-i Jahan and him, there was granted to him the fiefs of Multan, Bhakkar, an Siwistan, whither he had better repair and look after their affairs. But 'Ainu-l

Mulk replied, that if he managed these territories he would not render his accounts to the office of the *wazir*, but that he would submit them to the Sultan himself. The Sultan accordingly ordered that the fief of Multan should be removed from the jurisdiction of the minister, and told 'Ainu-l Mulk that he would himself receive his reports⁸² and that his books would be sufficient. Upon these conditions 'Ainu-l Mulk accepted the fiefs. The writer has been informed that when 'Ainu-l Mulk was thus dismissed, the chief servants met to consider the matter, and they observed that he had been disgraced through the influence of the minister, and that the same might happen to them to-morrow. They therefore endeavoured to set the Sultan against Khan-i Jahan. . . . 'Ainu-l Mulk had started for Multan, and had proceeded about twentyfour *kos*, when he received an order from the Sultan directing him to leave all his train and return quickly. He did so with alacrity, and when he arrived in Dehli, the Sultan gave him a private audience, when the officers who were present observed that it was not right to give such predominance to Khan-i Jahan, and that it would be well to beware of him. The Sultan looked towards 'Ainu-l Mulk who said that . . . Khan-i Jahan was a wise and experienced minister, and that his removal would be a calamity to the State. These sentiments greatly pleased the Sultan. He afterwards consulted with him and asked him what ought to be done. He replied that the . . . *wazir* should be sent for, and that all fear and apprehension should be removed from his mind. . . . The minister was accordingly summoned, and when the officers who were sent to call him informed him of what had passed he was greatly amazed. . . . When the Sultan saw he was

⁸²This seems to be the meaning of the sentence, but the exact words are "all that you may happen to do in the fief of Multan shall be listened to."

disturbed in mind he reassured him, clothed him with a splendid robe and sent him away with many marks of favour. As the minister retired, radiant and happy, he embraced 'Ainu-l Mulk and said, "I had never thought that you were so friendly towards me. I have been wrong and ungracious to you." 'Ainu-l Mulk replied that he hoped that all misgiving would be removed from the mind of the minister, he had spoken warmly for him, notwithstanding their old feud, and all that he had said had been for the good of the throne of Sultan Firoz. Khan-i Jahan strongly wished to take 'Ainu-l Mulk home with him but he declined.

(*Order of Precedence at Court*). Khan-i Jahan lived to a ripe old age, till he was more than eighty years old, and all his limbs had become very feeble. . . . He died in the year 770 H. (1368 A.D.), in the eighteenth year of the reign of Firoz Shah. When he died all Dehli went into mourning, and crowded to the mosques and tombs. (*Eulogy of the Khan*) The Sultan was greatly affected at his death, and wept bitterly; and he resolved in his mind that he would never more ride forth on any great enterprize. . . .

When Khan-i Jahan held the sief of Multan, he had a son born to him. . . . He wrote to acquaint Sultan Muhammad Shah of the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Junan Shah. This was he who was afterwards known as Khan-i Jahan, son of Khan-i Jahan. . . . After the death of his father, the Sultan promoted him to the office of *wazir*, and bestowed on him this title. . . . He acted as minister under Firoz Shah for twenty years, . . . and the Sultan committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge. But towards the end of the reign of Firoz Shah, . . . enmity broke out between the minister and Prince Muhammad Khan, afterwards Sultan Muhammad Shah. Their dissensions were the cause of great trouble and disaster to the country; old and young, small and great, suffered,

and the country at length fell a prey to the inroads of the Mughals. The author has entered fully into the details of this quarrel in his memoir of Sultan Muhammad bin Firoz.

EIGHTH MUKADDAMA—MEMOIR OF MAJIK NABI BAR-BAK

Ninth Mukaddama—Memoir of Malik-i Muluku-sh Sharf, 'Imadu-l Mulk, Bashir-i Sultani.

. . . Some say that Sipah-salar Rajab, the father of Sultan Firoz received 'Imadu-l Mulk as part of his wife's dower, others that he purchased him with the price of some of his wife's jewels, and others assert that when Sultan Firoz, after his accession, married a daughter of Sultan Kutbu-d din, this lady gave her slave 'Imadu-l Mulk to her husband. . . . The great wealth of 'Imadu-l Mulk has already been spoken of; it amounted to *krors*. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2,500 *tankas* were expended in the purchase of the material, the cost of each bag being four *jitals*. . . . When the accounts were brought before 'Imadu-l Mulk he objected to this extravagant outlay for bags, and directed that pits should be dug in the ground, and the money placed therein like as corn is stored. . . . There were many rich *khans* and *maliks* in the time of Firoz Shah, but no one was so rich as he; indeed there never had been one so rich in any reign or in any kingdom. It is said that he amassed thirteen *krors* (of *tankas*) but he was avid in the acquisition of more. He held the sief of Rapri and looked very vigilantly after it. The clerks of the Exchequer (*diwan-i wazarat*) were afraid of him, and they refrained from calling him to account, so that in the course of years a large balance was due by him. This fact became known to the Sultan. . . . When 'Imadu-l Mulk heard about the enquiry he drew up a statement of his wealth which he himself presented to the Sultan, who read it without making any observation and returned it. . . . One day

'Imadu-l Mulk brought a *kror* (of *tankas*) in bags to Court, and when the Sultan cried out "Bashir, what is this?" he replied that it was a small contribution (*chize 'alufah*) for the use of the servants of the court. The Sultan declined to take it, but 'Imadu-l Mulk urged its acceptance. At length the Sultan said, "Bashir is my property, and so his property is mine. But this *kror* must not be placed in the public treasury, because that is the depository of the public revenue. Let it therefore be deposited with Makbul the perfumer (*'itr-dar*). Whenever Khan-i Jahan required money for fitting out the equipage of the Sultan, he used to give notice to the Sultan, and this *kror* in the hands of Makbul was drawn upon for the necessary expenses.⁸⁴ But as money was continually coming in from ('Imadu-l Mulk's) fief, which was handed over to Makbul the perfumer, the *kror* (of *tankas*), so long as the Sultan lived was not diminished. . . . When 'Imadu-l Mulk died the Sultan decided that the wealth did not belong to the deceased. There were twelve *kors*, of which the Sultan took nine, leaving three for Malik Is'hak.

Tenth Mukaddama—Memoir of Malik Saiyilu-l Hujjab.

Eleventh Mukaddama—Memoir of Malik Shamsu-d din Aburja, Mustaufi-mamalik.

Twelfth Mukaddama—Memoir of Shamsu-d din Damaghani.

Thirteenth Mukaddama—Destruction of a band of murderers by Firoz Shah.

Fourteenth Mukaddama—Attention shown to three subjects by Firoz Shah towards the end of his life, viz.,

⁸⁴Sir H. Elliot's and Thomas' MSS. here come to an abrupt termination, having been evidently copied, as before observed, from the same (imperfect) original.

1. Liberation of prisoners. 2. Restoration of mosques. 3. Redressing the wrongs of the oppressed.

Fifteenth Mukaddama—The last farewell of Saiyid Jalalu-d din.⁸⁵

Sixteenth Mukaddama—Repentance of Firoz Shah.

Seventeenth Mukaddama—Resignation (taslim kardan) of Firoz Shah to Khan-i Jahan.

Eighteenth Mukaddama—Account of the charms (alival i sihr) performed for Firoz Shah.

⁸⁵The best MS. terminates, abruptly in this chapter. The headings of the remaining three chapters are taken from the Preface.

FUTUHAT-I FIROZ SHAHI
OF
SULTAN FIROZ SHAH

(This little work, the production of the Sultan Firoz Shah, contains a brief summary of the *res gestæ* of his reign, or, as he designates them, his "Victories." Sir H. Elliot was unable to obtain a copy of it, but considered its recovery very desirable, "as everything relating to the noble character of Firoz is calculated to excite attention. Colonel Lees also speaks of it, but he had never seen it, and was not well informed as to its extent.¹ Thomas was more fortunate, for he possesses a copy which purports to have been written in 1139 H. (1726 A.D.), but it is quite modern; the date therefore must be that of the MS. from which it was copied. The work is a mere brochure of thirty-two pages, and the editor has translated the whole of it, with the exception of a few lines in the preface laudatory of the prophet. It exhibits the humane and generous spirit of Firoz in a very pleasing unostentatious light, recording his earnest endeavours to discharge the duties of his station with clemency, and to act up to the teaching of his religion with reverence and earnestness.)

EXTRACTS

(Praises without end, and infinite thanks to that merciful Creator who gave to me his poor abject creature Firoz, son of Rajab, the slave of Muhammad Shah son of Tughlik Shah, His impulse for the maintenance of the laws of His religion, for the repression of heresy, the prevention of crime, and the prohibition of things

¹*Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vo. IV.. New Series,*
p. 446. See also Briggs' *Ferishta*, I., 462.

forbidden; who gave me also a disposition for discharging my lawful duties and my moral obligations. . . . My desire is that, to the best of my human power, I should recount and pay my thanks for the many blessings He has bestowed upon me, so that I may be found among the number of His grateful servants. First I would praise Him because when irreligion and sins opposed to the Law prevailed in Hindustan, and mens' habits and dispositions were inclined towards them, and were averse to the restraints of religion, He inspired me, His humble servant, with an earnest desire to repress irreligion and wickedness, so that I was able to labour diligently until with His blessing the vanities of the world, and things repugnant to religion, were set aside, and the true was distinguished from the false.

✓1. In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Musulmans had been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musulmans, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men.

Thanks for God's mercies I will show
By causing man nor pain nor woe."

All these things were practised that fear and dread might fall upon the hearts of men, and that the regulations of government might be duly maintained.

"Wouldst thou see thy land at rest?
Keep the (headman's) sword at rest!"

Through the mercy which God has shown to me these

severities and terrors have been exchanged for tenderness, kindness, and mercy. Fear and respect have thus taken firmer hold of the hearts of men, and there has been no need of executions, scourgings, tortures, or terrors. But this blessed result is altogether due to the mercy and favour of the Creator.

*"They power is great, then mercy show;
Pardon than vengeance better know.
Gretaness to thee from Heaven descends;
Proneness to wrath thy God offends.
Withhold thine hand, some respite give,
Nor kill the man thou might'st forgive;
Let not his body lifeless fall,
His spirit thou can'st ne'er recall.
See how the mother's tender breast
Is by her child's distress opprest.
Boast not the hundreds thou hast slain,
To save one life's a nobler aim.
Thou shrinkest from the lancet's smart,
Keep then thy sword from neck and heart.
Seek not to shed a victim's gore,
The life-stream stopped will flow no more.
From deeds of blood thy hand restrain,
Thy blood the assassin's blood may stain.
That leader praise whose generous heart,
Disdains with captives' lives to sport.
From the well of fate he life will draw
Who shields the wretch from tyrants' law.
A vanquished foe should claim thy care,
Then pity shows—in mercy sparel"*

By God's help I determined that the lives (*khun*) of Muslims and true believers should be in perfect immunity; and whoever transgressed the Law should receive the punishment prescribed by the book and the decrees of judges.)

2. The next matter, which by God's help I accomplished, was the repetition of the names and titles of former sovereigns which had been omitted from the prayers on Sabbaths and Feasts. The names of those sovereigns of Islam, under those happy fortune and favour infidel countries had been conquered, whose banners had waved over many a land, under whom mosques and pulpits had been built and exalted, the fragrant creed had been extended, and the people of Islam had waxen strong and warlike, the names of these men had fallen into neglect and oblivion. So I decreed that according to established custom their names and titles should be rehearsed in the *khutba* an aspirations offered for the remission of their sins.

*"Would'st thou enjoy a lasting fame?
Hide not the merits of an honoured name!"*

3. In former reigns they used to collect frivolous, unlawful, and unjust cesses at the public treasury, such as the *Mandavi bark*, *dalalat-i bazarha*, *jarari*, *amiri-tarab*, *gul-faroshi*, *jariba-i tambol*, *changi-ghala*, *kitabi*, *bilgari*, *mahi-faroshi*, *sabunkari*, *risman faroshi*, *raughan-kari*, *nukhud-biryani*, *tah-bazari*, *jhaba*, *kimar-khana*, *dad-banki*, *kotwali*, *ihtisabi*, *karhi*, *charai*, *musadarat*. I had all these abolished and removed from the accounts, and any revenue collector who exacted these cesses from the people was to be brought to punishment for his offence.

*"Better a people's weal than treasures vast
Better an empty chest than hearts downcast."*

The money received in the public treasury should be derived from sources recognized by the Scared Law, and approved by books of authority. First the *kharaj* or tenth from cultivated lands, then the *zakat* or alms, then the *jizya* or poll tax on Hindus and other separatists, then the *khams* or fifth of the spoil and of (the produce

of) mines. No tax unauthorized by the declarations of the book should be received in the public treasury.

4 Before my time it was the rule and practice that in repressing infidelity four-fifths of the spoil was appropriated to the public treasury and one-fifth was given to the captors; but the rule of the Law is that one-fifth should be taken by the State, and four-fifths allotted to the captors. The provisions of the Law had thus been entirely subverted. As the Law was thus set at nought, every man looked upon himself as the lawful owner of the spoil he captured. Hence, children borne by female captives were the offspring of fornication. To prevent these irregularities I decreed that one-fifth (of the spoil) should be taken by the State, and four-fifths given to the captors.

5 The sect of *Shi'as* also called *Rawafiz*, had endeavoured to make proselytes. They wrote treatises and books, and gave instruction and lectures upon the tenets of their sect, and traduced and reviled the first chiefs of our religion (on whom be the peace of God!). I seized them all and I convicted them of their errors and perversions. On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (*siyasat*), and the rest I visited with censure (*tazir*) and threats (*tahdib*) of public punishment (*tashhir-i zijr*). Their books I burnt in public, and so by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed.

6. There was a sect of heretics (*mulhid*), and sectarians (*abahtiyān*), who laboured to seduce the people into heresy and schism. They met by night at an appointed time and place, both friends and strangers. Wine was served, and they said that this was their religious worship. They brought their wives, mothers, and daughters to these meetings. The men threw themselves on the ground as if in worship, and each man had intercourse with the woman whose garment he caught. I cut off the heads of the elders of this sect, and imprisoned

and banished the rest, so that their abominable practices were put an end to.

7. There was a sect which wore the garments of atheism, and having thrown off all restraint, led men astray. The name of their chief was Ahmad Bahari. He dwelt in the city, and a party of his followers called him a God. They brought these people before me in bonds and chains, and informed me that he presumptuously made himself a prophet, and said that there could be none of the grace of prophecy in any one who had not been admitted into his following. One of his disciples affirmed that a God had appeared in Dehli, that is, Ahmad Bahari. When these facts were proved against them, I ordered them both to be confined and punished with chains. I admonished the others to repent and reform, and I banished them to different cities to put a stop to the influence of this wretched sect.

8. There was in Dehli a man named Ruknu-d-din, who was called Mahdi, because he affirmed himself to be the Imman Mahdi who is to appear in the latter days, and to be possessed of knowledge by inspiration. He said that he had not read or studied under anyone, and that he knew the names of all things, a knowledge which no prophet had acquired since Adam. He pretended that the mysteries of the science of letters (*'ilm-l huruf*) had been revealed to him in a way never made known to any other man, and that he had written books upon the subject. He led people astray into mystic practices, and perverted ideas by maintaining that he was Ruknu-d din, the prophet of God. The elders brought the facts of this case to my attention, and gave evidence of what they heard him say. When he was brought before me I investigated the charges of error and perversion brought against him, and he was convicted of heresy and error. The doctors of the Law said he was an infidel, and worthy of death, for having spread such vile and pernicious ideas among the people of Islam. If any delay were made in

putting them down they would spread like a pestilence, and many Musulmans would stray from the true faith. A revolt (against religion) would follow; and many men would fall into perdition. I ordered that this vile fellow's rebellion and wickedness should be communicated to all societies of learned men, and be made public to all men, high and low; and that in accordance with the decision of the doctors learned in the holy Law, the guilty should be brought to punishment. They killed him with some of his supporters and disciples, and the people rushing in tore him to pieces and broke his bones into fragments. Thus was his iniquity prevented. (God, in His mercy and favour, made me His humble creature, the instrument of putting down such wickedness, and abolishing such heresy; and guided me to effect a restoration of true religion.) Thanks for this are due to the great and glorious God. Upon hearing or reading the facts here recorded, every well-wisher of His religion will admit that this sect was deservedly punished, and for this good action I hope to receive future reward.

9. A person who was one of the pupils of 'Ain Mahru,² had set himself up as a *shaikh* in the country of Gujarat, and having got together a body of disciples, used to say, "*Ana-l Hakk*" (I am God). He commanded his disciples that when he used these words they were to say, "Thou art, thou art!" He further said, "I am the king who dies not;" and he wrote a book in which he inserted the words of his profession (*kalamat*). He was put in chains and brought before me. The charge being proved, I condemned him to punishment, and his book I ordered to be burnt, so that his innovation (*fasad*) might be prevented from spreading among the faithful people of Islam.

10. A custom and practice unauthorized by the Law of Islam had sprung up in Musulman cities. On holy days women riding in palankins or carts, or litters, or

² "ar mullazadehgan ain mahru."

mounted on horse or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs. Rakes and wild fellows of unbridled passions and loose habits, took the opportunity which this practice afforded for improper riotous actions. I commanded that no woman should go out to the tombs under pain of exemplary punishment. Now, thanks to the great God, no lady or respectable Musulman woman can go out on pilgrimage to the tombs. The practice has been entirely stopped.

11. The Hindus and idol-worshippers had agreed to pay the money for toleration (*zar-i zimmiya*), and had consented to the poll tax (*jizya*), in return for which they and their families enjoyed security. These people now erected new idol temples in the city and the environs in opposition to the Law of the Prophet which declares that such temples are not to be tolerated. Under Divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and I killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisement, until this abuse was entirely abolished. The following is an instance:—In the village of Maluh there is a tank which they call *kund* (tank). Here they had built idol-temples, and on certain days the Hindus were accustomed to proceed thither on horseback, and wearing arms. Their women and children also went out in palankins and carts. There they assembled in thousands and performed idol worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the *bazar* people took out there all sorts of provisions, and set up stalls and sold their goods. Some graceless Musulmans, thinking only of their own gratification, took part in these meetings. When intelligence of this came to my ears my religious feelings prompted me at once to put a stop to this scandal and offence to the religion of Islam. On the day of the assembling I went there in person, and I ordered that the leaders of these people and the promoters of this abomination should be put to death. I forbade the infliction of any

severe punishments on the Hindus in general, but I destroyed their idol temples, and instead thereof raised mosques. I founded two flourishing towns (*kasba*), one called Tughlikpur, the other Salarpur. Where infidels and idolaters worshiped idols, Musulmans now, by God's mercy, perform their devotions to the true God. Praises of God and the summons to prayer are now heard there, and that place which was formerly the home of infidels has become the habitation of the faithful, who there repeat their creed and offer up their praises to God.

12. Information was brought to me that some Hindus had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Salihpur, and were performing worship to their idol. I sent some persons there to destroy the idol temple, and to put a stop to their pernicious incitements to error.

13. Some Hindus had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Kohana, and the idolaters used to assemble there and perform their idolatrous rites. These people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that the perverse conduct of the leaders of this wickedness should be publicly proclaimed, and that they should be put to death before the gate of the palace. I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols, and the vessels used in their worship, which had been taken with them, should all be publicly burnt. The others were restrained by threats and punishments, as a warning to all men, that no *zimmi* could follow such wicked practices in a Musulman country.

14. It had been the practice in former reigns to use vessels of gold and silver at the royal table, and sword-belts and quivers were ornamented with gold and jewels. I forbade these things, and I ordered the fittings of my arms to be made of bone, and I commanded that only such vessels should be used as are recognized by the Law.

15. In former times it had been the custom to wear ornamented garments, and men received robes as tokens

of honour from king's courts. Figures and devices were painted and displayed on saddles, bridles, and collars, on censers, on goblets and cups, and flagons, on dishes and ewers, in tents, on curtains and on chairs, and upon all articles and utensils. Under Divine guidance and favour I ordered all pictures and portraits to be removed from these things, and that such articles only should be made as are approved and recognized by the Law. Those pictures and portraits which were painted on the doors and walls of palaces I ordered to be effaced.

16. Formerly the garments of great men were generally made of silk and gold brocades, beautiful but unlawful. Under Divine guidance I ordered that such garments should be worn as are approved by the law of the Prophet, and that choice should be made of such trimmings of gold brocade, embroidery, or braiding as did not exceed four inches (*asabi'*) in breadth. Whatever was unlawful and forbidden by, or opposed to, the Law was set aside.

Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me, His humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy might worship God in these edifices, and aid the kind builder with their prayers. The digging of canals, the planting of trees, and the endowing with lands are in accordance with the directions of the Law. The learned doctors of the Law of Islam have many troubles; of this there is no doubt. I settled allowances upon them in proportion to their necessary expenses, so that they might regularly receive the income. The details of this are fully set forth in the *wakf-nama*.

Again, by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay from lapse of time; giving the restoration of those buildings the priority over my own building works. The *Masjid-i*

jami' of old Dehli, which was built by Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Sam, had fallen into decay from old age, and needed repair and restoration. I so repaired it that it was quite renovated.

The western wall of the tomb of Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Sam, and the planks of the door, had become old and rotten. I restored this, and, in the place of the balcony, I furnished it with doors, arches, and ornaments of sandal-wood.

The *minara* of Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Sam had been struck by lightning. I repaired it and raised it higher than it was before.

The *Hauz-i Shamsi*, or tank of Altamish, had been deprived of water by some graceless men, who stopped up the channels of supply. I punished these incorrigible men severely, and opened again the closed up channels.

The *Hauz-i 'Alai*, or tank of 'Alau-d din, had no water in it, and was filled up. People carried on cultivation in it, and had dug wells, of which they sold the water. After a generation (*karn*) had passed I cleaned it out, so that this great tank might again be filled from year to year.

The *Madrasa* (college) of Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh had been destroyed. I rebuilt it, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. The columns of the tomb, which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built its court (*sahn*) had not been made curved (*kaj*), but I now made it so. I enlarged the hewn-stone staircase of the dome, and I re-erected the fallen piers (*pushki*) of the four towers.

Tomb of Sultan Ma'izzu-d din, son of Sultan Shamsu-d din, which is situated in Malikpur. This had fallen into such ruin that the sepulchres were undistinguishable. I re-erected the dome, the terrace, and the enclosure wall.

Tomb of Sultan Ruknu-d din, son of Shamsu-d din, in Malikpur. I repaired the enclosure wall, built a new dome and erected a monastery (*khankah*).

Tomb of Sultan Jalalu-d din. This I repaired, and I supplied it with new doors.

Tomb of Sultan 'Alau-d din. I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. I repaired the wall of the *abdar-khana*, and the west wall of the mosque, which is within the college, and I also made good the tessellated pavement (*farsh-i ta'shib*).

Tomb of Sultan Kutbu-d din and the (other) sons of Sultan 'Alau-d din, viz., Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan, Farid Khan, Sultan Shahabu-d din, Sikandar Khan, Muhammad Khan, 'Usman Khan, and his grandsons, and the sons of his grandsons. The tombs of these I repaired and renovated.

I also repaired the doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikhul Islam Nizamu-l hakk wau-d din, which were made of sandal-wood. I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome, and I built a meeting room, for before this there was none.

Tomb of Malik Taju-l Mulk Kafuri, the great *wazir* of Sultan 'Alau-d din. He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries, on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and he caused the *khutba* of Sultan 'Alau-d din to be repeated there. He had 52,000 horsemen. His grave had been levelled to the ground, and his tomb laid low. I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful subject.

The *Daru-l aman*, or House of Rest. This is the bed and resting place of great men. I had new sandal-wood doors made for it; and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended.

The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs

and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments. In those cases where no income had been settled on these foundations in former times for (procuring) carpets, lights, and furniture for the use of travelers and pilgrims in the least of these places, I had villages assigned to them, the revenues of which would suffice for their expenditure in perpetuity.

Jahan-panah. This foundation of the late Sultan Muhammad Shah, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored.

All the fortifications which had been built by former sovereigns at Dehli I repaired.

For the benefit of travellers and pligrims restoring to the tombs of illustrious kings and celebrated saints, and for providing the things necessary in those holy places, I confirmed and gave effect to the grants of villages, lands, and other endowments which had been conferred upon them in olden times. In those cases where no endowment or provision had been settled, I made an endowment, so that these establishments might for ever be secure of an income, to afford comfort to travellers and wayfarers, to holy men and learned men. May they remember those (ancient benefactors) and me in their prayers.

I was enabled by God's help to build a *Daru-sh shifa*, or Hospital, for the benefit of every one of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering. Physicians attend there to ascertain the disease, to look after the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine. The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments. All sick persons, residents and travellers, gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither; their maladies are treated, and, under God's blessing, they are cured.

Under the guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed (*kuishta*) in the reign of my late lord and patron Sultan

Muhammad Shah, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultan and be appeased with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest, which was placed in the *Daru-l aman* at the head of the tomb of the late Sultan, in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him.

Another instance of Divine guidance was this. Villages, lands, and ancient patrimonies of every kind had been wrested from the hands of their owners in former reigns, and had been brought under the Exchequer. I directed that every one who had a claim to property should bring it forward in the law-court, and, upon establishing his title, the village, the land, or whatever other property it was should be restored to him. By God's grace I was impelled to this good action, and men obtained their just rights.

I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musulman should be exempt from the *jizya*, or poll-tax. (Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves, and were admitted to the honour of Islam.) Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the *jizya*, and were favoured with presents and honours.

Through God's mercy the lands and property of his servants have been safe and secure, protected and guarded during my reign; and I have not allowed the smallest particle of any man's property to be wrested from him. Men often spoke to me officially, saying that such and such a merchant had made so many *lacs*, and that such and such a revenue collector had so many

laces. By reproofs and punishments I made these informers hold their tongues, so that the people might be safe from their malignity, and through this kindness men became my friends and supporters.

*"Labour to earn for generous deeds a name,
Nor seek for riches to extant thy fame.
Better one word of praise than stories of gold,
Better one grateful prayer than wealth untold."*

Under God's favour my heart was occupied with an earnest desire to succour the poor and needy (*fukra wa masakin*) and to comfort their hearts. Wherever I heard of a *fakir* or religious recluse, I went to visit him and ministered to his necessities, so that I might attain the blessing promised to those who befriend the poor.

Whenever a person had completed the natural term of life and had become full of years, after providing for his support, I advised and admonished him to direct his thoughts to making preparation for the life to come, and to repent of all things which he had done contrary to the Law and religion in his youth; to wean his affections from this world, and to fix them on the next.

I desired to act upon the sentiment of these lines—

*"The practice of the great should be
To succour honest men;
And when a good man dies, to see
His children find a friend."*

When any government servant filling an important and responsible position was carried off under the decrees of God to the happy future life, I gave his place and employment to his son, so that he might occupy the same position and rank as his father and suffer no injury.

*"Kings should make their rule of life
To love the great and wise;
And when death ends this mortal strife,
To dry their loved ones' eyes."*

The greatest and best of honours that I obtained through God's mercy was, that by my obedience and piety, and friendliness and subinission to the *Khalifa*, the representative of the holy Prophet, my authority was confirmed; for it is by his sanction that the power of kings is assured, and no king is secure until he has submitted himself to the *khalifa*, and has received a confirmation from the sacred throne. A diploma was sent to me fully confirming my authority as deputy of the *khilafat*, and the leader of the faithful was graciously pleased to honour me with the title of "Saiyidu-s Salatin." He also bestowed upon me robes, a banner, a sword, a ring, and a foot-print as badges of honour and distinction.

My object in writing this book has been to express my gratitude to the All-bountiful God for the many and various blessings He has bestowed upon me. Secondly, that men who desire to be good and prosperous may read this and learn what is the proper course. There is this concise maxim, by observing which, a man may obtain God's guidance: Men will be judged according to their works, and rewarded for the good that they have done.

NOTE TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE TARIKH-I FIROZ SHAHI OF ZIAU-D DIN BARNI

A full translation of Barni's history of the reign of Alau-d din has appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* since the one in this work was printed. (See Barni's "Later Kings of Delhi"). That translation was made by the late Major Fuller, director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, and has been revised and annotated by Blochmann, the editor of the Journal. Those who are curious may now ascertain the value of the passages omitted from this work. The translation has enabled me to correct one or two slips in my own translation, and mine may, I hope, render a similar service to the other. I proceed to notice some of Blochmann's notes.

Kila-ghari.—The proper spelling is said to be Kilo-khari. The pages of this work afford abundant evidence of the great uncertainty in the spelling of names, both of places and persons. The same was formerly the case in Europe, and although the printing-press has settled the orthography of most names, it has not in all cases decided the mode of spelling. Add to the various spellings the doubts arising from the defects of the Persian alphabet, where k is nearly always made to duty for itself and g also, and where a single dot changes the power of a letter, the difficulty and hazard of dogmatizing are sufficiently obvious. The name may be *Kilo-khari*, and indeed Sir H. Elliot has written it so. Syud Alunad, in the *Asaru-s Sanadid*, also writes it so. But on the other hand, the *Araish-i Mahsil* calls it Kilugarhi, and this is the spelling of General Cunningham, in his Archaeological Report on Delhi. Without pretending to say which is right, the latter pronunciation is most acceptable to my ear.

Kuhram.—Blochmann says the name is properly *Guhram*, and if he has found it written with a *g*, it is good evidence of what his author thought it to be. Blochmann condemns me for spelling it incorrectly, *Kohram*; but my spelling was *Kahram*, which I have since modified to *Kuhram*, upon the assurance that the local pronunciation is *Kohram*. These Persian writers are not the best authorities upon Hindu names; the vulgar pronunciation is a far better guide to the true etymology, even as the rustic in England is more correct than his betters when he says, Peters'am and Lewis'am, instead of Peter-sham and Lewi-sham.

P. 74. *Plain of Judh*.—The reading in the Journal is “(crossed) at the fort of Baghpat, after which he encamped in the plain of jud.” The words in the text are “*guzar kath ubrah kard*,” i.e. He passed over the ford (*guzar*) of *kath*. This reading is confirmed by one of my MSS., the other one has simply *guzar-gah*. For *kath* the Journal reads “*Baghpat*,” though no authority is offered. I followed the plain reading of the last-named MS., thinking that *kath* might perhaps be *ghat*, a Hindi word for ferry or ford. Blochmann notices a “*Joondhpoor*” on the Jumna, opposite to Baghpat, which he thinks may be *Judh*.

P. 77. *Jalandhar*.—Some variants of this name have been noted. To these may now be added *Jaru-manjur*, from Major Fuller's MS.; and *Jaran-manjhur*, from Badauni.

P. 81-82. “*The accursed Zud*.” Major Fuller's MS. agrees as to “*Zud*,” but adds *al'ain*, like the printed text. In my MSS. it is clearly the usual epithet “*al la'in*,” the accursed. The real name is Dawa or Daud.

P. 88. *Jhain*.—Blochmann says, “*Jhayin* lies near Ratambhur. It is known under the name of *Naushahr* (new city), Badauni, i.p. 190. See Elliot, old edition. p. 193.” The proximity of Jhain to Rantambhor is clear, for it is said to be within a day's march; but

tambhor.' It is very strong, and has plenty of water. The Ran also is a strong position; in fact, the only one from which the fort can be taken." This explanation of the name is rather at variance with Colobrooke's etymology, already quoted in Vol. II. p. 324 of the original edition of this work. He says it is a corruption of *Rana-sthamba-bhramara*, "bee of the pillar of war."

P. 99 & 100. *Khutahs and Balahars*.—The general meaning of these terms is sufficiently obvious from the context, but as I could find no authority for fixing a precise meaning upon them, I left the words untranslated. Major Fuller translated them as "landlords and tenants." Blochmann adds in a note, "Balahar may be Hindustani, and signify a low-caste servant.¹ Khut is a rare Arabic word, signifying a fine strong man. From the passages below it is quite clear that these terms mean the strong and the weak, and most probably landlords and tenants, as translated." Major Fuller says in a footnote that the words are unintelligible to him; and Blochmann adds, "If I did not know that Major Fuller's MS. had *khutah* with a *kh*, I would say that *khutah* was a blunder for *fotah* with *f*. I have never seen these terms used in any other book." The spelling is confirmed by both my MSS.

P. 99 & 100. Blochmann offers an amendment of Major Fuller's translation in respect of the principles of taxation. My translation differs slightly from both. The author's words from the Print (p. 237), with variants from the MSS., are—

duyam unkih az gawmesh ya (ta) gosfand
harchih sher awar bud charayi bisitand wa
charayi tain shud wa az pasi har khaneh sukuat

¹ According to Wilson's Glossary, the "Balahar" is the village watchman; or sweeper, but Barni speaks of him as a tenant, or payer of revenue.

*gari (Karhi) talab numayand ta hich ghabati
(ghabani) shutur gurbah dar satadan kharaj
namanad*

Both Major Fuller and Blochmann translate *Gao-mesh* by *cow* instead of *buffalo*, but the chief difference appears in the subsequent part of the sentence. My rendering is. "The second related to buffaloes and sheep,² and other animals from which milk is obtained. A tax for pasturage, at a fixed rate, was to be levied, and was to be demanded for every inhabited house, so that no animal, however wretched, could escape the tax." The last clause is a free rendering of the original words.³ Major Fuller's translation, as amended by

² The word "gosfand" means both "sheep" and "goat;" it would have been better if I had adopted the latter meaning.

³The difficulty rests in the words "ghabati," and "shutur gurbah," which, from the way they are connected, ought to have a similarity of meaning. For "ghabat," or "ghubhat," I can find no satisfactory definition; it means a young eagle, and this meaning may perhaps be extended to mean any young animal. "Shutur-garbah" is a phrase used to express the extremes of difference of incongruity, as,—a cat and a camel! or, as in our nursery language, "a Cat and a King!" (See *Rocbuck's Proverbs*, I. 268). The general sense of the passage, according to this view, would be—"So that no young animal (?) or any one as worthless as a cat compared with a camel, might be passed over in the collection of the tax." Blochmann has taken it differently. For "ghabat" he must have read "ghaibat," "concealment," and as the ordinary meaning of "shutur-garbah" is not in accordance with this, a new acceptation had to be sought; and this may be, "the passing off a bad thing for a good, as a cat for a camel." The construction of the sentence favours Blochmann's interpretation, but it

Blachmann, runs, "They should levy a grazing tax on every animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat. And this grazing tax was established. Also for every house they should demand a dwelling tax, so that no opportunity might be left for evasion or subterfuge in levying the tax." The passage is very obscure, and, as Blachmann says, the difficult words are, "*as pas i har khanah*," etc. I have read the words, "*sakunat gari*," as a compound, meaning, "inhabited." Blochmann takes the word *gari* to mean house-tax. This rendering, however, seems to be inadmissible here. The text tells us that two regulations were made, one concerning the land, the other relating to milch animals. A house-tax would make three regulations instead of two, for a house-tax could not be classified as part of a tax on milch animals. The words "*az pas*," "*in the rear*" of every house, probably mean that the back premises were to be searched for the animals. Pasturage in Dehli and Sarhind is scanty, and the practice, as I learn, is to turn the animals out to the common pasturage in the day under the charge of herdsmen and boys, and to allow requires, first, an amendment of the text; secondly, a probable, but, as far as I know, an unauthorized rendering of "*shutur-garbah*."

Some light may perhaps be thrown on this passage by referring to the story in which, in consequence of a vow, a camel was offered for sale at two rupees, but not without the cat on its neck at the price of 250. This is referred to in the *Bagh o Bahar*, in the story of the First Darwesh, "The two are to be sold together, not the garden alone like the cat on the camel's neck." As in corrupt boroughs in England a worthless article brought a high price when a vote went with it, or as, in the high political excitement of former days, straws were offered for sale in the streets and seditious broadsides were given away with them.

them to come home in the evening. Empty stomachs insure a speedy and certain return, thus affording the inspector an excellent opportunity to count them in the folds and sheds. There is something, however, to be said on the other side. In the following page of the text (268), and in page 323 (Journal pp. 8 and 47), along with the land measurement and pasture tax, there is a tax mentioned called *karhi* or *garhi* (*masahat o karhi o charai*); which Blochmann fairly renders as a "house tax." Such may be the meaning of the word *gari* in the passage before us, though I think the context is against it.

P. 99 & 100. *Sharaf Kal*.—Blochmann says that, according to Major Fuller's MS, the correct reading is *Kaini*, from *Kain*, the well-known town in Persia. This is probably right. I followed the printed text; for my best MS. presented the variants of "*Sharaf 'Ali*" and "*Sharaf Kazi*," and the other had "*Sharaf Fai*."

P. 110 & 111. Major Fuller and Blochmann are in difficulties about the pay which 'Alau-d din settled for his horse-soldiers. Their translation says. "I will give 234 *tankas* to a *Murattab*, and 78 *tankas* to *do-aspak*; from the former I shall require two horses, with their corresponding equipments, and from the latter one with its usual gear." So the *do-aspah*, or two-horse man, is made to have only *one* horse, and Blochmann admits in his note that. "to call a man a *do-aspah* because he joins the army only with one horse is extraordinary." The passage is not without its difficulty, and I do not insist upon the exact accuracy of my own rendering; but it is at least consistent with the terms of the text and with common sense. *Murattab* I consider to be the general term for the fully-accoultred horsemen, who was to receive 234 *tankas* per annum, and 78 *tankas* in addition if he were a *do-aspah*, with a second horse. So the passage reads, "I would pay them 234 *tankas* regularly, and I would allow 78 *tankas* (in addition) to those who

keep two horses, requiring, in return, the two horses with all the necessary appointments. So also as regards the men of one horse, I would require the horse and his accoutrements." In confirmation of this view, a passage, which I have not translated (p. 319 of the text), says, "*hashim i murattab ba duwist si chahar tankah wa do aspah ba haftad o haslit tankah bisyar shud wa mistakim gasht*," which, as I read it, says, "the allowance of the horseman (*murattab*) was fixed at 234 *tankas*, and that of the *do-aspah*, or two-horse men, at 78 more (*bisyar*)."¹ Blochmann's translation runs, "A *Murattab* could be enlisted for 234, and a *do-aspah* for 78 *tankas*."

P. 112. In line 11 of "Regulation III," for "a time when," read "a quarter where." I gratefully acknowledge this correction, and also one in p. 99 & 100. As the latter required a sentence to be recast, I have for the benefit of the reader, cancelled the page.

In p. 6. I have noticed the inaccuracies of the edition printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Blochmann makes many corrections, and points out numberless errors; but no doubt, taking into account the imperfect and unsatisfactory MSS. from which it was taken, he says, "the edition is on the whole good."

Since the printing of p. 468, a friend has taken exception to my suggested rendering of the word *jīns* by the term *specie*. The citation of the original word *jīns* indicates its employment in an unusual sense, for the ordinary meaning of the word is *things*, *articles*, *goods*, *species*. So the interpretation suggested in the passage in question can only be justified by the terms of the context. The passage runs thus:—

*chun arkan daulat mal amani bar mardam qila
qlarar dadeh tafsildaran tayin kardand wa ishan
bigirastan i mal maslighul shudand un bad karan
dar adayi mal ahmal mikardand chun haqiqat
ba'arz-i man rasid amar kardam ki harchih*

*ishan dat anz naqad wa jins hidahand biqimat
bisayar bistadand chun ahal '[qila in hukm ra
babahaidand harchih jins darmiyan ishan bud
babahayi kalan midadand to unkih harchih az
kaman wa tir wa shamshir dar miyan i m
jummat bud hamch in awarda dar anz
zar dadand.]*

If this passage is tested logically, the *jins* of the *nakd o jins* of the first clause must be something different from the *jins* which was received in its stead. It must have been something which could be concealed, or payment could not have been evaded; and so it could hardly have been grain, for corn stacks and granaries could not be hidden, and Timur's soldiers never showed any scruple in helping themselves to all that was wanted in that way. Lastly, the *nakd o jins* of the first clause is covered in the last clause by the word *zar* (gold, money) as an equivalent. In the writer's mind it was evidently associated with *nakd* (cash), and *zar* (gold). The loose term "valuables" may, perhaps, represent it more nearly than "specie," but it is clearly something allied to money.

**The words in brackets are omitted in one MS.*