

called Malik Kafúr,<sup>1</sup> with 80,000 formidable and veteran cavalry to expel them; and when the army of Islám was within the distance of a day's journey from the enemy, it made suddenly a night attack on their camp, which was left quite unguarded, and the greater part of the Mughal armies received their retribution ('iwaz) from the empire of Dehli, where they met with the silent tomb of entire annihilation. Having surrounded the remnant on the field of battle they deprived them of their arms," and 'Alí Beg and other officers of the Mughals were carried captive to Dehli.

"Sultán 'Aláu-d dín gave orders that the sword of menace and the declaration of unity should be offered to them; when, as they they could not help themselves, they placed their heads on the line of Islám," and repeated the profession of the Muhammadan creed. \* \* \* "'Aláu-d dín honoured and gave preferment to 'Alí Beg, and made him one of his nobles, and the Mughal army was provided for amongst the armies of Islám. After the battle an order was issued by 'Aláu-d dín to gather together the heads of those who had been slain. This matter was specially made over to the Hindús. On counting them after they were thrown at the feet of the holy warrior they were found to amount to 60,000, and, as was done with the Nigúdará<sup>2</sup> Mughals, a pillar was constructed of these heads before the Badáún gate, in order that it might be a warning and spectacle to future generations. The good tidings of this happy conquest were published throughout all the countries and provinces both of the faithful and the idolatrous.

<sup>1</sup> All the copies I have consulted give this name as Nabú or Níú; probably the former may have been a corruption of Náib, which was his true designation. [In the text of Firishta he is called "Malik Náib Kafúr Hazár-dínarí." The latter title is said to have been derived from his having been originally purchased for 1000 dinárs. See Briggs' Trans. Vol. I, 365.]

<sup>2</sup> Nigúdar, a younger son of Chagatái, after his disgrace, established himself with his vassals and followers in Sistán, and committed ravages upon the neighbouring provinces. His followers were called "Nigúdará," or "Karátunass."



*Conquest of Telingána.*

In the year 709 (1309 A.D.),—the year arrived in prosperity and the time was propitious,—the lofty mind of the king greatly inclined towards the conquest of the whole of Hindústán, and the subjection of the infidels. Previous to this, Málwa had been conquered; he, therefore despatched Malik Nabú, Zafar Khán, and Nának Hindí,<sup>1</sup> with an army consisting of one hundred thousand horse and foot,—

Oh thou for whom there is an army that obtains victory,—  
to conquer the province of Telingána. When they arrived on its frontier, the Rái of that province adopted a prudent resolution, submitted to the Muhammadans, and agreed to pay an annual tribute and receive the royal collectors, and that populous territory, replete with every kind of wealth—

As the cheek of your friend full of excellence,  
In which are all desires you are in search of,—

containing more than 30,000 tracts of country, was added to the Muhammadan empire. It is related that 6,000 kharwárs, or loads, of gold were despatched to Dehli,—

Much yellow gold was in the large sacks,—  
and in consequence of the abundance of diamonds obtained by plunder, they became so cheap that, one weighing a miskál, could be purchased for three dínárs.

*The Conquest of Dúr Samundar.*

The royal army marched from this place towards the country of Dúr Samun. Rái Pandyá offered opposition, and begged the assistance of an army from Ma'bar. At that time enmity prevailed between the two brothers, Sundar Pandí and Tíra Pandí,

<sup>1</sup> The reading is doubtful. One copy has Khánka Mandí, and Firishtá has Khwája Háji. As Amir Khusrú speaks prominently of the Hindús who accompanied this expedition, there is no improbability in the reading adopted in the text.



after the murder of their father. The latter sent to his assistance an army of horse and foot. Subsequently, the Rái, turning to the right rank, declined a contest, and, having proffered his submission, he was left in possession of his country without the necessity of fighting. He delivered up to Malik Kafúr the country of 'Arikanna, as a proof of his allegiance, and treasure beyond what imagination can conceive, together with 55 large elephants, which were worthy of carrying the great and fortunate heroes of the time, so that the country was restored to him, and, instead of shell-blowing, pyrolatry, and idol-worship, the true faith and the five daily prayers were established. On account of these transactions the fame of the first holy wars which opened Hind under Mahmúd Subuktigin was erased from the page of history.

At the present time the imperial army consists of 475,000 Muhammadan disciplined holy warriors, whose names are recorded by the imperial muster-master, and whose pay and rations are entered in the regulations of the deputy-victualler. They are most obedient to the orders they receive, and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the especial sake of their religion. Four hundred war elephants \* \* \* are kept in the royal stables, and forty swift camels \* \* \* are employed to convey daily reports, with the greatest expedition, from and to the distant provinces of the empire. \* \* \*

### *Invasion of Ma'bar.*

In the month of Rajab of the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were dispatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans. Malik Nabú, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army.



*Uljaitu Sultán sends an Embassy to 'Aláu-d dín.*

About that period the king of the world, U'ljaitú<sup>1</sup> Sultán,—May his empire last for ever!—sent two ambassadors, named Khálúya and Muhammad Sháh, to the court of Dehli, with a royal mandate to the following purport, that as the rulers of that quarter, both in the reign of the Emperor Changíz Khán, the conqueror of the world, and the most generous U'ktái Khán, had tendered their friendship and homage, and, through the language of the ambassadors, had occasionally offered their sentiments of goodwill, it is, therefore, strange that, since the imperial throne has been adorned by our auspicious accession, and the sun of the kingdom of Islám has shed its light over the world, Sultán 'Aláu-d dín has never opened the road of ancient friendship by means of an ambassador to our regal court, nor sent a message conveying tidings of himself or congratulations to us; it is, therefore, expected that he will henceforth be willing to apply himself to strengthen the foundations of regard and free intercourse. In connection with this embassy it was also intimated that the Emperor asked in marriage one of the Princesses from behind the veil of the kingdom of Dehli.<sup>2</sup>

Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, notwithstanding all his bravery and conquests, and abundant treasures and obedient armies, combining in himself all personal accomplishments and worldly advantages, was a tyrant, and never used to hesitate at slaughter, burning, restricting the privileges of the army, or reducing the allowances of his servants, and was quite overcome by his disposition towards temerity and oppression. As a proof of this he ordered

<sup>1</sup> It signifies "fortunate" in the Mongol language.

<sup>2</sup> On similar occasions the like delicacy of expression is observed. Thus, when the daughter of Atábak Sa'd of Shíráz was bestowed upon Sultán Jalálu-d dín, 'Atáu-l mulk Juwainí says, in the second volume of the *Jahán Kushá* :

دُری که در صدف خاندان کریم در حصن حصانت میان عقل  
 و رزانت تربیت یافته بود در عقد سلطان منعقد شد





the ambassadors to be imprisoned, and several<sup>1</sup> of their attendants to be trodden under the feet of elephants, and thus he submerged the jewel of his good fame; for to bring trouble on an ambassador is, under every system of religious faith, altogether opposed to the principles of law, social observance, and common sense. With respect to law, an ambassador receives his credentials without even the suspicion of criminality; with respect to social observance, the oppressor and the oppressed, friend and foe, peace and war, are all equally in need of embassies and communications: with respect to common sense, it is abundantly evident that the killing of one man, or even ten, entails no infirmity or injury on a kingdom. Inasmuch, therefore, as 'Aláu-d dín, free to do as he chose, was guilty of a deed from which danger might have resulted, and without any cause exhibited his enmity, he must be considered to have acted contrary to what a peaceful policy and sound prudence dictated.

*Continuation of the history of the Kings of Ma'bar.*

Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country, nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth, inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardí there were 1,200 crores of gold deposited, every crore being equal to a thousand<sup>2</sup> laks, and every lak to one hundred thousand dínárs. Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises, and emeralds,—more than is in the power of language to express. (Here follows a long string of reflections upon the instability of worldly wealth and grandeur.)

This fortunate and happy sovereign had two sons, the elder

<sup>1</sup> One copy reads eighteen.

<sup>2</sup> Properly only a hundred, if the reading of "crore" be correct; but the copies I have consulted read *kúze*, which might be meant to imply an earthen vessel, or some capacious receptacle calculated to contain a hundred laks.





named Sundar Pandí, who was legitimate, his mother being joined to the Dewar by lawful marriage, and the younger named Tíra Pandí, was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses who continually attended the king in his banquet of pleasure; for it was customary with the rulers of that country that, when the daily affairs of the administration were over, and the crowds that attended the court had gone to their respective homes, a thousand beautiful courtezans used to attend the king in his pleasure. They used to perform the several duties prescribed to each of them; some were appointed as chamberlains, some as interpreters, some as cup-bearers, and day and night both the sexes kept promiscuous intercourse together; and it was usual for the king to invite to his bed that girl upon whom the lot should happen to fall. I have mentioned this in illustration of their customs.

As Tíra Pandí was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity, the ruler nominated him as his successor. His brother Sundar Pandí, being enraged at this supercession, killed his father, in a moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 H. (1310 A.D.), and placed the crown on his head in the city of Márdí.<sup>1</sup> He induced the troops who were there to support his interests, and conveyed some of the royal treasures which were deposited there to the city of Mankúl,<sup>2</sup> and he himself accompanied, marching on, attended in royal pomp, with the elephants, horses, and treasures. Upon this his brother Tíra Pandí, being resolved on avenging his father's blood, followed to give him battle, and on the margin of a lake which, in their language, they call Taláchí, the opponents came to action. Both the brothers, each ignorant of the fate of the other, fled away; but Tíra Pandí being unfortunate (*tíra bakht*), and having been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and seven elephant-loads of gold also fell to the lot of the army of Sundar Pandí.

It is a saying of philosophers, that ingratitude will, sooner or later, meet its punishment, and this was proved in the sequel, for

<sup>1</sup> [Madura ?]

<sup>2</sup> [Namkúl ?]





Manár Barmúl, the son of the daughter of Kales Dewar, who espoused the cause of Tíra Pandí, being at that time at Karám-hattí, near Kálúl,<sup>1</sup> sent him assistance, both in men and money, which was attended with a most fortunate result. Sundar Pandí had taken possession of the kingdom, and the army and the treasure were his own ; but, as in every religion and faith, evil deeds produce a life of insecurity, a matter which it is unnecessary to expatiate upon, he, notwithstanding all his treasures and the goodwill of the army, was far from being happy and prosperous, entertaining crude notions, and never awaking from his dream of pride, and at last he met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for in the middle of the year 710 (1310 A.D.) Tíra Pandí, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandí, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of 'Aláu-d dín, of Dehli, and Tíra Pandí became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.

While I was engaged in writing this passage, one of my friends said to me : "The kings of Hind are celebrated for their penetration and wisdom ; why then did Kales Dewar, during his lifetime, nominate his younger and illegitimate son as his successor ; to the rejection of the elder, who was of pure blood, by which he introduced distraction into a kingdom which had been adorned like a bride."

<sup>1</sup> [Kárúr ?]





## XII.

## TARÍKH-I BINÁKITÍ

OF

## FAKHRU-D DÍN, BINÁKITÍ.

This is the same work as is called *Binā-Gety* by Mr. James Fraser, in his "*Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*;" and *Bina-i-Gety* by General Briggs, in his translation of the Preface of *Firishta*, which would seem to imply that the title was considered by them to bear the meaning of "History of the Foundation of the World." It certainly is so understood by native transcribers, for I have seen no copy of *Firishta*, not even the lithograph edition, in which it is not so written, and it has been so translated by some Continental scholars. Its correct name at full length is "*Rauzat ulu-l Albáb fi Tawárikhu-l Akábir wa-ul Ansáb*," "the garden of the learned in the histories of great men and genealogies." It is chiefly an abridgment, as the author himself states, of the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* of Rashídu-d dín, and was compiled only seven years after that work, in A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317), by Abú-Sulaimán Dáúd, bin Abú-l Fazl, bin Muhammad Fakhr<sup>1</sup> Binákití. He is commonly called Fakhru-d dín Binákití from his having been born at Binákit, or Finákit, a town in Transoxiana, afterwards called Sháhrukhíá. He copies Rashídu-d dín closely, without, however, adopting his arrangement, and dedicates his work to Sultán Abú Sa'id, the ninth Mongol king of Persia.

The author was a poet as well as an historian, and was

<sup>1</sup> This is the name he gives in his own Preface. European Orientalists generally call him Fakhru-d din. [Morley cites several variations in the name and genealogy.]





appointed by Sultán Gházán, poet laureate of his Court. Till the discovery of the lost portions of the *Jamí'u-t Tawárikh*, Binákítí's work ranked very high both in Europe and Asia, but it must now take its place as a mere abridgment, and can be considered of no value as an original composition. Several good copies of the work exist in European libraries, as in the Rich collection, Nos. 7626, 7627, of the British Museum; in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society; in the Leyden library; and in Hammer-Purgstall's private collection. The work is not common in India. The best copy I know is in the possession of a native gentleman at Lucknow.

The 8th Book of this work is already known to the European public, though ascribed to a different author. In the year 1677, Andreas Müller published at Berlin a small work in Persian, with a Latin translation, under the title of *Abdallæ Beidavæi Historia Sinensis*, ascribing the original to the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* of Baizáwí. It was reprinted by his son in 1689, and Brunet<sup>1</sup> tells us that Stephen Weston published fifty copies of an English translation in 1820. M. Quatremère had the ingenuity to guess, for several reasons which he states in detail, that this was in reality an extract from the History of Binákítí, and not from Baizáwí; and by comparing the passage he has given from Müller's printed work with Binákítí, of which a copy was not available to M. Quatremère, it proves to be verbatim the 2nd Chapter of the 8th Book of Binákítí; and as the same result has been obtained by comparing it with the copy in the British Museum, there can no longer be any doubt on this point, and the *Historia Sinensis* must henceforth be attributed to Binákítí.

#### CONTENTS.

Book I.—The Genealogy and History of the Prophets and Patriarchs from the time of Adam to Abraham, comprising a period of 4838 years. (The use of the word *Ausiya* shows the writer to be a Shí'a Muhammadan; )—from p. 2 to 25.

<sup>1</sup> *sub voce* Abdalla.





Book II.—The kings of Persia, from Kaiúmars to Yazdajird, together with the celebrated Prophets and Philosophers who were their contemporaries; 4322 years;—from p. 25 to 59.

Book III.—History of Muhammad; the four first Khalifs; twelve Imáms, and later Khalifs, down to Mustasim bi-llah, the last of the 'Abbásides; 626 years;—from p. 60 to 186.

Book IV.—The Sultáns and kings who, in the time of the 'Abbáside Khalifs, rose to power in the kingdom of Yrán, including the dynasties of Saffárians, Sámánians, Ghaznivides, Buwaihides Saljúkians, Khwárizmians and the kings of the Forest or Heretics (Assassins); 400 years;—from p. 186 to 208.

Book V.—The history of the Jews, their Kings and Prophets, from Moses to Mutína (Zedekiah, see 2 Kings xxiv. 17), who was slain by Bakhtnassar; 941 years;—from p. 208 to 230.

Book VI.—The history of the Christians and Franks; the descent of the Virgin Mary from David; the kings of the Franks, the Cæsars, and Popes; 1337 years;—from p. 231 to 260.

Book VII.—The Hindús; an account of the country and kings of India from Básdeo to 'Aláu-d dín, and an account of Shákmúní; 1200 years;—from p. 260 to 281.

Book VIII.—History of Khitá. The government lasted, according to local historians, 42,875 years;—from p. 281 to 299.

Book IX.—History of the Mughals; the origin of Changíz Khán, and his conquest of Persia, etc., with an account of his sons and successors; 101 years;—from p. 299 to 402.

SIZE.—Small Folio, containing 402 pages, of 21 lines.

A fuller detail is given in the Vienna Year-book for 1835 by Hammer-Purgstall, who states that our author composed his work in A.H. 718, not 717, though the latter date is expressly mentioned, not only in the Preface, but in other parts of the work. The same author gives the year of his death as A.H. 730 (1329 A.D.), and reads his name Binákati. [Morley also has given a full notice of the work in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

It will be observed that the seventh Book is devoted to India.



Throughout the whole of it Binákítí follows Rashídu-d dín implicitly, copying him even with all his errors, just as Rashídu-d dín follows Bírúní. Nothing shows more completely the ignorance of the western Asiatics with respect to the state of India since Mahmúd's time than to find these two authors, 300 years afterwards, mentioning that Bári is the capital of the province of Kanauj, of which the kings are the most potent in India, and that Thanesar is in the Dúáb. All this is taken from Abú Rihán, as may be seen by referring to the extracts in the first volume.

It is needless to translate any passage from this work, but it may be as well to mention, as the Calcutta copy of Rashídí, as well as that of the India House, is deficient in that respect,<sup>1</sup> that the succession of the Kábul kings, who preceded the Ghaznvides, occurs in nearly the same order as in M. Reinaud's edition of Bírúní, and with nearly the same names, but the last of the Turk dynasty, whom M. Reinaud calls Laktouzemán, appears here under the more probable shape of Katorán, or Katormán, "king of the Katores,"<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of remark that the present chief of Chitrál is called Sháh Kator, and claims descent from the Macedonians. Kalar, the first of the Bráhmañ dynasty, is omitted by Binákítí. Anandpál is converted into Andapál, and the nearest approach to M. Reinaud's doubtful name of Nardanjánpála (correctly perhaps Niranjánpál) is Tásdar Jaipál.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The British Museum MS., and the Arabic MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society have passages upon the subject obviously derived from Bírúní. See Thomas' Prinsep, I. 315.]

<sup>2</sup> [See Vol. II. p. 404.]

<sup>3</sup> Compare Morley's *Cat.* p. 25. Hammer-Purgstall's *Handschriften*, p. 194. *Recueil des Voyages*, Tom. II. p. 369. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Tom. III. p. 330. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. p. 267. *Coll. Or.* Tom. I. pp. lxxxv.—ci. 424. *Jahrbücher*, No. 69. *Anz. Blatt*, p. 33, and No. 73, p. 26. *Gesch. d. schön. Red. Pers.* p. 241. Elphinstone, *Kingdom of Cabul*, App. C. p. 619. Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol. II. p. 209. *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. IX. p. 194. C. Ritter, *Erd. von As.* Vol. V. p. 207. *Gemäldesaal der Lebensb.* Vol. IV. p. 35. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Or.* 857, 858. *Gesch. d. G. Horde*, pp. xxxi. 343. Jenisch, *Hist. priorum Regum Persarum*, p. 142.



EXTRACT.

[The following is translated from a MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society :—

“After (him) Arjún became king ; after him Kank, who was the last of the Katormán kings ; after him Bráhma Sámand became king ; after him Kamlú ; after him Jaipál ; after him Andah pál ; and after him Tadar Jaipál,<sup>1</sup> who was killed 412 Hijrí (1021 A.D.).”

تدر جسال<sup>1</sup>





## XIII.

## TARÍKH-I GUZÍDA.

OF

## HAMDU-LLA MUSTAUFÍ.

This work was composed in A.H. 730 (1329) by Hamdu-lla bin Abú Bakr bin Hamd bin Nasr Mustaúfí<sup>1</sup> Kazwíní, and was dedicated to the minister Ghiyásu-d dín, the son of Rashídu-d dín, to both of whom our author had been secretary.

It ranks among the best general histories of the East. Reinaud used it for his *Mem. sur l'Inde*. Hammer-Purgstall calls it in different passages of his works the best, the most faithful, and the most brilliant of all the histories which were composed about that period. He remarks that it contains much matter not found elsewhere, and concurs in the praise bestowed upon it by Háji Khalfa, that implicit confidence is to be placed in its assertions. It is a pity, therefore, that the work is in so abridged a form as to be more useful for its dates than for its details of facts. The authors of the Universal History frequently quote it under the name of "*Tarik Cozidih*."

Eleven years after the completion of this history, the author composed his celebrated work on Geography and Natural History, entitled *Nuzhatu-l Kulúb*, "the delight of hearts," which is in high repute with oriental scholars.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "President of the Exchequer." Com. le Brun says the *Mustaúfí* is chief of the Chamber of Accounts of the Lordships which particularly belong to his Majesty. Price (II. 360) calls him controller or auditor of the Exchequer. In the case of our author the title appears to be a family designation, derived from actual occupation of the office by an ancestor. The title Kazwíní is derived from his native town Kazwín.

<sup>2</sup> [See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda Int.* cly.]





The author states that he had undertaken to write in verse an universal history from the time of Muhammad, and had already written five or six thousand lines, and hoped to complete it in seventy-five thousand ; but being anxious to bring out a work in prose also, in order that he might have the satisfaction of presenting it as soon as possible to his excellent patron Ghiyásu-dín, whose praises extend throughout two pages, he compiled the present work under the name of *Tárikh-i Guzida*. "Selected History," having abstracted it from twenty four different works, of which he gives the names, and amongst them, the history of Tabarí, the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh* of Ibnu-l Asír Jazarí, the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* of Baizáwí, the *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh* of Jamálu-dín Káshí, and the *Jahán-kusháí* of Juwainí. Besides these twenty-four, he quotes occasionally several other valuable works, many of which are now quite unknown. In its turn the *Tárikh-i Guzida* has been used by later writers. The *Habibu-s Siyar* quotes largely from it.

The *Tárikh-i Guzida* contains a Preface, six Books, and an Appendix. The only Books useful for the illustration of Indian history are the third and fourth, in which are comprised the account of the early attempts of the Arabs on the Indian frontier and the history of the Ghaznvide and Ghorian monarchs.

[A portion of the work, comprising the history of the Saljukian dynasty, has been translated by M. Deffrémery, and published in the *Journal Asiatique* ;<sup>1</sup> and another portion, relating to the city of Kazwín, has also been translated by the same writer.<sup>2</sup>]

## CONTENTS.

The Preface contains an account of the creation of the world ; from p. 1 to p. 8.

Book I.—An account of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Philosophers ; in two sections and two subsections ;—from p. 8 to 67.

Book II.—The Peshdádians, Kaiánians, Ashkánians (Arsacidæ

<sup>1</sup> [Vols. XI., XII., XIII. Quat., Serie.]

<sup>2</sup> [Ib. 5 Serie. Tome X.]





and Mulúk-i Tawáif) and Sássánians; in four sections;—from p. 68 to 109.

Book III.—Muhammad, the Khalífas and Imáms; in an introduction and six sections;—from p. 109 to 311.

Book IV.—The eastern monarchies, from the beginning of Muhammadanism to A.H. 730 (A.D. 1329); in twelve sections and several subsections, devoted to the following Dynasties:—Bani Láis Saffár, Sámánuis, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Búwaihides or Dyálíma, Saljúkians, Khwárizmians, Atábaks (2 sections), Ismáílians, Karákhitáis, and Mughals;—from p. 311 to 477.

Book V.—The Saints and Elders of the Muhammadan faith, Philosophers and Poets; in six sections;—from p. 477 to 557.

Book VI.—An account of the author's native place, Kazwín, and its celebrated characters; in eight sections;—from p. 557 to 603.

The Appendix contains Genealogical Trees of Prophets, Princes, Philosophers and others;—from p. 603 to 618.

SIZE.—8vo. containing 618 pages of 14 lines.

This history, though often quoted by oriental writers, is rare in India. The best copy I know is in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 493, but it is unfortunately defective both in the beginning and end. Yár 'Alí Khán, chief native Judge of Jaunpúr, has a good copy, and there is one also in the king of Lucknow's library. Robert Cust, Esq. (B.C.S.), has an admirable copy, written in 864 A.H. In Europe the most celebrated are those of Stockholm, Paris, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Hammer-Purgstall, and Sir W. Ouseley.<sup>1</sup> M. Quatremère also possessed two copies.

A work in so abridged a form can scarcely be expected to

<sup>1</sup> See Haji Khalfá, IV. 176, VI. 7. *Wiener Jahrb.* No. lxxix. p. 10, and *Anz.* p. 31. Briggs' *Ferishtá*, Vol. I. p. 1. *Fundgr. d. Or.* Vol. III. p. 331. *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, pp. xvi. xxii. *Coll. Or.* Tom. I. p. liv. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. pp. 268, 320. *Gesch. d. Sch. Red. Pers.* p. 12. *Journ. Asiatique*, III. Ser. Tom. I. p. 581. M. Petis de la Croix, *Hist. de Genghiz Can*, p. 541. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or. Art. Tárikh Khozideh. Biog. Univ.* v. Kazwiny. Rampoldi, ix. 322. *Gemäldesaal Prof.* xi. Ouseley's *Jehanara*, p. xi. Price, *Mahom. Hist.* I. 464, II. 638, 672. *Shajra' al Atrak*, 303. *Gildemeister*, p. 2. *Journ. des Sav.*, 1851, p. 47.



present any passages worthy of extract, but the following are selected as comprising a few anecdotes which have escaped the notice of some more ponderous chroniclers :—

*Sultán Mahmúd.*

“The exploits of the Sultán Mahmúd are more conspicuous than the sun, and his exertions in the cause of religion surpass all description and eulogy. The *Tárikh Yamini*, *Makámát Abú Nasr Miskáti*, and the volumes of Abú-l Fazl Baihaki, testify to his achievements.<sup>1</sup>

“He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, insomuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 dinárs. His features were very ugly. One day, regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazír inquired as to the cause of his sorrow, to which he replied, ‘It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye, but the form with which I am endowed is enough to strike the beholder blind.’ The Wazír replied, ‘Scarcely one man in a million looks on your face, but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one. Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be the beloved of all hearts.’ Amínu-d-daula Mahmúd was pleased with this admonition, and he paid so much attention to the cultivation of his mental endowments, that he surpassed all other kings in that respect.<sup>2</sup>

“In the first year of his accession to the throne a mine of gold was discovered in Sístán, in the shape of a tree, and the

<sup>1</sup> [See *supra*, Vol. II. pp. 430, 433.]

<sup>2</sup> This anecdote is given in the *Gemäldesaal d. Lebensb.*, but Firishta merely says Mahmúd was marked with the small-pox. In the reign of Mas'úd, that historian ascribes a statement to the *Guzida* which is at variance with the MSS. I have consulted. He says that, according to the *Guzida*, Mas'úd reigned nine years and nine months, whereas the *Guzida* distinctly says that monarch reigned thirteen years. It may be as well to mention here that Briggs, in his translation of Firishta, has, by some oversight, entered the *History of Hamdu-lla Mustaufi* and the *Tárikh-i Guzida*, as two different works.



lower the miners dug the richer and purer it became, till one of the veins attained the circumference of three yards. It disappeared in the time of Sultán Mas'úd, on the occurrence of an earthquake.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ In the month of Muharram of the year 293 he made war upon Jaipál, in Hindustan, and made him prisoner. He spared his life, but exacted tribute. It is a rule among the Hindus that a king who has been twice made prisoner by Musulmán's ought no longer to reign, and that his fault can only be purged by fire. Jaipál, therefore, made the kingdom over to his son, and burnt himself. In this war Yamínu-d-daula Mahmúd obtained the title of Ghází.

“ In the year 394, he set out on an expedition to Sístán against Khalaf,<sup>1</sup> the son of Ahmad, because Khalaf, on returning from his pilgrimage, had appointed his son Táhir as his successor, he himself having retired from the world and devoted himself to the worship of God. But he repented this step, and put his son to death by treachery. Yamínu-d-daula, in order to avenge this perfidy, attacked Khalaf, who took shelter in the fort of Ták. Yamínu-d-daula Mahmúd besieged the fort and took it. Khalaf came out in safety, and when he entered the presence of Mahmúd he addressed him as ‘Sultán.’ Yamínu-d-daula Mahmúd, being pleased with this title, freely pardoned Khalaf, and reinstated him in the government of Sístán. From that period he assumed the title of Sultán. Khalaf, son of Ahmad, after a while, rebelled against Sultán Mahmúd, and sought the protection of Ilak Khán. Sultán Mahmúd, on hearing this, dethroned him from Sístán, and sent him to the fort of Juzján where he remained till the day of his death.

“ Sultán Mahmúd, having conquered Bhátiya and Multán as far as the frontiers of Kashmír, made peace with Ilak Khan, who some time after broke faith with him, and advanced to battle

<sup>1</sup> See Jenisch, *Hist. Reg. Pers.* p. 46.





against him; but he was defeated, and took to flight. Many beautiful youths fell into the hands of the Zāwuliyāns, who were delighted with their prisoners. Ilak Khān then sought the assistance of the Ghuzz and the Turks of Chīn, the descendants of Afrāsīyāb, but was again defeated in an action at the gates of Balkh, and took a second time to flight. He again made peace with the Sultān, and went to reside in Māwarāu-n-nahr.

“Sultān Mahmūd then made war with Nawāsa (the grandson of) the ruler of Multān; conquered that country; converted the people to Islām; put to death the ruler of Multān, and entrusted the government of that country to another chief.

“Sultān Mahmūd now went to fight with the Ghorians, who were infidels at that time. Sūrī, their chief, was killed in this war, and his son was taken prisoner; but dreading the Sultān’s vengeance, he killed himself by sucking poison which he had kept under the stone of his ring. The country of Ghor was annexed to that of the Sultān, and the population thereof converted to Islām. He now attacked the fort of Bhīm, where was a temple of the Hindus. He was victorious, and obtained much wealth, including about a hundred idols of gold and silver. One of the golden images, which weighed a million *miskāls*, the Sultān appropriated to the decoration of the Mosque of Ghaznī, so that the ornaments of the doors were of gold instead of iron.

“The rulers of Ghurjistān were at this time called Shār, and Abū Nasr was Shār of the Ghurjis. He was at enmity with Sultān Mahmūd, who sent an army against him, and having taken him prisoner, the Sultān concluded peace with him, and purchased his possessions. From that time he remained in the service of the Sultān to the day of his death.

“The ruler of Mārdain,<sup>1</sup> having likewise rebelled against the Sultān, withheld the payment of tribute. The Sultān deputed Abū Sa’īd Tāī, with an army, to make war with him, and he himself followed afterwards, and a battle ensuing, the chief of

<sup>1</sup> Other authorities usually say Nārdīn or Nārdain. [See Vol. II. pp. 450, 452, 465.]



Márdain took refuge in a fort. The Sultán destroyed its walls by means of elephants, and thus gained possession of the fort. In a house there were found some inscriptions on a stone, giving the date of the erection of the fort, which they carried so far back as 40,000 years. Upon this all were convinced of the folly of the idolaters; as, from the creation of Adam, the age of the world did not (as it is generally understood) reach 7,000 years; nor is it probable, according to the opinion of the learned, that a building could remain in a state of repair so long; but as their ignorance is carried to such a degree that they worship idols instead of the Supreme Being, it is not improbable that they really did entertain such a belief."





## XIV.

## TARÍKH-I 'ALÁ'Í.

OR

## KHAZÁ'INU-L FUTUH,

OF

AMIR KHUSRÚ.

THE history which goes by both these names is a work in prose, by Mír Khusrú, who died in 1325 A.D. It contains an interesting account of the first years of the reign of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí (whom he also styles Muhammad Sháh Sultán), from his accession to the throne in 695 H. (1296 A.D.) to his conquest of Ma'bar at the close of 710 H. (1310 A.D.) It is most probably the same work as that which is quoted by some of the general historians, under the name of *Tárikh 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí*; but, if so, it has not been closely examined, for several facts of interest have escaped the compilers.]

It will be observed that this small work contains much information on the subject to which it relates. The mode of warfare of that period, especially, receives illustrations such as can be obtained from no other work. [The style in which it is composed is for the most part difficult, as the whole is constructed of a series of fanciful analogies, in the same manner as the preface to the *Bakiya Nakiya* and the *I'jáz-i Khusrúvî* of the same author, and the Odes of Badar-cháchí, and the treatises of Mirzá Katíl and several other works, in which fancy is predominant over sense.] Every portion is devoted to a selection of words connected with one particular subject. For instance, among the





passages translated below, one portion, p. 69, is composed of words derived from architecture; another, p. 71, is derived from words descriptive of the powers and anatomy of the hand; another, at p. 73, is composed of words used in the game of chess. I have not thought it necessary to adhere closely to the similes in every part. Those which are used in the passages noted above are of themselves sufficiently tedious in translation, though certainly ingenious in the original.

It may easily be conceived that a work so composed contains much that is forced, trivial, and unnatural; but we can forgive that for the solid information we are occasionally able to extract from it. Indeed, these puns, riddles, and analogies, are even valuable on one account, for the author rarely mentions a date which is not comprised in a sentence containing some kind of enigma, so that we can easily ascertain the correctness of a date, if we have reason to doubt the correctness of the numerals. The following are instances:—"When the boat of the moon's crescent entered the stream of clouds (*abr*)"—of which the initial letter being *alif*, or one, the first day of the month is signified. Again, "When the computation of the month Ramazán had reached that stage, that the first period of the fast (*syám*) had departed, and the last had not yet arrived"—that is, that eleven days of the month had elapsed. Meaning, that by rejecting the first and last letters of *syám*, only *yá* remains, of which the numerical value is eleven.

The *Khazáinu-l Futúh* contains many Hindí words, shewing how partial the author was to that language compared with his Muhammadan contemporaries. Thus we have *Kath-garh*, *pard-hán*, *basíth*, *már-á-már*, and others. The work is not written in chronological order, but, as in the case of the Mughal invasion, the author has grouped together the series of events which occurred over several years in one particular part of the empire.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The work is rare, and, being in prose, is not contained in the *Kulyát* or complete (poetical) works of the author. The MS. used is an 8vo. of 188 pages, 15 lines to a page. [Mr. Thomas has a copy, and there is also a copy at King's College, Cambridge, Jour. R.A.S. Vol. III. p. 116, N.S.]



Mír Khusrú's authority is great as a narrator, for he was not only contemporary with the events which he describes, but was a participator in many of them; and his friend, the historian Zíá Barní, appeals to him frequently for confirmation of his own assertions.

ABSTRACT.<sup>1</sup>

*The Accession of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín to the Throne.*

'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, on the 19th of Rabí'u-l-ákhir, 695 H. (Feb. 1295), left Karra Mánikpúr, of which he was then governor, on his expedition to Deogír, and after taking immense booty from Rám Deo, the Rái of that country, he returned to Karra on the 28th of Rajab of the same year. His accession to the throne on the 16th of Ramazán, 695 H. (July, 1296), after murdering his uncle and father-in-law, Sultán Jalálu-d dín. His arrival at Dehli, where he again mounted the throne, on the 22nd of Zí-l hijja of the same year. His rules, regulations, justice, and liberality. The cheapness which prevailed in his time.

*Edifices Erected and Repaired by the Sultán.*

The Sultán determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid-i Jámí' of Shamsu-d dín, "by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth, with lofty pillars," "and upon the surface of the stones he engraved verses of the Kurán in such a manner as could not be done even on wax; ascending so high that you would think the Kurán was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine-vaulted and thousand-eyed heavens were to fall, as they will, in the universe-quake, on the day of resurrection, an arch of them would not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids, of which the walls were broken or inclining, or of which the roof and domes had fallen."

<sup>1</sup> [Prepared by Sir H. M. Elliot.]



“He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minár of the Jámi’ masjid, which minár was then the single (celebrated) one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islám.”

“He ordered the circumference of the new minár to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one.” The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply. The building of the new fort of Dehli, and the repairs of the old one. “It is a condition that in a new building blood should be sprinkled; he therefore sacrificed some thousands of goat-bearded Mughals for the purpose.” He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom.

As the tank of Shamsu-d dín was occasionally dry, ‘Aláu-d dín cleaned it out and repaired it, and erected a dome in the middle of it.

### *Mughal Invasion under Kadar.*

“The following is the account of the victory which the champions of the triumphant army obtained, on the first occasion, during the reign of this Sanjar-like Sultán, may God protect his standards! over the soldiers of the accursed Kadar, in the land of Járan Manjúr, when the subtle (*mú-shikáf*) Tátár, accompanied by an army, like an avenging deluge, came as presumptuous as ever from the Júdí mountain, and crossed the Bíáh, and Jelam, and Sutej,<sup>1</sup> and the advancing wave of the hellites burnt down all the villages<sup>2</sup> of the Khokhars in such a way that

<sup>1</sup> This is the order observed in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The word is *talwadrá*, a common name for a village in many parts of the Upper Panjáb. The *talwandí* of the Khokhars is a local word similarly applied.





the flames extended as far as the suburbs of the city, and ruin hurled its ravages upon the houses. Such a wailing arose, that the sound reached his majesty the king of kings.

“He despatched the late Ulugh Khán, the arm of the empire, with the whole of the right wing (hand) of the army, and the powerful chiefs<sup>1</sup> and the officers<sup>1</sup> who were the support<sup>1</sup> of the state, and he named him for the purpose of wielding the sword of holy war; that so, making themselves ready with power, they might go and lay their hands upon the infidel.”<sup>27</sup> “The Khan sped swift as an arrow from its bowstring, and made two marches in one until he reached the borders of Járan Manjúr, the field of action, so that not more than a bow-shot remained between the two armies. That was a date on which it became dark when the day declined, because it was towards the close of the month, and the moon of Rabí'u-l ákhir waned till it looked like a sickle above the heavens to reap the Gabrs. Arrows and spears commingled together. Some Mughals were captured on Thursday, the 22nd of Rabí'u-l ákhir, in the year 695 H. (Feb. 1296 A.D.). On this day the javelin-head of the Khán of Islám fell on the heads of the infidels, and the standard-bearers of the holy war received orders to bind their victorious colours firmly on their backs; and for honour's sake they turned their faces towards the waters of the Sulej, and without the aid of boats they swam over the river, striking out their hands, like as oars impelling a boat.”

The Mughals were defeated, “though they were in number like ants and locusts,” with a loss of twenty thousand men left dead on the plain. Many took to flight, and many were taken prisoners, “and the iron collars, which were desirous to be so employed, embraced them with all respect.” On the return of the Khán to the King, he was received with many thanks and honours, and a festival was held in celebration of the event.]

<sup>1</sup> These words also bear respectively the meaning of bones, tendons, wrists; the words in this sentence being intended to bear some relation to the arm and hand.



*Invasion under 'Alí Beg, Turták, and Turghí.*

"When 'Alí Beg, Turták, and Turghí came with drawn swords from the borders of Turkistán to the river Sind, and, after crossing the Jelam, turned their faces in this direction, Turghí, who already saw his head on the spears of the champions of Islám, who, although he had an iron heart, durst not place it in the power of the anvil-breaking warriors of God, was at last slain by an arrow, which penetrated his heart and passed through on the other side.

"But Turták and 'Alí Beg, as they had never yet come to this country, regarded the swords of the Musulmán as if they were those of mere preachers, and rushed on impetuously with about fifty thousand horsemen. From the mere dread of that army the hills trembled, and the inhabitants of the foot of the hills were confounded—all fled away before the fierce attack of those wretches, and rushed to the fords of the Ganges. The lightning of Mughal fury penetrated even to those parts, and smoke arose from the burning towns of Hindustán, and the people, flying from their flaming houses, threw themselves into the rivers and torrents. At last from those desolated tracts news reached the court of the protector of the world, and a confidential officer, Malik Ákhir Beg, Mubashara, was directed, at the head of a powerful body of thirty thousand horse, to use his best endeavours to attack the accursed enemy, and throw a mighty obstacle in their way." He obtained victory over them on the twelfth of Jumáda-s sání A.H. 705. [In short, immediately on discerning the dust of the army of Islám, the groveling Mughals became like particles of sand revolving above and below;" and they fled precipitately "like a swarm of gnats before a hurricane." "The enemy made one or two weak attacks, but the army of the second Alexander, which you might well call an iron wall, did not even bend before the foe, but drove before them those doers of the deeds of Gog." "Their fire-coloured faces began to fall on the earth, and in the rout, 'Alí Beg and Turták, the commanders, when they saw destruction



awaiting them, threw themselves under the shade of the standard of Islám, and exclaimed that the splendour of our swords had cast such fire upon them, that they could gain no repose, until they had arrived under the shadow of God."

"He who has been burnt by the heat of misfortune,  
Let him seek no rest save under the shadow of God."

"The field of battle became like a chess-board, with the pieces manufactured from the bones of the elephant-bodied Mughals, and their faces (*rukḥ*) were divided in two by the sword. The slaughtered hoggish Mughals were lying right and left, like so many captured pieces, and were then thrust into the bag which holds the chessmen. The horses which filled the squares were some of them wounded and some taken; those who, like the pawns, never retreated, dismounted, and, advancing on foot, made themselves generals (queens). 'Alí Beg and Turták, who were the two kings of the chessboard, were falling before the fierce opposition which was shown by the gaunt bones of Malik Ákhir Beg, who checkmated them both, and determined to send them immediately to his majesty, that he might order either their lives to be spared, or that they should be píl-mated, or trodden to death by elephants."

### *Invasion under Kapak.*

"Dust arose from the borders of the land of Sind, and the inhabitants fled and threw away their property like leaves dispersed by the wind in autumn; but as that blast of destruction had no power to raise the dust as far as Kuhrám and Sámána, it turned its face towards the deserts of Nágor, and began to sweep away the dwellers of that country." The king despatched Malik Káfúr against them, with orders to advance rapidly without attracting observation.] "The kind-hearted Musulmáns, running up from the right and left, took Kapak prisoner," sent him to the sublime court, and made all his followers prisoners.



*Invasion under Ikbál Mudbir, and Mudábir Táí Balwí.*

“Another army, namely, that of Ikbál Mudbir and Mudábir Táí Balwí, followed close behind Kapak’s, thirsty for the blood of the Musulmán’s, but well filled with the blood of their own tribes. Suddenly a torrent of blood of the slaughtered infidels flowed towards them,” and they had no place to stand on. “Meanwhile, the van of the army of Islám advanced like clouds and rain against them, and fell like a raging storm on those Jihúnians.” Both these leaders were compelled to fly across the river of Sind. Ikbál was taken prisoner, with many of his followers, and those who escaped fled towards the north, and “countless infidels were despatched to hell.” A farmán was issued by Sultán ‘Aláu-d dín that the surviving prisoners should be massacred, and beaten up into mortar for the fort.

‘They hung down from the Tátári and Chini fortress,  
As Abyssinians with heads inverted hang from a new building;’

And a bastion was formed from an hundred thousand of their heads.”

*The conquest of Gujarát, Somnát, Nahrwála, and Kambáy.*

The Sultán despatched Ulugh Khán to Ma’bar and Gujarát for the destruction of the idol-temple of Somnát, on the 20th of Jumáda-l awwal, 698 H. (1300 A.D.) [He destroyed all the idols and temples of Somnát, “but sent one idol, the biggest of all the idols, to the court of his Godlike Majesty, and in that ancient stronghold of idolatry the summons to prayers was pronounced so loud, that they heard it in Misr and Madáin.”<sup>1</sup> He conquered also the city of Nahrwála and the city of Khambáih,<sup>2</sup> and other cities on that sea-shore.]

*The Conquest of Rantambhor and Jháín.*

The king himself went to conduct the siege of Rantambhor. “The Saturnian Hindús, who pretend to relation with that

<sup>1</sup> [Misr, Egypt; Maddín, the two cities, “Mecca and Medina.”]      <sup>2</sup> [Cambay.]



planet, had for purposes of defence collected fire in each bastion. Every day the fire of those infernals fell on the light of the Musulmáns, and as there were no means of extinguishing it they filled bags with earth and prepared entrenchments. You might have said that the sewing up of the bags containing the sand looked as if the king of the earth was preparing to invest the fortress with an earthen robe of honour. When the bank of the entrenchment had reached the height of the western bastion of the fortress, the Royal Westerns,<sup>1</sup> shot large earthen balls against that infidel fort, so that the hearts of the Hindus began to quail." "Some newly converted Musulmáns among the ill-starred Mughals had turned their faces from the sun of Islám, and joined those Saturnians;" but they discharged their arrows ineffectually against the party they had deserted. "The victorious army remained encamped under that fort from the month of Rajab to Zí-l ka'da." Every day they collected at the foot of their outwork or entrenchment,<sup>2</sup> and made vigorous attacks, rushing like salamanders through the fire which surrounded them. "The stones which were shot from the catapults and balistas, within and without the fort, encountered each other half way, and emitted lightning. They fell upon the fort like hail-stones, and when the garrison ate them, they became cold and dead." "No provisions remained in the fort, and famine prevailed to such an extent, that a grain of rice was purchased for two grains of gold." One night the Rái lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair. "On the fortunate date of the 3rd of Zí-l ka'da A.H. 700 (July, 1301 A.D.), this strong fort was taken by the slaughter of the stinking Rái." Jháín was also captured, "an iron fort, an ancient abode of idolatry, and

<sup>1</sup> A name applied to the catapults and similar instruments of war derived from the West.

<sup>2</sup> The word in the original is *páshib*—usually applied to "a footstool, a declivity of a mountain, the bottom of a ladder." A little lower down, in the siege of Warangal, we find it representing a slope to a breach.





a new city of the people of the faith arose." The temple of Báhir Deo, and the temples of other gods, were all razed to the ground.

*Conquest of Málwa.*

"On the southern border of Hindústán, Rái Mahlak Deo, of Málwa, and Koká, his Pardhán, who had under their command a select body of thirty or forty thousand cavalry, and infantry without number, boasting of their large force, had rubbed their eyes with the antimony of pride, and, according to the verse, 'When fate decrees the sight is blinded,' had forsaken the path of obedience. A select army of royal troops was appointed, and suddenly fell on those blind and bewildered men. Victory itself preceded them, and had her eyes fixed upon the road to see when the triumphant army would arrive. Until the dust of the army of Islám arose, the vision of their eyes was closed. The blows of the sword then descended upon them, their heads were cut off, and the earth was moistened with Hindú blood."

The accursed Koká, also, was slain, and his head was sent to the Sultán. His confidential chamberlain, 'Ainu-l Mulk, was appointed to the Government of Málwa, and directed to expel Mahlak Deo from Mándú, "and to cleanse that old Gabristán from the odour of infidelity." A spy showed him a way secretly into the fort, and he advanced upon Mahlak Deo "before even his household gods were aware of it." The Rái was slain while attempting to fly. This event occurred on Thursday, the 5th of Jumáda-l awwal, A.H. 705<sup>1</sup> (Nov. 1305 A.D.). 'Ainu-l Mulk sent a chamberlain to the Sultán with a despatch announcing this event. The Sultán returned thanks to God for the victory, and added Mándú to the Government of 'Ainu-l Mulk.

*Conquest of Chitor.*

On Monday, the 8th Jumáda-s sání, A.H. 702, the loud

<sup>1</sup> [Sic: but either the date is wrong or the event is taken out of chronological order. Firishta places it in 704 H.]





drums proclaimed the royal march from Dehli, undertaken with a view to the capture of Chitor. The author accompanied the expedition. The fort was taken on Monday, the 11th of Muharram, A.H. 703 (August, 1303 A.D.). The Rái fled, but afterwards surrendered himself, "and was secured against the lightning of the scimeter. The Hindús say that lightning falls wherever there is a brazen vessel, and the face of the Rái had become as yellow as one, through the effect of fear."

After ordering a massacre of thirty thousand Hindús, he bestowed the Government of Chitor upon his son, Khizr Khán, and named the place Khizrábád. He bestowed on him a red canopy, a robe embroidered with gold, and two standards—one green, and the other black—and threw upon him rubies and emeralds. He then returned towards Dehli. "Praise be to God! that he so ordered the massacre of all the chiefs of Hind out of the pale of Islám, by his infidel-smiting sword, that if in this time it should by chance happen that a schismatic should claim his right, the pure Sunnis would swear in the name of this Khalifa of God, that heterodoxy has no rights."

### *Conquest of Deogir.*

Rái Rám Deo, of Deogír, having swerved from his allegiance, an expedition of thirty-thousand horse was fitted out against him, and Malik Náib Bárbak<sup>1</sup> was appointed to the command. "He accomplished with ease a march of three hundred parasangs over stones and hills, without drawing rein," "and arrived there on Saturday, the 19th of Ramazán, A.H. 706 (March, 1307 A.D.). The son of the Rái fled at once, and most of the army of the Hindús was sent to hell by the spears and arrows. Half of the rest fled away, and the other half received quarter."

After the victory, the general ordered that the soldiers should retain the booty they had acquired, with the exception of horses, elephants, and treasure, which were to be reserved for the king. The Rái was taken prisoner and sent to the king, by whom he

<sup>1</sup> [Bárbak or Barbeg, the officer who presents persons at Court.]





was detained for six months, and then released with all honour, and a red umbrella was bestowed upon him.

*Conquest of Siwána.*

On Wednesday, the 13th of Muharram, A.H. 708 (July, 1308 A.D.), the king set out on his expedition against Siwána, "a fort situated on an eminence, one hundred parasangs from Dehli, and surrounded by a forest occupied by wild men, who committed highway robberies. Satal Deo, a Gabr, sat on the summit of the hill-fort, like the Simurgh upon Caucasus, and several thousand other Gabrs, were also present, like so many mountain vultures." "The Western mangonels were placed under the orders of Malik Kamálu-d dín Garg (the wolf) ;

"For in slaying lions he excelled  
As much as the wolf in killing sheep."

Some of the garrison, in attempting to escape to the jungles, were pursued and killed. "On Tuesday, the 23rd of Rabí'u-l awwal, Satal Deo, the Savage, was slain. When the affair with those savages was brought to completion, the great king left Malik Kamálu-d dín Garg, to hunt the hogs of that desert," and he himself returned to Dehli.

*Conquest of Tilang.*

On the 25th of Jumáda-l awwal, A.H. 709, Malik Náib Káfúr, the minister, was despatched on an expedition to Tilang, and "accompanied by the royal red canopy, through the kindness of the Sun of Sultáns, he departed towards the sea and Ma'bar." "The army marched stage by stage for nine days, when the lucky star of the chief of Wazírs, at a fortunate moment, arrived at Mas'údpúr, so called after the son of King Mas'úd. There the army halted for two days, and, on the 6th of the second Jumád, he took his departure with all the chiefs." The difficulties of the road described, through hills and ravines and forests. "The obedient army went through this inhospitable tract, file after file, and regarded this dreadful wilderness as the razor-bridge of hell."





"In six days the army crossed five rivers, the Jún, the Chambal, the Kunwári, the Niyás,<sup>1</sup> and Bahújí, which were all crossed by fords, and arrived at Sultánpúr, commonly called Frijpúr, where the army halted four days." "After thirteen days, on the first of the month of Rajab, they arrived at Khandhár; in such a wilderness, the month of God advanced to meet the army of Islám." [Here they remained fourteen days. "At this fortunate season, all the Imáms, Maliks, the pious and celebrated persons in the army, assembled before the royal canopy and offered up prayers for the king.]

"The army again advanced, and, like a raging deluge, passed through torrents and water courses—now up, now down. Every day it arrived at a new river." "There were means of crossing all the rivers, but the Nerbadda was such that you might say it was a remnant of the universal deluge. As the miraculous power of the saintly Sultán accompanied the army, all the whirlpools and depths became of themselves immediately dry on the arrival of the army, and the Musulmáns passed over with ease, so that in the space of eight days after crossing that Tigris they arrived at Nílkanth." "As Nílkanth was on the borders of Deogír, and included in the country of the Rái Ráyán, Rám Deo, the minister, acting under the orders of his Majesty, directed that it should be secured against being plundered by the army, which was as destructive as ants and locusts. No one, therefore, was able to carry off doors, enclosures, dwellings, and grain stores, or to cut down the growing crops. The drums which sounded to march were detained here two days, while enquiries were made about the stages in advance, and on Tuesday, the 26th of Rajab, the army again moved forward."

The difficulties of the next sixteen marches described.—Stones, hills, streams, ravines, and pathways "narrower than a guitar-string," "After crossing three plains and hills with fortitude and determination, they arrived at a place within the borders of

<sup>1</sup> [This name may also be read as Bambás. The Kunwári is the Kuhári of the maps, and the Niyás and Bahújí must be the rivers now known as the Sind and Betwa.]



Bíjánagar, which was pointed out as containing a diamond-mine." It was in a Doáb, or Interamnia, one river being the Yashar, the other the Barújí.

About this time, he arrived at the fort of Sarbar, "which is considered among the provinces of Tilang." The commander, without delay, "gave orders that the fort should be invested; from without the archers shot arrows, from within the Hindus exclaimed 'strike! strike! (*már már*)'" When, in consequence of the fire-arrows shot by the Musulmáns, the houses in the fort began to burn, "Every one threw himself, with his wife and children, upon the flames, and departed to hell." While the fire was yet blazing, an attack was made on the fort, and those that escaped the flames, became the victims of the sword. The Naíb 'Arz-i mamálik, by name Siráj-i dín, when he saw that the moment of victory had arrived, called upon Anánir, the brother of the commander of the fort, who had made his escape, to surrender the fort with all its treasures. The defenders who still survived fled in terror.

[On Saturday, the 10th of Sha'bán, the army marched from that spot, "in order that the pure tree of Islám might be planted and flourish in the soil of Tilang, and the evil tree, which had struck its roots deep, might be torn up by force."

On the 14th of the month, they arrived at Kúnarpal, when Malik Náib Bárbak sent out a detachment of a thousand men to seize some prisoners from whom information might be obtained. As the army had arrived near Arangal, two chiefs were sent on with forty mounted archers to occupy "the hill of An Makínda, for from that all the edifices and gardens of Arangal can be seen." Here he himself encamped a few days afterwards.

"The wall of Arangal was made of mud, but so strong that a spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball from a western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut which children play with." "At night Khwája Nasíru-l Mulk Siráju-d Daulat distributed the troops to their several destinations, and sent every detachment to occupy its proper place, so that





the fort might be invested in every direction, and that his soldiers might find shelter from the naphtha and fire of those within.

“When the blessed canopy had been fixed about a mile from the gate of Arangal, the tents around the fort were pitched together so closely that the head of a needle could not get between them.” “To every *tamin* (tribe or division) was allotted one thousand and two hundred yards of land, and the entire circuit of the wall was twelve thousand and five hundred and forty and six yards.” “Orders were issued that every man should erect behind his own tent a *kath-gar*, that is a wooden defence. The trees were cut with axes and felled, notwithstanding their groans; and the Hindús, who worship trees, could not at that time come to the rescue of their idols, so that every cursed tree which was in that capital of idolatry was cut down to the roots; and clever carpenters applied the sharp iron to shape the blocks, so that a wooden fortress was drawn around the army, of such stability, that if fire had rained from heaven their camp would have been unscathed.”

[A night attack was made on the camp by three thousand Hindú horse, under the command of Bának Deo, the chief (*mukaddam*) of that country. It was unsuccessful, and “the heads of the Ráwats rolled on the plain like crocodiles’ eggs,” the whole party being slain, or taken prisoners. From the latter it was learnt that “in the town of Damdhúm, six parasangs from Tilang, three powerful elephants were kept.” A thousand men, under Karrah Beg, were detached to seize them, and they were brought into camp and reserved for the royal stables.]

[The Náib Amír gave daily orders to attack the chiefs of Laddar Deo, and he also ordered the “western stone-balls” to be thrown at the wall from every direction “to demolish it, and reduce it to powder.” The *manjaniks* from without had more effect than the *arradas* from within; “the stones of the Musulmáns all flew high, owing to the power of the strong cable, but the balls of the Hindús were shot feebly, as from a Brahman’s thread.”]





“When the stories and redoubts (*sábát o gargaj*) were completed, and had attained such a height that the garrison of the fort were placed suddenly on a lower elevation,<sup>1</sup> the ditch of the wall which was in front of the army of Islám,” and which was of very great depth, had to be crossed. This was filled to the mouth with earth. “One face of the fort, which was one hundred cubits in length, was so battered down by heavy stones that it no longer covered the Hindús and afforded them protection. On another face also, the balls of the western engines which were in the outwork had, by the breaches they had made, opened several gates. All those breaches were so many gates of victory, which heaven had opened for the royal army.

“As the earth which was battered down from the wall filled up the ditch from the very bottom to the middle of the wall, and the walls of the earthen fortress were pounded into dust by the stones discharged at them, the commander was about to make a sloping ascent to the breach, so wide and open that a hundred men could go on it abreast. But as it would have taken several days to make this slope, and victory was herself urgent that she should be secured by rapid action, the wise minister summoned his prudent Maliks to a council, and it was unanimously determined that, before making an ascent to the breach, an assault should be attempted.”

On the night of the 11th of Ramazán, “the minister of exalted rank issued orders that in every division high ladders, with other apparatus, should be kept ready in the middle of the night, and whenever the drum should beat to action every one should advance from his entrenchment and carry the ladders towards the fort—

“That the work of victory might be exalted step by step.”

During the attack, the catapults were busily plied on both sides. “If one ball from an engine without the walls was discharged, it fell as two balls within, but from the engines within,

<sup>1</sup> We find this kind of outwork constructed by Changíz Khán, in his siege of Bámíán.





although two balls might be discharged at a time, no misfortune befell the proclaimers of unity. Praise be to God for his exaltation of the religion of Muhammad! It is not to be doubted that stones are worshipped by the Gabrs, but as stones did no service to them, they only bore to heaven the futility of that worship, and at the same time prostrated their devotees upon earth." Three bastions of the outer wall were taken and occupied by the Musulmáns.

On Sunday, the 13th, "a day dedicated to the sun," the attack was renewed, and cries of <sup>1</sup>"*huzza huzz*, and *khuzza khuzz*," the acclamation of the triumph of holy warriors arose. "They took fire with them, and threw it into the places of retreat of the Gabrs, who worshipped fire." By Wednesday, the whole of the outer wall was in possession of the Musulmáns. They then saw the inner fortress, which was built of stone. "You might have said it was the fort of Náí, in which the air is as much lost as in a reed." When the army reached the inner ditch, they swam across it, and commenced a vigorous attack on one of the stone bastions, which so alarmed Rái Laddar Deo that he offered terms of capitulation. He despatched confidential messengers to offer an annual payment of tribute, and sent a golden image of himself, with a golden chain round its neck, in acknowledgment of his submission. "When the messengers <sup>2</sup> of the Rái came before the red canopy, which is the honoured harbinger of victory and triumph, they rubbed their yellow faces on the earth till the ground itself acquired their colour, and they drew out their tongues in eloquent Hindúí, more cutting than a Hindí sword, and they delivered the message of the Rái."

"The idol-breaking Malik comprehended the gilding of the

<sup>1</sup> An early eastern use of Huzza! huzza! The same exclamations occur in the *Mifidhu-l Futúh*.

بهره‌وی خزاخز در نهان بود      زهرسوی هزاره‌ز در جهان بود

<sup>2</sup> The Hindi word *basith* is here used. It is one of those chosen by the author for illustration in his well-known vocabulary called "*Khalik bári*."

رسول پیغمبر جان بسیته      یار دوست بولی جا ایتیه



Hindús, and paid no regard to their glozing speech, and would not look towards that golden image ;" but he (" a part of the second Alexander ") ordered his officers to take the gold that was brought and suspend operations against the fort. He demanded, in reply, everything that the Rái's country produced, from " vegetables, mines, and animals. On this condition the fort-taking Malik stretched forth his right hand, and placed his sword in his scabbard, and struck his open hand, by way of admonition, so forcibly on the backs of the *basiths* that he made them bend under the blow. They hastened to the fort, trembling like quicksilver. The Rái was engaged all night in accumulating his treasures and wealth, and next morning his officers returned with elephants, treasures, and horses, before the red canopy, which is the dawn of the eastern sun ; and the Malik, having summoned all the chiefs of the army, sat down in a place which was found in front of the exalted throne, and every other officer found a place in the assembly according to his rank. The common people and servants assembled in a crowd. He then sent for the *basiths* of the Rái, and directed them to place their faces on the ground before the canopy, the shadow of God ; and the elephants were placed in front of that assembly, to be exhibited for presentation."

The Malik took the entire wealth of the Rái which was brought, and threatened a general massacre, if it should be found that the Rái had reserved anything for himself. An engagement was then entered into that the Rái should send *jizya* annually to Dehli. The Malik left Arangal on the 16th of Shawwál (March, 1310 A.D.) with all his booty, and " a thousand camels groaned under the weight of the treasure." He arrived at Dehli on the 11th of Muharram, A.H. 710, and on Tuesday, the 24th, in an assembly of all the chiefs and nobles on the terrace of Násiru-d dín, the plunder was presented, and the Malik duly honoured.

" They raised a black pavilion on the Chautara Násira, like the Ka'ba in the navel of the earth, and kings and princes of Arabia and Persia took up their stations around it, while various other



celebrated chiefs, who had fled to the city of Islám, came with pure intentions to offer allegiance, and honoured the dust which adhered to their foreheads when prostrating themselves upon the earth before his majesty." "You would have said that the people considered that day a second 'Id, when the returning pilgrims, after traversing many deserts, had arrived at the sacred dwelling of the king. The common people went roaming about, and there was no one to prevent their enjoying that blessed sight. They obtained the rewards resulting from pilgrimage, but a greater reward than that attending other pilgrimages was, that, on whatsoever person the fortunate sight of the king fell, that person was a recipient of his kindness and favour."

*The Conquest of Ma'bar.*

"The tongue of the sword of the Khalífa of the time, which is the tongue of the flame of Islám, has imparted light to the entire darkness of Hindústán by the illumination of its guidance; and on one side an iron wall of royal swords has been raised before the infidel Magog-like Tátárs, so that all that God-deserted tribe drew their feet within their skirts amongst the hills of Ghazní, and even their advance-arrows had not strength enough to reach into Sind. On the other side so much dust arose from the battered temple of Somnát that even the sea was not able to lay it, and on the right hand and on the left hand the army has conquered from sea to sea, and several capitals of the gods of the Hindús, in which Satanism has prevailed since the time of the Jinns, have been demolished. All these impurities of infidelity have been cleansed by the Sultán's destruction of idol-temples, beginning with his first holy expedition against Deogír, so that the flames of the light of the law illumine all these unholy countries, and places for the criers to prayer are exalted on high, and prayers are read in mosques. God be praised!"

"But the country of Ma'bar, which is so distant from the city of Dehli that a man travelling with all expedition could only reach it after a journey of twelve months, there the arrow of any



holy warrior had not yet reached; but this world-conquering king determined to carry his army to that distant country, and spread the light of the Muhammadan religion there." Malik Náib Bárbak was appointed to command the army for this expedition, and a royal canopy was sent with him. The Malik represented that on the coast of Ma'bar were five hundred elephants, larger than those which had been presented to the Sultán from Arangal, and that when he was engaged in the conquest of that place he had thought of possessing himself of them, and that now, as the wise determination of the king had combined the extirpation of idolaters with this object, he was more than ever rejoiced to enter on this grand enterprise.

The army left Dehli on the 24th of Jumáda-l ákhir, A.H. 710 (Nov. 1310 A.D.) and after marching by the bank of the Jún (Jumna) halted at Tankal for fourteen days. While on the bank of the river at that place, the *Diván* of the 'A'riz-i Mamálik took a muster of the army. "Twenty and one days the royal soldiers, like swift grey-hounds, made lengthened marches, while they were making the road short, until they arrived at Kanhún; from that, in seventeen more days, they arrived at Gur-gánw. During these seventeen days the Gháts were passed, and great heights and depths were seen amongst the hills, where even the elephants became nearly invisible." "And three large rivers had to be crossed, which occasioned the greatest fears in their passage. Two of them were equal to one another, but neither of them equalled the Nerbadda."

"After crossing those rivers, hills, and many depths, the Rái of Tilang sent twenty-three powerful elephants for the royal service." "For the space of twenty days the victorious army remained at that place, for the purpose of sending on the elephants, and they took a muster of the men present and absent, until the whole number was counted. And, according to the command of the king, they suspended swords from the standard poles, in order that the inhabitants of Ma'bar might be aware that the day of resurrection had arrived amongst them; and that



all the burnt<sup>1</sup> Hindús would be despatched by the sword to their brothers in hell, so that fire, the improper object of their worship, might mete out proper punishment to them."

"The sea-resembling army moved swiftly, like a hurricane, to Ghurgánw.<sup>2</sup> Everywhere the accursed tree, that produced no religion, was found and torn up by the roots, and the people who were destroyed were like trunks carried along in the torrent of the Jíhún, or like straw tossed up and down in a whirlwind, and carried forward. When they reached the Táwí (Táptí), they saw a river like the sea. The army crossed it by a ford quicker than the hurricane they resembled, and afterwards employed itself in cutting down jungles and destroying gardens."

"On Thursday, the 13th of Ramazán, the royal canopy cast its shadow on Deogír, which under the aid of heaven had been protected by the angels, and there the army determined to make all preparations for extirpating Billál Deo and other Deos (demons). The Rái Ráyán, Rám Deo, who had heard safety to Satan proclaimed by the dreadful Muhammadan tymbals, considered himself safe under the protection secured to him; and, true to his allegiance, forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army sent by the Court, so as to render it available for the extermination of rebels and the destruction of the Bír and Dhúr Samundar."<sup>3</sup> The city was adorned in honour of the occasion, and food and clothes plentifully supplied to the Musulmán.

Dalwí, a Hindú, who had been sent on to hold the gates of access to the Bír and Dhúr Samundar, was directed by the Rái Ráyán to attend on the Musulmán camp, and "he was anxious to see the conquest of the whole of Dhúr Samundar by the fortunate devotees of the Ka'ba of religion." The Muhammadan army

<sup>1</sup> [*Sokhta*, literally "burnt," but also signifying consumed by trouble.]

<sup>2</sup> Here spelt with an *h* in the first syllable.

<sup>3</sup> [Dwára-samudra was the capital of the Bellála rajas, and Vira Narasinha was the name of the prince who was overthrown in this invasion. See Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, Int., p. exiii.; Buchanan's Mysore, iii., pp. 391, 474; Thomas, Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 276.]



remained for three days, and on the 17th departed "from the Īmanábád Deogír to the Kharábábád of Paras Deo Dalví,<sup>1</sup> in five stages, in which three large rivers were crossed," Síní, Godávarí, and Bínhúr,<sup>2</sup> and other frightful rivers; and "after five days arrived at Bándrí, in the country (*ikta*) of Paras Deo Dalví, who was obedient to his exalted Majesty, and desired that, by the force of the arms of the victorious Muhammadan soldiers, Bír Dhúl and Bír Pándyá<sup>3</sup> might be reduced, together with the seas which encircle them, into one cup."<sup>4</sup>

Here he stayed to make inquiries respecting the countries in advance, when he was informed that the two Ráis of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bír Pándyá, the youngest Sundar Pándyá,<sup>5</sup> who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions, and that Billál Deo, the Rái of Dhúr Samundar, on learning this fact, had marched for the purpose of sacking their two empty cities, and plundering the merchants; but that, on hearing of the advance of the Muhammadan army, he had returned to his own country.

On Sunday, the 23rd, after holding a council of his chief officers, he took a select body of cavalry with him, and pressed on against Billál Deo, and on the 5th of Shawwál reached the fort of Dhúr Samund,<sup>6</sup> after a difficult march of twelve days over the hills and valleys, and through thorny forests.

<sup>1</sup> Dalví is perhaps meant for an inhabitant of Tuluva, the modern Canara.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt the present Sína and Bhíma, but the position of the Godávarí is transposed.

<sup>3</sup> [This should signify Bír (Vira) the Rája of Dwára-samudra, and Vira the Rája of Pándya; but there was evidently a confusion in the mind of the writer as to persons and places, as seen in this passage. In another place he says "the fort which is called Bír and Dhúr Samundar." Wassáf calls the Pándya rája "Tira Pándí," and makes a pun on this name, calling him "*tira-bakht*," showing that he did not know the real name (*supra*, p. 53).]

<sup>4</sup> There is great punning here about wells (*bír*) and buckets (*dalví*), which is impossible to render into English so as to make it comprehensible.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, pp. 32, 49, 52.

<sup>6</sup> The author spells it both "*samundar*" and "*samund*,"—here he makes it rhyme with *kund* and *tund*; in another place he puns upon "*samundar*" as the name of a salamander.





"The fire-worshipping" Rái, when he learnt that "his idol temple was likely to be converted into a mosque," despatched Kísú Mal to ascertain the strength and circumstances of the Musulmáns, and he returned with such alarming accounts that the Rái next morning despatched Bálak Deo Náík to the royal canopy, to represent that "your slave Billál Deo is ready to swear allegiance to the mighty emperor, like Laddar Deo and Rám Deo, and whatever the Sulaimán of the time may order, I am ready to obey. If you desire horses like demons, and elephants like *afrits*, and valuables like those of Deogír, they are all present. If you wish to destroy the four walls of this fort, they are, as they stand, no obstacle to your advance. The fort is the fort of the king; take it." The commander replied that he was sent with the object of converting him to Muhammadanism, or of making him a *Zimmi*, and subject to pay tax, or of slaying him, if neither of these terms were assented to. When the Rái received this reply, he said he was ready to give up all he possessed, except his sacred thread.

On Friday, the 6th of Shawwál, the Rái sent Bálak Deo Náík, Náráin Deo, and Jít Mal, with some other *basiths*, to bow before the royal canopy, and they were accompanied by six elephants. Next day some horses followed. On Sunday, "Billál Deo, the sun-worshipper, seeing the splendour of the sword of Islám over his head, bowing down his head, descended from his fortress, and came before the shadow of the shadow of God; and, trembling and heartless, prostrated himself on the earth, and rubbed the forehead of subjection on the ground." He then returned to fetch his treasures, and was engaged all night in taking them out, and next day brought them before the royal canopy, and made them over to the king's treasurer.

The commander remained twelve days in that city, "which is four month's distance from Dehli," and sent the captured elephants and horses to that capital.





On Wednesday, the 18th of Shawwāl, the Malik "beat his drums, and loaded his camels for his expedition to Ma'bar, and after five days arrived at the mountains which divide Ma'bar from Dhūr Samundar. In this range there are two passes—one Sarmalī, and the other Tábar. After traversing the passes, they arrived at night on the banks of the river Kánobarī, and bivouacked on the sands. Thence they departed for Bīrdhúl, and committed massacre and devastation all around it. The Rái Bír showed an intent of flying for security to his islands in the ocean, but as he was not able to attempt this, his attendants counselled him to fly by land. With a small amount of treasure and property, he deserted the city, and fled to Kandúr, and even there he dare not remain, but again fled to the jungles.

Thither the Malik pursued "the yellow-faced Bír,"<sup>1</sup> and at Kandúr was joined by some Musulmáns who had been subjects of the Hindús, now no longer able to offer them protection. They were half Hindús, and not strict in their religious observances, but "as they could repeat the *kalima*, the Malik of Islám spared their lives. Though they were worthy of death, yet, as they were Musulmáns, they were pardoned."

After returning to Bīrdhúl, he again pursued the Rájá to Kandúr, and took one hundred and eight elephants, one of which was laden with jewels. The Rái again escaped him, and he ordered a general massacre at Kandúr. It was then ascertained that he had fled to Jálkota, "an old city of the ancestors of Bír." There the Malik closely pursued him, but he had again escaped to the jungles, which the Malik found himself unable to penetrate, and he therefore returned to Kandúr, where he searched for more elephants. Here he heard that in Brahmastpúrí there was a golden idol, round which many elephants were stabled. The Malik started on a night expedition against this place, and in the morning seized no less than two hundred and fifty elephants. He then determined on razing the beautiful temple to the ground,—“you might say that it was the Paradise of Shad-

<sup>1</sup> The Rái is here frequently called Bír.





dád, which, after being lost, those hellites had found, and that it was the golden Lanka of Rám,"—"the roof was covered with rubies and emeralds,"—"in short, it was the holy place of the Hindús, which the Malik dug up from its foundations with the greatest care," "and the heads of the Brahmans and idolaters danced from their necks and fell to the ground at their feet," and blood flowed in torrents. "The stone idols called Ling Mahádeo, which had been a long time established at that place,—quibus, mulieres infidelium pudenda sua affricant,<sup>1</sup>—these, up to this time, the kick of the horse of Islám had not attempted to break." The Musulmáns destroyed all the lings, "and Deo Narain fell down, and the other gods who had fixed their seats there raised their feet, and jumped so high, that at one leap they reached the fort of Lanka, and in that affright the lings themselves would have fled had they had any legs to stand on." Much gold and valuable jewels fell into the hands of the Musulmáns, who returned to the royal canopy, after executing their holy project, on the 13th of Zí-l ka'da, 710 H. (April, 1311 A.D.). They destroyed all the temples at Bírdhúl, and placed the plunder in the public treasury.

*Capture of Southern Mathra (Madura).*

After five days, the royal canopy moved from Bírdhúl on Thursday, the 17th of Zí-l ka'da, and arrived at Kham, and five days afterwards they arrived at the city Mathra (Madura), the dwelling-place of the brother of the Rái Sundar Pándyá. They found the city empty, for the Rái had fled with the Ránís, but had left two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnár (Jag-ganáth)." The elephants were captured and the temple burnt.

When the Malik came to take a muster of his captured elephants they extended over a length of three parasangs, and

<sup>1</sup> Allusive to a practice, which it is unnecessary to particularize more closely, which is said to be still much observed amongst the Khattrís, and which Hindús in general repudiate, attributing it at the same time to the Saráogís.





amounted to five hundred and twelve, besides five thousand horses, Arabian and Syrian, and five hundred *mans* of jewels of every description—diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and rubies.

*Return to Dehli.*

On Sunday, the 4th of Zí-l hijja, 710 H. Malik Káfúr, accompanied by his army, returned towards Dehli with all the plunder, and arrived in safety on Monday, the 4th of Jumáda-s Sání, 711 H. Sultán 'Aláu-d dín held a public *darbár* in front of the Golden Palace, and all the nobles and chiefs stood on the right and on the left, according to their rank. Malik Náib Káfúr Hazár-dínárí, with the officers who had accompanied him, were presented to the Sultán, before whom the rich booty was exhibited. The Sultán was much gratified, loaded the warriors with honour, and the *darbár* was dissolved.



XV.

TÁRIKH-I FÍROZ SHAHÍ

OF

ZÍAU-D DÍN BARNÍ.

[THIS History is very much quoted by subsequent authors, and is the chief source from which Firishta draws his account of the period. Barní takes up the History of India just where the *Tabakát-i Násiri* leaves it; nearly a century having elapsed without any historian having recorded the events of that interval. In his Preface, after extolling the value of history, he gives the following account of his own work. ["Having derived great benefit and pleasure from the study of history, I was desirous of writing a history myself, beginning with Adam and his two sons. \* \* \* But while I was intent upon this design, I called to mind the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, written with such marvellous ability by the *Sadar-i Jahán*, Minháj-u-d dín Jauzjáni. \* \* \* I then said to myself, if I copy what this venerable and illustrious author has written, those who have read his history will derive no advantage from reading mine; and if I state any thing contradictory of that master's writings, or abridge or amplify his statements, it will be considered disrespectful and rash. In addition to which I should raise doubts and difficulties in the minds of his readers. I therefore deemed it advisable to exclude from this history everything which is included in the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, \* \* \* and to confine myself to the history of the later kings of Dehli. \* \* \* It is ninety-five years since the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, and during that time eight kings have sat upon the throne of Dehli. Three other persons, rightly or wrongfully, occupied the





throne for three or four months each ; but in this history I have recorded only the reigns of eight kings, beginning with Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban, who appears in the *Tabakát-i Násiri* under the name of Ulugh Khán. ]

"First.—Sultán Ghiyasu-d dín Balban, who reigned twenty years.

"Second.—Sultán M'uizzu-d dín Kai-kubád, son of Sultán Balban, who reigned three years.

"Third.—Sultán Jalálu-d dín Fíroz Khiljí, who reigned seven years.

"Fourth.—Sultán 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, who reigned twenty years.

"Fifth.—Sultán Kutbu-d dín, son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, who reigned four years and four days.

"Sixth.—Sultán Ghiyasu-d dín Tughlik, who reigned four years and a few months.

"Seventh.—Sultán Muhammad, the son of Tughlik Sháh, who reigned twenty years.

"Eighth.—Sultán Fíroz Sháh, the present king, whom may God preserve.

"I have not taken any notice of three kings, who reigned only three or four months. I have written in this book, which I have named *Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhi*, whatever I have seen during the six years of the reign of the present king, Fíroz Sháh, and after this, if God spares my life, I hope to give an account of subsequent occurrences in the concluding part of this volume. I have taken much trouble on myself in writing this history, and hope it will be approved. If readers peruse this compilation as a mere history, they will find recorded in it the actions of great kings and conquerors ; if they search in it the rules of administration and the means of enforcing obedience, even in that respect it will not be found deficient ; if they look into it for warnings and admonitions to kings and governors, that also they will find nowhere else in such perfection. To conclude, whatever I have written is right and true, and worthy of all confidence."

[Ziau-d dín Barní, like many others, who have written under the





eye and at the dictation of contemporary princes, is an unfair narrator. Several of the most important events of the reigns he celebrated have been altogether omitted, or slurred over as of no consequence. Thus many of the inroads of the Mughals in the time of 'Aláu-d dín are not noticed, and he omits all mention of the atrocious means of perfidy and murder, by which Muhammad Tughlik obtained the throne, to which concealment he was no doubt induced by the near relationship which that tyrant bore to the reigning monarch. With respect, however, to his concealment of the Mughal irruptions, it is to be remarked, as a curious fact, that the Western historians, both of Asia and Europe, make no mention of some of the most important. It is Firishta who notices them, and blames our author for his withholding the truth. Firishta's sources of information were no doubt excellent, and the general credit which his narrative inspires, combines with the eulogistic tone of Zíáu-d dín Barní's history in proving that the inroads were actually made, and that the author's concealment was intentional. The silence of the authorities quoted by De Guignes, D'Herbelot, and Price, may be ascribed to their defective information respecting the transactions of the Mughal leaders to the eastward of the Persian boundary.

The author did not live to complete his account of Fíroz Sháh, but towards the close of his work lavishes every kind of encomium, not altogether undeserved, upon that excellent prince. Notwithstanding that Firishta has extracted the best part of the *Tarikh-i Fíroz Sháhí*, it will continue to be consulted, as the reigns which it comprises are of some consequence in the history of India. > The constant recurrence of Mughal invasions, the expeditions to the Dekkin and Telingana, the establishment of fixed prices for provisions, and the abortive means adopted to avert the effects of famine, the issue of copper money of arbitrary value, the attempted removal of the capital to Deogír, the wanton massacres of defenceless subjects, the disastrous results of the scheme to penetrate across the Himaláya to China, the public buildings, and the mild administration of Fíroz; all these



measures, and many more, invest the period with an interest which cannot be satisfied from the mere abstract given by Firishta.

[Barni is very sparing and inaccurate in his dates. He is also wanting in method and arrangement. He occasionally introduces divisions into his work, but in such a fitful irregular way that they are useless. In his latter days "he retired to a village in the suburbs of Dehli, which was afterwards the burial place of many saints and distinguished men. He was reduced to such extreme poverty that no more costly shroud than a piece of coarse matting could be furnished for the funeral obsequies." His tomb is not far from that of his friend, the poet Amír Khusrú.<sup>1</sup>]

[Sir H. Elliot had marked the whole of Barni's history for translation, intending probably to peruse it and expunge all trivial and uninteresting passages. The translation had been undertaken by a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, but when required it was not forthcoming. After waiting for some time, the editor, anxious to avoid further delay, set to work himself, and the whole of the translation is from his pen.<sup>2</sup> It is somewhat freer in style than many of the others, for although the text has been very closely followed, the sense has always been preferred to the letter, and a discretion has been exercised of omitting reiterated and redundant epithets. All passages of little or no importance or interest have been omitted, and their places are marked with asterisks. The Extracts, therefore, contain the whole pith and marrow of the work, all that is likely to prove in any degree valuable for historical purposes. Barni's history of the eighth king, Fíroz Shah, is incomplete, and is of less interest than the other portions. In the weakness of old age, or in the desire to please the reigning monarch, he has indulged in a strain of adulation which spoils

<sup>1</sup> Col. Lees. Jour., R.A.S., vol. iii., new series, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> When a portion of the translation was already in type, and the editor was at work on the last reign, a letter arrived from India with translations of the histories of the second and sixth of the eight kings—too late to be of any service.





his narrative. The *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhi* of Shams-i Sirāj, which will follow this work, is specially devoted to the reign of that king. Shams-i Sirāj has therefore been left to tell the history of that monarch. But the two writers have been compared, and one or two interesting passages have been extracted from Barnī's work.

[The translation has been made from the text printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and during the latter half of the work two MSS., borrowed by Sir H. Elliot, have been also constantly used,<sup>1</sup> These MSS. prove the print, or the MSS. on which it was based, to be very faulty. ~~A collection would~~ furnish a long list of *errata* and *addenda*. One of the two MSS. gives the original text apparently unaltered;<sup>2</sup> but the other has been revised with some judgment. It sometimes omits and sometimes simplifies obscure and difficult passages, and it occasionally leaves ~~some~~ *revisions*; but it is a valuable MS., and would have been of great assistance to the editor of the text.]

## EXTRACTS.

Ziā-Barnī, the author of this history, and an earnest well-wisher of the Muhammadans, declares that what he has written upon the life and actions of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d dīn Balban he himself heard from his father and grandfather, and from men who held important offices under that sovereign.

Ghiyāsu-d dīn Balban ascended the throne in 662<sup>3</sup> H. He was one of the *Shamsi* slaves, and belonged to the band of Turk slaves which was known as "The Forty." \* \* \* Before he became king the glory of the State had greatly declined from

<sup>1</sup> These MSS. being carefully secured by Lady Elliot, could not be obtained while she was absent from home. They have since been examined in respect of several passages in the earlier parts of the translation.

<sup>2</sup> This is said to be "a perfect copy, and the autograph of the author. It belongs to the Nawwāb of Tonk, by whose father it was plundered from Boolandshahr." It is a good MS., but, so far from being an autograph, the colophon gives the name of the scribe and the date of the transcription, 1019 (1610 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> Should be 664 H. (1265-6 A.D.)



what it had been in the days of Sultán Shamsu-d dín, who was the equal of the Sultán of Egypt, and the compeer of the kings of 'Irák, Khurásán, and Khwárizm. For thirty years after him, during the reigns of his sons, the affairs of the country had fallen into confusion through the youth and sensuality (of his immediate successors), and through the mildness and humility of Sultán Násiru-d dín. The treasury was empty, and the royal court had but little in the way of wealth and horses. The *Shamsi* slaves had become Kháns, and divided among them the wealth and power of the kingdom, so that the country was under their control.

During the ten years after the death of Sultán Shamsu-d dín four of his children sat upon the throne. They were young and unequal to the duties of government. Their lives were passed in pleasure and neglect of their duties. The Turk slaves, called "The Forty," thus obtained power in the government of the country, and grew in strength and dignity. The free-born *maliks* and noble officials who had served the *Shamsi* throne with honour and renown were all removed.

After the lapse of ten years, during which three of Sultán Shamsu-d dín's children reigned, his youngest son, Násiru-d dín (after whom the *Tabakát-i Násiri* is named), came to the throne. He was a mild, kind, and devout king, and passed much of his time in making copies of the Holy Book. During the twenty years of his reign Balban was Deputy of the State, and bore the title of Ulugh Khán. He, keeping Násiru-d dín as a puppet (*namúna*), carried on the government, and even while he was only a *Khán* used many of the insignia of royalty.

In the reign of Shamsu-d dín the fear inspired by the slaughter and ravages of Changiz Khán, the accursed Mughal, caused many renowned *maliks* and *amírs*, who had long exercised authority, and many intelligent *wazírs*, to rally round the throne of Shamsu-d dín. \* \* \* His Court thus became the equal of that of Mahmúd or of Sanjar, and the object of universal confidence. After the death of Shamsu-d dín his Forty Turk slaves grew





powerful. The sons of the late Sultán did not bear themselves like princes, and were antited for the duties of royalty, which, saving only those of the prophetic office, are the highest and most important in the world. Under the influence of these Turk Slaves all the great men, and the sons of those great men who had been *maliks* and *wazirs*, were upon some pretence or other set aside, and after their removal the *Shamsi* Slaves became the leading men of the State, and acquired the dignity of *Khán*. \*\*\* These *Shamsi* slaves had been fellow slaves, and when they became all at once great and powerful, no one would give precedence or acknowledge inferiority to another. In possessions and display, in grandeur and dignity, they vied with each other, and in their proud vaunts and boasts every one exclaimed to the other, "What art thou that I am not, and what wilt thou be that I shall not be?" The incompetence of the sons of Shamsu-dín, and the arrogance of the *Shamsi* slaves, thus brought into contempt that throne which had been among the most dignified and exalted in the world.

Sultán Ghiyásu-dín Balban was a man of experience in matters of government. From being a *malik* he became a *khán*, and from being a *khán* he became king. When he attained the throne he imparted to it new lustre, he brought the administration into order, and restored to efficiency institutions whose power had been shaken or destroyed. The dignity and authority of government were restored, and his stringent rules and resolute determination caused all men, high and low, throughout his dominions, to submit to his authority. Fear and awe of him took possession of all men's hearts, but his justice and his consideration for his people won the favour of his subjects and made them zealous supporters of his throne. During the thirty years from the death of Shamsu-dín, the incompetency of that monarch's sons and the overweening power of the *Shamsi* slaves had produced a vacillating, disobedient, self-willed feeling among the people, which watched for and seized upon every opportunity. Fear of the governing power, which





100

is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition. But from the very commencement of the reign of Balban the people became tractable, obedient, and submissive; self-assertion and self-will were thrown aside, and all refrained from insubordination and insolence.

In the first year after his accession, the ripe judgment and experience of Balban was directed in the first place to the organization of his army, for the army is the source and means of government. The cavalry and infantry, both old and new, were placed under the command of *maliks* of experience, of chiefs who held the first rank in their profession, and were brave, dignified, and faithful. \* \* \* In the first and second year he assumed great state, and made great display of his pomp and dignity. \* \* \* Musulmans and Hindus would come from distances of one or two hundred *kos* to see the splendour of his equipage, which filled them with amazement. \* \* \* No sovereign had ever before exhibited such pomp and grandeur in Dehli. \* \* \* For the twenty-two years that Balban reigned he maintained the dignity, honour, and majesty of the throne in a manner that could not be surpassed. Certain of his attendants who waited on him in private assured me that they never saw him otherwise than full-dressed. During the whole time that he was *Khan* and *Sultan*, extending over nearly forty years, he never conversed with persons of low origin or occupation, and never indulged in any familiarity, either with friends or strangers, by which the dignity of the Sovereign could be lowered. He never joked with any one, nor did he allow any one to joke in his presence; he never laughed aloud, nor did he permit any one in his Court to laugh. \* \* \* As long as he lived no officer or acquaintance dared to recommend for employment any person of low position or extraction.

In the administration of justice he was inflexible, showing no favour to his brethren or children, to his associates or attendants; and if any of them committed an act of injustice, he never failed





to give redress and comfort to the injured person. No man dared to be too severe to his slaves or handmaids, to his horsemen or his footmen. Malik Bak-bak, father of Malik Kírá Beg, was a slave of Sultán Balban; he was *Sar-jándár*, and one of the privileged attendants at Court. He held a *jágir* of four thousand horse, and the fief of Badáún. In a fit of drunkenness, while at Badáún, he caused one of his domestic attendants to be beaten to death with scourges. Some time afterwards, the Sultán went to Badáún, and the man's widow complained to the Sultán. He immediately ordered that this Malik Bak-bak, chief of Badáún, should be scourged to death in the presence of the widow. The spies (*barid*) who had been stationed to watch the fief of Badáún, and had made no report, were hanged over the gate of the town. Haibat Khán, father of Malik Kírán 'Ala, was the slave and *kára-beg* of Sultán Balban. He also while intoxicated killed a man. The dead man's friends brought the matter before the Sultán, who ordered that Haibat Khán should receive five hundred lashes in his presence, and should then be given to the widow. Addressing the woman, he said, "This murderer was my slave, I give him to you: with your own hands stab him with a knife till you kill him." Haibat Khán employed some friends to intercede with the woman, and after much humiliation and weeping they succeeded in purchasing his release for 20,000 *tankas*. Haibat Khán never after went out of his house until the day of his death. \* \* \*

In his efforts to secure justice he appointed confidential spies (*barids*) in all the fiefs, and throughout his territories; he also appointed them for great cities, and for important and distant towns. And that they might discharge their duties with efficiency and honesty he did not give them too large a field of observation. He never failed to attend to what came to his knowledge through these spies, and had no respect for persons in administering justice. These spies were greatly feared by the nobles and officials, and neither they nor their sons or dependants dared to distress any innocent person. \* \* \*





Sultán Balban, while he was a *Khán*, was addicted to wine drinking, and was fond of giving entertainments: two or three times in a week he would give banquets and gamble with his guests. \* \* \* But after he came to the throne he allowed himself no prohibited indulgences. He repented of all his former drunken bouts, gave up wine, and never mentioned the name of either wine or wine-drinkers. \* \* \*

The intimate friends of the Sultán, such as 'Adil Khán, Tabai Khán, and others of the old *Shamsi* Slaves, who, through the protection of the Sultán, still occupied exalted positions, often said to him—Sovereigns, like Kutbu-d dīn Aibak and Shamsu-d dīn, our former patrons, conquered Jhāin,<sup>1</sup> Malwá, Ujjain, Gujarát, and other distant countries, and carried off treasure and valuables, and elephants and horses from the *Ráís* and *Rānas*. "How is it that with your well equipped and disciplined army you do not undertake any distant campaign, and never move out of your territory to conquer other regions?" The Sultán replied, "The thoughts which you have expressed have also been very active in my mind, but you have not considered the hordes of Changíz Khán, and the evil they have brought upon the women and children, the flocks and herds of my frontiers. These Mughals have established themselves in Ghazní, in Turmuz, and in Máwaráu-n Nahr. Hulákú, the grandson of Changíz Khán, with a vast horde, has subdued 'Irák and occupied Baghdád. These accursed wretches have heard of the wealth and prosperity of Hindustán, and have set their hearts upon conquering and plundering it. They have taken and plundered Láhor, within my territories, and no year passes that they do not come here and plunder the villages.<sup>2</sup> They watch the opportunity of my departure on a distant campaign to enter my cities and ravage the whole Doáb. They even talk about the conquest and sack of Dehli. I have devoted all the revenues of my kingdom to the

<sup>1</sup> The printed text always gives this name as "Jahában," but the MSS. have "Jhāin," the name used by Firishhta.

<sup>2</sup> "Talwandihá" villages. See *supra*, p. 70.





equipment of my army, and I hold all my forces ready and prepared to receive them. I never leave my kingdom, nor will I go to any distance from it. In the reigns of my patrons and predecessors there was none of this difficulty of the Mughals; they could lead their armies where they pleased, subdue the dominions of the Hindus, and carry off gold and treasures, staying away from their capitals a year or two. If this anxiety, which admonishes me that I am the guardian and protector of Musulmans, were removed, then I would not stay one day in my capital, but would lead forth my army to capture treasures and valuables, elephants and horses, and would never allow the *Ráís* and *Ránas* to repose in quiet at a distance. With the army that I possess I would take all the spirit out of the opponents and enemies of the Faith." \* \* \*

The Sultán frequently observed to his associates that elephants and horses were the strength of Hindustan, and that one elephant was worth five hundred horsemen. \* \* \* In the first year of the reign, sixty-three elephants were sent by Tatar Khán, son of Arslán Khán, from Lakhnauti to Dehli, which greatly pleased the people, and was the occasion of great public rejoicing. \* \* \* He took great pleasure in hunting, and followed it with much zest during the winter. By his orders the country for twenty *kos* round Dehli was preserved, and no one was allowed to take game. \* \* \* He used to go out in the morning, and always returned at night, even if it were midnight. A thousand horsemen belonging to the palace guard, each man of whom was acquainted with his person, accompanied him; besides a thousand old and trusty footmen and archers. Reports of the hunting expeditions of the Sultán were carried to Hulákú, at Baghdád, and he said, "Balban is a shrewd ruler and has had much experience in government. He goes out apparently to hunt \* \* \* but really to exercise his men and horses, so that they may not be wanting when times of danger and war arrive. \* \* \*

Towards the end of the first year of his reign he employed himself in harrying the jungles, and in routing out the *Mi-*



*wāttis*,<sup>1</sup> whom no one had interfered with since the days of Shamsu-d dīn. \* \* \* The turbulence of the *Miwāttis* had increased, and their strength had grown in the neighbourhood of Dehli, through the dissolute habits and negligence of the elder sons of Shamsu-d dīn, and the incapacity of the youngest, Násiru-d dīn. At night they used to come prowling into the city, giving all kinds of trouble, depriving the people of their rest; and they plundered the country houses in the neighbourhood of the city. \* \* \* In the neighbourhood of Dehli there were large and dense jungles, through which many roads passed. The disaffected in the Doáb, and the outlaws towards Hindustan grew bold and took to robbery on the highway, and they so beset the roads that caravans and merchants were unable to pass. The daring of the *Miwāttis* in the neighbourhood of Dehli was carried to such an extent that the western gates<sup>2</sup> of the city were shut at afternoon prayer, and no one dared to go out of the city in that direction after that hour, whether he travelled as a pilgrim or with the display of a sovereign. At afternoon prayer the *Miwāttis* would often come to the Sar-hauz, and assaulting the water-carriers and the girls who were fetching water, they would strip them and carry off their clothes. These daring acts of the *Miwāttis* had caused a great ferment in Dehli.

In the year of his accession, the Sultán felt the repression of the *Miwāttis* to be the first of his duties, and for a whole year he was occupied in overthrowing them and in scouring the jungles, which he effectually accomplished. Great numbers of *Miwāttis* were put to the sword. The Sultán built a fort at Gopál-gír, and established several posts in the vicinity of the city, which he placed in the charge of Afgháns, with assignments of land (for their maintenance). In this campaign one hundred thousand of the royal army<sup>3</sup> were slain by the *Miwāttis*, and the

<sup>1</sup> The printed text and the MSS. say "*Miwāns*," but Firishta has "*Miwāttis*," and he is no doubt correct. The copyists must have misunderstood the name, or possibly they have modified the orthography. <sup>2</sup> [*Darwāzahā simat-i Kiblah.*]

<sup>3</sup> يک لکھي بنده خاص سلطان از ميوان شهيد شد Firishta says, with more probability, that he put a hundred thousand men (of the enemy) to the sword.



Sultán with his sword delivered many servants of God from the assaults and violence of the enemy. From this time the city was delivered from the attacks of the *Miwáttis*.

After the Sultán had thus routed out the *Miwáttis*, and cleared away the jungle in the neighbourhood of the city, he gave the towns and country within the Doáb to some distinguished chiefs, with directions to lay waste and destroy the villages of the marauders, to slay the men, to make prisoners of the women and children, to clear away the jungle, and to suppress all lawless proceedings. The noblemen set about the work with strong forces, and they soon put down the daring of the rebels. They scoured the jungles and drove out the rebels, and the *ryots* were brought into submission and obedience.

The Sultán afterwards marched out twice to open the roads to Hindustán, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of Kampil and Pattiálí. There he remained five or six months, putting the rebels to the sword. The roads to Hindustán were thus cleared, so that caravans and merchants could pass, and great spoil in slaves, horses, and cattle was secured. Kampil, Pattiálí, and Bhojpúr had been the strongholds of the robbers who had infested the roads to Hindustán, so the Sultán erected in these places three strong forts, in which he placed Afghán garrisons. He set apart cultivable lands for the garrisons, and under the protection of these forces robbery was suppressed, and the roads to Hindustán were made safe. Sixty years have passed since these events, but the roads have ever since been free from robbers. In this campaign he also repaired the fort of Jalálí, which he garrisoned with Afgháns, and appropriated the land of the place to its support. The den of the robbers was thus converted into a guard-house, and Musulmans and guardians of the way took the place of highway robbers. It remains standing to this day.

While the Sultán was engaged in these duties news arrived from Kateher<sup>1</sup> that disturbances had broken out in that district,

<sup>1</sup> Variouslly spelt as کتھیر and کاتھیر



that the houses of the ryots had been plundered, and that the districts of Badáún and Amroha were also disturbed. The mutiny had grown so much and had acquired such strength that the chiefs of Badáún and Amroha were in great trouble and were unable to keep order. The Sultán immediately returned from Kampil and Pattiáli to Dehli, where great rejoicings were made. His mind was bent upon suppressing the disturbances at Kateher, so he ordered the main body of his army (*kalb*) to be prepared for service, and he spread the report that he was going to the hills on a hunting excursion. He left the city with his army without the royal tent-equipage, and made all haste to the scene of operations. In two nights and three days he crossed the Ganges at Kateher, and sending forward a force of five thousand archers, he gave them orders to burn down Kateher and destroy it, to slay every man, and to spare none but women and children, not even boys who had reached the age of eight or nine years. He remained for some days at Kateher and directed the slaughter. The blood of the rioters ran in streams, heaps of slain ~~were~~ to be seen near every village and jungle, and the stench of the ~~dead~~ reached as far as the Ganges. This severity spread dismay among the rebels and many submitted. The whole district was ravaged, and so much plunder was made that the royal army was enriched, and the people of Badáún even were satisfied. Woodcutters were sent out to cut roads through the jungles, and the army passing along these brought the Hindus to submission. From that time unto the end of the glorious<sup>1</sup> reign no rebellion made head in Kateher, and the countries of Badáún, Amroha, Sambal, and Kánwarí continued safe from the violence and turbulence of the people of Kateher.

The Sultan having thus extirpated the outlaws, returned victorious to his capital, where he remained some time. After the suppression of the freebooters, and the construction of roads in every direction, by which all fear of highway robbers was removed, the Sultán resolved upon making a campaign in the Júd moun-

<sup>1</sup> "Jaláli," meaning, perhaps, the reign of Jalálu-d dín.