

was carefully tended, for the sake of getting the ransom-money. By hopes, fears, and threats, he was brought to see the beauty of Islām. He repeated the creed, and ate the flesh of the cow, which is an abomination among his compatriots. This obtained for him great honour, and he was taken under the protection of the emperor. On the 21st the army halted, waiting for the arrival of the division which had marched against Lāhor.

*Proceedings at Lāhor<sup>1</sup> with Shaikha Kúkar.*

At this place intelligence arrived that the princes and officers who had been sent against Lāhor had taken possession of that city, and were engaged in realizing the ransom-money. They had also taken prisoner Shaikha Kúkar, who had not been true to his professions. \* \* The history of this is, that Shaikha Kúkar, brother of Nusrat Kúkar, of whom mention has been made in the early part of the history of this invasion, had been taken into honour by Tímúr, and had been marked with great favour, so that wherever in Hindustán any people were found who declared themselves to be his subjects and dependents, they were exempted from pillage and from being made prisoners. In the Doáb, between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, he sought permission to return home, for the purpose of raising his contribution and tribute, promising to rejoin the camp of Tímúr on the river Biyáh, which is also called the river of Lāhor. When he obtained permission and returned home, he forgot his promise, and gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation. He allowed the appointed time to pass by, regardless of his oaths and promises, and he entirely neglected to show any attention and honour to several of Tímúr's officers who passed through Lāhor on their way to join their master. In consequence of this conduct, Tímúr gave orders for ravaging his country and making him prisoner.

On the 24th of the month the army crossed the Chináwa, and encamped after a march of five kos. \* \* On the 25th, several of the sick soldiers (*záífán*) were drowned in the river. Tímúr was

<sup>1</sup> The name is still written "Laháwar."



sorry for the poor men, and ordered that his own horses and camels should be used to carry the survivors over. On the 26th, Tímúr left the shores of the Chináwa, and after a march of six *kos* encamped in a desert. \* \* He here determined to cross the river Dandána before his army, and started off in advance. On the 27th he was carried in a litter for six *kos*, and encamped on the edge of a jungle. In the course of this day a tiger (*sher*) was seen and was hunted. It was killed by Shaikh Núru-d dín. Prince Pír Muhammad and Prince Rustam, accompanied by the Amírs Sulaimán Sháh and Jahán Sháh, arrived from Láhor. They had slain many infidel Hindus, had gained a large booty, and now returned to the imperial presence to offer their spoil. \* \* On the same day an order was issued that the *amírs* of the left wing and the *amírs* of regiments should all proceed to their homes by certain settled routes. The princes, the *núniáns*, the *amírs* of *tumáns*, of thousands and of regiments, all received robes and gifts according to their merits. Prince Pír Muhammad Jahangír received a jewelled girdle and diadem. The Indian chiefs and all the officers and attendants and *saiyids* who had accompanied him received princely gifts and permission to return home. Khizr Khán, whom Sárang had taken and confined in a fort, and who, having made his escape, fled to Bayána, a dependency of Dehlí, to Ahodan, the Musulmán governor, and who there came in and made his submission to Tímúr, was appointed governor of Multán.

[*A great hunt in which many rhinoceroses were killed.*]

On the 28th Jumáda-l ákhir, after the hunt was over, the army marched eight *kos*, to a place called Jabhán, on the frontier of Kashmír, a very lovely and pleasant spot.

#### *Kashmír.*

[*Description of Kashmír.*] There is a city named Naghaz, which is the residence of the rulers (*hukkám*) of the country. Like Baghdád, the city has a large river running through it, but the waters of this river exceed those of the Tigris. It is



extraordinary that the waters of so great a river all spring from one source, which source is situated in this country itself, and is called Vír. \* \* \* This river, after passing from the confines of Kashmír, is known by different names in different places. First it is called Dandána, then Jamd. Above Multán it joins the Chináwa, and the two flow together past that city, and below it join the river Ráví, which passes on the other side of the city. Afterwards the river Biyáh joins them, and the united streams pass by Uch and join the Sind or Indus. \* \* \* On the 29th Tímúr marched from Jabhán, a distance of four *kos*, and then encamped on the banks of the Dandána. He ordered a bridge to be thrown over the river, which was a great relief to the infantry, both Turks and Tájiks. \* \* \*

*Return of Tímúr to his capital.*

On the last day of Jumáda-l ákhir, Tímúr set out in advance of his army towards Samarkand. He marched twenty *kos* down the river Dandána to the village of Sambast, belonging to the Júd mountains. On the 1st Rajab he proceeded to the vicinity of the fort of Barúja, and there halted; but on the same day, in the afternoon, he mounted his horse and entered the desert called Chol-i Jaláli. Making all possible speed, he came out of the desert in the evening, and encamped by the side of a pool (*maghák*) which still retained some of the waters of the rainy season. This place is three *kos* distant from Barúja. On the 2nd Rajab, at breakfast time, he reached the river Sind. The officers who had been appointed to guard the way from Naghaz to Bánú had built a bridge with tripod trestles over the river. Tímúr passed over this bridge, and rested on the bank of the river till noon. Amír Allah-dád was left in charge of the bridge, to keep it for the transit of the baggage and the army coming up behind. In the afternoon Tímúr marched ten *kos*, and then encamped, and marching again on the 4th he made a day's journey to Bánú.





## APPENDIX.

## A.—POEMS OF AMIR KHUSRÚ.

[The following analyses of some of the poetical works of Amír Khusrú, with the copious extracts, are all the work of Sir H. Elliot. Mr. Blochmann, the present learned and active secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has just declared that "it would be of interest to examine Khusrú's *Khazánu-l futúh* and the *Kiránu-s Sa'dáin* from a historical point of view."<sup>1</sup> That examination Sir H. Elliot made twenty-five years ago, nor did he confine his investigations to these two works of the great poet. He carefully perused other poems of this most copious writer. By his brief abstracts he has given a general notion of the character and contents of each work, and he has translated those passages which have an historical interest.

In the notice preceding the extracts from the *Tárikh-i 'Aláí* (*suprà*, p. 67), he has given a short account of the author, and of that prose work, which after all is more of a poem than a history. Amír Khusrú, the "Parrot of Hind," whose name was Yamínu-d dín Muhammad Hasan, was one of the most prolific poets that the world has ever produced, for he is said to have left behind him "some half million of verses."<sup>2</sup> Without answering for the accuracy of this prodigious number, a mere glance at the list of his productions, or a perusal of the following extracts, will establish the boundless fertility of his muse. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.), and died in 725 H. (1325 A.D.). His father was a military chief, and he himself was attached to the Court. "He lived in a stirring time," when the Mughals were making reiterated efforts to work their way into India. He fell a prisoner into their hands, as we have been told by Barní (*suprà*, p. 122), and the frequent references made to him by that author prove the esteem and honour in which he was held.]

<sup>1</sup> Journal, No. 1. 1870.<sup>2</sup> Cowell, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., xxix. p. 225.



# 1. KIRANU-S SA'DAIN OF AMIR KHUSRŪ.

["The Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Planets," the poem in which Khusrŭ celebrates the meeting of Sultān Kai-kubād, with his father, Násiru-d dīn, Sultān of Bengal. This poem was completed in Ramazān 688 H. (September, 1289 A.D.). Professor Cowell has given an account of it, with some specimens, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1860, and from that article the following criticisms are quoted: "The style of the poem (as of all Khusrŭ's works) is full of exaggeration and metaphorical description, but the facts of the history are generally given with tolerable fidelity. In fact, few historical poems in any language adhere more closely to the actual order and character of the events; and when we compare Ferishta's account with the poetical version, we are struck by their great agreement in the main points." "Every now and then, at the end of many of the chapters, there is given a *ghazal*, which is supposed to express the poet's feelings contemporary with that part of the story which has just been described, something like the songs introduced between the parts of Tennyson's Princess. These *ghazals* are in various metres, and serve admirably to diversify the poem, while at the same time they form a running commentary, like the choruses of a Greek play, on the progress of the action, and the hopes and fears which it may be supposed to excite in the minds of the spectators. The poet, having actually been present throughout the campaign, is in this way enabled to throw himself into the scene, and we have thus an interesting mixture of the epic and lyric elements, each portion of the action being represented from an objective and subjective point of view."]

## ABSTRACT.

Praise of God and the Prophet, and panegyric upon Ma'izzu-d dīn Kai-kubād, king by virtue of three descents: the first from Sultān Shamsu-d dīn Altamsh, the grandfather of his grandmother; the second from Násiru-d dīn Mahmūd Shāh, the father of his grandmother; the third from Ghiyásu-d dīn Balban, his grandfather. Praise of the city of Dehli, which has three large forts and thirteen gates; of the *Masjid-i Jáma'* and its lofty minaret, built by Shamsu-d





din; of the *Hauz-i Shamsh*, the terrace and dome which are in the centre of the *Hauz*. Praise of Hindústán, and the inhabitants of Dehli, its learned doctors, poets, singers, and chiefs.

When Sultán Kai-kubád succeeded his grandfather Balban on the throne in H. 686, there were nearly five thousand nobles in attendance upon him, with an army of one hundred thousand men. His kingdom extended from the borders of Bengal to the river Sind. Upon receiving the news of his accession, his father, Baghrá Khán, the son of Balban, advanced from his capital, Lakhnautí, to Oudh, with a powerful army, had the *khutba* read in his name, and proclaimed himself king under the title of Násiru-d dín Sultán.<sup>1</sup>

Kai-kubád, on receiving intelligence of his father's having marched to Oudh, ordered his officers to collect an army, which amounted to one hundred thousand horsemen. "He despatched his orders to every country, he summoned a chief from every city. The nobles of the land were assembled together; *Maliks*, *Kháns*, Princes, and Kings; all the swordsmen of the country of Hind, all the spearmen of the province of Sind. The horsemen were so many that *Ekaspas* were of no consideration, and *Pátks* and *Agháns* were without number."

"On the forenoon of Monday, at the close of the month Zí-l hij, the victorious banners were displayed, and the moon-standard was exalted to the heavens. The king rode out from his fortunate palace, preceded by the star-banner and the cow-tail." His right wing was at Tilpat, his left wing at Indarpat, and the *Pátgáh-i khás* at Sirrí, and his elephants occupied a breadth of three miles at Hápúr. The king mounted his horse and went to Kílokhari to hunt. Praise of the new palace which he built there on the bank of the Jumna, and a description of the festivities he enjoyed there, and the charms of the season of autumn.

### *The Mughal Invasion.*

"The king was thus enjoying himself at this season, when the report of a Mughal invasion fell upon the earth. Several messengers

<sup>1</sup> About this period the title of "Defender of the Faith" appears to have been a favourite with Kings. We find Khusrú in the *Diván* called *Wastu-l hayát*, speaking of Balban as Násiru-d dín, which was the distinctive title of his predecessor.



arrived swift as an arrow from a bow, and kissed the ground like a barb, reporting that the Mughals had arrived from beyond the border, with an army as dense as the sands of the desert, and tumultuous as boiling water in a cauldron; the people of that country were ground down to the dust, and slaughter accompanied the devastators wherever they went. The impetuous torrent of invasion swept on, and the inhabitants of Lahnúr (Lahore) fled to Multán."

"When the king learnt from his messengers the disobedience of those wretches, he laughed bitterly like a lion in anger, and exclaimed, 'This is indeed ridiculous that, during my reign, foreigners should dare to make a commotion in my cradle. If my holy warriors should not be able to protect me, infidels may well commit their ravages in my country. Dominion over all the world is mine, why should I feel any anxiety about the designs of others? What will the people of every kingdom say? I am king, and destroy the forts of enemies. How can the owl dare with long talons to snatch prey from the nest of the falcon? A dog may be very bold after a deer, but how can he contend with a lion? It is I who take every year from the *ráis* of Hind tribute in elephants and money. Sometimes I pay my army by assignments upon Gújarát, sometimes upon Deogir.<sup>1</sup> All my swift horses I obtain from Tilang, all my vigorous elephants from Bengal. Treasures of mine are deposited in Málwa and Jáj Nagar. My tunics are obtained from Khitá, the borders of Chín are tied in my waistband. Shall I take the cotton from my ears and attend to this perfidious tribe with their quilted dresses? The bones of their army will I pound into flocks of cotton. Though their hordes be like ants and locusts, I shall tread them under foot like insects on the road. My heart disposes me to leap from my throne and lay the head of Kará Khán beneath my feet; but again I should feel foul scorn that my sword should be tarnished with the blood of a dog. No one would condescend to shoot an arrow at a dead body; it is only a pellet-ball that is fit for such vile game as this.'

"When he had finished these words, the wise 'A'riz summoned the army. The king said, 'I desire that thirty thousand serviceable

<sup>1</sup> This is also so spelt by Badr-Chách, and is the usual mode adopted by Khusrú and other writers of this period. It is also authorized by coins.





cavalry may be told off for the pursuit of the Mughals. At the head of them set the swordsman, Bárbak Khán-i Jahán, the active defeater of armies.' Then the wise 'A'riz, by order of the Sháh, detached the army in pursuit of the enemy. The Bárbak took post in the centre, and prepared for fight, and a hundred chiefs of lofty stature were under his orders. \* \* \* They proceeded from place to place with such expedition that they outstripped the morning breeze. In that country not a name or vestige remained of any building where the vile feet of the Mughals had trod. From the boundary of Sámána as far as Láhnúr (Lahore), not a house was left standing except at Kasúr."

*The Mughal Army Repulsed.*

"When the army of Islám reached its destination, it was as a river watering a thirsty soil, for the deserted country was again inhabited, and when the ungodly infidels heard of its arrival, they fled swifter than an arrow from a bow. They turned away from their plunder to flight, and thought themselves fortunate in escaping with their lives. Notwithstanding that Tamúr exhibited activity and strength, he became soft as wax, though as firm as steel.<sup>1</sup> Sarmak, Kilí, Khajlak, and Baidú, fled away hastily and shamelessly all of them, as if a stone had fallen among a brood of chickens. The whole tribe turned up their garments and fled to the foot of the hills in all directions. The Mughals turned their backs to the advancing army, and when their faces were seen they were black and harsh. Bárbak was behind them with relentless revenge, putting all to the sword who fell in his way. \* \* \* Their cheeks were as broad as an inverted bowl, and their eyes and heads looked as if they had been bathed in gore. \* \* \* The army of Islám in pursuit dyed the hills like tulips with their blood. Some few of these ass-bodied fools managed to effect their escape, but the rest, both old and young, were put to the sword, or taken captive. Khán-i Jahán returned happy and triumphant. He bound the Mughal captives in a string, and led them camel-hearted like a drove of those quadrupeds. Not one of those marauding Turks was slain until the skin had been flayed from his head."

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to the name of Tamúr, which in Turkí means iron.



"When the world had derived benefit from this victory, the leader of the army indulged in wine. He convened an assembly, after the manner of the Kaiániáns, and the golden goblets circulated freely. A drop of fragrant wine was first poured on the earth. The *barbat* and the timbrel resounded. Many presents were given to his friends and to the soldiers, and many excuses were offered on their part. Every one arose from that assembly happy and rejoiced, and took the way to their own homes. When the guests had all departed, the master of the revels sat down to drink wine. A few of his intimate friends were invited to this private feast. The wine, which quivered in the cup like the heart of an infidel, was drunk off in the name of the King of Islám."

In celebration of Spring.—The festival of the new year.—The five royal umbrellas, black, red, white, green, and rose colour.

The king set out for his Eastern expedition in the middle of Rabi'ul-awwal, 687 H. The first march was made from the New City to the borders of Tilpat and Afghánpúr. On the army's return from the expedition against the Mughals, the booty and captives were presented before the Sultán, Tátári horses, and other rarities.

#### *Description of the Mughals.*

"Bárbak advanced straight to the place of salutation, and bowing his body, brought his forehead to the earth. From the common soldier to the lord of tymbals, all obtained the honour of kissing hands, and received royal rewards without measure for their services,—standards of golden cloth, horses, and other rarities. There were more than a thousand Tátár infidels and warriors of other tribes, riding on camels, great commanders in battle, all with steel-like bodies clothed in cotton; with faces like fire, with caps of sheep-skin, with their heads shorn. Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel. Their stink was more horrible than their colour. Their faces were set on their bodies as if they had no neck. Their cheeks resembled soft leathern bottles, full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from cheek-bone to cheek-bone. Their nostrils resembled rotten graves, and from them the hair descended as far as the lips. Their moustaches were of





extravagant length. They had but scanty beards about their chins. Their chests, of a colour half black, half white, were so covered with lice, that they looked like sesame growing on a bad soil. Their whole body, indeed, was covered with these insects, and their skin as rough-grained as chagreen leather, fit only to be converted into shoes. They devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth."

"I have heard another story about them, that what one man vomits another eats, but this is no great wonder, for they are Turks of Kai.<sup>1</sup> Their origin is derived from dogs, but they have larger bones. The king marvelled at their beastly countenances, and said, that God had created them out of hell-fire. They looked like so many white demons, and the people fled from them everywhere in affright."

#### *Their Punishment.*

When they were carried out from the royal presence they were put to the slaughter. "Spears without number bore their heads aloft, and looked denser than a forest of bamboos;" others were trodden to death by elephants. After several had been slaughtered in this manner, "the remnant were reserved to be paraded about from city to city; sometimes they had respite, at others punishment." The king then called for wine, and devoted himself, as usual, to pleasure and revelry.

#### *The armies of Dehli and Bengal advance to the Ghôgra.*

"The country-conquering army advanced, and heaven and earth became as one through the dust which arose." After two marches the Jumna was crossed at Jewar, "which place, from the encamping of the army, was denuded of corn and grass." Bárbak was appointed to the command, and he arrived with the army on the banks of the Sarú (Sarjú). He was joined by Ohhajjú, the Khán of Karra, at the head of several thousand horsemen, and by the Khán of Oudh and his party.

When Násiru-d dín, the King of the East, who was encamped on the other side of the river, heard of his arrival, he sent Shamsu-d

<sup>1</sup> Meaning both "vomit" and "a tribe of Mughals." In the next line, "dogs" bears the same equivocal meaning, there being also a Mughal tribe of Sag. It seems strange that the author should sometimes confound the Turks and Mughals. In some passages he discriminates very accurately between them.



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

Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-kubád, on his arrival from Dehli, pitched his camp at Oudh (Ajúdhya), on the bank of the Ghágra. Násiru-d dín, from the opposite side, sent his chamberlain to deliver a message to Kai-kubád, who, by way of intimidation, himself discharged an arrow at him, which induced him to return to his master without crossing the river, at which the King of the East was much grieved and angered.

Next day the King of the East sent another officer to convey a threatening message, mentioning, amongst other things, the number and power of his elephants. He was answered by the son in a similar spirit.

He then tried the effect of sending a message of reconciliation, and requesting an interview, which was acceded to. The King of the East sent his youngest son, Kai-káuś, to Kai-kubád, with jewels and elephants. In return, Kai-kubád sent his own son, Kaiomars, accompanied by the 'Ariz, with some rare presents.

*Interviews between the Father and Son.*

Each is invited by the other to ascend the throne. The son said to the father, "Here is the throne, it is thy seat, I am a slave ready to obey orders." The father said to the son, "This is a mistake, it is of you that this honour is worthy." Again, the son said to the father, "Advance and ascend, for the throne will be exalted by thy presence." Again, the father said to the son, "Oh, thou that wearest a crown, my empire will be established through the credit of thy name."

"Long they continued in this gentle altercation, and no one could see the step of either advance. And when the father saw that the respect of his son exceeded all bounds, he said, 'I have one desire near to my heart, and, thanks be to God, that it now approaches fulfilment, and that is, oh, fortunate one, that I may place thee on the throne with my own hand; because thou didst ascend the throne in my absence, and I was not there to take thy hand, though, it is true, thou hadst no need of my aid, for by thy own power didst thou establish thyself in the kingdom.'"





"He then seized his son's hand, and seated him on the throne, and when he had descended again from it, he stood with his hands joined, and all were astonished at the scene. The son sat but a short time on the throne, when he descended, and approached his father. The officers of state stood on each side, holding trays of jewels in their hands, which they poured upon the heads of the two kings, and the ground before them was strewed with rubies, pearls, silver, and gold."

When the father had confirmed the possession of his son upon the throne, he exclaimed with a loud voice before the assembled throng, "This day enough has been accomplished, to-morrow we will convene another assembly. Thanks be to God, that I have attained my wishes, and I have seen the desire of my heart accomplished!" He then kissed his son's head, and returned in his boat to the other side of the river, and again the son filled his own boat with a flood (of wine). A torrent flowed from the ocean of wine, and all immersed themselves in it till they became drunk, and lost all respect for their king, as well as their own senses.

Next day, the Sultán selected some horses, and sent them as a present to his son, and at night the King of the East again embarked on a boat, and visited Kai-kubád. A full description of the festivities on the occasion. The father gave the son a valuable Bengal elephant, "a jewelled crown, lofty on all sides," and "a throne made of wood, but covered with gold, standing on four feet, with supports for the arms of the king." The crown was placed upon the son's head, and they sat together upon the throne.

The father requested from his son the gift of a white canopy and black cap, both of which had been used by Balban. These were promised to him, and he retired, declaring his intention of returning the next day. The Sultán then returned to his usual enjoyments.

Next morning, the Sultán sent the white canopy and black cap to his father, and the bearer was rewarded with a robe of honour and presents.

In the evening, the father again embarked on a boat, to have an interview with his son, when he took occasion to instil into his ears good advice respecting the future management of his country, and returned at midnight to his own camp.



The next day, both armies prepared to return to their respective countries. "The army of the east, towards the east, the army of the west, marched towards the west." An affectionate interview first took place between the two kings, and they finally parted from each other. No one else was allowed to be present. A bridge was made over the river, to facilitate communication between the two armies. Deep grief was expressed on both sides, on taking leave, and, locked in each other's arms, the father reiterated the advice he had before given. On the departure of his father, the son solaced his woes by drinking wine.

As the rainy season had commenced, and the river Ghágra began to rise, the Sultán's army moved from the bank of the river towards Oudh, and encamped at Kautpúr. Khán-i Jahán was appointed to the government of Oudh, and directed to remain there.

*The Author speaks of himself.*

"I, who had been in the service of Khán-i Jahán, previous to this, received from him now greater kindness than ever. He took me to Oudh with him, and treated me with such consideration, that I forgot my own country. There I remained with him two years, and knew no sorrow or want. I left my family, to attach myself to him. My mother, who was old, and always telling her beads, remained at Dehli, distressed at my absence. Night and day she was sorrowful that this worthless person was not near her, and used always to write letters inviting me to return. Though my heart was wounded at her grief, I did not like to ask her to come to me, When I was deeply grieved at these perpetual remonstrances, and my heart was greatly unsettled, I mentioned the circumstances to my master, and showed him my mother's letters. He, with his usual greatness, granted my request, and allowed me leave to return to my home, and sent me two trays of gold to enable me to proceed on my journey, which I prosecuted with the rapidity of an arrow, as my mother's grief had filled my heart with anxiety."

"I had travelled a whole month, without drawing rein, and arrived in the month of Zi'l-Ka'da at the city. Smiling like a flower in a garden, I visited my friends, and thus fulfilled my heart's desire, and was restored to life after death. I placed my head at





the feet of my mother, who, when she saw me, embraced me with tears in her eyes, and when relieved from her solicitude, fulfilled the vows which she had made, in consideration of my safe return."

"Two days after, the news of my arrival was conveyed to the king, and the chamberlain came to call me to his presence. I went and placed my face upon the earth, while my heart was in trepidation. I drew out from my waistband the panegyric I had written, and read it out with a loud voice. The king was greatly pleased at my verses, and honoured me in the eyes of my companions. He treated me with great kindness, and gave me a dress of honour of his own wearing, and two bags of *dirhams*, and enrolled me amongst his special attendants. My heart was replete with joy, and my poor house was filled with gold. His majesty said, 'Oh, most perfect of poets, whose very crumbs other poets are glad to pick up, if you will, the wish of my heart can be accomplished. I will give you as much as you like, and no desire of yours shall be left ungratified.' I bowed to the ground, and replied, 'Oh, king, what am I capable of, but writing a few laudatory verses, that I should be treated with such condescension? Your majesty bestows everything upon the needy; what need then can you have of such poor services as mine? My imagination is not lively, and I have no accomplishment, but that of being able to write some indifferent Persian. If the wish of his majesty can be gratified by such poor attainments, I am ready to be honoured with his commands.'"

"When I had thus offered my excuses to the king, he thus addressed me: 'It is my desire, that you should undertake the trouble of writing in verse an account of the interview between the two kings, namely, my honoured father and myself.' When he had said this, he pointed to the treasure before him, and told me to take it away, bestowing upon me at the same time a dress of honour."

He determined to effect what the king desired, and after giving the subject much consideration, and secluding himself from all society, and trusting in God, after revolving the subject in his mind for three months, he completed the poem in six months, in 3944 verses, in the month of Ramazán, 688 A.H. (September, 1289 A.D.), and in the 36th year of his age.

Verses upon his pen, inkstand, and paper. Entry of the king into



city of Dehli. Conclusion, in which he expresses a hope that his errors may be leniently dealt with.

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

The *Ghurratu-l-kamāl* is the third and longest of the four *Diwāns* of Amīr Khusrū. The *Miftāhu-l futūh*<sup>1</sup> is a *Masnawī* included in the *Diwān*, but most commonly considered to be a separate poem, in consequence of the extreme rarity of such an arrangement. I have seen respectable copies of the *Ghurratu-l-kamāl*, in which this poem is included, as well as other *Masnawīs*, from one of which the second extract which follows is taken; but in a very beautiful old copy of all the *Diwāns*, in the possession of Nawab Zīāu-d dīn Khān of Dehli, and which bears the seal of the Tarkhān prince, Jānī Bég, being, therefore, about one hundred and fifty years old, neither this nor any other *Masnawī* is included. The first *Diwān* of Amīr Khusrū is the *Tuhfatu-s sighar*, "the present of youth," containing the poems which he wrote from the 16th to the 19th year of his age. These were written in the time of Sultān Balban, and contain several panegyrics addressed to him. In compliment to his sovereign title, he here frequently assumes to himself the poetical designation of *Sultānī*. Thus, in one passage he says:—

خرک در عهد تو سلطان سخن      خسرو لاجین سلطانی شده است

Most of the *kasīdas* in this *Diwān*, which are not devoted to the Sultān, were written in celebration of new year festivals and the 'Ids, or addressed to the king's eldest son, Nusratu-d dīn Sultān Muhammad Kāẓn, known better as Khān-i Shahīd, or the Martyr Khān, and to contemporary ministers and nobles. The *Tarjīs* are addressed to the author's spiritual teacher, Nizāmu-d dīn Auliyā, Sultān Balban, and his son above named. It includes also a poem in praise of Malik Ikhtiyāru-d dīn, the 'A'riz.

The second *Diwān* is the *Wastu-l-hayāt*, "the middle of life," containing the poems written from the 24th to the 32nd year of his life. These are in praise chiefly of Nizāmu-d dīn Auliyā, and the

<sup>1</sup> There is a work of this name on morals, by Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk of Dehli.



prince above named, then Governor of the Panjáb and Multán, who was slain in an action with the Mughals at Depálpúr, at the close of the year 683 H. The poet was in his service. One panegyric is addressed to Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-kubád, and another to Ikhtiyáru-d-daula Chhajjú Khán-i mu'azzam, the son of Kishlú Khán, nephew of Sultán Balbān, and Governor of Karra Manikpúr. Others are addressed to the 'Ariz Táju-d-dín, Fathu-l mulk Sharfu-d-dín, Alp Khán Gházi son of Azhdar Malik, Náib Sháh Malik Ikhtiyáru-d dín 'Alí bin Aibak, and other nobles.

The third *Diván* is the *Ghurratu-l-kamál*, "perfect light," containing poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life. It opens with an interesting preface, containing some autobiographical notices, of which I have availed myself in another article. These poems comprise panegyrics upon Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, Sultán Kai-kubád, Sháyista Khán, who for a short time ruled the state in the name of Shamsu-d dín, the son of Kai-kubád, and afterwards became king under the title of Jalálu-d dín, Sultán Ruknu-d dín Ibráhim, youngest son of Jalálu-d dín, who sat for a short time on the throne of Dehli after the murder of his father Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Ikhtiyáru-d dín 'Alí bin Aibak, Saifu-d-daula Bárbak, Táju-d dín, Alp Khán Gházi, and Táju-d-daula Malik Chhajjú; an elegy upon the death of Khán-i Khánán Mahmúd, Sultán Ikhtiyáru-d dín the son of Jalálu-d dín, and benedictions addressed to his other sons, Khán-i mu'azzam Arkalah Khán and Khán-i 'a'zam Kadr Khán. This *Diván* contains also odes on new year festivals and the 'Ids, and, besides the *Masnavís* mentioned above, the poet addresses one to his brother Zahíd Khán, descriptive of his accompanying the royal army in 687 H. to Oudh. Another is in praise of the palace at Kilúkhari and of its founder Sultán Kai-kubád. Size of the work, 4to.; 694 pages of an average of 15 lines.

The fourth *Diván* is called the *Bakiya nakiya*, "the pure remnant," containing poems written by Amír Khusrú from the 50th to the 64th year of his age. There are in it panegyrics on Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, Shaikh 'Aláu-d dín, grandson of Shaikh Faridu-d dín Ganj-i shakar, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Sultán Kutbu-d dín Mubárah Sháh, Shamsu-l Hakk Khizr Khán, eldest son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, Nasíru-l-Mulk Háji, Hamídu-d-daula, Táju-d-daula, Fakhru-d dín



Púlád Tughlik, Mu'izzu-l Hakk, A'zam Alp Khán, Malik Ikhtiyáru-d dín Sa'dí, Malik Hisámu-d dín Khán-i 'a'zam and Násiru-d dín. There is an elegy on the Sultán's death on the 8th of Shawwál, 715 H. and some *Masnavís* on the marriage of the princes and other matters.

ABSTRACT.

*Preface.*

Praise of God and the Prophet.—Panegyric upon Sultán Jalálu-d dín Fíróz Sháh Khiljí.—Concise account of the four victories of Fíróz Sháh.

"Hail to Sultán Fíróz! who rapidly accomplished four victories in one year. In the first victory, he made the head of one rebel roll upon the dust. In the second victory, he moistened the point of his spear with the head of a second rebel. By the third victory, he cleansed Hindústán from the darkness of his enemy. The fourth victory was achieved in another way, when he fell like a hurricane on Jháin. But what are four victories for such a hero as his majesty! he has a thousand others in his sleeve. Long may he survive to rule with conquest and kingly pomp, and may the key of the capital of the seven climates remain secure in the hands of his slaves!"

*Victory over Chhajjú, Governor of Karra.*

The accession of Fíróz Sháh to the throne of Dehli, on Tuesday, the 3rd of the second Jumád, 689 H. "He despatched his orders to the corners of the world, and established the *khuba* on a new foundation. The turbulent throughout the whole world rubbed their faces upon the earth in respect and obedience. They girt up their loins and placed their heads upon the ground, and then stood obedient in the audience-chamber. They proclaimed the sound of the *khuba* above the moon. They distributed gold in the name of the king of kings. They all made effort to show their obedience, except the faithless Chhajjú, the Mír of Karra. Pride had inflated his brain with wind, which extinguished the light of his intellect, and a few *sipáhis* from Hindústán, without any religion, had supported the credit of his authority. Neither fear nor hope was able to inform them that a particle cannot contend with the sun."

"The Sháh received intelligence of that new disturbance, and how





that Chhajjú was advancing expeditiously with the Hindú thieves. Outrageous like a male lion, he became greatly perturbed, and exclaimed, in the violence of his anger, 'Bravo! Is there any man in the world who dares to raise dust in my plain? What weakness has that wretch seen in me, that he dares to peer where my arrow can penetrate? If he has not seen the splendour of my sword, he must have heard its renown from afar. He must have heard how from Ghazna, Kirmán, and Barghand, I have extended my conquests as far as Darband; how I have issued orders for the shedding of the blood of my enemies, who have become like worms, when they hear the whizzing of my Kirmání blade; how, at one time, from the heads of the Mughals, I have filled my cup with blood, and stuck their inverted skulls upon the top of my standards; how, at another time, my spears have wounded the Afgháns, until the hills resounded with lamentations (*afghán*); how, at another time, I made the blood flow in Jánjúha, so that a boat might have glided within the hills of Júd. The Hindús themselves cannot conceive how full I have made hell. What did that ignorant thoughtless man imagine, that he dared advance his foot into my territory?'

"When he had thus given vent to his anger, he forthwith ordered the prince to advance. Arkali Khán proceeded, swift as the wind, accompanied by an army like a hill of steel. He then directed that gold, to any amount that was necessary, should be distributed to the army, from the treasury of his mercy. Although only eight months' pay was due from the royal coffers, yet ten months' pay was bestowed upon the troops. The body of each man as he carried away his wealth was bent down by the load, like the crescent of the new moon. The *sipáhis* stood ready before the commander, as a hill of iron or a sea of flame." \* \* \* "In this order, the king of the fourth inhabited portion of the earth carried forth his standards outside the capital. He made one or two halts to adjust the affairs of the army." \* \* \*

"The king remained in the rear, the prince was in advance. The king made two marches in one, and the prince marched even quicker. Mile after mile he hastened on, and rapidly passed the Jumna and Ganges towards his destination," and then encamped on the bank of the Ráhab.



The enemy was encamped on the opposite side, and had seized all the boats on the river, but "the royal army crossed the river on a few boats, called *zauraks*, like the wind, and spread confusion through the camp of the enemy. They fell on the evil-disposed crowd, and dyed the earth everywhere with their blood. When they were satiated with that victory, they returned in triumph. On their arrival, they placed their heads on the ground in token of respect, and proclaimed the first victory of the king, who rewarded them with gifts beyond calculation. \* \* In the depth of night that stony-hearted rebel, oppressed with grief, fled towards the hills, leaving his camp on the bank of the river, and took the road of Júbála. The commander remained two days plundering the camp, and then, hastening in pursuit, came up to them while retreating in confusion." \* \* \*

"In the centre of the line was the great Arkalí Khán, whose standards were united with victory." Mír Mubárak Bárbak commanded the right wing, and Malik Mahmúd the left. On the left near the prince, was Malik Fakhr Dawwal, and Mu'azzam Ahmad on his right.

In the front of the array were two champions, the nephews of the king: one Malik Katlagh-tigín, "who could split a spear with an arrow;"<sup>1</sup> the other 'Aláu-d dín. Another attendant was his son Kájí; another, Kikí Malik, the governor of Kol; another was Malik Nusrat Mu'azzam, the chief *dáwat-dár*. The contending parties fought the whole day, "during which the sword found no rest," and at night the Khán of Karra, hearing that the king himself was on the point of joining the prince's army, fled with a few attendants to Injí, concealing his departure by the beating of drums, as if he was preparing to renew the combat on the morrow.

His army, thus deserted by its leader, came over to the king and begged forgiveness. Some were bound as prisoners, and some kept under surveillance, but the rest were admitted into the favour of the king.

### *Victory over Alp Ghází.<sup>2</sup>*

The Sultán, on leaving the city, went towards the Ganges, and remained some time encamped at Baglána. After that he departed

<sup>1</sup> The same expression occurs in the *Bostán*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Wastu-l-hayát* Khusrú calls him *Maliku-s shark*, King of the East, and the son of Azbdar Khán.





towards Bhojpúr,<sup>1</sup> and his light illumined the banks of the Ganges. By his hands a work was completed, which had been difficult of accomplishment to former kings; for when he arrived at the Jumna and Ganges, by the power of his art he constructed a bridge over both those rivers. He collected gold from the *ráis* of the Ganges, for he had the power of crossing the river at his pleasure. Like Dará, he went on full of hope, and his faithful *sipáhs* accompanied him as far as Kábar.<sup>2</sup> When the Sháh arrived at the land of Kábar, a contest ensued, and the "Musulmáns made their swords rusty with the blood of the Hindús." The king was here joined by his son, "who gave the first congratulation after the victory, and was then appointed to the government of the Province of Múltán, and his father gave him power from the river to the hill of Jíd."

"Whatever live Hindú fell into the king's hands was pounded into bits under the feet of elephants. The Musulmáns, who were Hindís (country-born), had their lives spared," and were distributed amongst the chiefs as slaves; and he made many over to the son of the *kotwál*, that he might parade them through the cities. "No one of these slaves was slain by the sword, except Alp Ghází, who suffered on account of his misdeeds; for he had, without just cause, killed Chahaltan,<sup>3</sup> and the wretch received this retribution from fate." \* \*

When the Sháh had made the country over to his own friends, he determined to proceed towards Hindústán, and open a way through the forest to Lakhnautí. He cut the jungle that intercepted his passage, and cleared the road of the robbers who infested it, and suspended them from boughs, so that they looked like the trees of Wákwák.<sup>4</sup> "When the Sháh had cut down this jungle of Taraya, he created an earthquake in the walls of life, that is, slaughtered many of the inhabitants, and as he was about to lay his axe upon Rúpál, that chief protected himself by an advance of gold. His heaven-like umbrella then advanced to Kashún,

<sup>1</sup> This is not the Bhojpúr of Behár, but a place near Farrukhábád, in the central Doáb.

<sup>2</sup> Kábar is in Rohilkhand.

<sup>3</sup> [Qy., *chihaltan*, forty persons?]

<sup>4</sup> See extract from Kazwíní in Gildemeister, *De rebus Indiois*, p. 196, respecting the island of Wákwák, and the trees which produced that sound.





for the purpose of plunder and punishment, and he collected such wealth from the *ráis*, *rãos*, and *ránas*, that his treasury was overflowing."

"Thence he went towards Bálághatrak, as it was necessary to discharge his arrows against the Mughals. Hail glorious morn of prosperity, for that sun rose on high! His standards ascended rapidly, stage by stage, for a period of one month, and the road was illumined by the light of his army."

"On Monday, the last day of Muharram, 690 H., the neighbourhood of the city was blessed by the king's arrival. He did not delay and plant his flags in the city, because another victory was urging him on; but during the month of Safar he gave himself up to enjoyment at Sírí, near the city." \* \* \*

*Advance upon Ranthambor.<sup>1</sup>*

On Thursday, the 18th of Rabí'u-l-awwal, the Sháh held a *darbár*, distributed robes of honour, and gave red umbrellas, *dúrbáshes*, and standards to two of his confidential servants, and selected also Ruknu-d dín Ibrahim for marks of special favour. "The *malíks* of the kingdom, according to their respective ability, showered gold upon the head of the king."

The king then marched from Sírí towards Ranthambor. The first march was to Sohráit, thence to Chandáwal, "where he encamped for some time." \* \* \* Thence to Rewári in two marches. Thence to the country of Nárnaul. "Thence the march was to Beohán, where the people had their mouths shut through thirst. The earth was dry, and in it not a blade of grass had sprung up anywhere, through drought. The *sipáhís*, whom a river would not have satisfied, how could they procure enough water from two or three wells?" A hundred camels, however, were here laden with water, to satisfy the necessities of the army. The king killed several tigers on this expedition. Hills were on each side covered with peacocks. "Two weeks he was employed in passing this hilly tract, when the Sháh arrived on the borders of Ranthambor." The Turks began to plunder on every

<sup>1</sup> The original says "conquest of Ranthambor," but this heading is not suited to the text.





side, "and the king sent out horsemen to collect information." The Hindús were killed or enslaved, as far as within four *parasangs* of Jháin.

From this place, Karri Bahádur was sent on with a few archers to reconnoitre as far as the hills of Jháin, from which place 500 Hindús made a sally. "They were wounded with the poisoned arrows of the Turks, and exclaimed in Hindí, 'Strike, strike.' Seventy were killed and forty wounded, and, though they were reinforced, they retreated to the hills, and the royal troops returned to camp, and reported to the king what had occurred. Next day, the king despatched 1,000 men under Malik Khurram 'Ariz Malik, the chief Karibak, Malik Katlagh-tigin, 'Azam Mubáarak, the *amír* of of Nárnaul, Ahmad Sarjándár, Mahmúd Sarjándár, the chief huntsman Ahmad, and Ankú and Abáji Akhurbak. They advanced at full speed to within two *parasangs* of Jháin, when they entered a narrow pass in the hills, and alarm spread in Jháin."

The *rái* was in affright, and sent for Gurdan Saini, who was the most experienced warrior amongst the 40,000 *rávats* under the *rái*, and "had seen many fights among the Hindús. Sometimes he had gone with the advance to Málwa; sometimes he had gone plundering in Gújarát." The Saini took 10,000 *rávats* with him from Jháin, and advanced against the Turks, and, after a severe action, he was slain. Upón which the Hindús fled, and in the pursuit many were slain and many taken prisoners, but only one man was wounded among the royal troops.

Great consternation spread in Jháin, and at night the *rái*, and all the Hindús with him, fled to the hills of Ranthambor, and the victorious troops returned to the king, and presented the plunder they had obtained, the heads which they had cut off, armour, horses, swords, and "a string of *rávats* with their hands bound." The king allowed them to retain their booty, and distributed gold to them besides, and robes of honour.

#### *The Capture of Jháin.*

Three days after this, the king entered Jháin at mid-day, and occupied the private apartments of the *rái*, where he admired the exquisite colours and carving on the stone, "on which the figures were



so beautifully cut, that they could not be exceeded in wax. The plaister was so beautifully made, that it reflected the image of one looking at it, and the mortar was mixed with sandal. The wood-work was all of 'ūd (aloe-wood)."

He then visited the temples, which were ornamented with elaborate work in gold and silver. Next day he went again to the temples, and ordered their destruction, as well as that of the fort, and set fire to the palace, and "thus made a hell of paradise." The foundations of Jhāin were so destroyed, that the army of the Shāh was enriched by the discovery of burnt treasures, and "so much gold was laden upon elephants, that who could tell its amount? This enormous wealth made rich men of beggars, for in every ruin a treasure had been found. While the soldiers sought every opportunity of plundering, the Shāh was engaged in burning the temples, and destroying the idols. There were two bronze images of Brahma, each of which weighed more than a thousand *mans*. These were broken into pieces, and the fragments distributed amongst the officers, with orders to throw them down at the gates of the *Masjid* on their return."

Malik Khurram then departed in pursuit of the infidels to their retreat in the hills, and took countless prisoners. Another party was detached under *Sarjāndār*, "across the Chambal and Kuwāri, to plunder Mālwa, and shed the blood of the false religionists. When he was two *parasangs* beyond the Kuwāri, he came upon an open plain to which a narrow pass led. Here he found a crowd collected who had escaped the sword of the *malik*, and he plundered them to such an extent, that it is beyond my power to describe." The party returned, and met the king on the banks of the Chambal, to which river he had moved his camp. Thence Mubārak Bārbak was detached in another direction towards the Banās, where he plundered according to the fashion of the time. Malik Jāndārbak Ahmad was detached in another direction. He also plundered and massacred "from the hill of Lāra to the borders of Māra."

#### *The King's return to Dehli.*

The king returned towards Dehli, with "an army so encumbered by booty, that it could not proceed more than a *mīl* a day." He





first visited on his route the hills of Bayáná, and as the road was "difficult on account of rivers and hills," he allowed his officers to march in any direction they chose. The Sultán proceeded more leisurely in the rear.

On the king's return to Dehli, he held the second anniversary of his accession, on the 3rd of Jumáda-l ákhir, in the palace of Síri. Description of the festival. "Each bride who witnessed the procession from the housetop, when she gazed at the countenance of the king, tore up her marriage settlements," in love and despair.—Concluding praises of the king, "who achieved two victories in different quarters of the country in one year." The author speaks of his work. "When I commenced this history, I thought of writing falsehoods, but truth seized my hand and restrained me." The poem was finished on the 20th of Jumáda-l ákhir, 690 H.

*Conquests of Sultán 'Aláu-d din Khiljí.*

\* \* \* \* \*

"'Aláu-d din, that king whose court is like Jamshíd's, who has conquered the east and protects the west, whose fortune is lofty, whose commands are obeyed." \* \* \* "He who has been honoured by the chief of the 'Abbásís, who has destroyed the country of the sun-worshippers. When the arm of his fortune was raised, he became the ruler of Hindústán. When he advanced from the capital of Karra, the Hindús, in alarm, descended into the earth like ants. He departed towards the garden of Behár, to dye that soil with blood as red as a tulip. He cleared the road to Ujjain of vile wretches, and created consternation in Bhílsán. When he effected his conquests in that country, he drew out of the river the idols which had been concealed in it.

As this was but a small adventure in his sight, he determined to proceed towards Deogír, "where he overcame Rám Deo." "But see the mercy with which he regarded the broken-hearted, for, after seizing that *rái*, he set him free again. He destroyed the temples of the idolaters, and erected pulpits and arches for mosques. He captured two-and-twenty elephants, in battles raging like the stream of the Nile. He captured also Bengal elephants from Lakhnautí, but those of Deogír were of a different stamp,—not such as knew



only how to eat their full, but such as could discharge arrows and brandish swords.<sup>1</sup> Were I to attempt to recount the plunder of jewels and gold, no measure or balance would suffice, for the treasure had been accumulated by the *ráis* from of old. Camels and mules were laden with rubies and diamonds, and every kind of precious stone, and the most experienced jewellers were unable even to guess at their value, and who can tell of the heaps of amber, and the costly silks? He returned victorious with this booty, in order to accomplish new conquests."

He advanced again from Karra, with iron in one hand and gold in the other; he gave a crown to one chief, while he took off the head of another. He marched to Dehli and set up his kingly throne, while all the world were in astonishment at the marvel that Dehli should be taken by Karra. The whole city declared that no one had ever been blessed with such good fortune. When he had established himself upon the throne, he began to think of the neighbouring countries. All the independent chiefs bowed down their heads, except the ill-fortuned Mir of Multán. That wretch was not of such importance that the Sháh should himself undertake any expedition against him." So Ulugh Khán was despatched with orders to conclude the business speedily, and, on its accomplishment, he returned to Court; and "all, both young and old, were astonished at the success of the universe-conquering Sultán."

### 3. 'ASHIKA OF AMIR KHUSRU.

[*"L'Innamorata."* This, like the *Kiránu-s Sa'dáin*, is a kind of epic or historical poem, having for its main subject the loves of Dewal Rání, daughter of the Rái of Gújarát, and Khizr Khán, eldest son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. Khizr Khán, as told by Barní, fell under his father's displeasure and was put in confinement. Upon the death of 'Aláu-d dín, the traitor and would-be-usurper, Malik Náib Káfúr, caused the eyes of the prince to be put out. When Kutbu-d dín Mabárák Sháh had ascended the throne, to secure his own position, he had Khizr Khán and other of his

<sup>1</sup> That elephants were once taught these useful exercises is evident from a similar passage in the *Sikandar-náma*, of Nizámi.





brothers murdered. The fate of Dewal Rání is doubtful. Khusrú (*infra* p. 555) says that her hands were cut off while she was clinging to her husband's body, and implies that she was left among the slain, though he says not so distinctly. Firishta asserts that she was taken into Kutbu-d dín's harem, and that she was also taken after his death by the villain, Khusrú Khán. Barní, who was intimately acquainted with the facts, is silent upon the subject, so that it may be hoped that the high-born damsel escaped that union with "the foul Parwári," which would have been worse than death.]

## ABSTRACT.

Praise of God and the Prophet.—Panegyric on the author's spiritual teacher, Nízám-d dín Aulýá and on the Emperor 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí.

*The author a captive in the hands of the Mughals.*

"At the time that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the Mughals,<sup>1</sup> may such days never return! travelling in a sandy desert, where the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream on the roadside. Although the naphtha of my life was heated, I would not inflame it with oil by drinking a draught of water. I merely wetted my lips, and obtained a little relief after my exhaustion. But my thirsty guard dismounted from his horse, and both he and his horse drank their fill of water and expired immediately."

*The Author relates the cause of writing this Poem.*

He states that he went one day to visit Khizr Khán, who asked him to write a poem upon that prince's love for Dewal Rání; and Khizr Khán causing the account which he had himself written descriptive of his own passion to be produced, he consigned it to the author, who agreed to versify it.

*Encomium on Hindústán.*

"Happy Hindústán, the splendour of Religion, where the Law

<sup>1</sup> He gives a brief notice of this captivity and of the hardships which he endured from exposure, boils upon his feet, fatigue, and thirst, in his second *Diwán*, called *Wastu-i-haydt*. He was taken prisoner on the borders of Multán, in the 34th year of his age, or 684 H. (1285 A.D.). See *supra* p. 122.





finds perfect honour and security. In learning Dehli can now compete with Bokhárá, for Islám has been made manifest by its kings. The whole country, by means of the sword of our holy warriors, has become like a forest denuded of its thorns by fire. The land has been saturated with the water of the sword, and the vapours of infidelity have been dispersed. The strong men of Hind have been trodden under foot, and all are ready to pay tribute. Islám is triumphant, idolatry is subdued. Had not the law granted exemption from death by the payment of poll-tax, the very name of Hind, root and branch, would have been extinguished. From Ghazní to the shore of the ocean you see all under the dominion of Islám. Cawing crows<sup>1</sup> see no arrows pointed at them; nor is the *Tarsá* (Christian) there, who does not fear (*taras*) to render the servant equal with God; nor the Jew who dares to exalt the Pentateuch to a level with the Kurán; nor the *Magh* who is delighted with the worship of fire, but of whom the fire complains with its hundred tongues. The four sects of Musulmán's are at amity, and the very fish are Sunnis."<sup>2</sup>

*The Ghorian Emperors of Dehli.*

Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad bin Sâm, Kutbu-d dín Aibak; "That flaming wave drove the Rái of Kanauj into the Ganges, where he was drowned, and took from him fourteen hundred elephants." Shamsu-d dín Altamsh.—Ruknu-d dín Firóz.—Sultán Raziya.—Mu'izzu-d dín Bahrám.—Aláu-d dín Mas'úd.—Násiru-d dín Mahmúd; "It was a wonderful time, one career of victory; in every house was joy and gladness. The Musulmán's were powerful, the Hindus peaceful, and no one knew even the name of Mughal." Ghiyásu-d dín Balban; "He was a king bounteous and powerful, an elephant in his time would avoid treading on an ant. During his reign the Mughals found entrance to these parts, sometimes they ravaged the country, sometimes they professed allegiance. In anger

<sup>1</sup> Hindus. Badr Chách has the same expression to signify Hindus; and Hasan Nizâmî, in the preface to the *Tajul Ma-asir*, speaks of the هندوان زاغ صفت "crow-like Hindus;" and again in the chapter on the conquest of Ajmir "Hindus crow-faced," هندوان زاغ چهره.

<sup>2</sup> A play upon the word signifying scaly.





came they on with inflamed visage and obtained gifts from the king. Whether this invasion was a loss or a benefit, it passed away, and what was destined came to pass."—Mu'izzu-d dīn Kai-kubād.—Shamsu-d dīn Kai-kubād.

*Jalālu-d dīn Firōz Khiljī.*

"He made the blood of the infidels to flow in streams, and formed bridges with their heads. He went from Multān to Ghaznī, and thence invaded the Tātārs, dyeing the country with their blood and covering the whole land with their heads. He made Turkistān so entirely Hindī, that he took the life from the Turks by means of his Hindus. When he again turned his face this way from that country, he stretched his arm to slaughter the Khokhars,<sup>1</sup> and shed blood on all the five rivers of the Panjāb." "By his wise measures he forged for the Mughals chains both of iron and gold."

*'Alāu-d dīn Khiljī.*

"He was the first who, while yet only an Amīr, placed an 'amāri upon his elephants."<sup>2</sup> On his advance to Dehli he lavished money profusely on the way. "The fort of Dehli fell before the mangonel of his gold. His largesses offered him the aid of catapults, and presents of jewels yielded him as much victory as balistas." Shortly after his accession, he despatched troops to Multān and Sind, where he was victorious.

*The Mughal Invasions.*

"Shortly after, the Sultān of religion determined to wreak the vengeance of a hundred years upon the Mughals. They were coming on to be destroyed by his beheading sword, like moths in the flame of a candle. First they came to the borders of Manjūr

<sup>1</sup> The Gakkhurs most probably are meant.

<sup>2</sup> It is usual in India to say that 'Alāu-d dīn was the first who used an 'amdrī, or canopied seat upon an elephant, but, as here stated, he was the first to use one while yet only a Prince. In the preceding reign we read in the *Miftāhu-l Futūh* of golden 'amdrīs.

عماریهای زرین قاب می داد . چو زرین قلعه بر کوه پولاد



and Cháran, and Ulugh Khán<sup>1</sup> attacked them like Káran, and by the force of his sword made them food for jackals.

"After that, the audacious, infidel Katlak Khwája,<sup>2</sup> one of the strongest branches of that accursed tree,<sup>3</sup> advanced that year to Kailí, and the Sháh regarded that boldness as a happy omen. The king moved on for two *parasangs*, in order that he might come to action within the borders of Kailí. The vile Katlak Khwája was confident and bold, but it was as if an owl were contending with a falcon. The king ordered Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán to advance with determination to the fight, and those two rapid dragons made the hills and forests quake. Ulugh Khán pursued the Mughals like a panther after its prey, and those who escaped the sword fell victims to the arrows. The hill of Kailí<sup>4</sup> was drowned in a torrent of blood and the heads of the *gabrs* rolled down like a weighing pan (*kail*)."  
"After that, Targhí, the headstrong, bit the dust when he was struck with a hatchet, and for a time religion was freed from the troubles caused by the infidels."

"Afterwards the sand of the desert was saturated with the blood of the armies of Turták and 'Alí Beg.<sup>5</sup> The army of religion came rushing on like a river, overwhelming the Mughals in its waves. The two Turk Kháns were suddenly captured by a Hindu servant of the Court."

"Subsequently, three other active warriors, who outstripped the wind in their fleetness, came rapidly to the neighbourhood of Múltán, and lit up the flame of insurrection on the banks of the Ráví. One was Tihú, another Ikbál the stubborn, the third Kabak determined both in fight and hatred. Their soldiers were countless as the sand, and infuriated by the fate of Turták and 'Alí Beg. His majesty despatched his principal minister, Káfúr (camphor), the splendour of Islám, against them, in order that by his fragrance he might

<sup>1</sup> [I have no complete copy of this poem, but only some extracts and abstracts. In some the name is written Alaf Khán, in others Ulugh Khán; the latter is certainly right. See *supra* pp. 43 and 162.]

<sup>2</sup> [This is here the spelling; not "Katlagh."]

<sup>3</sup> He was son of Amír Dáúd [or Dawá] Khán, ruler of Turkistan, and Máwaráu-n nahr.

<sup>4</sup> [This name has hitherto been given as "Kili," but this shows what Khusrú's pronunciation was. See *supra* p. 166, and Beng. Jour., 1869, p. 199.]

<sup>5</sup> See *supra* p. 198.





dispel the offensive smell arising from their dead bodies. He went so expeditiously that, in ten nights, he performed the journey of a whole month. The blood of the Tatars flowed in such torrents that it reached to the girths of the horses. Ikbál and Tihú fled together towards the rivers, and were glad to save their lives by abandoning the plunder which they were carrying off. But Kabak was taken like a partridge (*kabak*),<sup>1</sup> and that learned dog was sent with a collar round his neck to the king of the world. The victory was obtained by the aid of God, and the Mughal had enough of his attempts at revenge.

"From that day the torrent of the Jihún had no power to carry away even an ant from Hindústán. Behold a great marvel which marked the good fortune of 'Aláu-d dín, may he always remain king! A deadly blast from hell blew over that country, and dissolved by its fire even iron into wax. They all died, and though Búyahia escaped, as he had the life of a dog, yet his power was ignominiously destroyed; and so entirely had all their turbulence subsided in this country, that no one heard anything more about them."

*Conquest of Gujarát, Chitor, Málwa, Sivédna.*

The poet passes to the conquests of 'Aláu-d dín, in Hindústán. Ulugh Khán sent against the Rái of Gujarát, "where the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the *gabrs*." The conquest of Somnát, Jháin, and Ranthambor, whose ruler was "Pithú Rái, descended from Pithaurá, but an hundred hundred thousand times more proud than he. Ten thousand swift Arabian horses were his, and elephants with *'amáris* on their backs. Soldiers and *ráwats* and *ránqs* were beyond number. This fort was two weeks' journey distant from Dehli, and its walls extended for three *parasangs*. Terrible stones were sent against them with such force that the battlements were levelled with the dust. So many stones were thrown, pile upon pile, that it would have required thirty years to clear the road to one of the gates." The king took the fort in one month, and made it over to Ulugh Khán.

<sup>1</sup> [The name is given as "Kank" (or Kanak) in Barní (*supra* p. 199), but this proves it to be Kabak. See also p. 73.]



The conquest of Chitor, which was named Khizrābād, after Khizr Khán, who was here honoured with being allowed to bear a red canopy over his head.

"After that, the king's attention was directed towards the south, in order that he might seize the country of the Southern *ráis*. Koká, the *wazír*, commanded the army, and he was stronger in the country of Málwá than the *rái*. He had more than 40,000 cavalry, and his infantry were without number. 10,000 men were sent against him by his majesty, and they destroyed his entire force. The Hindus were captured and slaughtered in heaps, and only the *rái*, Malhak<sup>1</sup> Deo, escaped to the hills." This conquest was effected by 'Ainu-l mulk. Mándú taken, "a wonderful fortress four *parasangs* in circumference."

Siwána is next proceeded against by his majesty in person. "The strong-armed *rái* of that place was Satal<sup>2</sup> Deo. Many iron-hearted *gabrs* were in his service. The army sat down before it for five or six years, and did not, during that time, succeed in destroying half a bastion, but after one attack made upon that hill by the king, it was moved from its foundations by the troops like a flowing river."

*The conquest of Telingána, Ma'bar, Fatan.*

The conquest of Tilangí, where the *rái* is made to send "a golden idol and an hundred elephants, and treasure beyond all calculation."

The army proceeded to Ma'bar, that it might "take the shores of the sea as far as Lanká, and spread the odour of the amber-scented faith," and thence returned to Deogír, from which place the *rái* fled at their approach, and, after plundering the country, they proceeded towards the sea-coast.

"There was another *rái* in those parts, whose rule extended over sea and land, a Brahmin, named Pandyá Gurú. He had many cities in his possession, and his capital was Fatan,<sup>3</sup> where there was a temple with an idol in it laden with jewels. He had many troops and ships; and Musulmáns, as well as Hindus, were in his service. He had a thousand elephants of Ma'bar and innumerable horses. The *rái*, when the army of the Sultán arrived at Fatan, fled away,

<sup>1</sup> [Or "Mahlak." See *suprà* p. 76.]

<sup>2</sup> [Or "Satal." See *suprà* p. 78.]

<sup>3</sup> [See *suprà* p. 32.]



and what can an army do without its leader? The Musulmáns in his service sought protection from the king's army, and they were made happy with the kind reception they met with. 500 elephants also were taken. They then struck the idol with an iron hatchet, and opened its head. Although it was the very *Kibla* of the accursed *gabrs*, it kissed the earth and filled the holy treasury. Wealth and jewels were taken from it in such quantities that they would have outweighed a mountain. After the business of the *rái* of Ma'bar was completed, the army returned victorious, and received due rewards from the fortunate king. May God grant him success, that he may take a whole world without moving from his throne! May he, sitting at Dehli, be able to plunder the country of Ma'bar and the seas, with a mere movement of his eyebrow!"

*The Capture of Dewal Rání.*

The author proceeds to the more immediate subject of his poem. Shortly after 'Aláu-d dín's accession to the throne, he sent his brother, Ulugh Khán, with a large army towards Gujarát and Somnát. The ruler of those countries was Rái Karan. In an action between him and the Khán he sustained a defeat and fled, and his treasures, wives and concubines fell into the enemy's hands. On his return from Gujarát, the Khán presented all the booty he had taken to the king, and amongst other captives was the wife of Rái Karan, Kanwalá Dí, celebrated for her beauty, who was taken into the king's Seraglio.

The Rání had two daughters by Rái Karan; both had been carried off by their father in his flight. The eldest died, but the youngest, Dewal Dí, survived.

Kanwalá Dí solicited of the king that this daughter might be sent for and made over to her, and as the king was well disposed to meet her wishes, he demanded her from Rái Karan, who was preparing to send her, accompanied with many presents, to the king, when he took alarm at the large army which had marched under Ulugh Khán and Panchamí for the conquest of the whole of Gujarát, and fled with his daughter and private attendants to seek the protection of the *rái* of Deogír, by name Sankh Deo, the son of the Rái-Ráyán, Rám Deo.

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



he sent his brother, Bhelam Deo, to demand Dewal Dí in marriage. Rái Karan felt himself compelled to accede to the proposal, and he was preparing to send his daughter when he was attacked by the king's army, and Panchamí, who commanded the advance-guard, seized Dewal Dí, whose horse had been wounded and lamed by an arrow. She was taken to Ulugh Khán, and Rái Karan fled. According to the king's order, Ulugh Khán sent Dewal Dí to Dehli, where she was made over to her mother in the palace. She was then eight years of age.

*Loves of Khizr Khán and Dewal Rání.*

The Sultán wished to betroth Dewal Rání to his son Khizr Khán, who was then ten years old, and Kanwalá Dí agreed to the marriage, as she had an affection for Khizr Khán in consequence of his resemblance to her brother. The children were accordingly admitted to each other's presence, and indulged in youthful gambols, and became attached to each other.

The mother of Khizr Khán objected to this match, and was desirous of betrothing him to the daughter of her brother Alp Khán, who was himself anxious to speed the preparations for the ceremony. Upon which it was represented to the mother, that as Khizr Khán had conceived an affection for Dewal Dí, he ought to be separated from her. This was accordingly done, and they were placed in different apartments, but as they were able to have occasional interviews, their growing attachment ripened, and four go-betweens on each side conveyed affectionate messages from one to the other.

The queen-mother, apprehensive of these interviews, determined to send the girl to the Red Palace. Khizr Khán's distress upon the occasion, when he tears his clothes and exhibits other signs of frantic grief. The queen foregoes her intention, when Khizr Khán recovers his serenity. The young pair contrive a secret assignation, when they become senseless through emotion. The queen again determines on sending Dewal Dí to the Red Palace. On her way there she has an interview with Khizr Khán, when he presents her with a lock of his hair to preserve as a memento, and she in return gives him a ring.



*Marriage of Khizr Khán with the daughter of Alp Khán.*

This marriage was solemnized in Ramazán, 711 H. (Jan. 1312 A.D.). The decorations of the city upon the occasion. Triumphal arches, dancing, singing, music, illuminations, rope-dancing, jugglery. "The juggler swallowed a sword like water, drinking it as a thirsty man would sherbet. He also thrust a knife up his nostril. He mounted little wooden horses and rode upon the air. Large bodies were made to issue out of small ones; an elephant was drawn through a window, and a camel through the eye of a needle.<sup>1</sup> Those who changed their own appearance practised all kinds of deceit. Sometimes they transformed themselves into angels, sometimes into demons. Balls were made to be sometimes white and sometimes black, in imitation of the fitful vicissitudes we are subject to upon earth. They sang so enchantingly that they could make it appear as if a man was dying, and as if after an interval he was again made alive."

*The marriage of Khizr Khan with Dewal Rdni.*

Dewal Dí, on learning Khizr Khán's marriage, writes him a letter full of reproaches, to which he replies by excuses. The grief of the two lovers and their solicitations to heaven. The deep distress of Khizr Khán is reported to the queen-mother, and it is represented to her, that as it is lawful for a Musulmán to marry four wives, he might be allowed to marry Dewal Dí also. She relents, and as the Sultán has from the beginning given his consent to Khizr Khán's marriage with Dewal Dí, she is sent for from the Red Palace and married to him.—The complete happiness of the lovers at their union.—Khizr Khán becomes one of the disciples of the Saint Nizámu-d dīn Aulýá.

*Rupture between 'Aláu-d dīn and Khizr Khán.*

The poet again proceeds to some historical details.—Misunderstanding between the Sultán and Khizr Khán, and the imprisonment of the latter.—The cause was this: the Sultán being ill of fever, Khizr Khán made a vow that, in the event of his recovery, he would

<sup>1</sup> This is in the original, and shows that those who object to the common reading of the Bible have no good ground for any alteration. The phrase is universal in the East to express any difficulty.



proceed bare-footed on a pilgrimage to some shrines. When the Sultán recovered in some degree, Khizr Khán set out on his expedition to Hatánpúr, but in consequence of his feet getting blistered he was persuaded by his attendants to mount on horseback. Amír Khusrú here observes that when the prince had such a spiritual teacher as Nizámu-d dín Aulyá, he should have performed his pilgrimage to him, and not have sought out other shrines; that it was to this that his ill-fortune is to be ascribed. Malik Káfúr, the eunuch, was not slow to take advantage of this indiscretion of the Khán, and represented that this non-fulfilment of his vow was a personal insult to the Sultán.

The Sultán first wreaked his vengeance on the Khán's maternal uncle and father-in-law, Alp Khán, who was assassinated in Dehli by his orders. He then caused an angry letter to be written to his son, telling him not to return to his presence without orders, and assigning Amroha to him as a residence, and the country from the Ganges to the foot of the hills as his hunting-ground, where game was so plentiful that "he might kill ten antelopes with one arrow." He was directed to remain there for two months, after which he would be summoned, when the king had recovered his composure. Meanwhile, he was to send back the royal insignia he had received, the canopy, *dúrbásh*, standards, and elephants, which would be retained by the king until he had again restored the Khán to his good graces.

This *farmán* was sent by an ugly courier called 'Ambar, who brought it in one night from Dehli to beyond Meerut, where the Prince was encamped. The Prince was deeply afflicted at the contents, but returned the royal insignia under the charge of Malik Hisámu-d dín, while he himself, with tears in his eyes, crossed the Ganges and went to Amroha.

He had only been there two or three days, when his agitation was so great that, without a summons, he determined to return to his father, who, being on the point of death, received him kindly, his affection for him having revived in this extremity. Malik Káfúr, again successfully practising his wiles, persuaded the Sultán that till his recovery it would be wise to confine the Khán in the fort of Gwalior. The Sultán consented, but bound Káfúr by solemn





oaths not to attempt the life of the Prince, who was accordingly carried off from Dehli to Gwalior in two days. There his faithful Dewal Rání became the companion to and solace of his miserable imprisonment.

*Death of 'Aláu-d dín and subsequent massacres.*

'Aláu-d dín, partly through bodily infirmity and partly through mental distress, died on the 7th Shawwál, 715 H. (Jan., 1316 A.D.), when Malik Káfúr placed the king's youngest son, Shahábu-d-dín 'Umar, upon the throne, and despatched Sumbul to Gwalior to blind Khizr Khán. When Sumbul had completed his inhuman deed, he was promoted to the office of *Náib-hájib*.

A short time afterwards, the slaves and guards of the late king slew Malik Káfúr, and conveyed the intelligence to Khizr Khán, to show that the curse that he had pronounced against Káfúr had been fulfilled.

Kutbu-d dín Mubárák Sháh then ascended the throne in the beginning of 716 H. (1316 A.D.). After displacing his brother, 'Umar, he sent to demand Dewal Rání from his brother Khizr Khán, who returned an indignant refusal. Vexed at this opposition, and determined to rid himself of all rivals, the wretch Mubárák Sháh sent a ruffian named Shádi to Gwalior, to murder the three princes Khizr Khán, Shádi Khán, and 'Umar. After this butchery had been committed, the garrison violated the ladies of their households. The devoted Dewal Rání, in clinging to the body of her husband, was wounded in the face and had her hands cut off by the assassins. Not long after the murder of the princes, the villains went into the *zenána* and murdered all the females. All the members of the royal family were buried in the Bijymandar bastion of the fort of Gwalior. The conclusion.

“Prince Khizr Khán then ordered a confidential servant to place me near the narrative of his love, without attracting the attention of the bystanders. When my eyes fell on the heart-exciting tale, tears fell from them involuntarily. I immediately assented with all my heart, to the wish of the prince, the apple of the eye. My head was exalted by the honour of my selection, and I retired with the narrative in my hand.”



*The Hindí Language.*

"When I came to examine it from beginning to end, I found most of the names (words?) in it were Hindí. I pondered a long time with myself how I might join the coarse cloth with the fine, but as some kind of junction was requisite, I thought that no wise man would regard a necessity as a fault. But I was in error, for if you ponder the matter well, you will not find the Hindí words (language) inferior to the Pársi. It is inferior to the Arabic, which is the chief of all languages. The prevalent languages of Rái and Rám, I know, from reflecting well on the matter, to be inferior to the Hindí. Arabic, in speech, has a separate province, and no other language can combine with it. The Pársi is deficient in its vocabulary, and cannot be tasted without Arabic condiments; as the latter is pure, and the former mixed, you might say that one was the soul, the other the body. With the former nothing can enter into combination, but with the latter, every kind of thing. It is not proper to place the cornelian of Yemen on a level with the pearl of Dari.

"The language of Hind is like the Arabic, inasmuch as neither admits of combination. If there is grammar and syntax in Arabic, there is not one letter less of them in the Hindí. If you ask whether there are the sciences of exposition and rhetoric, I answer that the Hindí is in no way deficient in those respects. Whoever possesses these three languages in his store, will know that I speak without error or exaggeration.

"If I were with reason and justice to speak to you of the merits of Hindí, you would object to what I advance; and if I were to swear to the truth of my assertions, who knows whether you would credit me or not? It is true, I know so little, that my acquaintance with it is but as a drop in the ocean; yet from tasting it, I am well aware that the fowl of the desert is deprived of the waters of the Tigris. He who is far from the Ganges and Hindústán can boast himself of the Nile and Tigris. When a man sees only the nightingale of China in a garden, how does he know what the parrot of Hindústán is? \* \* \* He who has placed only guavas and quinces in his throat, and has never eaten a plantain, will say it is like so much jujube. The Khurásáni who considers every Hindí a fool will think even a *pán* leaf of no more value than grass. A wise and





just man, and he who has travelled through several countries observantly, will believe these assertions of Khusrú; for if the conversation should turn on Hind or Rám, he will speak fairly, and not without ground asseverate his own opinion, like the man who said that Basra was superior to Syria. And if any one chooses to speak with partiality, no doubt he will be ready to class my (Indian) mangoes below (foreign) figs. They call Hind black, and that is true enough, yet it is the largest country<sup>1</sup> in the world. You should look on Hindústán as Paradise, with which it is in fact connected, for, if not, why did Adam and the peacock come to adorn it from that blissful spot?

#### 4. NUH SIPIHR OF AMÍR KHUSRÚ.

["The Nine Heavens (or Spheres)."] This is one of the separate poems of Amír Khusrú, written, as he tells us, in his old age. Its historical notices relate to the reign of Kutbu-d dín Mubárák Sháh, in whose time it was written."]

##### ABSTRACT.

##### *The First Sphere.*

Praise of God and the Prophet, and of the author's spiritual teacher, Nizámu-d dín Aulýá. Panegyric on the reigning monarch, Mubárák Sháh. The author tells us that he was more than sixty years old when he wrote this poem, and had already written poems on the three preceding monarchs: Kai-kubád, respecting whom he had written the *Kiránu-s Sa'dáin*; Jalálu-d dín Fíróz, on whom he had written *Kastidas* and *Masnavís*; 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, to whom he had dedicated his *Khamsa*, and addressed panegyrical poems.

The accession of Kutbu-d dín Mubárák Sháh on Sunday, the 24th<sup>2</sup> of Muharram, 716 H.<sup>3</sup> (April 18th, 1316 A.D.). After remaining in Dehli for a year, he proceeded to the Dekhin for the conquest of Deogír, at the head of a large army. His first march was to Tilpat, about seven *kos* from Dehli, and, after a march of two months, he

<sup>1</sup> A play upon *sawd*, meaning both "black" and "country."

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta says, the 7th.

<sup>3</sup> This is the date given in the MS. used, but in some loose extracts the date is 717 (April 9th, 1317 A.D.). See *supra* pp. 211 and 555.



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

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

### *The Second Sphere.*

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

<sup>1</sup> There is no account of this expedition in Ferishta.

<sup>2</sup> خطابات هندو کہ کویند بردش





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

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

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

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

Next morning, the Khán advanced to the ditch and besieged the inner fortress. He ordered Khwája Háji, the *'Ariz*, "to distribute the army to the proper posts, to dig the trenches, and spring a mine,



the length of which was equal to 150 yards at that time." When the *rái* witnessed these bold advances, he became alarmed, and "sent wise messengers with expressions of his submission and duty to the powerful one, saying, 'If I have wealth, or elephants, or country, it is mine only through the protection of the king. I will give all my wealth, my gold, my elephants, if I am allowed to escape with my life.' When the great Khán heard that message, he thanked Almighty God for his victory." The Khán replied: "The Khalifa who sent me to this country ordered me to demand three conditions from the Hindus: First, that they should make profession of our faith, in order that its saving tidings may be proclaimed throughout the world; second, that, in the event of refusal, a capitation tax should be levied; the third is, if compliance with these demands be refused, to place their heads under the sword. It is my recommendation that the *rái* come forth and place his face upon the ground, in front of the royal pavilion."

The *rái*, in apprehension of his life, refused to leave the fort, but sent jewels, clothes, sandal, gold, horses, elephants, and other valuables to the Khán, by way of *jizya*. There were one hundred elephants and twelve thousand horses. The rapacious Khán, however, was not satisfied with all this, but sent a message to intimate that what had been sent was but "a leaf in the garden of the *rái's* wealth;" he therefore enjoined him to send everything in his possession, or to prepare for war. The *rái* solemnly affirmed that he had nothing left of all his former wealth, "As I am *rái* and have a regard for my own fair name, I would not tell a lie, which would not obtain credence."

To this the Khán replied that if the *rái* were speaking truth, he could have no objection to submit to an ordeal. "He should thrust his hand into hot oil, and if he sustain no injury from the heat, no suspicion will exist against him." To this the *rái* would not consent, but on the demand of the Khán, made over some of his relations as hostages, and wrote a letter, saying, "If any concealed treasure should hereafter be discovered, the fault will be with me, and I am responsible. This written promise soon arrived from Arangal, and it was stamped with the seal of Mahádeo."

The Khán then received from the *rái*, five districts (*manza'*) of his



country (*akṭā*), an annual tribute of "more than a hundred strong elephants, as large as demons, 12,000 horses, and gold and jewels and gems beyond compute. The *rāi* assented to the whole, with heart and soul, and wrote an engagement to this effect and confirmed it." He then made a long speech, entreating the consideration of the king, in the course of which he observes, that "the relation between Turk and Hindu is that of a lion and antelope, and the Turks, whenever they please, can seize, buy, or sell any Hindu." The Khān relinquished all the ceded and conquered territory, except "Badrkot, a fort as high as heaven, which the Khān had an object in demanding."

The *rāi* then ascended the rampart of the fort of Arangal, and turning his face towards the royal pavilion, he bowed to the earth. "Thus did he for three days, out of respect to the pale of religion; he turned towards the pavilion, and kissed the earth. He then again, tremblingly, addressed the commander in these words: 'I hold from the late Sultān several emblems of military pomp and dignity. What order is there respecting them? shall I continue to use them, or return them to you?' The Khān replied, 'As these were bestowed on you by the late Sultān, why should the reigning one wish to take them back from you? But it is right to pay due respect to his majesty, by sending the canopy (*dārbāsh*) and standard to the royal pavilion, in order that the former may be replaced by a new one, as the beams of the former sun no longer shine.'" The *rāi* accordingly returned the insignia, which were lowered before the empty pavilion of the king, and were then returned to the *rāi*, with the standard unfurled, and a new canopy.

Khusrū Khān, after this ceremony, returned in triumph to the king, by whom he had been summoned in haste. But before his arrival, Mubārak Shāh had departed from Deogir, towards Dehli, in the month of Jumāda-l ākhir, 718 H. (August 5th, 1318 A.D.).

When Mubārak Shāh arrived at Dehli, he gave orders for the building of a *Jāmi' Masjid*, by the most skilful architects, and when that was completed, he gave orders for completing the city and fort of Dehli, which his father, 'Alāu-d dīn, had left in an unfinished state.



*The Third Sphere.*

Praises of Hindústán.—Its Climate.—Animals.—Learning and Languages.

"This is a well-known fact, that the language spoken by conquerors who have established themselves, when it has been disseminated amongst people, great and small, has become the common language of the country. Just as in Baghdád, where originally but little Persian was spoken, when the Khalífa's dynasty was overthrown, the Pársís established themselves in it. Thenceforward, everything that was Arab, became subject to Pársí rules, and the herd acquired respect for the language of the shepherds. The city, which was called Baghdád in Arabic, became converted in its first syllable into Bāghchadād. Turki became just as prevalent, when the Turks conquered the country, and the language of the chiefs bore fruit in a new soil."

"Hind has observed the same rule in respect to language. In olden time it was Hindúí. When the tribes, great and small, became intermixed, every one, bad and good, learnt Pársí, and all the other languages which existed never moved from their bounds. As God had taught them all, it is not proper to call them all bad. With the exception of Arabic, which, in consequence of the Kurán being written in it, is the most excellent and eloquent of languages, all the tongues differ from one another, and each one has some peculiar merit of its own. This one exclaims, 'My wine is better than all others.' Every one loses himself in his own cup, and no one admits that his own wine is vinegar. In short, it would be useless to enter into further discussion respecting Pársí, Turki, and Arabic."

"As I was born in Hind, I may be allowed to say a word respecting its languages. There is at this time in every province a language peculiar to itself, and not borrowed from any other—Sindi, Lahorí, Kashmíri, the language of Dugar,<sup>1</sup> Dhúr Samundar, Tilang, Gujarát, Ma'bar, Gaur, Bengal, Oudh, Dehli and its environs. These are all languages of Hind, which from ancient times have been applied in every way to the common purposes of life.

<sup>1</sup> This may be considered the country between Lahore and Kashmir. Though now used by us in a more restricted sense, the natives assign to it wider limits.





"But there is another language more select than the others, which all the Brahmans use. Its name from of old is Sahaskrit, and the common people know nothing of it. A Brahman knows it, but Brahmani women do not understand a word of it. It bears a resemblance to Arabic in some respects, in its permutations of letters, its grammar, its conjugations, and polish. They have four books in that language, which they are constantly in the habit of repeating. Their name is *Bed*. They contain stories of their gods, but little advantage can be derived from their perusal. Whatever other stories and fables they have, is contained in *kabits*, *parvānas*, and *nāmāhs*. The language possesses rules for composition and eloquence. The language is very precious, inferior to Arabic, but superior to Dari; and though the latter is certainly sweet and melodious, yet even in that respect this language does not yield to it."

Mention of some of the powers of sorcery and enchantment possessed by the inhabitants of India. "First of all, they can bring a dead man to life. If a man has been bitten by a snake and is rendered speechless, they can resuscitate him after even six months. They put him on a river which flows towards the East, and he speeds on his voyage as swift as lightning. When he arrives on the borders of Kāmru, an experienced witch instils life into him."

"Another mode is this, and the power is possessed by the Brahmans as a secret; namely, that they can bring a man to life after his head has been cut off. I will tell you another story, if you will not be alarmed at it, that a demon gets into one's head and drinks as much wine as satisfies him, and whatever he utters in this state, is sure to become true. Another is, that through their art they can procure longevity by diminishing the daily number of their expirations of breath. A *jogī* who could restrain his breath in this way lived in an idol to an age of more than three hundred and fifty years."

"Another process is, that they can tell future events by the breath of their nostrils, according as the right or left orifice is more or less open. They can also inflate another's body by their own breath. In the hills on the borders of Kashmir there are many such people. Another is, that they know how to convert themselves into wolves, dogs, and cats. They can also extract by their power



the blood from one's body and infuse it again. They can also, even while moving, affect a man, whether old or young, with bodily disease. They can also make a body float from shore to shore. They can also fly like fowls in the air, however improbable it may seem. They can also, by putting antimony on their eyes, make themselves invisible at pleasure. Those only can believe all this who have seen it with their own eyes."

"Though this be all sorcery and incantation, yet there is one marvel which you must acknowledge to be fact, that is, that a woman in her senses will burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband, and that a man will burn himself for his idol or for his master. Though this be not legitimate in Islām, yet see what a great achievement it is! If this practice were lawful amongst us, pious devotees might surrender their lives to the air."

When Khusrú Khán was returning to the king after the defeat of Rághú, he received intelligence on the road that Rána Harpál had rebelled, and taken up a position in the hills at the head of a powerful army. The Khán went in pursuit of him, and was vigorously attacked two or three times by the rebel, who, in the end being desperately wounded, was taken captive, and his army put to flight. He was brought, bound hand and foot, before the king, who gave orders that he should be put to death; after which his body was delivered to his attendants to be burnt. "When his way had been taken towards hell by the sword, the king gave his body to the other hellites, that this great infidel and little Satan might become one of its chief ornaments of their kingdom. The hellites who had accompanied him out of regard and had fought by his side, also afforded food to the flames of the infernal regions. Those hellites did not desire that he should be burnt by himself alone, so they accompanied him into the flames, and hell was gratified by that sacrifice."

In the beginning of the month of Rajab, 718 H., the king, on his return towards Dehli from Deogír, crossed the Nerbadda in a boat. "Nerbadda is a river which flows very rapidly, and is so deep that it cannot be fathomed. Swifter than an arrow, and about two bow-shots broad from shore to shore, even an expert swimmer dare not attempt to cross it." On the day of the passage of the river, the captured elephants arrived in the royal camp from Telingána.



*The Fourth Sphere.*

Admonitions and precepts for kings, chiefs, soldiers, and the common people.

"I have heard a story that, in Dehli, about five or six hundred years ago, there was a great *râi*, called Anangpâl. At the entrance of his palace he had placed two lions, sculptured in stone. He fixed a bell by the side of the two lions, in order that those who sought justice might strike it, upon which the *râi* would order them to be summoned, would listen to their complaints, and render justice. One day, a crow came and sat on the bell and struck it; when the *râi* asked who the complainant was. It is a fact, not unknown, that bold crows will pick meat from between the teeth of lions. As stone lions cannot hunt for their prey, where could the crow obtain its usual sustenance? As the *râi* was satisfied that the crow justly complained of hunger, having come to sit by his stone lions, he gave orders that some goats and sheep should be killed, on which the crow might feed himself for some days."

*The Fifth Sphere.*

The king's fondness of hunting.—His preserves.—Praise of the seasons of Hindústân.—Dialogue between the king's bow and arrow.

*The Sixth Sphere.*

Birth of Prince Sultân Muhammad on the 23rd of Rabî'u-l awwal, 718 H. (June 25th, 1318 A.D.).—The king distributes gold and jewels among the nobles after seeing the child.—Its education.

*The Seventh Sphere.*

Encomium upon spring and new year's day; on flowers and birds.—The king's public audience, and the honours and robes bestowed by him upon the nobles, especially upon Khusrû Khân.

*The Eighth Sphere.*

The king's skill in the game of *chaugân*.—Dialogue between the bat and the ball.

*The Ninth Sphere.*

The poet exalts his own merits, and boastingly says that though at that time, in all 'Ajam and Irân, the two poets of chief celebrity



were Shaikh Sa'di Shīrāzī and Hakīm Humām Tabrīzī, yet he excelled them both; because, whatever might be the merit of their verses, they possessed not the same multifarious accomplishments as himself.

He tells us that he was sixty-five years of age, and becoming infirm, when he concluded this poem on the 30th of Jumāda-s sání, 718 H. (August 24th, 1318 A.D.), and that it contains 4,509 lines.

### 5. PĪKZ-I KHUSRUWÍ.

[This work, sometimes called *Inshá-i Amír Khusrú*, is a collection of *farmáns*, despatches, and letters by Amír Khusrú. It is rather an extensive work. A MS. belonging to Nawáb Zīáu-d dín, of Dehli, consists of 382 pages of small writing, nineteen lines in the page. The documents it contains are, as usual, written in the most grandiloquent style, a very small amount of information being wrapped up in a bewildering maze of words. The following abstract, made by a *munshi*, of a portion of one despatch, relates to a matter upon which the historians are silent. Barní says nothing of 'Aláu-d dín's ascendancy at Ghazní, and Firishta (I. 364) speaks only of plundering expeditions into that and the neighbouring countries.]

#### EXTRACT.

Abstract (Book IV., Sec. iii., Letter 3) of part of an *Arz-dásh*t of Hájib Badr to the address of Prince Khizr Khán, the eldest son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí. The letter has no date.

This servant, Badr, begs to state, for the information of his highness Prince Khizr Khán, son of Iskandar-i sání ('Aláu-d dín), that, according to the royal orders, he marched with an army, and, after travelling through the various stages, he reached the banks of the Indus. He crossed the river in boats, and, proceeding onwards, arrived at Ghaznín in winter. The season was exceedingly cold. The Mughals of the place were in great alarm, from fear of the Musulmán army. But when the purport of the royal *farmán* was read to them, they became comforted, expressed their obedience, and were happy. As the king had ordered that the *khutba* of his name should be read in Ghaznín, all the Muhammadans, who had con-





celeated themselves in mountains and ravines, as well as all the elders and principal Musulmán's of Ghaznín, who were looking with the eye of expectation towards Dehli, assembled in the *Jámi' Masjid* of the city, and on Friday the *khutba* was read in the name of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. The noise of the acclamations of joy and congratulations rose high from all quarters. The vest of honour, which was sent by the king for the reader of the *khutba*, was put on his shoulders. One of the walls of the mosque, which was decayed and had fallen down, was newly raised.

On the same Friday, before the assembly of the Muhammadans, when the name of the king was pronounced in the *khutba*, he (Badr) offered, near the pulpit, the jewels which he had brought with him, and also one plate full of gold. He threw them down on the earth, and people fell on them and picked them up. The Mughals saw this from the top of the walls of the *Masjid*, and spoke something in their own tongue. In these days some of the infidels have embraced the Muhammadan faith.

#### B.—KASÁID OF BADR CHÁCH.

[The author of these Odes, whose real name was Badru-d dín, "the full moon of religion," was more familiarly known as Badr-i Chách, from his native country of Chách, or Tashkand. He came to India and attracted some notice at the Court of Muhammad Tughlik, as may be gathered from the following extracts of his poems. His *Kasáid*, or Odes, were lithographed at Lucknow in 1845, and there is a short notice of them in Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo's Library, and in Sprenger's Catalogue of the Oude Libraries, p. 367. Beyond this, nothing is known of him. The following extracts and notes are entirely the work of Sir H. Elliot.]

*Congratulations on the Arrival of a Khilá't from the 'Abbásí Khalífa.*

Gabriel, from the firmament of Heaven, has proclaimed the glad tidings, that a robe of honour and Patent have reached the Sultán from the Khalífa, just as the verses of the Kurán honoured Muhammad by their arrival from the Court of the immortal God.

• • • The Imám has given the Sháh absolute power over all the world, and this intelligence has reached all other Sháhs throughout



the seven climates. The Patent of the other sovereigns of the world has been revoked, for an autograph grant has been despatched from the eternal Capital. The wells of the envious have become as dry as that of Joseph, now that the Egyptian robe has been received in Hindústán from Canaan. \* \* \* A veritable 'Td has arrived to the Faithful, now that twice in one year a *khila't* has reached the Sultán from the *Amíru-l Múminín*. \* \* \* Rajab arrived here on his return in the month of Muharram, 746 H.<sup>1</sup> (May, 1345 A.D.). \* \* \* The king now never mentions his desire of sitting on an ivory throne, since his enemies sit on the point of elephants' tusks. \* \* \* Be happy, oh Badr, for by the grace of God, and liberality of the king, your difficulties have ceased, and the period of benefactions has arrived.

*Decorations of Dehli upon the same occasion.*

Yesternight, at the time that the sun, the king with the golden garments, invested itself with a black mantle, and the king of the host of darkness,<sup>2</sup> whose name is the moon, filled the emerald vault with sparks of gold, a robe of honour and a patent of sovereignty arrived, for the king of sea and land, from the lord Khalifa, the saint of his time, Ahmad 'Abbás, the Imám of God, the heir of the prophet of mankind. An order went forth that the embroiderers of

<sup>1</sup> This is a very difficult passage, and variously interpreted. I have made as much sense of it as it seems capable of bearing. The literal translation is: "On the very date on which one month was in excess of the year 700 from this journey, in the month of Muharram, the before Sha'bán arrived." The chronogrammatic value of "one month" is forty-six; some copies, by the omission of the *alif*, make it "forty-five," and some only "nine," which latter is out of the question. Rajab is the month before Sha'bán, and that is also the name of the ambassador who had been sent by Muhammad Tughlik to the Khalifa. Firishita says one *khila't* arrived in 744 H., and another in 747 H. Here a contemporary says the second arrived in 746 H., or it may be 745 H., and that both *khila'ts* arrived within one year. The introduction of the Khalifa's name upon Muhammad Tughlik's coins begins as early as 741 H.; but this must have occurred before the arrival of an ambassador, and sufficiently accounts for the errors in the name of the reigning Khalifa, which do not occur at a period subsequent to this embassy. See E. Thomas, *Coins of the Patan Sultans*, New Edition, pp. 254, 259, and Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> That is, your enemies are placed before elephants, to be gored or trampled to death by elephants.

<sup>3</sup> There is a double meaning here—the "host of darkness" being, in the original, "the army of Hind;" and the "black mantle," "the *khila't* of the 'Abbásis;" which image also occurs in the preceding ode.





curtains should prepare a beautiful and costly pavilion in the centre of four triumphal arches, which were so lofty that the vault of heaven appeared in comparison like a green fly. Each arch was adorned with golden vestments, like a bride. The floors were spread with beautiful carpets, and there were ponds of water to excite the envy of Katsar, the rivulet of paradise. In the chambers poets recited verses; songsters, like Venus, sang in each balcony. The chamberlains were in attendance, with their embroidered sleeves; the judges, with their turbans; the princes, with their waistbands. All classes of the people assembled round the buildings to witness the scene. This gay assemblage had collected because a *khila't* and Patent had been sent by the lord Imám. The contents of it were: "May everything on the face of the earth, in the fire and in the water, remain under the protection of the king—Turk, Róm, Khurásán, Chín, and Shám—both that which is good, and that which is bad! If an azure canopy be granted, the heaven is at his command; if a red crown be desired, the sun will provide it. Let his titles be proclaimed from every pulpit—the Sultán of East and West, the King of Kings by sea and land, the Defender of the Faith, Muhammad Tughlik, the Just, in dignity like Saturn, in splendour like the Messiah!" The Imám has sent a *khila't* black as the apple of the eye, calculated to spread the light of the law through the hearts of men. For fear of the justice of thy government, the hart and the lion consort in the forest. May the eyes of thy enemies shed tears of blood. May he who raises his head against thy authority, have his face blackened, and his tongue slit, like a pen-reed; and so long as the moon is sometimes round as a shield, and sometimes bent like a bow, may arrows pierce the heart of thy ruthless enemies. May every success attend Badr through thy good fortune, and may he never be visited by any calamities of the time!

*In Celebration of a Festival.*

Doubtless, this festival appears as if it were held in Paradise, in which armies of angels stand on the right and left. A thousand crowned heads are bowed in reverence; a thousand throned warriors stand awaiting orders; a thousand stars (armies) are there, and



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

\* \* \* \* \*

*On the Capture of Nagarkot.*

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

\* \* \* \* \*

*The Author is despatched to Deogir.*

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



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

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

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> *Mubárah* is the Persian translation of *Katlagh*.

<sup>2</sup> The annotator says, "Proceed on a mission to the Khalífa;" but this is a very imperfect interpretation.



*In Commemoration of the Building of Khurramábád.*

\* \* \* \* \*

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

*On the same subject.*

\* \* \* \* \*

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

*In Celebration of the Completion of the Shah-náma.*

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

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





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

\* \* \* \* \*

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

OF

#### SHAHÁBU-D DÍN ABU-L 'ABBÁS AHMAD.

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

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





*Journal des Savants*, and he frequently refers to the author under the surname of *Marakashí* in his *Histoire des Huns*; but M. Quatremère shows this title of *Marakashí*, or "native of Morocco," to be a mistake.

The MS. is a small folio of 231 leaves, and consists of six chapters. 1. Description of Hind and Sind. 2. The Empire and family of Changíz Khán. 3. The Kingdom of Jílán. 4. The Kurds, Lúrs, and other mountain tribes. 5. Turk states in Asia Minor, with notices of the empires of Trebizond and Constantinople. 6. Egypt, Syria, and Hijáz.

At the close of his notices of India, he mentions the name of Muhammad Tughlík as the reigning sovereign, and the general tenor of his observations points unmistakably to that able but perverse ruler. The author quotes occasionally the works of other authors on geography and history, and among them Abú-l Fidá and Juwaíní; but he depends principally on the oral information supplied by intelligent and learned travellers with whom he had come in contact. His method of gathering and using information is apparent in the following extracts. The work stood high in Oriental estimation, and was often quoted by later writers—among others by the author of the *Nuzhatu-l Kulúb*.]

#### EXTRACTS.

India is a most important country, with which no other country in the world can be compared in respect of extent, riches, the numbers of its armies, the pomp and splendour displayed by the sovereign in his progresses and habitations, and the power of the empire. \* \* \* The inhabitants are remarkable for their wisdom and great intelligence; no people are better able to restrain their passions, nor more willing to sacrifice their lives, for what they consider agreeable in the sight of God.

According to the information of Siráju-d dín Abú-l Fath 'Umar, a lawyer, and a native of the province of Oudh, who had lived long at the court of the Sultán of Dehli, the dominions of that monarch consisted of twenty-three principal provinces. 1. Dehli. 2. Dawákir (Deogir). 3. Multán. 4. Kahrán (Kuhráh). 5. Sámána. 6. Siwistán. 7. Uch. 8. Hasí (Hansi). 9. Sarsutí (Sirsah). 10. Ma'bar.



11. Tilank (Telingana). 12. Gujarát. 13. Badáún. 14. Oudh.  
 15. Kanauj. 16. Lakhnauti. 17. Bihár. 18. Karra. 19. Málwa.  
 20. Láhor. 21. Kalanor (Gwalior?). 22. Jáj Nagar. 23. Tilanj  
 Darusamand (Telingana (?)) and Dwára-samudra).

According to the account of Shaikh Mubarak, the city of Dehli is the capital of the kingdom of India. Next comes *Dawákír* (Deogír), which was founded by the Sultán of that empire, and named by him "*Kabbatu-l Islám*, or the Metropolis of Islám." This place, said the Shaikh, is situated in the third climate. When I left it six years ago the buildings were not completed, and I doubt if they are yet finished, the extent it covers being so great, and the number of its intended edifices so vast. The king divided it into quarters, each of them intended for men of the same profession. Thus there was the quarter of the troops, that of the ministers and clerks, that of the *kázis* and learned men, that of the *shaikhs* and *fakirs*, and that of the merchants and those who carry on trades. Each quarter was to contain within it everything necessary for its wants, mosques, minarets, markets, baths, mills, ovens, and workmen of every trade, including even blacksmiths, dyers, and curriers, so that the inhabitants should have no necessity to resort elsewhere for buying or selling, or the other requirements of life. Each quarter was to form a separate town, entirely independent of those surrounding it.

\* \* \* \* \*

I questioned the Shaikh Mubarak about the city of Dehli and the court of its sovereign, and I obtained from him the following details. "Dehli consists of several cities which have become united, and each of which has a name of its own. Dehli, which was one among them, has given its name to all the rest. It is both long and broad, and covers a space of about forty miles in circumference. The houses are built of stone and brick, and the roofs of wood. The floors are paved with a white stone, like marble. None of the houses are more than two stories high, and some only one. It is only in the palace of the Sultán that marble is used for pavement. But if I can believe the Shaikh Abú Bakr bin Khallál, this description applies only to the old houses of Dehli, for the new ones are built differently. According to the same informant, Dehli comprises an aggregate of twenty-one cities. Gardens extend on three sides of



it, in a straight line for twelve thousand paces. The western side is not so furnished, because it borders on a mountain. Dehli contains a thousand colleges, one of which belongs to the *Shāfa'is*, the rest to the *Hanafis*. In it there are about seventy hospitals, called *Dāru-sh Shifā*, or houses of cure. In the city, and those dependent upon it, the chapels and hermitages amount to 2,000. There are great monasteries, large open spaces, and numerous baths. The water used by the people is drawn from wells of little depth, seldom exceeding seven cubits. Hydraulic wheels are placed at their tops. The people drink rain-water, which is collected in large reservoirs constructed for that purpose, the distance across each of them being a bowshot, or even more. The chief mosque is celebrated for its minaret, which, in point of altitude, is said to have no equal in the world. If the statement of Shaikh Burhānu-d dīn Būrsī can be believed, the height of this part of the edifice is 600 cubits.

According to Shaikh Mubarak, the palaces of the Sultān of Dehli are exclusively occupied by the Sultan, his wives, concubines, eunuchs, male and female slaves, and *mamlūks*. None of the *khāns* and *amīrs* are permitted to dwell there. They make their appearance there only when they come to wait upon the Sultān, which they do twice a day, morning and afternoon. Afterwards, each one of them retires to his own house.

As regards the great officers of State, those of the highest rank are called *khāns*, then the *maliks*,<sup>1</sup> then the *amīrs*, then the *isfah-sālārs* (generals), and, lastly, the officers (*jand*). The court of the sovereign comprises eighty *khāns*, or even more. The army consists of 900,000 horsemen, some of whom are stationed near the prince, and the rest are distributed in the various provinces of the empire. All are inscribed in the registers of the State, and partake of the liberality of their sovereign. These troops consist of Turks, inhabitants of Khatā, Persians, and Indians. Among them are to be found *athletæ* (*pahlawān*), runners, (*shattār*), and men of every kind. They have excellent horses, magnificent armour, and a fine costume. \* \* \* The Sultān has 3,000 elephants, which, when ac-

<sup>1</sup> The French translation says "rois," but I have no hesitation in substituting "*malik*," which is no doubt the original word.





courted for battle, wear a covering of iron gilded. \* \* \* He has 20,000 Turk *mamlûks*. \* \* \* It is not the same in India as in Egypt and Syria, where the *maliks*, *amîrs*, and generals have in their service men whom they maintain out of their own resources. In India the officer has only to care for himself. As to the soldiers, the Sultân summons them for service, and they are paid from the public treasury. The sums granted to a *khân*, a *malik*, an *amîr*, or a general, are given exclusively for his own personal maintenance. The chamberlains and other dignitaries; the military men, such as the *khâns*, the *maliks*, and the *amîrs*, all have a rank in proportion to the importance of their employ. The *isfah-sâlars* (generals) have no right to approach the Sultân. It is from this class that governors and other similar functionaries are chosen. The *khân* has 10,000 horse under his command, the *malik*, 1,000; the *amîr*, 100; and the *isfah-sâlâr* a smaller number. The *khâns*, *maliks*, *amîrs*, and *isfah-sâlars* receive the revenues of places assigned to them by the treasury, and if these do not increase, they never diminish. Generally speaking, they bring in much more than their estimated value. The *khân* receives a grant of two *lacs* of *tankas*, each *tanka* being worth eight *dirhams*. This sum belongs to him personally, and he is not expected to disburse any part of it to the soldiers who fight under his orders. The *malik* receives an amount varying from 60,000 to 50,000 *tankas*, the *amîr* from 40,000 to 30,000, and the *isfah-sâlâr* 20,000, or thereabouts. The pay of the officer varies from 10,000 to 1,000 *tankas*. A *mamlûk* receives 500 *tankas*, and all receive, in addition, food and raiment, and forage for their horses. Soldiers and *mamlûks* do not receive grants of land-revenue, but draw their pay in money from the public treasury. The officers have villages of which they receive the revenues. As this same traveller observed to me, the revenues of these lands, if they do not increase, certainly do not decrease. Some of the officers receive double, and even more than that, in excess of the estimated value of their grants.

The slaves of the Sultân each receive a monthly allowance for their maintenance of two *mans* of wheat and rice, and a daily allowance of three *sîrs* of meat, with all the necessary accompaniments. Besides, he receives ten *tankas* per month, and four suits of clothes every year.



The Sultán has a manufactory, in which 400 silk-weavers are employed, and where they make stuffs of all kinds for the dresses of persons attached to the Court, for robes of honour and presents, in addition to the stuffs which are brought every year from China, 'Irák, and Alexandria. Every year the Sultán distributes 200,000 complete dresses; 100,000 in spring, and 100,000 in autumn. The spring dresses consist principally of the goods manufactured at Alexandria. Those of the autumn are almost exclusively of silk manufactured at Dehli or imported from China and 'Irák. Dresses are also distributed to the monasteries and hermitages.

The Sultán keeps in his service 500 manufacturers of golden tissues, who weave the gold brocades worn by the wives of the Sultán, and given away as presents to the *amírs* and their wives. Every year he gives away 10,000 Arab horses, of excellent breed, sometimes with saddle and bridle, sometimes without. \* \* \* As to the hacks which the Sultán distributes every year, their number is incalculable. He gives them in lots or by hundreds. Notwithstanding the number of horses in India, and notwithstanding the numbers annually imported, the Sultán has horses brought from all countries, and buys them at high prices for presents. These animals are consequently always dear, and yield a good profit to the horse-dealers.

The Sultán has under him a *náib*, chosen from among the *kháns*, who bears the title of *Amriya*, and enjoys, as his official appanage, a considerable province, as large as 'Irák. He also has a *wazír*, who has a similar large appanage. This officer has four deputies called *shák*, who receive 20,000 to 40,000 *tankas* per annum. He has four *dabírs*, or secretaries, each of whom receives the revenue of a large maritime town. Each of them has under his orders about 300 clerks, the lowest and worst paid of whom receives 10,000 *tankas* a year. Some of the highest rank have towns and villages, and some have both (pay and lands) to the value of fifty (thousand).

The *Sadr-i Jahán*, or *Kázíu-l kuzát*, which office is held, at the time I am writing, by Kamálu-d dín, son of Burhánu-d dín, has ten towns, producing a revenue of about 60,000 *tankas*. This dignitary is also called *Sadr-u-l Islám*, and is the chief officer of justice. The *Shaikh-u-l Islám*, who corresponds to our *Shaikh-u-sh shuyák*, has