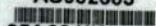




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## THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

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EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

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

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

BY

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

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

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## PREFACE.

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

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





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

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





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

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





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

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

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

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

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





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

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





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

- X.—Jāmi'u-t Tawārīkh—A *munshi* revised by Editor.  
XI.—Tārīkh-i Wassáf—Part by Sir H. M. Elliot and part by a *munshi*, revised by him.  
XII.—Tārīkh-i Binākitī—A few lines by Editor.  
XIII.—Tārīkh-i Guzīda—Revised by Editor.  
XIV.—Tārīkh-i 'Alāī.—Sir H. M. Elliot.  
XV.—Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī, of Zīāu-d dīn Barnī—Editor.  
XVI.—Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī, of Shams-i Sirāj—Editor.  
XVII.—Futuhāt-i Fīroz Shāhī.—Editor.  
XVIII.—Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī—Page 394 to 421 by Mr. C. E. Chapman, B.C.S.; page 422 to 477 by Editor.  
XIX.—Zafar-nāma—Editor.

## APPENDIX.

- A.—Poems of Amīr Khusrū—Sir H. M. Elliot.  
B.—Poems of Badr Chāch—Sir H. M. Elliot.  
C.—Masāliku-l Absār—Editor.  
D.—Travels of Ibn Batūta.—Editor.  
E.—Notes on the Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī—Editor.

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





## CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

	PAGE
X. <i>Jāmi'u-i Tawārīkh</i> , of Rashīdu-dīn - - - - -	1
XI. <i>Tazjīyatu-l Amsār wa Tajrīyatu-l A'sār</i> , of 'Abdu-llah, Wassāf - - - - -	24
XII. <i>Tārīkh-i Binākitī</i> , of Fakhr-u-d dīn, Binākitī - - -	55
XIII. <i>Tārīkh-i Guzīda</i> , of Hamdu-lla, Mustaufī - - -	60
XIV. <i>Tārīkh-i 'Alāī</i> ; or, <i>Khazānu-l Futūh</i> , of Amīr Khusrū -	67
XV. <i>Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī</i> , of Zīāu-d dīn, Barnī - - -	93
XVI. <i>Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī</i> , of Shams-i Sirāj, 'Afīf - - -	269
XVII. <i>Futuhāt-i Fīroz Shāhī</i> , of Sultān Fīroz Shāh - - -	374
XVIII. <i>Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī</i> , or <i>Tūzak-i Tīmūrī</i> : The Autobiography of Tīmūr - - - - -	389
XIX. <i>Zafar-nāma</i> , of Sharafu-d dīn, Yazdī - - - - -	478

## APPENDIX.

A.—POEMS OF AMĪR KHUSRŪ - - - - -	523
1. <i>Kirānu-s Sa'dāin</i> - - - - -	524
2. <i>Ghurratu-l kamāl; Miftāhu-l futūh</i> - - - - -	534
3. <i>'Ashika</i> - - - - -	544
4. <i>Nuh Sipīhr</i> - - - - -	557
5. <i>Ijāz-i Khusrūwī</i> - - - - -	566
B.— <i>Kasīd</i> , of Badr Chāch - - - - -	567
C.— <i>Masāliku-l Absār fī Mamāliku-l Amsār</i> , of Shahābu-d dīn Abū-l Abbās Ahmad - - - - -	573
D.—Travels of Ibn Batūta - - - - -	585
E.—Note to the Translation of the <i>Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī</i> , of Zīāu-d dīn Barnī - - - - -	620





## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 121, five lines from bottom, omit "(Pilibhit)."
- „ 146, omit the note: "Jhāin must be Ujjāin."
- „ 158, Gold Stars. See note of Sir Walter Elliot in Thomas's Coins of the Pathān Sultāns, new edition, page 169.
- „ 303, para. 3, line 11, omit the word "silver."
- „ 311, line 16, to the word "Torābānd," add a note, "Possibly this is a pun on the words *Terā banda*, 'thy slave.'"
- „ 400, line 4, for "1408," read "1398."
- „ 421, to the word "Rudanah," add a note, "See note in page 488."
- „ 427, to the word "Sarsūti," add "Sirsah."
- „ 430, to note 1, add, "This is Firoz Shāh's bridge."
- „ 468, line 7, to "*jins* (specie)," add a note, "See note in Appendix, p. 626."





## HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

### X.

#### JAM'U-T TAWÁRIKH

OF

#### RASHÍDU-D DIN.

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

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

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





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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist., iv. 401.



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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> [“This calumny was probably grounded upon the particular attention he had paid to the history and customs of the Jews.” Morley.]



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

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

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





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

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

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



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

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

<sup>1</sup> [Vol. I. p. 44.]

<sup>2</sup> [Vol. I. p. 67.]

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

<sup>4</sup> [D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols, I. xlii. and 235.]

<sup>5</sup> [David's Turkish Grammar, p. iii.]

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





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

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

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

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

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





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

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

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





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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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





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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> See Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. X. p. 934.



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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *Vie et les ouvrages de Rashideldin*, seconde partie, p. lxxxv.





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

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

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

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

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

“IX. A treatise on metempsychosis, extracted from the *Tauzi-hát-i Rashidi* by Rashídu-d dín. This treatise comprises 12 pages. The date of transcription is Rabi’u-l-awwal, in the 1082 year of the Flight; the name of the scribe is also here given, viz., Táhir Ibn Al Báki Aláyí.

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

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





pages, and was transcribed in the month Sha'bān, and the year of the Flight 1082."

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

In the library of the British Museum there is a very valuable copy of the Persian original (No. 7623, Addit.) written by different transcribers as early as A.D. 1314, four years before the author's death. This copy was noticed by Dr. Bernhard Dorn in the preface to his "*History of the Afgháns*," before the appearance of the articles above mentioned. It is supposed to have belonged to Uljáitú Khán, and to have come subsequently into the possession of Sháh Rukh, the son of Tímúr. It would indeed have been surprising had the work been so little known as is supposed, for we are informed in the *Tárikh-i Wassáf* and *Rauzat-u-s Safú*, that the author expended no less than 60,000 *dínárs* in the transcription and binding of his own writings. Every precaution was taken by him to secure his labours from destruction, and considerable revenues were set aside for the purpose of copying and disseminating them, both in Arabic and Persian, throughout the most considerable cities of the Muhammadan world.

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





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

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

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



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

I. A history of the Saljûkî kings, to the last of the dynasty, Abû Tâlib Tughril, son of Arslân. This extends to p. 44, where a continuation by Abû Hamid Muhammad, son of Ibrâhîm, commences, comprising also the history of the Sultâns of Khwârizm, extending from pp. 44 to 64.

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

III. A history of the khâns and kings of Chîn and Mâchîn, and of the capital called Khitâ. The portraits in this book almost all represent the kings with two tails below their caps. At the end it is stated that this chapter is followed by an account of the Banî Isrâîl. This history extends from pp. 78 to 114.

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

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

Chapter 1st. Adam and his descendants.—Nûh and his descendants.—Ibrâhîm and his descendants to the Virgin Mary.—Moses.—The kings of Persia.—The Greeks.—The Arabs.—Muhammad.—The Mughals.—The Khalîfas to the close of the 'Abbâside dynasty.

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

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

VI. A history of Sultân Mahmûd Subuktigîn.—The Ghaznîvides, Sâmânides, and Buwaihîdes. The subdivisions of this book are as follows:—

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

EXTRACT.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Ughúz was the son of Kará Khán, son of Dīb Yáwaghúí, son of Uljáí, son of Yáft. Dīb Yáwaghúí دیب یوغوی in the history of Ughúz is called Dīb Bāwakú Khán, and it is stated that Dīb signifies a throne and magnificence, and Bāwakú a chief of the grandees. It is almost impossible to fix the orthography of the names of the earlier Mōngols, as they are spelt differently in the various portions of each MS. where they occur. The reading Yáwaghúí is favoured by the majority of the readings, but the name occurs with ten or a dozen different spellings. [This uncertainty of spelling has already been remarked upon (Vol. II. p. 286). The forms of one well-known name are so numerous and various, from "Altamsh" to "Ilitnish," that they are scarcely to be identified, except by the initiated.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sometimes written Karáshíb.]

<sup>3</sup> [The meaning of this is not obvious. او ترک و تازی سخت کرد]



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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> [بدان راه بگرد (بگرد) اینجا هم]



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

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

<sup>1</sup> [چون وفات یافت پسرش سبکتگین را بیادشاهی قبول کردند]

<sup>2</sup> [In both MSS.—E. I. L. and B. M.—Dīb is here called the grandson of Ughúz, but at the beginning of this extract he is called the father, and he was in fact the grandfather of Ughúz, از استخوانی فانی از نسل دیب باوقوی کنواد، اغوز بود]

<sup>3</sup> *Ham-kundān*, compeers.





## XI.

## TAZJIYATU-L AMSÁR WA TAJRIYATU-L ÁSÁR

OF

'ABDU-LLAH, WASSÁF.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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





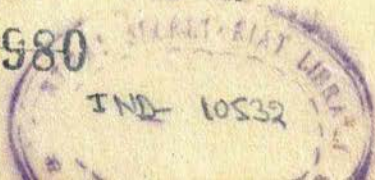
712 (June, 1312). This introduction had been long desired by 'Abdu-llah, and when he obtained it he recited an ode on the succession of the Sultán, and another in praise of his city of Sultániya. These productions were so full of metaphors that the sovereign was many times obliged to ask for explanations,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

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

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

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

18980





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

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

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

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





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

EXTRACTS.<sup>2</sup>*Conquest of the Island of Múl Jáva.*<sup>3</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> See Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens. Ges. des Osmanischen Reichs. Die Landesverwaltung unter dem Chalifate. Ichane II. passim* and *Goldene Horde*, Index. *Nouveau Jour. Asiat.* XII. 1838. Ouseley, *Persian Poets*, p. 230. *Fundgruben des Or.* I. 113, VI. 274. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten* I. 272. *Nouv. Mém. As.* I. 437. Rampoldi, *Annali*, 1849, p. 48.

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

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



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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Eulogium upon the Countries of Hind.*

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

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

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





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

“If it is asserted that Paradise is in India,

Be not surprised because Paradise itself is not comparable to it.”

<sup>1</sup> The Oriental tradition runs, that when our first parents were cast out of Paradise, Adam descended in Ceylon, Eve at Jidda, the peacock in Hindūstān, the serpent at Ispahān, and Iblis at Multān, or, according to some, Sistān. Respecting the print of Adam's foot, and its veneration equally by Buddhists and Musulmāns, see Reinaud's Geo. d' Aboulféda, Trad. Franc. Tom. II. p. 88.





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

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

<sup>1</sup> This is again subdivided in the text into yards, into digits, and into barleycorns.





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

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

<sup>1</sup> Compare Rashídu-d din's account in Vol. I. p. 67.]

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

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





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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

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

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

<sup>1</sup> [See Col. Yule's *Cathay*, pp. 218-19.]

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

<sup>3</sup> [See Col. Yule in *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. IV.]





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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

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



*Brief history of the Sultans of Dehli.*

From Book III. of the MS.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> [In the margin "Satlútj;" the Sutlej.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sarhindh—see note in Vol. II. p. 200, 302.]

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





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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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





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

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

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

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





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

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

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

When news was received of the approach of Malik Fīroz,





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

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

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

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

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



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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

### *The Conquest of Somnát.<sup>2</sup>*

From Book IV. of the MS.

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> This, probably, means *dag*, "a pace," just as we say 20,000 foot.



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

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

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





*An Account of some Contemporary Princes.*

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

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

*Embassy to China.*

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

<sup>1</sup> At the close of the sentence the author contradicts himself, and ascribes this event to the year 702 H.

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



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

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

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> This does not coincide with the fact that they remained only four years in China.