



Zád,¹ with twenty *tumáns* of Mughals, resolved upon the invasion of Hindustán. He started from Máwaráu-n Nahr, and passing the Indus with a large force he marched on to the vicinity of Dehli. In this campaign Dehli was the object of attack, so the Mughals did not ravage the countries bordering on their march, nor did they attack the forts. * * * Great anxiety prevailed in Dehli, and the people of the neighbouring villages took refuge within its walls. The old fortifications had not been kept in repair, and terror prevailed, such as never before had been seen or heard of. All men, great and small, were in dismay. Such a concourse had crowded into the city that the streets and markets and mosques could not contain them. Everything became very dear. The roads were stopped against caravans and merchants, and distress fell upon the people.

The Sultán marched out of Dehli with great display and pitched his tent in Sirí. *Malíks*, *amírs*, and fighting men were summoned to Dehli from every quarter. At that time the author's uncle, 'Aláu-l Mulk, one of the companions and advisers of the Sultán, was *kotwál* of Dehli, and the Sultán placed the city, his women and treasure, under his charge. * * * 'Aláu-l Mulk went out to Sirí to take leave of the Sultán, and in private consultation with him [*advised a temporising policy.*] The Sultán listened and commended his sincerity. He then called the nobles together and said * * * you have heard what 'Aláu-l Mulk has urged * * * now hear what I have to say. * * * If I were to follow your advice, to whom could I show my face? how could I go into my harem? of what account would the people hold me? and where would be the daring and courage which is necessary to keep my turbulent people in submission? Come what may I will to-morrow march into the plain of Kílí. * * *

'Aláu-d dín marched from Sirí to Kílí and there encamped. Katlagh Khwája, with the Mughal army, advanced to encounter

¹ Firishta (vol. i, p. 329) says "son of Amír Dáúd Khán, king of Máwaráu-n nahr."



him. In no age or reign had two such vast armies been drawn up in array against each other, and the sight of them filled all men with amazement. Zafar Khán, who commanded the right wing, with the *amirs* who were under him, drew their swords and fell upon the enemy with such fury that the Mughals were broken and forced to fall back. The army of Islám pursued, and Zafar Khán, who was the Rostam of the age and the hero of the time, pressed after the retreating foe, cutting them down with the sword and mowing off their heads. He kept up the pursuit for eighteen *kos*, never allowing the scared Mughals to rally. Ulugh Khán commanded the left wing, which was very strong, and had under him several distinguished *amirs*. Through the animosity which he bore to Zafar Khán he never stirred to support him.

Targhí, the accursed, had been placed in ambush with his *tumán*. His Mughals mounted the trees and could not see any horse moving up to support Zafar Khán. When Targhí ascertained that Zafar Khán had gone so far in pursuit of the Mughals without any supporting force in his rear, he marched after Zafar Khán, and, spreading out his forces on all sides, he surrounded him as with a ring, and pressed him with arrows. Zafar Khán was dismounted. The brave hero then drew his arrows from the quiver and brought down a Mughal at every shaft. At this juncture, Katlagh Khwája sent him this message, "Come with me and I will take thee to my father, who will make thee greater than the king of Dehlí has made thee." Zafar Khán heeded not the offer, and the Mughals saw that he would never be taken alive, so they pressed in upon him on every side and despatched him. The *amirs* of his force were all slain, his elephants were wounded, and their drivers killed. The Mughals thus, on that day, obtained the advantage, but the onslaught of Zafar Khán had greatly dispirited them. Towards the end of the night they retreated, and marched to a distance of thirty *kos* from Dehlí. They then continued their retreat by marches of twenty *kos*, without resting, until they reached their own



confines. The bravery of Zafar Khán was long remembered among the Mughals, and if their cattle refused to drink they used to ask if they saw Zafar Khán.¹ No such army as this has ever since been seen in hostile array near Dehlí. 'Alau-d dín returned from Kílí, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughals had been put to flight, and the brave and fearless Zafar Khán had been got rid of without disgrace.

In the third year of his reign 'Alau-d dín had little to do beyond attending to his pleasures, giving feasts, and holding festivals. One success followed another; despatches of victory came in from all sides; every year he had two or three sons born, affairs of State went on according to his wish and to his satisfaction, his treasury was overflowing, boxes and caskets of jewels and pearls were daily displayed before his eyes, he had numerous elephants in his stables and seventy thousand horses in the city and environs, two or three regions were subject to his sway, and he had no apprehension of enemies to his kingdom or of any rival to his throne. All this prosperity intoxicated him. Vast desires and great aims, far beyond him, or a hundred thousand like him, formed their germs in his brain, and he entertained fancies which had never occurred to any king before him. In his exaltation, ignorance, and folly, he quite lost his head,² forming the most impossible schemes and nourishing the most extravagant desires. He was a man of no learning and never associated with men of learning. He could not read or write a letter. He was bad tempered, obstinate, and hard-hearted, but the world smiled upon him, fortune befriended him, and his schemes were generally successful, so he only became the more reckless and arrogant.

During the time that he was thus exalted with arrogance and presumption, he used to speak in company about two projects that he had formed, and would consult with his companions and asso-

¹ See D'Ohsson *Hist. des Mongols*, iv., 560.

² Lit., "hands and feet." Here, and occasionally elsewhere, I have been obliged to prune the exuberant eloquence of the author.



ciates upon the execution of them. One of the two schemes which he used to debate about he thus explained, "God Almighty gave the blessed Prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the Law and Religion were established, and through this establishment of law and religion the name of the Prophet will endure to the day of judgment. Every man who knows himself to be a Musulmán, and calls himself by that name, conceives himself to be of his religion and creed. "God has given me also four friends, Ulugh Khán, Zafar Khán, Nusrat Khán, and Alp Khán, who, through my prosperity, have attained to princely power and dignity. If I am so inclined, I can, with the help of these four friends, establish a new religion and creed"; and my sword, and the swords of my friends, will bring all men to adopt it. Through this religion, my name and that of my friends will remain among men to the last day like the names of the Prophet and his friends." * * * Upon this subject he used to talk in his wine parties, and also to consult privately with his nobles. * * * His second project he used to unfold as follows; "I have wealth, and elephants, and forces, beyond all calculation. My wish is to place Dehlí in charge of a vicegerent, and then I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitable world." Over-elated with the success of some few projects, he caused himself to be entitled "the second Alexander" in the *khutba* and on his coins. In his convivial parties he would vaunt, "Every region that I subdue I will intrust to one of my trusty nobles, and then proceed in quest of another. Who is he that shall stand against me?" His companions, although they saw his * * * folly and arrogance, were afraid of his violent temper, and applauded him. * * * These wild projects became known in the city; some of the wise men smiled, and attributed them to his folly and ignorance; others trembled, and said that such riches had fallen into the hands of a Pharaoh who had no knowledge or sense. * * *

My uncle 'Aláu-l Mulk, *kotwál* of Dehlí, through his extreme corpulence, used to go (only) at the new moon to wait upon the



Sultán, and to take wine with him. On one occasion the Sultán began to consult him about these two extravagant delusions. 'Aláu-l Mulk had heard how the king used to talk about these projects at his feasts, and how the guests used to coincide with him, and refrain from speaking the truth through fear of his hot temper and violence. When the questions were put to him by the Sultán, he said, "If your Majesty will order the wine to be removed, and all persons to withdraw except the four nobles, Ulugh Khán, Zafar Khán, Nusrat Khán, and Alp Khán, I will then open my mind to your Majesty." The Sultán gave the order * * * and 'Aláu-l Mulk, after apologizing for his boldness, said "Religion, and law, and creeds, ought never to be made subjects of discussion by your Majesty, for these are the concerns of prophets, not the business of kings. Religion and law spring from heavenly revelation; they are never established by the plans and designs of man. From the days of Adam till now they have been the mission of Prophets and Apostles, as rule and government have been the duty of kings. The prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some prophets have discharged the functions of royalty. My advice is that your Majesty should never talk about these matters. * * * Your Majesty knows what rivers of blood Changíz Khán made to flow in Muhammadan cities, but he never was able to establish the Mughal religion or institutions among Muhammadans. Many Mughals have turned Musulmán, but no Musulmán has ever become a Mughal." * * * The Sultán listened, and hung down his head in thought. His four friends heartily approved what 'Aláu-l Mulk had said, and looked anxiously for the Sultán's answer. After awhile he said * * * "From henceforth no one shall ever hear me speak such words. "Blessings be on thee and thy parents, for thou hast spoken the truth, and hast been loyal to thy duty. But what dost thou say about my other project?" 'Aláu-l Mulk said, "The second design is that of a great monarch, for it is a rule among kings to seek to bring the whole world under their sway * * * but these are



not the days of Alexander * * * and where will there be found a *wazir* like Aristotle?" * * * The Sultán replied, "What is the use of my wealth, and elephants and horses, if I remain content with Dehlí, and undertake no new conquests? and what will be said about my reign?" 'Aláu-l Mulk replied that "there were two important undertakings open to the King, which ought to receive attention before all others * * * One is the conquest and subjugation of all Hindustán, of such places as Rantambhor, Chitor, Chanderí, Málwa, Dhár, and Ujjain, to the east as far as the Sarú, from the Siwálik to Jálor, from Multán to Damrila,¹ from Pálam to Lohor and Deopalpúr; these places should all be reduced to such obedience that the name of rebel should never be heard. The second and more important duty is that of closing the road of Multán against the Mughals." * * * Before closing his speech, 'Aláu-l Mulk said "What I have recommended can never be accomplished unless your Majesty gives up drinking to excess, and keeps aloof from convivial parties and feasts. * * * If you cannot do entirely without wine, do not drink till the afternoon, and then take it alone without companions." * * * When he had finished the Sultán was pleased, and commending the excellence of the advice which he had given, promised to observe it. He gave him a brocaded robe of honour with a gold waistband weighing half a *man*, ten thousand *tankas*, two horses fully caparisoned, and two villages in *in'am*. The four Kháns who were present added to these gifts three or four thousand *tankas*, and two or three horses with trappings. The advice which 'Aláu-l Mulk had given was greatly praised by all the *wazirs* and wise men of the city. This happened while Zafar Khán was alive, upon his return from Siwistán, before he went to fight with Katlagh Khwája.

'Aláu-d dín now first resolved upon the capture of Rantambhor, which was near Dehlí. This fort had been taken, and was held by Hamír Deo, grandson of Rái Pithaurá of Dehlí.² Ulugh

¹ "Marila" in the print.

² Pithaurá was killed in 1192, and here we are in 1299 A.D. *Nabasa*, the word used, probably here means loosely "descendant."



Khán, who held Bayána, was ordered to Rantambhor, and Nusrat Khán, who held Karra that year, was ordered to collect all the forces of Karra, and that part of Hindustán, and to march to the assistance of Ulugh Khán. They captured Jhán,¹ and invested Rantambhor. One day Nusrat Khán approached the fort to direct the construction of a mound (*páshíb*), and a redoubt (*gar-gaj*). A stone discharged from a *Maghríbí* in the fort struck him, and so wounded him that he died two or three days after. When this intelligence was brought to the Sultán, he departed from Dehlí in great state for Rantambhor.

The Sultán proceeded from Dehlí towards Rantambhor, and halted for some days at Til-pat.² He went out daily to hunt and a *nargah*³ was drawn. One day he was benighted, and alighted with only ten horsemen at the village of Bádi, where he remained for the night. Next day before sunrise he gave orders to close up the circle. The huntsmen and horsemen went forth to draw it together, and the Sultán remained sitting on a stool with only a few attendants, waiting until the beasts were driven up. At this time Akat Khán, the Sultán's brother's son, who held the office of *Wakildar*, rose up against the Sultán. Conceiving that if he killed the monarch he might, as his nephew, aspire to the throne, he plotted with sundry new Musulmán horsemen, who had been long in his service. These men now approached the Sultán, shouting tiger! tiger! and began to discharge arrows at him. It was winter, and the Sultán was wearing a large over-coat. He jumped up just as he was, and seizing the stool on which he had been sitting, he made a shield of it. He warded off several arrows; two pierced his arm, but none reached his body. A slave of the Sultán, by name Mánik, threw himself before his master, and made his own body a shield. He was struck by three or four arrows, The *páiks* (footmen) who stood behind the Sultán now covered him with their bucklers. Akat Khán galloped up with his confede-

¹ Here it is evident that Jhán was close to Rantambhor, so that it cannot be Ujjain as suggested in p. 146 *supra*.

² See Elliot's Glossary, II., 122.

³ A large circle or sweep made by hunters for driving the game together.



rates, intending to cut off the Sultán's head; but finding the *páiks* standing firm with their swords drawn, they dared not alight to lay hands on him. The *páiks* cried out that the Sultán was dead. Akat Khán was young, rash, and foolish. He had made a violent attack on his sovereign, but he lacked the decision and resolution to carry it through, and cut off the Sultán's head. In his folly and rashness he took another course. Believing what the *páiks* said, he went with all speed to the plain of Til-pat, and seated himself on the throne of 'Aláu-d dín, proclaiming to the people of the court with a loud voice that he had slain the Sultán. The people could not believe that the horsemen would have come to the royal residence, or that Akat Khán would have dared to seat himself on the throne and hold a court if the Sultán had not been killed. A tumult broke out in the army, and everything was getting into confusion. The elephants were accoutred and brought before the royal tent. The attendants of the court assembled and took up their respective positions, * * * and the chief men of the army came to pay their respects to the new sovereign. They kissed the hand of that evil doer and did homage. Akat Khán, in his egregious folly, attempted to go into the harem, but Malik Dínár armed himself and his followers, and, taking his stand at the door, told Akat Khán that he should not enter until he produced the head of 'Aláu-d dín.

When 'Aláu-d dín was wounded his Turk horsemen dispersed, raising a clamour. About sixty or seventy men, horse and foot, remained with him. After Akat Khán had left, the Sultán recovered his senses; he was found to have received two wounds in the arm, and to have lost much blood. They bathed the wounds and placed his arm in a sling. When he reflected on what had happened, he came to the conclusion that Akat Khán must have had many supporters among the *maliks*, *amírs*, and soldiers, for he would never have ventured on such a step without strong support. He therefore determined to leave his army, and to proceed with all speed to his brother, Ulugh Khán, at Jhám, in order to concert with him measures for securing his position.



Malik Hamídu-d dín, *naib-wakil-dar*, son of Umdatul Mulk, opposed this plan, and advised the Sultán to proceed at once to his army. * * * The Malik's reasoning convinced the Sultán, and he started at once for the army. As he went along every trooper whom he fell in with joined him, so that on reaching the army he had an escort of five or six hundred men. He immediately showed himself on a rising ground, and being recognized, the assembly at the royal tent broke up, and his attendants came forth with elephants to receive him. Akat Khán rushed out of the tents and fled on horseback to Afghánpúr. The Sultán then came down, entered his tents, and, seating himself upon the throne, held a public court. He sent two officers in pursuit of Akat Khán, who came up with him at Afghánpúr, and beheaded him. His head was carried to the Sultán, who ordered it to be exhibited to the army on a spear, and then to be sent to Dehlí for exhibition, after which it was to be sent to Ulugh Khán at Jháin, with an account of the Sultán's escape. Katlagh Khwája, younger brother of Akat Khán, was also killed. * * * The Sultán remained some days with the army, diligently seeking out all who had connived at or had been aware of Akat Khán's attempt. Those who were discovered were scourged to death with thongs of wire, their property was confiscated, and their wives and children sent prisoners to various forts. The Sultán then proceeded to Rantambhor, and after punishing the rest of those who were concerned in Akat Khán's conspiracy, he devoted himself to the business of the siege. Bags were made and distributed to the soldiers, who filled them with sand and threw them into the holes (*ghár*). The traverses of the *páshib* were formed, the redoubts (*gargaj*) raised, and stones were discharged from the *maghribis*. The besieged¹ battered the *páshib* with stones from their *maghribis*, and

¹ There is a line omitted from the print here. The following is a literal translation of Firishtá's account: ("The Sultán) having assembled numerous forces from all quarters distributed bags among them. Each man filled his bag with sand, and cast it into the trench (*darra*), which they call *raran*, until they obtained command (over the walls), and struck down the defenders inside."



scattered fire from the summit of the fort. Many men were killed on both sides. The territories of Jháin were attacked and subdued as far as Dhár.

After the conspiracy of Akat Khán was suppressed, news was brought to the army that 'Umar Khán and Mangú Khán, taking advantage of the Sultán's absence and the difficulties of the siege of Rantambhor, had broken out in revolt and had obtained a following among the people of Hindustán. The Sultán sent some officers against them, who made them prisoners before they had effected anything, and carried them to Rantambhor. The Sultán's cruel implacable temper had no compassion for his sister's children, so he had them punished in his presence. They were blinded by having their eyes cut out with knives like slices of a melon. Their families and dependants were overthrown. Of the horse and foot who had supported them, some fled, and others fell into the hands of the *amírs* of Hindustán and were imprisoned.

While the Sultán was prosecuting the siege of Rantambhor, a revolt of some importance broke out at Dehlí. * * * There was a person named Hájí, a *maula* or slave of the late *Kotwál*, Amíru-l umará Fakhru-d dín. He was a man of violent, fearless, and malignant character * * * and he was charged with the guard of the exchequer.¹ A man called Turmuzí was *kotwál* of the city and greatly oppressed the people. * * * 'Aláu-d dín Ayáz, father of Ahmad Ayáz, was *kotwál* of the New Fort. Hájí Maula, seeing the city empty, and the inhabitants distressed by the violence and tyranny of Turmuzí the *kotwál* * * * knowing also that not a man could be spared from the army * * * he thought the people would support him. He secured the support of the old *kotwáli* officers, and excited a somewhat formidable revolt. It was the month of Ramazán, and

¹ The words are *مسنگی خالص برتول*. The two MSS., however, read *رتول*. This word is not intelligible. The context seems to imply that the Maula was stationed in the city, otherwise *Khálish-i ratol* might signify "the government lands of Ratol."



the sun was in Gemini. The weather was very hot, and at mid-day people kept indoors taking their siesta, so there were few in the streets. At this time Hájí Maula, with several armed followers, went to the house of *kotwál*, carrying with them as a blind a letter which he pretended to have received from the Sultán. The *kotwál* was taking his nap, and had none of his men with him. When he was called he roused himself, put on his slippers, and came to the door. Hájí Maula instantly gave the signal, and his followers cut off the unsuspecting victim's head. He then brought out the pretended royal *farmán*, and, showing it to the crowd, he said that he had killed the *kotwál* in obedience to orders received from the Sultán. The people were silent. The keepers of the gates were creatures of Hájí Maula, so they closed them. After killing *kotwál* Turmuzí, he sent to summon 'Aláu-d dín Ayáz, intending to kill him also. * * * But Ayáz had been informed of the outbreak, so, instead of coming out, he gathered his followers round him, placed guards, and refused to open the gates of the New Fort. Hájí Maula then proceeded with his riotous followers to the Red Palace, seated himself upon a balcony, and set free all the prisoners, some of whom joined his followers. Bags of gold *tankas* were brought out of the treasury and scattered among the people. Arms also were brought from the armoury, and horses from the royal stables, and distributed among the rioters. Every one that joined them had gold *tankas* thrown into his lap. There was an 'Alawí (descendant of 'Alí) in Dehlí who was called the grandson of Shah Najaf,¹ who, by his mother's side, was grandson of Sultán Shamsu-d dín. The Maula set off from the Red Palace with a party of horse, and went to the house of the poor 'Alawí. They carried him off by force and seated him on the throne in the Red Palace. The principal men of the city were brought by force and made to kiss his hand. * * * These riotous proceed-

¹ A very doubtful passage. The print says : ک اورا نبسه شه نجف گفتندی . One MS. writes اورا نبسه می شد محتسب گفتندی . The other MS. omits the words.



ings went on for seven or eight days, and intelligence was several times conveyed to the Sultán, but he kept it secret, and it did not become known to the army.

On the third or fourth day of the riot, Malik Hamídu-d dín, Amir of Koh, with his sons and relations, all valiant men, opened the Ghazní gate and went into the city. They proceeded towards the gate of Bhandar-kál, and arrows began to fly between them and the rioters, who became desperate and obtained gold from Háji Maula. After Hamídu-d dín, the Amir of Koh, had been in the city two days, he and his loyal followers prevailed over the rebels. A party of the friends of Zafar Khán, who had come from Amroha, joined him. He then entered the gate of Bhandar kál, and a struggle ensued between him and the shoemakers, and between him and Háji Maula. The Amir of Koh alighted from his horse, dashed Háji Maula to the ground, and sat upon his breast. Swords and clubs were aimed at him all round and he was wounded, but he never quitted his fallen foe till he had despatched him. After this the victors proceeded to the Red Palace. They decapitated the miserable 'Alawí and carried his head about the city on a spear.

A despatch announcing the death of Háji Maula was sent to the Sultán at Rantambhor. Intelligence of the revolt and of the anarchy prevailing at Dehlí had in several ways reached the Sultán, but he had resolved upon the reduction of the fort, and so he would not be shaken from his purpose and leave it to go to Dehlí. All his forces were engaged in pressing the siege, and were severely tried and distressed. But such was the fear felt for the Sultán that no one dared to set off for Dehlí or any other place. In the course of five or six days every one in the city who had supported Háji Maula, or had taken money from him, was cast into prison. The gold which had been distributed among the people was brought back again to the treasury. A few days after, Ulugh Khán arrived from Rantambhor and took up his residence in the Múzzí palace. The rioters were brought before him and he decreed their punishments, so that blood ran in



streams. The sons and grandsons of the old *kotwál* Maliku-umará had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death. No name or trace of them was left—a sad warning to politicians.

From the revolt of the “new Musulmáns” in Gujarát to that of Hájí Maula, four insurrections had successively troubled Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. These roused him from his dreams of security and pride, and he exerted all his powers for the reduction of Rantambhor. He held privy consultations with * * * arguing with them and inquiring into the causes of the insurrections, declaring that if the real reasons could be ascertained he would remove them, so that no revolt should afterwards occur. After considering for some nights and days, these great men agreed that the causes were four. 1. The Sultán's disregard of the affairs (both) of good and bad people. 2. Wine. Parties are formed for wine-drinking, and those who attend them talk openly of what passes in these meetings. They strike up friendships and excite disturbances. 3. The intimacy, affection, alliances, and intercourse of *maliks* and *amirs* with each other. So that if anything happens to one of them, a hundred others get mixed up in it. 4. Money, which engenders evil and strife, and brings forth pride and disloyalty. If men had no money, they would attend to their own business, and would never think of riots and revolts. And if rioters, and rebels had no money, they could never count upon the assistance of low and turbulent people.¹

Some time after this revolt, the Sultán succeeded in reducing

¹ These “counsels of the wise,” which so frequently appear, are, in most cases, only expositions of the author's own opinions. I have translated these replies in order that it may be seen how a subsequent writer deals with them. Firishta uses the passage. The first reason he quotes verbatim, but the other three he modifies and embellishes. The fourth reason, as he gives it, is: “Abundance of money and wealth. For whenever men of low origin acquire the material means of greatness, vain imaginations spring up in them, and they lay pretensions to royalty.” This is further improved by Firishta's translator, who says, “The last, and not the least, cause they thought arose from the unequal division of property: they considered that the wealth of a rich empire, if confined to a few persons, only rendered them, as governors of provinces, more like independent princes than subjects of the state.” —Briggs, I., 346.



Rantambhor, but with much bloodshed and difficulty. He slew Hamír deo, the Rái, and all the "new Musulmáns" who had fled from the rebellion in Gujarát, and had taken refuge with him. The fort and all its territories and appurtenances were placed under the charge of Ulugh Khán, and the Sultán returned to Dehlí. He was angry with the citizens and had exiled many of their chiefs; so he did not enter the city, but stopped in the suburbs (*umránát*).

Four or five months after the Sultán left Rantambhor, Ulugh Khán collected a large force with the intention of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar, but his time was come, and the angel of destiny took him to the blessed city. His corpse was conveyed to Dehlí and buried in his own house. The Sultán grieved for him and made many offerings for his soul.

The Sultán next directed his attention to the means of preventing rebellion, and first he took steps for seizing upon property. "He ordered that, wherever there was a village held by proprietary right (*milk*), in free gift (*in'am*), or as a religious endowment (*wakf*), it should by one stroke of the pen be brought back under the exchequer." The people were pressed and amerced, money was exacted from them on every kind of pretence. Many were left without any money, till at length it came to pass that, excepting *maliks* and *amirs*, officials, *Multánís*, and bankers, no one possessed even a trifle in cash. So rigorous was the confiscation that, beyond a few thousand *tankas*, all the pensions, grants of land (*in'am wa mafrúz*), and endowments in the country were appropriated. The people were all so absorbed in obtaining the means of living, that the name of rebellion was never mentioned. Secondly, he provided so carefully for the acquisition of intelligence, that no action of good or bad men was concealed from him. No one could stir without his knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of nobles, great men, and officials, was communicated to the Sultán by his reporters. Nor were the reports neglected, for explanations of them were demanded. The system of reporting went to such a length, that nobles dared not speak



aloud even in the largest palaces,¹ and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs. In their own houses, night and day, dread of the reports of the spies made them tremble. No word or action which could provoke censure or punishment was allowed to transpire. The transactions in the *bázárs*, the buying and selling, and the bargains made, were all reported to the Sultán by his spies, and were kept under control. Thirdly, he prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling, as also the use of beer and intoxicating drugs. Dicing also was forbidden. Many prohibitions of wine and beer were issued. Vintners and gamblers and beer-sellers were turned out of the city, and the heavy taxes which had been levied from them were abolished. The Sultán directed that all the china and glass vessels of his banqueting room should be broken, and the fragments of them were thrown out before the gate of Badáún, where they formed a heap. Jars and casks of wine were brought out of the royal cellars, and emptied at the Badáún gate in such abundance, that mud and mire was produced as in the rainy season. The Sultán himself entirely gave up wine parties. He directed the *maliks* to mount elephants and to go to the gates of Dehlí, through the streets and wards, *bázárs* and *saráis*, proclaiming the royal command that no one should drink, sell, or have anything to do with wine. Those who had any self-respect immediately gave up drinking; but the shameless, the dissolute, and vile characters used to make and distil wine² in the distilleries, and to drink and sell it clandestinely at a great price. They put it into leather bottles, and conveyed it hidden in loads of hay, firewood, and such like. By hundreds of tricks and devices, and by all sorts of collusion, wine was brought into the city. Informers searched diligently, and the city gate-keepers and spies exerted themselves to seize the wine, and apprehend the contrabandists. When seized, the wine was sent to the elephant-stables and given to those animals. The sellers, the

¹ " *Hazár-sután*," a palace of 1000 columns.

² *Shardb*, wine; but it evidently includes spirits.



Importers, and drinkers of wine, were subjected to corporal punishment, and were kept in prison for some days. But their numbers increased so much that holes for the incarceration of offenders were dug outside the Badáún gate, which is a great thoroughfare. Wine-bibbers and wine-sellers were placed in these holes, and the severity of the confinement was such that many of them died. Many others were taken out half dead, and were long before they recovered their health and strength. The terrors of these holes deterred many from drinking. Those who were unable to give up their habit went out to the fords of the Jumna, and to villages ten or twelve kos distant to procure their liquor. In Ghiyáspur, Indarpat, Kílúgharí, and towns four or five kos from Dehlí, wine could not be sold or drunk publicly. Still some desperate men used to keep it, drink it, and even sell it privately. They thus disgraced themselves and got confined in the pits. The prevention of drinking being found to be very difficult, the Sultán gave orders that if the liquor was distilled privately, and drunk privately in people's own houses; if drinking parties were not held, and the liquor not sold, then the informers were not to interfere in any way, and were not to enter the houses or arrest the offenders. After the prohibition of wine and beer in the city, conspiracies diminished, and apprehension of rebellion disappeared.

Fourthly, the Sultán gave commands that noblemen and great men should not visit each other's houses, or give feasts, or hold meetings. They were forbidden to form alliances without consent from the throne, and they were also prohibited from allowing people to resort to their houses. To such a length was this last prohibition carried that no stranger was admitted into a nobleman's house. Feasting and hospitality fell quite into disuse. Through fear of the spies, the nobles kept themselves quiet; they gave no parties and had little communication with each other. No man of a seditious, rebellious, or evil reputation was allowed to come near them. If they went to the *saráis*, they could not lay their heads together, or sit down cosily and tell their troubles. Their communications were brought



down to a mere exchange of signs. This interdiction prevented any information of conspiracy and rebellion coming to the Sultán, and no disturbance arose.

After the promulgation of these interdicts, [the Sultán requested the wise men to supply some rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus, and for depriving them of that wealth and property which fosters disaffection and rebellion. There was to be one rule for the payment of tribute applicable to all, from the *khúta* to the *baláhar*,¹ and the heaviest tribute was not to fall upon the poorest. The Hindú was to be so reduced as to be left unable to keep a horse to ride on, to carry arms, to wear fine clothes, or to enjoy any of the luxuries of life. To effect these important objects of government two regulations were made. The first was that all cultivation, whether on a small or large scale, was to be carried on by measurement at a certain rate for every *bisua*. Half (of the produce) was to be paid without any diminution, and this rule was to apply to *khútas* and *baláhars*, without the slightest distinction. The *khútas* were also to be deprived of all their peculiar privileges. The second related to buffaloes, goats, and other animals from which milk is obtained. A tax for pasturage, at a fixed rate, was to be levied, and was to be demanded for every inhabited house, so that no animal, however wretched, could escape the tax. Heavier burdens were not to be placed upon the poor, but the rules as to the payment of the tribute were to apply equally to rich and poor.] Collectors, clerks, and other officers employed in revenue matters, who took bribes and acted dishonestly, were all dismissed. Sharaf Kái naib *wazir-i mamálik*, an accomplished scribe and a most honest and intelligent man, who had no rival either in capacity or integrity, exerted himself strenuously for some years in enforcing these regulations in all the villages and towns. * * * They were so strictly carried out that the *chaudharis* and *khúts* and *mukaddims* were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes, or to indulge in betel. [The same rules for

¹ خوطه و بلاهر



the collection of the tribute applied to all alike, and the people were brought to such a state of obedience that one revenue officer would string twenty *khúts*, *mukaddims*, or *chaudharis* together by the neck, and enforce payment by blows. No Hindu could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold or silver, *tankas* or *jitals*, or of any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found. Driven by destitution, the wives of the *khúts* and *mukaddims* went and served for hire in the houses of the Musulmán. Sharaf Kái, *náib-wazir*, so rigorously enforced his demands and exactions against the collectors and other revenue officers, and such investigations were made, that every single *jital* against their names was ascertained from the books of the *patwáris* (village accountant). Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains, were all employed to enforce payment. There was no chance of a single *tanka* being taken dishonestly, or as bribery, from any Hindu or Musulmán. The revenue collectors and officers were so coerced and checked that for five hundred or a thousand *tankas* they were imprisoned and kept in chains for years. Men looked upon revenue officers as something worse than fever. Clerkship was a great crime, and no man would give his daughter to a clerk. Death was deemed preferable to revenue employment. Ofttimes fiscal officers fell into prison, and had to endure blows and stripes.]

'Aláu-d dín was a king who had no acquaintance with learning, and never associated with the learned. When he became king, he came to the conclusion that polity and government are one thing, and the rules and decrees of law are another. Royal commands belong to the king, legal decrees rest upon the judgment of *kázis* and *muftis*. [In accordance with this opinion, whatever affair of state came before him, he only looked to the public good, without considering whether his mode of dealing with it was lawful or unlawful. He never asked for legal opinions about political matters, and very few learned men visited him.] * * Kází Mughísu-d dín, of Bayánah, used to go to

court and sit down in private audience with the *amirs*. One day, when the efforts were being made for the increase of the tribute and of the fines and imposts, the Sultán told the *Kázi* that he had several questions to ask him, and desired him to speak the plain truth. The *Kázi* replied, "The angel of my destiny seems to be close at hand, since your Majesty wishes to question me on matters of religion; if I speak the truth you will be angry and kill me." The Sultán said he would not kill him, and commanded him to answer his questions truly and candidly. The *Kázi* then promised to answer in accordance with what he had read in books. The Sultán then asked, "How are Hindus designated in the law, as payers of tribute (*kharáj-guzár*) or givers of tribute (*kharáj-dih*)?" The *Kázi* replied, "They are called payers of tribute, and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should, without question and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the officer throws dirt into their mouths, they must without reluctance open their mouths wide to receive it. By doing so they show their respect for the officer. The due subordination of the *zimmí* (tribute-payer) is exhibited in this humble payment and by this throwing of dirt into their mouths. The glorification of Islám is a duty, and contempt of the Religion is vain. God holds them in contempt, for he says, 'Keep them under in subjection.' To keep the Hindus in abasement is especially a religious duty, because they are the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet, and because the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them, and make them captive, saying, 'Convert them to Islám or kill them, enslave them and spoil their wealth and property.' No doctor but the great doctor (*Hanífa*), to whose school we belong, has assented to the imposition of the *jizya* (poll tax) on Hindus. Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but 'Death or Islám.'"

The Sultán smiled at this answer of the *Kázi's*, and said, "I do not understand any of the statements thou hast made; but this I have discovered, that the *khúts* and *mukaddims* ride upon fine horses, wear fine clothes, shoot with Persian bows, make war



upon each other, and go out hunting ; but of the *khardj* (tribute), *jizya* (poll tax), *kari* (house tax), and *chari* (pasture tax), they do not pay one *jital*. They levy separately the *Khut's* (landowner's) share from the villages, give parties and drink wine, and many of them pay no revenue at all, either upon demand or without demand. Neither do they show any respect for my officers. This has excited my anger, and I have said to myself, 'Thou hast an ambition to conquer other lands, but thou hast hundreds of leagues of country under thy rule where proper obedience is not paid to thy authority. How, then, wilt thou make other lands submissive?' I have, therefore, taken my measures, and have made my subjects obedient, so that at my command they are ready to creep into holes like mice. Now you tell me that it is all in accordance with law that the Hindus should be reduced to the most abject obedience." Then the Sultán said, "Oh, doctor, thou art a learned man, but thou hast had no experience ; I am an unlettered man, but I have seen a great deal ; be assured then that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have, therefore, given orders that just sufficient shall be left to them from year to year, of corn, milk, and curds, but that they shall not be allowed to accumulate hoards and property."

Secondly.—The Sultán next put the following question : "Is there any reference made in the Law to revenue officers and clerks who are guilty of dishonesty, peculation, or receiving bribes?" The *Kázi* answered, "There is no mention made of this, nor have I read of it in any book ; but if revenue officers are insufficiently paid,¹ and they appropriate the revenue belonging to the treasury, or receive bribes, then the ruler can inflict punishment upon them, either by fine or imprisonment ; but it is not allowable to cut off hands for robbing the treasury." The Sultán said, "I have given orders to recover from the various revenue officers whatever they have misappropriated or received in excess, pun-

¹ *Kadar i kifáyat na-yaband*. The negative seems superfluous, and it is rejected by Nizámu-d din and by Firishta.



ishing them with sticks, pincers, the rack, imprisonment, and chains. I now hear that alienations of the revenue¹ and bribery have diminished. I have ordered such stipends to be settled on the various revenue officers as will maintain them in respectability, and if, notwithstanding, they resort to dishonesty and reduce the revenue, I deal with them as thou hast seen."

Thirdly, The Sultán put this question, "That wealth which I acquired while I was a *malik*, with so much bloodshed at Deogír, does it belong to me or to the public treasury?" The *Kázi* replied, "I am bound to speak the truth to your Majesty. The treasure obtained at Deogír was won by the prowess of the army of Islám, and whatever treasure is so acquired belongs to the public treasury. If your Majesty had gained it yourself alone in a manner allowed by the law, then it would belong to you." The Sultán was angry with the *Kázi* and said, "What sayest thou? Let thy head beware of what thou utterest. That wealth which I won at the risk of my own life and of the lives of my servants, from Hindus whose names had never been heard of in Delhí, and before I became king, that wealth I have retained and have not brought it into the public treasury. How can treasure won like this belong to the state?" The *Kázi* answered, "Your Majesty has put to me a question of law; if I were not to say what I have read in the book, and your Majesty, to test my opinion, were to ask some other learned man, and his reply, being in opposition to mine, should show that I had given a false opinion, to suit your Majesty's pleasure, what confidence would you have in me, and would you ever afterwards consult me about the law?"

Fourthly, The Sultán asked the *Kázi* what rights he and his children had upon the public treasury. The *Kázi* replied, "The time of my death is at hand," and upon the Sultán inquiring what he meant, he said, "If I answer your question honestly you will slay me, and if I give an untrue reply I shall hereafter go to hell." The Sultán said, "State whatever the law decrees, I will not kill thee." The *Kázi* replied, "If your Majesty will

¹ *Dihháí*, lit: villages.



follow the example of the most enlightened *Khalifas*, and will act upon the highest principle, then you will take for yourself and your establishment the same sum as you have allotted to each fighting man: two hundred and thirty-four *tankas*. If you would rather take a middle course and should think that you would be disgraced by putting yourself on a par with the army in general, then you may take for yourself and your establishment as much as you have assigned to your chief officers, such as Malik Kírán, etc. * * If your Majesty follows the opinions of politicians,¹ then you will draw from the treasury more than any other great man receives, so that you may maintain a greater expenditure than any other and not suffer your dignity to be lowered. I have put before your Majesty three courses, and all the *krors* of money and valuables which you take from the treasury and bestow upon your women you will have to answer for in the day of account." The Sultán was wroth, and said, "Fearest thou not my sword when thou tellest me that all my great expenditure upon my harem is unlawful?" The *Kázi* replied, "I do fear your Majesty's sword, and I look upon this my turban as my winding-sheet; but your Majesty questions me about the law, and I answer to the best of my ability. If, however, you ask my advice in a political point of view, then I say that whatever your Majesty spends upon your harem no doubt tends to raise your dignity in the eyes of men; and the exaltation of the king's dignity is a requirement of good policy."

After all these questions and answers, the Sultán said to the *Kázi*, "You have declared my proceedings in these matters to be unlawful. Now see how I act. When troopers do not appear at the muster, I order three years pay to be taken from them.² I place wine-drinkers and wine-sellers in the pits of incarceration. If a man debauches another man's wife, I effectually prevent him

¹ *Ulamd-i ámyd*, wise-men of the world.

² سه ساله مواجب استدراکت بستانند حکم کرده ام Firishta's version of this is سه ساله مواجب باز یافت میکنم, which Briggs translates, "I am in the habit of stopping one month's pay for three successive years."

from again committing such an offence, and the woman I cause to be killed.¹ Rebels, good and bad, old hands or novices (*tar o khusk*), I slay; their wives and children I reduce to beggary and ruin. Extortion I punish with the torture of the pincers and the stick, and I keep the extortioner in prison, in chains and fetters, until every *jital* is restored. Political prisoners I confine and chastise. Wilt thou say all this is unlawful?" The *Kázi* rose and went to the entrance of the room, placed his forehead on the ground, and cried with a loud voice, "My liege! whether you send me, your wretched servant, to prison, or whether you order me to be cut in two, all this is unlawful, and finds no support in the sayings of the Prophet, or in the expositions of the learned."

The Sultán heard all this and said nothing, but put his slippers on and went into his harem. *Kázi Mughísu-d dín* went home. Next day he took a last farewell of all his people, made a propitiatory offering, and performed his ablutions. Thus prepared for death he proceeded to the court. The Sultán called him forward, and showed him great kindness. He gave him the robe he was wearing, and presented him with a thousand *tankas*, saying, "Although I have not studied the Science or the Book, I am a Musulmán of a Musulmán stock. To prevent rebellion, in which thousands perish, I issue such orders as I conceive to be for the good of the State, and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful, and disobey my commands; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful; whatever I think to be for the good of the State, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree. * * *

After the Sultán returned from Rantambhor to Dehli, he dealt very harshly with the people, and mulcted them. Shortly afterwards Ulugh Khán died while on his journey to the city. Malik 'Azzu-d dín Búrkhán became *wazir* in the New City (*shahr-i nau*), and the tribute of the New City was assessed by measurement at a certain rate per *biswa*, as in the environs of the capital. The Sultán



then led forth an army and laid siege to Chítor, which he took in a short time, and returned home. New troubles now arose on account of the Mughals in Máwaráu-n nahr. They had learned that the Sultán had gone with his army to lay siege to a distant fort, and made but slow progress with the siege, while Dehlí remained empty. Targhí assembled twelve *tumáns* of cavalry, with which he marched with all speed to Dehlí, and reached that neighbourhood very soon. At this time the Sultán was engaged in the siege of Chítor. Malik Fakhru-d dín Júná, *dádbak-i hazrat*, and Malik Jhaju of Karra, nephew of Nusrat Khán, had been sent with all the officers and forces of Hindustán against Arangal. On their arrival there the rainy season began, and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing, and in the beginning of winter returned, greatly reduced in numbers, to Hindustán.

The Sultán now returned from the conquest of Chítor, where his army had suffered great loss in prosecuting the siege during the rainy season. They had not been in Dehlí a month, no muster of the army had been held, and the losses had not been repaired, when the alarm arose of the approach of the Mughals. The accursed Targhí, with thirty or forty thousand horse,¹ came on ravaging, and encamped on the banks of the Jumna, preventing all ingress and egress of the city. Affairs were in this extraordinary position; the Sultán had just returned from Chítor, and had had no time to refit and recruit his army after his great losses in the siege; and the army of Hindustán had returned from Arangal to the districts of Hindustán dispirited and reduced in numbers. The Mughals had seized the roads, and were so encamped that no reinforcements could reach the city from the army of Hindustán. There were no forces in Multán, Sámána, and Deopalpúr sufficient to cope with the Mughals, and join the Sultán at Síri. The army of Hindustán was pressed to advance; but the enemy was too

¹ سی چهل هزار. Firishta says "120,000," and our author has above rated them at the same number, viz. "twelve *tumáns*." Perhaps he here intended to say, "three times forty thousand."



strong, and they remained in Kol and Baran. All the passages of the Jumna were in the hands of the enemy. The Sultán, with his small army of horse, left the capital and encamped at Sirí, where the superior numbers and strength of the enemy compelled him to entrench his camp. Round the entrenchments he built block houses, and other erections, to prevent the enemy from forcing a way in, and he kept his forces constantly under arms and on the watch to guard against the dreaded attack, and to delay any great engagement. In every division of the army, and in each line of entrenchment, there were five elephants fully armed, supported by a body of infantry. The Mughals came up on every side, seeking opportunity to make a sudden onslaught and overpower the army. Such fear of the Mughals and anxiety as now prevailed in Dehlí had never been known before. If Targhí had remained another month upon the Jumna, the panic would have reached to such a height that a general flight would have taken place, and Dehlí would have been lost. It was difficult to procure water, fodder, and fuel from without, for the convoys of grain were prevented from reaching the city, and the utmost terror prevailed. The enemy's horse approached the suburbs, and quartered themselves in the neighbourhood, where they drank wine, and sold at a low price grain and other articles plundered from the royal stores, so that there was no great scarcity of grain.¹ Two or three times the advanced guards met and combats ensued, but without advantage to either party. By the mercy of God the Mughal was unable to find any means of forcing the camp, and overpowering the royal army. After two months the prayers of the wretched prevailed, and the accursed Targhí retreated towards his own country.

This escape of the royal army and the preservation of Dehlí seemed, to wise men, one of the wonders of the age. The Mughals had sufficient forces to take it; they arrived at the most opportune time; they made themselves masters of the roads, and hemmed in the royal army and its appurtenances. The Sultán's



army had not been replenished, and no reinforcements reached it. But for all this the Mughals did not prevail.¹

After this very serious danger, 'Aláu-d dín awoke from his sleep of neglect. He gave up his ideas of campaigning and fort-taking, and built a palace at Sirí. He took up his residence there, and made it his capital, so that it became a flourishing place. He ordered the fort of Dehlí to be repaired, and he also ordered the restoration of the old forts which lay in the track of the Mughals. Additional forts were directed to be raised wherever they were required. To these forts he appointed veteran and prudent commandants. Orders were given for the manufacture of *manjaniks* and *'arádas* (balistas), for the employment of skilful engineers, for a supply of arms of every kind, and for the laying in of stores of grain and fodder. Sámána and Deobalpur were ordered to be garrisoned with strong selected forces, and to be kept in state of defence; the fiefs in the track of the Mughals were placed under *amirs* of experience, and the whole route was secured by the appointment of tried and vigilant generals.

The Sultán next turned his attention to the increase of his forces, and consulted and debated with wise men by night and by day as to the best means of opposing and overcoming the Mughals. After much deliberation between the Sultán and his councillors, it was decided that a large army was necessary, and not only large, but choice, well armed, well mounted, with archers, and all ready for immediate service. This plan, and this only, seemed to recommend itself as feasible for opposing the Mughals. The Sultán then consulted his advisers as to the means of raising such a force, for it could not be maintained without heavy expenditure, and what was arranged for one year might not be continuous. On this point he said, "If I settle a large amount of pay on the army, and desire to maintain the pay at the same rate every year, then, although the treasury is now full, five or six years will clear it out, and nothing will be left. Without

¹ Barní was evidently deeply impressed with the peril of Dehlí, and is fond of recounting the odds against it. See D'Ohsson, iv. 561.



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money government is impossible. I am very desirous of having a large army, well horsed, well accoutred, picked men and archers, ready for service year after year. I would pay them 234 *tankas* regularly, and I would allow seventy-eight *tankas* to those who keep two horses, requiring in return the two horses, with all necessary appointments. So also as regards the men of one horse, I would require the horse and his accoutrements. Inform me, then, how this large army can be regularly maintained on the footing I desire." His sagacious advisers thought carefully over the matter, and after great deliberation made a unanimous report to the Sultán. "The ideas which have passed through your Majesty's mind as to maintaining a large and permanent army upon a low scale of pay are quite impracticable. Horses, arms, and accoutrements, and the support of the soldier and his wife and family, cannot be provided for a trifle. If the necessaries of life could be bought at a low rate, then the idea which your Majesty has entertained of maintaining a large army at a small expense might be carried out, and all apprehension of the great forces of the Mughals would be removed." The Sultán then consulted with his most experienced ministers as to the means of reducing the prices of provisions without resorting to severe and tyrannical punishments. His councillors replied that the necessaries of life would never become cheap until the price of grain was fixed by regulations and tariffs. Cheapness of grain is a universal benefit. So some regulations were issued, which kept down the price for some years.

REGULATION I.—*Fixing the price of grain.*

Wheat,	per man	7½ <i>jitals.</i>
Barley,	„	4 „
Rice,	„	5 „
Másh (a vetch),	„	5 „
Nukhúd (a vetch),	„	5 „
Moth (a vetch),	„	3 „

This scale of prices was maintained as long as 'Aláu-d dín lived, and grain never rose one *dáng*, whether the rains were abundant



or scanty. This unvarying price of grain in the markets was looked upon as one of the wonders of the time.

REGULATION II.—To secure the cheapness of grain,¹ Malik Kabúl Ulugh Khán, a wise and practical man, was appointed controller of the markets. He received a large territory and used to go round (the markets) in great state with many horse and foot. He had clever deputies, friends of his own, who were appointed by the crown. Intelligent spies also were sent into the markets.

REGULATION III.—Accumulation of corn in the king's granaries.—The Sultán gave orders that all the *Khálsa* villages of the Doáb should pay the tribute in kind. The corn was brought into the granaries of the city (of Dehlí). In the country dependent on the New City half the Sultán's portion (of the produce) was ordered to be taken in grain. In Jháin also, and in the villages of Jháin, stores were to be formed. These stores of grain were to be sent into the city in caravans. By these means so much royal grain came to Dehlí that there never was a time when there were not two or three royal granaries full of grain in the city. When there was a deficiency of rain, or when for any reason the caravans did not arrive, and grain became scarce in the markets, then the royal stores were opened and the corn was sold at the tariff price, according to the wants of the people. Grain was also consigned to the caravans from New City. Through these two rules, grain never was deficient in the markets, and never rose one *dáng* above the fixed price.

REGULATION IV.—The Caravans.—The Sultán placed all the carriers² of his kingdom under the controller of the markets. Orders were given for arresting the head carriers and for bringing them in chains before the controller of the markets, who was directed to detain them until they agreed upon one common mode of action and gave bail for each other. Nor were they to be released until they brought their wives and children, beasts of

¹ "To maintain the tariff." *Tabakdt-i Akbari*.

² *Kárawáryán*, here used as the Persian equivalent of the Hindustani *banjárd*, corn dealers and carriers.



burden and cattle, and all their property, and fixed their abodes in the villages along the banks of the Jumna. An overseer was to be placed over the carriers and their families, on behalf of the controller of the markets, to whom the carriers were to submit. Until all this was done the chiefs were to be kept in chains. Under the operation of this rule, so much grain found its way into the markets that it was unnecessary to open the royal stores, and grain did not rise a *dāng* above the standard.¹

REGULATION V.—*Regrating*.—The fifth provision for securing the cheapness of grain was against regrating. This was so rigidly enforced that no merchant, farmer, corn-chandler, or any one else, could hold back secretly a *man* or half a *man* of grain and sell it at his shop for a *dāng* or a *diram* above the regulated price. If regrated grain were discovered, it was forfeited to the Sultán, and the regrater was fined. Engagements were taken from the governors and other revenue officers in the Doáb that no one under their authority should be allowed to regrate, and if any man was discovered to have regrated, the deputy and his officers were fined, and had to make their defence to the throne.

REGULATION VI.—Engagements were taken from the provincial revenue officers and their assistants, that they would provide that the corn-carriers should be supplied with corn by the *raiya*t on the field at a fixed price. The Sultán also gave orders that engagements should be taken from the chief *diván*, and from the overseers and other revenue officers in the countries of the Doáb, near the capital, that they should so vigorously collect the tribute that the cultivators should be unable to carry away any corn from the fields into their houses and to regrate. They were to be compelled to sell their corn in the fields to the corn-carriers at a low price, so that the dealers should have no excuse for neglecting to bring the corn into the markets. A constant

¹ The *Tabakát-i Akbari* gives these rules very succinctly and clearly. This fourth Regulation is thus given:—"Malik Kabál was commanded to summon all the grain-sellers of the kingdom and to settle them in the villages on the banks of the Jumna, so that they might convey grain to Dehli from all parts of the country, and prevent the price rising above the royal standard."



supply was thus secured. To give the villagers a chance of profit, they were permitted to carry their corn into the market and sell it at the regulation price.

REGULATION VII—Reports used to be made daily to the Sultán of the market rate and of the market transactions from three distinct sources. 1st. The superintendent made a report of the market rate and of the market transactions. 2nd. The *barids*, or reporters, made a statement. 3rd. The *mankis*, or spies, made a report. If there was any variance in these reports, the superintendent received punishment. The various officials of the market were well aware that all the ins and outs of the market were reported to the Sultán through three different channels, and so there was no opportunity of their deviating from the market rules in the smallest particular.

All the wise men of the age were astonished at the evenness of the price in the markets. If the rains had fallen (regularly), and the seasons had been (always) favourable, there would have been nothing so wonderful in grain remaining at one price; but the extraordinary part of the matter was that during the reign of 'Aláu-d dín there were years in which the rains were deficient, but instead of the usual scarcity ensuing, there was no want of corn in Dehli, and there was no rise in the price either in the grain brought out of the royal granaries, or in that imported by the dealers. This was indeed the wonder of the age, and no other monarch was able to effect it. Once or twice when the rains were deficient a market overseer reported that the price had risen half a *jítal*, and he received twenty blows with the stick. When the rains failed, a quantity of corn, sufficient for the daily supply of each quarter of the city, was consigned to the dealers every day from the market, and half a *man* used to be allowed to the ordinary purchasers in the markets. Thus the gentry and traders, who had no villages or lands, used to get grain from the markets. If in such a season any poor reduced person went to the market, and did not get assistance, the overseer received his punishment whenever the fact found its way to the king's ears.



For the purpose of securing low prices for piece goods, garments, sugar, vegetables, fruits, animal oil, and lamp oil, five Regulations were issued. * * *

For securing a cheap rate for the purchase of horses, slaves, and cattle, four Regulations were issued. * * *

REGULATION IV. * * * The price of a serving girl was fixed from 5 to 12 *tankas*, of a concubine at 20, 30, or 40 *tankas*. The price for a male slave was 100 or 200 *tankas*, or less. If such a slave as could not in these days be bought for 1000 or 2000 *tankas* came into the market, he was sold for what he would fetch, in order to escape the reports of the informers. Handsome lads fetched from 20 to 30 *tankas*; the price of slave-labourers was 10 to 15 *tankas*, and of young domestic slaves 17 or 18 *tankas*. * * * *

Great pains were taken to secure low prices for all things sold at the stalls in the markets, from caps to shoes, from combs to needles, etc., etc. Although the articles were of the most trifling value, yet the Sultán took the greatest trouble to fix the prices and settle the profit of the vendors. Four Regulations were issued. * * *

The fourth Regulation for securing cheapness provided severe punishments; blows, and cutting off flesh from the haunches of those who gave short weight. * * * The market people, however, could not refrain from giving short weight. They sold their goods according to the established rate, but they cheated the purchasers in the weight, especially ignorant people and children. When the Sultán turned his attention to the subject, he discovered that the market people, as usual, were acting dishonestly * * * He therefore used to send for some of the poor ignorant boys, who attended to his pigeon-houses, and to give them ten or twenty *dirams* to go into the market and buy bread and various other articles for him. * * * When the boys had purchased the articles, and brought them to the Sultán, the inspector of the market was sent for, and he had to weigh the things in the presence of the Sultán. If the weight was less than required by the Sultán's



scale of prices, the inspector took the lad and went to the shop of the dealer who had given short weight, and placed the purchased article before him. The inspector then took from his shop whatever was deficient, and afterwards cut from his haunches an equal weight of flesh, which was thrown down before his eyes. The certainty of this punishment kept the traders honest, and restrained them from giving short weight, and other knavish tricks. Nay, they gave such good weight that purchasers often got somewhat in excess.¹

The various Regulations * * * of 'Aláu-d dín came to an end at his death, for his son, Kutbu-d dín, was not able to maintain a thousandth part of them.

After the prices of goods and provisions were brought down, the pay of the soldier was fixed at the rate of 234 *tankas*, and the man of two horses at seventy-eight *tankas* more. All the men were inspected by the 'áriz-i mamálik (Muster-master); those who were skilled in archery and the use of arms passed, and they received the price for their horse, and the horse was branded according to rule.

When the tariffs had been settled and the army had been increased and newly organized, the Sultán was ready for the Mughals. Whenever they made an attack upon Dehlí and its vicinity, they were defeated, driven back, and put to the sword. The arms of Islám were everywhere triumphant over them. Many thousands were taken prisoners, and were brought into Dehlí with ropes round their necks, where they were cast under the feet of elephants. Their heads were piled up in pyramids, or built into towers. So many thousands were slain in battle and in the city that horrid stench arose. Such was the superiority of the men of Islám over the Mughals, that one or two horsemen would tie by the neck and bring in ten Mughal prisoners, and one Musulmán horseman would drive a hundred Mughals before him.

¹ Here the printed text differs from, and is inferior in accuracy to, the MSS. in several particulars.



On one occasion 'Alí Beg and Tarták¹ were the leaders of the Mughal forces, men who had acquired some repute. 'Alí Beg was said to be a descendant of Changíz Khán, the accursed. With thirty or forty thousand horse they skirted the mountains and advanced into the territory of Amroha. The Sultán sent against them Malik Náyak Akhur-beg. The opposing forces met in the territory of Amroha, and God gave the victory to the army of Islám. 'Alí Beg and Tarták were both taken alive, and many thousand Mughals were put to the sword. The force was entirely routed, and the battle-field was covered with heaps of slain like shocks of corn. Ropes were fastened round the necks of 'Alí Beg and Tarták, and they were conducted to the Sultán with many other Mughal prisoners. Twenty thousand horses belonging to the slain Mughals were taken into the royal stables. A grand court was held by the Sultán in the Chautara Subhání. From the court at this place a double row of soldiers was formed as far as Indarpat. Such numbers of men were assembled on that day that a pitcher of water fetched *twenty jitals* to half a *tanka*. 'Alí Beg, Tarták, and other Mughal prisoners, were brought forward with their accoutrements. The prisoners were cast under the feet of elephants in the presence of the court, and streams of blood flowed.

In another year a battle was fought in Khíkar between the army of Islám and the Mughals, under the accursed Kank. The Mughals were defeated, and Kank was brought prisoner to 'Aláu-d dín, and thrown under the feet of elephants. On another occasion great numbers of Mughals were slain, partly in battle, partly afterwards in the city. A tower was built of their heads in front of the gate of Badáún, and remains to this day a memento of 'Aláu-d dín. At another time three or four Mughal *amirs*, commanders of *tumáns*, with thirty or forty thousand horse, broke into the Siwálik, and engaged in slaughter and plunder.

¹ The MSS. have "Taryák" and "Ziyák." In the text of Firishta he is called "Taryál," but in the translation "Khwája Tash," which is in accordance with D'Ohsson (*Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 571). The *Tabakát-i Akbari* has "Rasmák."



An army was sent against them with orders to seize upon the road by which the Mughals must return to the river, and there to encamp, so that when the thirsty Mughals attempted to approach the river they would receive their punishment. These orders were carried out. The Mughals having wasted the Siwálík, had moved some distance off. When they and their horses returned weary and thirsty to the river, the army of Islám, which had been waiting for them some days, caught them as they expected. They begged for water, and they and all their wives and children were made prisoners. Islám gained a great victory, and brought several thousand prisoners with ropes on their necks to the fort of Nárániya. The women and children were taken to Dehlí, and were sold as slaves in the market. Malik Kháss-hájib was sent to Nárániya, and there put every Mughal prisoner to the sword. Streams ran with their foul blood.

In another year Ikbálmanda came with a Mughal army, and the Sultán sent an army against him from Dehlí. The army of Islám was again victorious, and Ikbálmanda was slain with many thousands of his followers. The Mughal commanders of thousands and hundreds, who were taken prisoners, were brought to Dehlí, and thrown under the feet of elephants. On the occasion when Ikbálmanda was slain no man returned alive, and the Mughals conceived such a fear and dread of the army of Islám, that all fancy for coming to Hindustán was washed clean out of their breasts. Till the end of the reign of Kutbu-d dín the name of Hindustán was never mentioned among them, nor did they venture to approach it. Fear of the army of Islám prevented them from attaining their heart's desire, even in their dreams; for in their sleep they still saw the sword of Islám hanging over them. All fear of the Mughals entirely departed from Dehlí and the neighbouring provinces. Perfect security was everywhere felt, and the *raiya*t of those territories, which had been exposed to the inroads of the Mughals, carried on their agriculture in peace.

Ghází Malik, who afterwards became Sultán Tughlik Sháh,



had obtained great renown in Hindustán and Khurásán. He held the territories of Debálpúr and Láhor, and, until the end of the reign of Kutbu-d dín, he proved a barrier to the inroads of the Mughals, occupying, in fact, the position formerly held by Shír Khán. Every winter he led out a chosen force from Debálpúr, and marching to the frontiers of the Mughals he challenged them to come forth. The Mughals were so dispirited that they dared not even make any military display upon their frontiers. No one now cared about them, or gave them the slightest thought. * * *

Wherever Sultán 'Aláu-d dín looked around upon his territories, peace and order prevailed. His mind was free from all anxiety. The fort of Síri was finished, and it became a populous and flourishing place. Devoting his attention to political matters, he made ready his army for the destruction of the *Ráis* and *zamindárs* of other lands, and for the acquisition of elephants and treasure from the princes of the South. He withdrew several divisions of his army, which had been employed in guarding against the advance of the Mughals, and formed them into an army, which he sent against Deogír, under the command of Malik Náib Káfúr Hazár-dínári, accompanied by other *malíks* and *amírs*, and the red canopy. He also sent Khwája Háji, deputy *'ariz-i mamálik*, to attend to the administration of the army, the collection of supplies, and the securing of elephants and the spoil. No army had marched from Dehlí to Deogír since the Sultán himself attacked it before he ascended the throne. Rámdeo had rebelled, and for several years had not sent his tribute to Dehlí. Malik Náib Káfúr reached Deogír and laid the country waste. He made Rámdeo and his sons prisoners, and took his treasures, as well as seventeen elephants. Great spoil fell into his hands, * * * and he returned with it triumphant to Dehlí, carrying with him Rámdeo. The Sultán showed great favour to the Rái, gave him a canopy, and the title of *Rái-ráyán* (King of kings). He also gave him a *lak* of *tankas*, and sent him back in great honour, with his children, wives, and



dependents to Deogír, which place he confirmed in his possession. The Rái was ever afterwards obedient, and sent his tribute regularly as long as he lived.

Next year, in the year 709 H. (1309 A.D.), the Sultán sent Malik Náib Káfúr with a similar force against Arangal. The Sultán gave him instructions to do his utmost to capture the fort of Arangal, and to overthrow Rái Laddar Deo.¹ If the Rái consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Náib Káfúr was to accept these terms and not press the Rái too hard. He was to come to an arrangement and retire, without pushing matters too far, lest Rái Laddar Deo should get the better of him. If he could not do this, he was, for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the Rái with him to Dehli. * * *

Malik Náib Káfúr and Khwája Hájí took leave of the Sultán and marched to Rábarí, a village in the fief of the Malik. There the army assembled, and marched towards Deogír and Arangal. The *maliks* and *amírs* of Hindustán, with their cavalry and infantry, joined at Chanderí, where a review was held. On approaching Deogír, Rái-ráyán Rámdeo came forth to meet the army, with respectful offerings to the Sultán and presents to the generals. While the army was marching through the territories of Deogír, Rámdeo attended every day at head quarters. So long as it remained encamped in the suburbs of the city, he showed every mark of loyalty, and to the best of his ability supplied Náib Káfúr and his officers with fodder, and the army with *matériel*. Every day he and his officers went out to the camp, rendering every assistance. He made the *bázár* people of Deogír attend the army, and gave them strict orders to supply the wants of the soldiers at cheap rates. The army remained in the suburbs of Deogír for some days, resting from its fatigues. When it marched, Rámdeo sent men forward to all the villages on the route, as far

¹ A whole line is here omitted from the printed text, and there are other minor errors. The date is given as 909 instead of 709.

as the borders of Arangal, with orders for the collection of fodder and provisions for the army, and giving notice that if a bit of rope¹ was lost they would have to answer for it. He was as dutiful as any *raiyat* of Dehli. He sent on all stragglers to rejoin the army, and he added to it a force of Mahrattas, both horse and foot. He himself accompanied the march several stages, and then took leave and returned. All wise and experienced men noticed and applauded his devotion and attention.

When Malik Náib Káfúr arrived in Tilang, he found the towns and villages in his way laid waste. The *mukaddims* and *ráis* perceived the superiority of the army of Islám, and so they abandoned their forts and went and took refuge in Arangal.

The fort of Arangal was of mud, and tolerably large. All the active men of the country had assembled there. The *Rái*, with the *mukaddims* and (inferior) *ráis* and connections,² went with their elephants and treasure into the stone fort. Malik Náib Káfúr invested the mud fort, and there were fights every day between the besiegers and the besieged. The *Maghríbís* (western *manjaníks*) were played on both sides, and on both sides many were wounded. This went on for some days, till the daring and adventurous men of the army of Islám planted their scaling ladders and fixed their ropes. Then, like birds, they escalated the towers of the mud fort, which was stronger than the stone one, and, cutting down the defenders with their swords, spears, and axes, they made themselves masters of the fort. They next invested the stone fort most closely. Laddar Deo perceived that all hope was gone, and that the fort was tottering to its fall. He therefore sent some great *brahmans* and distinguished *basiths*,³

¹ رشسته قابی in the printed text. One MS. has for the latter word تالی, and the other has تاری.

² رای با مقدمان و رایگان و نزدیکیان

³ The printed text has "dhatán," but one of the MSS. has *bhasithén*, which agrees with Amir Khusrú (*suprà* p. 83). The other MS. omits the word.



with presents to Malik Káfúr, to beg for quarter, promising to give up all the treasures and elephants and horses, jewels and valuables, that he had, and to send regularly every year a certain amount of treasure and a certain number of elephants to Dehli. Malik Káfúr agreed to these terms, and raised the siege of the fort. He took from Laddar Deo all the treasure which he had accumulated in the course of many years,—a hundred elephants, seven thousand horse, and large quantities of jewels and valuables. He also took from him a writing, engaging to send annually treasure and elephants. In the early part of the year 710 he started to return, loaded with booty, and, passing through Deogír, Dhár and Jháin, he at length arrived in Dehli. * * *

It was the practice of the Sultán, when he sent an army on an expedition, to establish posts on the road, wherever posts could be maintained, beginning from Tilpat, which is the first stage. At every post relays of horses were stationed, and at every half or quarter *kos* runners were posted, and in every town or place where horses were posted, officers and report writers were appointed. Every day, or every two or three days, news used to come to the Sultán reporting the progress of the army, and intelligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army. False news was thus prevented from being circulated in the city or in the army. The securing of accurate intelligence from the court on one side, and the army on the other, was a great public benefit. * * *

Towards the end of the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the Sultán sent an army under Malik Náib Káfúr against Dhúr-samundar and Ma'bar. The Malik, with Khwája Hájí, *Náib-i 'áriz*, took leave of the Sultán and proceeded to Rábarí, where the army collected. They then proceeded to Deogír, where they found that Rámdeo was dead, and from Deogír to the confines of Dhúr-samundar. At the first onslaught Billál Rái fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, and Dhúr-samundar was captured. Thirty-six elephants, and all the treasures of the



place, fell into the hands of the victors. A despatch of victory was then sent to Dehlí, and Malik Náib Káfúr marched on to Ma'bar, which he also took. He destroyed the golden idol temple (*but-khánah-i zarín*) of Ma'bar, and the golden idols which for ages (*karnhá*) had been worshipped by the Hindus of that country. The fragments of the golden temple, and of the broken idols of gold and gilt, became the rich spoil of the army. In Ma'bar there were two Ráis, but all the elephants and treasure were taken from both, and the army turned homewards flushed with victory. A despatch of victory was sent to the Sultán, and in the early part of 711 H. (1311 A.D.) the army reached Dehlí, bringing with it six hundred and twelve elephants, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and twenty thousand horses. Malik Náib Káfúr presented the spoil to the Sultán in the palace at Síri on different occasions, and the Sultán made presents of four *mans*, or two *mans*, or one *man*, or half a *man* of gold to the *mahiks* and *amírs*. The old inhabitants of Dehlí remarked that so many elephants and so much gold had never before been brought into Dehlí. No one could remember anything like it, nor was there anything like it recorded in history.

At the end of this same year twenty elephants arrived in Dehlí from Laddar Deo Rái of Tilang, with a letter stating that he was ready to pay at Deogír, to any one whom the Sultán would commission to receive it, the treasure which he had engaged to pay, thus fulfilling the terms of the treaty made with Malik Káfúr.

In the latter part of the reign of 'Aláu-d dín several important victories were gained, and the affairs of the State went on according to his heart's desire, but his fortune now became clouded and his prosperity waned. Cares assailed him on many sides. His sons left their places of instruction and fell into bad habits. He drove away his wise and experienced ministers from his presence, and sent his councillors into retirement. He was desirous that all the business of the State should be concentrated in one office,



and under the officers of that office;¹ and that the control of all matters, general or special, should be in the charge of men of his own race (*zât*). Mistakes were now made in political matters; the Sultán had no Aristotle or Buzurjmíhr to point out the *pros* and *cons* of any question, and to make the true course clear to him.

At the time when the Sultán so resolutely opposed himself to the inroads of the Mughals, several of the *amirs* of the "New Musulmáns" who had no employ, and whose bread and grants of revenue had been resumed or curtailed by the revenue officers, grumbled, and conceived certain crude ideas. The Sultán heard that some of the chiefs of the New Musulmáns were complaining of their poverty and wretchedness, and were talking about him with ill feeling, saying that he dealt harshly with his people, oppressing them with fines and exactions to fill his own treasury, that he had forbidden the use of wine, beer, and strong drinks, and that he had levied heavy tribute from the country, and reduced the people to distress. They thought, therefore, that if they raised a revolt all the New Musulmáns, their countrymen, would join them, and that the prospect of escaping from the severity and oppression of 'Aláu-d dín would be pleasing to others as well. There had been no revolt for some time, and so none would be expected. Their plan was to seek an opportunity when the Sultán went out hawking in a light dress, and when he and his followers were eager in pursuit of the game, with their arms thrown aside. Two or three hundred New Musulmáns in one compact band were then to rush upon the Sultán, and carry off him and his personal attendants. This conspiracy became known to the Sultán. He was by nature cruel and implacable, and his only care was the welfare of his kingdom. No consideration for religion, no regard for the ties of brotherhood or the filial rela-

¹ One MS. here omits about ten lines; the other differs a little from the printed text, and runs: امر و امارت تمامی ممالک بیکنخانه او و بندگان خانه او بازگردن. It is evident that the Sultán sought to establish a centralizing system.



tion, no care for the rights of others, ever troubled him. He disregarded the provisions of the law, even in the punishments which he awarded, and was unmoved by paternity or sonship. He now gave his commands that the race of "New Musulmáns," who had settled in his territories, should be destroyed, and they were to be so slain that they all perished on the same day, and that not one of the stock should be left alive upon the face of the earth. Upon this command, worthy of a Pharaoh or a Nimrod, twenty or thirty thousand "New Musulmáns" were killed, of whom probably only a few had any knowledge (of the intended revolt). Their houses were plundered, and their wives and children turned out. In most of the years which have been noticed disturbances (*ibáhatiyán*) broke out in the city; but by the Sultán's command every rioter was most perseveringly pursued, and put to death with the most severe punishment. Their heads were sawn in two and their bodies divided. After these punishments breaches of the peace were never heard of in the city.

The generals and ministers of 'Aláu-d dín, by their courage, devotion, and ability, had secured the stability of the State during his reign, and had made themselves remarkable and brilliant in the political and administrative measures of that time, such as * * *.

* * * During the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, either through his agency or the beneficent ruling of Providence, there were several remarkable events and matters which had never been witnessed or heard of in any age or time, and probably never will again.

1. The cheapness of grain, clothes, and necessaries of life. * * *
2. The constant succession of victories. * * *
3. The destruction and rolling back of the Mughals. * * *
4. The maintenance of a large army at a small cost. * * *
5. The severe punishment and repression of rebels, and the general prevalence of loyalty. * * *
6. The safety of the roads in all directions. * * *
7. The honest dealings of the *bázár* people. * * *
8. The erection and repair of mosques, minarets, and forts, and the excavation of tanks. * * *
9. That during the last ten years of the

Achievements
of the
reign of
Alauddin



reign the hearts of Musulmáns in general were inclined to rectitude, truth, honesty, justice, and temperance. * * * 10. That without the patronage of the Sultán many learned and great men flourished. * * * [*Notices of some of the most distinguished men ; 26 pages.*]

The prosperity of 'Aláu-d dín at length declined. Success no longer attended him. Fortune proved, as usual, fickle, and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him. The overthrow of his throne and family arose from certain acts of his own. First, He was jealous and violent in temper. He removed from his service the administrators of his kingdom, and filled the places of those wise and experienced men with young slaves who were ignorant and thoughtless, and with eunuchs without intelligence. He never reflected that eunuchs and worthless people cannot conduct the business of government. Having set aside his wise and able administrators, he turned his own attention to discharging the duties of minister, a business distinct from that of royalty. His dignity and his ordinances hence fell into disrespect. Secondly, He brought his sons prematurely, before their intelligence was formed, out of their nursery.¹ To Khizr Khán he gave a canopy and a separate residence, and he caused a document to be drawn up, appointing Khizr Khán his heir apparent, and he obtained the signatures of the nobles thereto. He did not appoint any wise and experienced governors over him, so the young man gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery, and buffoons and strumpets obtained the mastery over him. In the case of this son, and of his other sons, the Sultán was precipitate, and they gave entertainments and had uproarious parties in his private apartments. Many improper proceedings thus became the practice under his rule. Thirdly, He was infatuated with Malik Náíb Káfúr, and made him commander of his army and *wazir*. He distinguished him above all his other helpers and friends, and this eunuch and minion held the chief place in his regards. A deadly enmity arose between this

¹ *Kabuk*, dovecot.



Malik Náib Káfúr and Alp Khán,¹ the father-in-law and maternal uncle of Khizr Khán. Their feud involved the whole State, and day by day increased. Fourthly, The Regulations of the government were not enforced. His sons gave themselves up to dissipation and licentious habits. Malik Náib Káfúr and Alp Khán struggled against each other; and the Sultán was seized with dropsy, that worst of diseases. Day by day his malady grew worse, and his sons plunged still deeper into dissipation. Under his mortal disorder the violence of his temper was increased tenfold. He summoned Malik Náib Káfúr from Deogír, and Alp Khán from Gujarát. The traitor, Malik Náib Káfúr, perceived that the feelings of the Sultán were turned against his wife and Khizr Khán. He acted craftily, and induced the Sultán to have Alp Khán killed, although he had committed no offence and had been guilty of no dishonesty. He caused Khizr Khán to be made prisoner and sent to the fort of Gwalior, and he had the mother of the prince turned out of the Red Palace. On the day that Alp Khán was slain and Khizr Khán was thrown into bonds, the house of 'Aláu-d dín fell. A serious revolt broke out in Gujarát, and Kamálu-d dín Garg, who was sent to quell it, was slain by the rebels. Other risings occurred and were spreading, and the rule of the Sultán was tottering when death seized him. Some say that the infamous² Malik Náib Káfúr helped his disease to a fatal termination. The reins of government fell into the hands of slaves and worthless people; no wise man remained to guide, and each one did as he listed. On the sixth Shawwál, towards morning, the corpse of 'Aláu-d dín was brought out of the Red Palace of Síri, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jámi' Masjid.

On the second day after the death of 'Aláu-d dín, Malik Náib

¹ Firishta gives the name as "Ulugh Khán" (Aluf Khán in the translation), but Alp Khán is right. See *suprà*, p. 157.

² The author's words are too explicit to be reproduced. The filthy practices alluded to are everywhere spoken of in plain terms, without the slightest attempt at disguise. They, or rather the perpetrators of them, are condemned, but the many familiar names for them, show that they were but too common.



Káfúr assembled the principal nobles and officers in the palace, and produced a will of the late Sultán which he had caused to be executed in favour of Malik Shahábu-d dín, removing Khizr Khán from being heir apparent. With the assent of the nobles he placed Shahábu-d dín upon the throne, but as the new sovereign was a child of only five or six years old, he was a mere puppet in the hands of schemers. Malik Náib Káfúr himself undertook the conduct of the government. * * * In the earliest days of his power he sent the traitor, Malik Sumbul, to put out the eyes of Khizr Khán at Gwalior, and he promoted this villain to be *Bár-bak*. He also sent his barber to blind Shádi Khán, full brother of Khizr Khán, in the palace of Síri, by cutting his eyes from their sockets with a razor, like slices of melon. He took possession of the palace of the heir apparent, Khizr Khán, and sent his mother, the Malika-i Jahán, into miserable retirement. Then he seized all her gold, silver, jewels and valuables, and exerted himself to put down the partisans of Khizr Khán, who were rather numerous. He ordered Mubárak Khán, afterwards Sultán Kutbu-d dín, who was of the same age as Khizr Khán, to be confined to his room, and intended to have him blinded. It never occurred to this wretched man, nor did any one point out to him that his setting aside of the queen and princes would alienate all the old supporters of the throne, and that no one would put any trust in him. * * * His great object was to remove all the children and wives of the late Sultán, all the nobles and slaves who had claims upon the throne, and to fill their places with creatures of his own. * * *

While he was thus engaged in endeavouring to remove all the family of the late Sultán, he resolved that when the chief nobles of the throne came together from different parts of the country, he would seize them in their houses and kill them. But God be thanked that it entered into the hearts of some *páiks*, slaves of the late king, who had charge of the Hazár-sutún, that they ought to kill this wicked fellow. The officers had observed that every night after the company had retired, and the doors of the



palace were shut, Malik Náib Káfúr used to sit up all night, plotting with his creatures the destruction of the late Sultán's family; they therefore resolved that they would slay the rascal, and thus obtain an honourable name. So one night, when the people were gone, and the doors were locked, these *páiks* went with drawn swords to his sleeping room, and severed his wicked head from his foul body. They also killed all his confederates who were in concert with him. Thus thirty-five days after the death of 'Aláu-d dín, Malik Náib Káfúr was decapitated, and Khizr Khán and Shádí Khán were avenged.

In the morning, when the nobles and officers attended at the palace and learned that the wretch was dead, and saw that he was mere clay, they gave thanks to God, and with a feeling of renewed life congratulated each other. The same *páiks* who had done the deed brought forth Mubárak Khán from the chamber in which Malik Káfúr had confined him, and had intended to blind him, and placed him in the situation of director (*náib*) to Shahábu-d dín, instead of Malik Káfúr. They thought and boasted to themselves that they could remove and kill one of the two princes, and make the other one Sultán. Mubárak Khán acted as director for Shahábu-d dín several months, and managed the government. He was seventeen or eighteen years old, and he made friends of many of the *maliks* and *amirs*. He then seated himself upon the throne with the title of Kutbu-d dín, and sent Shahábu-d dín a prisoner to Gwalior, where he had him deprived of sight. The *páiks* who had killed Malik Káfúr now talked in vaunting tones at the door of the palace, boasting of having slain the Malik, and of having raised Kutbu-d dín to the throne. They claimed to have seats below the *maliks* and *amirs*, and to receive robes before them. * * * They collected at the door of the palace, and went in before all to the audience chamber. Sultán Kutbu-d dín, at the very beginning of his reign, was therefore compelled to give orders that these *páiks* should be separated, and sent to different places, where they were killed, and an end put to their pretensions. * * *



SULTÁNU-S SHAHÍD KUTBU-D DUNYÁ WAU-D DÍN.

Sultán Kutbu-d dín, son of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, ascended the throne in the year 717¹ H. (1317 A.D.). He gave to Malik Dínár, the keeper of the elephants, the title Zafar Khán, to Muhammad Mauláná, his maternal uncle, the title Sher Khán. * * * There was a young Parwári, named Hasan, who had been brought up by Malik Shádí, the *Náib-hájib*. The Sultán took an inordinate liking for this youth. In the very first year of his reign he raised him to distinction, and gave him the title of Khusrú Khán. He was so infatuated and so heedless of consequences, that he placed the army of the late Malik Náib Káfúr under this youth, and gave to him the fiefs held by that *malik*. His passion and temerity carried him so far that he raised the youth to the office of *wazír*, and he was so doting that he could never endure his absence for a moment. The trouble which had prevailed in the land, from the beginning of the sickness of 'Aláu-d dín to the death of Malik Náib Káfúr, began to abate on the accession of Kutbu-d dín. People felt secure, and were relieved from the apprehension of death, and the nobles were released from the dread of death and punishment.

When Kutbu-d dín came to the throne he was much given to dissipation and pleasure. Still he was a man of some excellent qualities. When he escaped from the danger of death and blinding, and was delivered from evils of many kinds; when he was relieved from despair of the future and became ruler, on the day of his accession he gave orders that the (political) prisoners and exiles of the late reign, amounting to seventeen or eighteen thousand in number, should all be released in the city and in all parts of the country. The amnesty was circulated by couriers in every direction, and the miserable captives broke forth in praises of the new sovereign. Six months' pay was given to the army, and the allowances and grants to the nobles were increased. * * * The Sultán from his good nature relieved the people of

¹ Note in the text. Amír Khusrú, in his *Masnawí Nuh sipáhr*, makes the year to be 716.



the heavy tribute and oppressive demands; and penalties, extortion, beating, chains, fetters, and blows were set aside in revenue matters. Through his love of pleasure, and extravagance, and ease,¹ all the regulations and arrangements of the late reign fell into disuse; and through his laxity in business matters all men took their ease, being saved from the harsh temper, severe treatment, and oppressive orders of the late king. Gold and gilt, silver and silver-gilt, again made their appearance indoors and out of doors in the streets. Men were no longer in doubt and fear of hearing, "Do this, but don't do that; say this, but don't say that; hide this, but don't hide that; eat this, but don't eat that; sell such as this, but don't sell things like that; act like this, but don't act like that." * * * After the accession of Kutbu-d dín all the old Regulations were disregarded, the world went on to the content of men of pleasure, and an entirely new order of things was established; all fear and awe of the royal authority vanished. * * * The Sultán plunged into sensual indulgences openly and publicly, by night and by day, and the people followed his example. Beauties were not to be obtained. * * * The price of a boy, or handsome eunuch, or beautiful damsel, varied from 500 to 1000 and 2000 *tankas*.

Of all the Regulations of the late Sultán, that prohibiting wine was the one maintained by the new sovereign. But such was the disregard of orders and contempt of restrictions that wine-shops were publicly opened, and vessels of wine by hundreds came into the city from the country. The necessaries of life and grain rose in price, the old regulations and tariffs were unheeded, and piece goods were sold at prices fixed by the vendors. The Multánís engaged in their own business, and in every house drums and tabors were beaten, for the *bázár* people rejoiced over the death of 'Aláu-d dín. They now sold their goods at their own price, and cheated and fleeced people as they listed. They reviled the late Sultán, and lauded the new one. The wages of labourers rose twenty-five per cent., and servants who had re-

¹ "Sahal-giri," lit. taking it easy.



ceived ten or twelve *tankas* now got seventy, eighty, and a hundred *tankas*. The doors of bribery, extortion, and malversation were thrown open, and a good time for the revenue officers came round. Through the diminution of their tribute, the Hindus again found pleasure and happiness, and were beside themselves with joy. They who had plucked the green ears of corn because they could not get bread, who had not a decent garment, and who had been so harassed by corporal punishments that they had not even time to scratch their heads, now put on fine apparel, rode on horseback, and shot their arrows. Through all the reign of Kutbu-d dīn, not one of the old Rules and Regulations remained in force, no order was maintained, new practices sprung up, the doors were kept closed and spies were useless, and no regularity or authority was maintained in the revenue department. The people were delivered from their distress, and every man engaged in pleasure according to the extent of his means. * * *

Through the indolence and liberality of Kutbu-d dīn, and through the abeyance of the old Regulations, licentiousness spread among the Musulmāns, and disaffection and rebellion appeared among the Hindus. He plunged deeply into pleasure and debauchery; the world likewise sported in the same. * * * During (his reign of) four years and four months, the Sultān attended to nothing but drinking, listening to music, debauchery and pleasure, scattering gifts, and gratifying his lusts. If the Mughals had come up during his reign; if a rival had made pretensions to the throne; if any serious rebellion or sedition had broken out in any quarter, no one can tell what might have happened to Dehli through the Sultān's negligence, heedlessness, and dissipation. But in his reign there was no deficiency in the crops, no alarm from the Mughals, no irreparable calamity from above visited the earth, no revolt or great disturbance arose in any quarter, not a hair of any one was injured, and the name of grief or sorrow never entered the breast, or passed from the tongue of any one. His whole life was passed in extreme dis-



sipation and utter negligence: debauchery, drunkenness, and shamelessness proved his ruin. * * *

In the first year of the reign a numerous army was sent to put down the revolt of Alp Khán, who had slain Kamálu-d dín Garg, and had stirred up such a disturbance that Gujarát had shaken off its allegiance. 'Ainu-l Mulk Multání was sent with an army to Gujarát. This officer was a very intelligent, experienced, and practical man. He marched with the army of Dehli and several distinguished *amirs* to Gujarát, and defeated the forces of the revolters. They were entirely subdued, and the management of 'Ainu-l Mulk, and the valour of the army of Dehli, once more reduced Nahrwála and all the country of Gujarát to obedience. This army took the field again, and defeated several of the promoters and leaders of this revolt, who were compelled to flee to Hindus in distant parts.

Sultán Kutbu-d dín married the daughter of Malik Dínár, to whom he had given the title of Zafar Khán. The Khán was one of the old servants (*bandagán*) of 'Aláu-d dín, an intelligent and prudent man, who had seen changes of fortune, and had drawn experience from them. He was now made governor (*wáli*) of Gujarát, and proceeded thither with *amirs*, officers, and a veteran army. In four months he brought the country into such subjection, that the people forgot Alp Khán and his ascendancy. All the *ráis* and *mukaddims* of the country waited upon him, much money was acquired, and a select army was maintained always ready for service.

Although the Sultán did not maintain the Rules and Regulations of the late reign, the old servants of the State continued in their various posts, and retained their great fiefs. Hence all the territories of the State were made secure in the first year of the reign, no sedition or rebellion occurred in any quarter, nor did any distress or anarchy make its appearance. The accession of the new king was universally accepted.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) the Sultán marched with his *maliks* and *amirs* at the head of an army against Deogír, which,



upon the death of Malik Náib Káfúr, had thrown off its subjection, and had been taken possession of by Harpál Deo and Rám Deo. In the heedlessness of youth he did not nominate a wise and experienced man to act as his vicegerent during his absence; but he selected a youthful slave, named Sháhín, who had been called Baríldá during the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, and whom he now entitled Wafá-e Mulk. In his extreme rashness and utter disregard of appearances, he placed Dehlí and the treasures of Dehlí under this lad, without giving a moment's thought to disturbances or other things that might happen in his absence. On arriving at Deogír, Harpál Deo and the other Hindus who had joined him were unable to withstand the army of Islám, and they and all the *mukaddims* dispersed, so that the Sultán recovered the fort without fighting and spilling of blood. The Sultán then sent some officers in pursuit of Harpál Deo, who was the leader of the rebels, and had excited the revolt. He was captured, and the Sultán ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogír. The rains came on and the Sultán remained with the army for a time at Deogír. All the Mahrattas were once more brought into subjection. The Sultán selected as governor of Deogír, Malik Yak Lakhí, an old servant (*banda*) of 'Aláu-d dín, who for many years was *náib* of the *baríds* (spies); and he appointed feudatories, rulers, and revenue-collectors over the territories of the Mahrattas.

When Canopus appeared the Sultán resolved upon returning to Dehlí. He then granted a canopy to Khusrú Khán, and raised him to a dignity and distinction higher than had ever been attained by Malik Náib Káfúr. In fact, his infatuation for this infamous and traitorous Parwári exceeded that of 'Aláu-d dín for Malik Náib Káfúr. He sent him at the head of an army with *maliks* and *amírs* into Ma'bar; and as 'Aláu-d dín gave full powers to Náib Káfúr, sent him with an army into a distance, and placed in his hands the means of conquest, so, in like manner, Kutbu-d dín sent the vile Malik Khusrú into Ma'bar. Malik Khusrú was a base, designing, treacherous, low-born fellow. * * He rose from



one dignity to another, and received the title of Khusrú Khán. He was also made commander-in-chief, and all the affairs of the army were in his hands. * * * But the vile wretch had often thought of cutting down the Sultán with his sword when they were alone together. * * * When he marched from Deogír to Ma'bar, he used to hold secret councils at night with some of his fellow Hindus, and with several disaffected adherents of Malik Náib Káfúr, whom he had taken as friends, about making a revolt; and thus intriguing, he arrived in Ma'bar. The Sultán himself returned towards Dehlí, drinking and indulging in dissipation.

Malik Asadu-d dín, son of Malik Yagharsh Khán, uncle of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, was a brave and renowned warrior. He saw the king given up to debauchery, and utterly regardless of the affairs of his kingdom. Youths of new-made fortunes, without experience, and knowing nothing of the world, were chosen by the Sultán as his advisers, and men of wisdom and counsel were set aside. All alike were heedless, haughty, and unsuspecting. Malik Asad, seeing all this, conspired with some malcontents of Deogír, and formed a plot to seize the Sultán, at Ghatí-sákún, when drinking in his harem, unattended by guards. Some horsemen with drawn swords were to rush in and kill him, and after that the royal canopy was to be raised over Malik Asad, as brother and heir of 'Aláu-d dín. It was presumed that after the death of the Sultán there would be no opposition to Malik Asad's elevation, but that all people would support him. This was the plot which the conspirators had conceived and matured. While on the march they saw that ten or twelve resolute horsemen might enter the harem and kill the Sultán, but his time was not yet come; * * * and one evening one of the conspirators came in to the Sultán and gave full information of the plot. The Sultán halted at Ghatí-sákún, and there arrested Malik Asad and his brothers, with all the party of conspirators who were leagued with them. After some investigation, they were all beheaded in front of the royal tent. Following the custom of his father, the Sultán, in



his ruthlessness, ordered the arrest at Dehlí of twenty-nine individuals, sons of Yagharsh Khán. These were all of tender years, and had never left their homes. They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but they were all seized and slaughtered like sheep. Their wealth, which their father, the uncle of the late Sultán, had amassed in a long course of time, was brought into the royal treasury, and the women and girls of the family were turned into the streets and left homeless.

The Sultán escaped from this plot by the decree of God; but he learned no wisdom from it, made no change in his conduct, and gave up none of his dissolute drunken habits. As he pursued his journey homewards, he arrived at Jháin, from whence he sent Shádí Kath, chief of his guards (*silahdár*), to the fort of Gwalior, with orders to put to death at one fell swoop Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, and Malik Shahábu-d dín, sons of the late 'Aláu-d dín, who had been deprived of sight, and were dependent on him for food and raiment. According to his orders Shádí Kath slew the poor blind wretches, and carried their mothers and wives to Dehlí. Acts of violence and tyranny like this became the practice. * * * The good qualities which the Sultán had possessed were now all perverted. He gave way to wrath and obscenity, to severity, revenge, and heartlessness. He dipped his hands in innocent blood, and he allowed his tongue to utter disgusting and abusive words to his companions and attendants. * * * After he returned from Deogír, no human being, whether friend or stranger, dared to boldly advise him upon the affairs of his realm. The violent, vindictive spirit which possessed him led him to kill Zafar Khán, the governor of Gujarát, who had committed no offence; and thus with his own hands to uproot the foundation of his own supremacy. A short time after, he caused to be decapitated Malik Sháhín, one of his vile creatures, to whom he had given the title of Wafá-e Mulk, and whom he had once made his vicegerent. * * He cast aside all regard for decency, and presented himself decked out in the trinkets and apparel of a female before his assembled com-

pany. He gave up attendance on public prayer, and publicly broke the fast of the month of Ramazán. Malik 'Aínu-l Mulk Multání was one of the greatest nobles of the time; but he caused him and Malik Karábeg, who held no less than fourteen offices, to be assailed with such filthy and disgusting abuse, by low women, from the roof of the palace of the Hazár-sutún, as the occupants of that palace had never heard before. In his recklessness he made a Gujarátí, named Tauba, supreme in his palace, and this low-born *bhand* would call the nobles by the name of wife or mother, would defile and befoul their garments, and sometimes made his appearance in company stark naked, talking obscenity. * * *

After the execution of Zafar Khán, he conferred the government of Gujarát upon his favourite Hisámu-d dín,¹ maternal uncle of the traitor Khusrú Khán, and sent him to Nahrwála with *amírs*, officers, and men of business. All the army and attendants of Zafar Khán were placed under this fellow, an ill-conditioned Parwárí slave, whom the Sultán had often thrashed. This base-born upstart proceeded to Gujarát, and collecting his kindred and connections among the Parwáris, he stirred up a revolt. But the nobles of Gujarát collected their forces and adherents, made him prisoner, and sent him to Dehli. The Sultán, in his infatuation for his brother, gave him a slap on the face, but soon after set him at liberty, and made him one of his personal attendants. When the nobles of Gujarát heard of this they were confounded, and felt disgusted with the Sultán. After the removal of this brother of Khusrú Khán, the government of Gujarát was given to Malik Wahídu-d dín Kuraishí, who, in comparison, was a worthy and fit person; and he received the title of Sadaru-l Mulk. * * *

Malik Yak Lakhí, governor of Deogír, revolted; but when the intelligence reached the Sultán, he sent a force against him, from Dehli, which made him and his confederates prisoners. When they were brought to the Sultán, he had the ears and nose of Yak

¹ Here he is called "*barádar i múdar*," elsewhere "*barádar*," of Khusrú.



Lakhí cut off, and publicly disgraced him. His confederates also received punishment. Malik 'Aínu-l Mulk, Táju-l Mulk, and Yamkhíru-l Mulk were sent as governor and assistants to Deogír, and these being good men, their appointments excited surprise. They soon settled the district, regulated the forces, and made arrangements for the payment of the tribute. * * *

When Khusrú Khán marched from Deogír to Ma'bar, it was seen that he acted in the same way as Malik Náíb Káfúr had done. The Ráis of Ma'bar fled with their treasures and valuables; but about a hundred elephants, which had been left in two cities, fell into the hands of Khusrú Khán. On his arriving in Ma'bar the rains came on, and he was compelled to remain. There was in Ma'bar a merchant, named Takí Khán, a Sunni by profession, who had acquired great wealth, which he had purified by paying the alms prescribed by his religion. Relying on the fact of the invading army being Musulmán, he did not flee. Khusrú Khán, who had nothing in his heart but rapacity and villany, seized this Musulmán, took his money from him by force, and put him to death, declaring the money to belong to the treasury. Whilst he remained in Ma'bar he did nothing but plot with his confidants as to the best means of seizing and putting to death those nobles who supported the reigning dynasty; and he consulted with them as to the course he should pursue, whom of the army he should make his friends, and whom he should get rid of. He fixed his attention upon certain of the old Maliks, such as Malik Tamar of Chanderí, Malik Afghán, and Malik Talbagha Yaghda of Karra, who had considerable forces at their command, and he made some advances to them. His treacherous designs and rebellious intentions reached the ears of the old nobles, and they perceived, from many other signs and appearances, that the flames of rebellion were about to break forth. So the loyal nobles Malik Tamar and Malik Talbagha Yaghda sent to tell him that they had heard of his doing his utmost to get up a rebellion, and that he wished to remain where he was, and not return to Dehlí; but

they added that they would not allow him to remain, and that he had better make up his mind to return whilst there remained a show of amity between them, and without their having to seize him. By many devices and menaces they induced him to return, and did all they could think of and contrive to bring him and his army to Delhi. Their expectation was that the Sultán, on learning the facts, would show them great favour, and would punish Khusrú Khán and his fellow-conspirators. The Sultán was so infatuated, and so strongly desired the presence of Khusrú Khán, that he sent relays of bearers with a litter to bring him with all haste from Deogír in the course of seven or eight days. * * * Khusrú Khán told the Sultán that some *maliks*, who were his enemies, had charged him with treason, and were weaving a tissue of lies against him. Then he insinuated some counter-charges into the ears of the Sultán, who was so deluded as to believe what he represented. * * * The army afterwards arrived, and Malik Tamar and Malik Talbagha made a report of the designs of the Khán. * * * Fate blinded the Sultán, and he would not believe. * * * He grew angry with the accusers. He ordered Malik Tamar to be degraded, and not to be allowed to enter (the palace); and he took from him the territory of Chandérí, and gave it to the Parwári boy. Malik Talbagha Yaghda, who had spoken more plainly about the plans of the traitor, was deprived of sight, beaten on the mouth, stripped of his offices, territories, and retainers, and put in prison. Whoever spoke of their fidelity, or testified to the treachery of Khusrú Khán, received condign punishment, and was imprisoned or banished. All the attendants of the court plainly perceived that to speak against him would be to court the same chastisement. The wise men of the court and city saw that the Sultán's end was approaching. * * *

After Khusrú Khán had crushed his accusers, he prosecuted his schemes with all his energy. The Sultán had quarrelled with Baháu-d dín, his secretary, about a woman, and this man, eager for revenge, was won over by the traitor. Before proceeding fur-



ther with his designs, Khusrú represented to the Sultán that he had been made a great man by his Majesty's favour, and had been sent on an important command into a distant country. The *maliks* and *amirs* had their relations and friends and adherents around them, but he had none; he therefore begged that he might be allowed to send unto Bahlawál and the country of Gujarát for some of his own connections. The Sultán, in his doting and heedlessness, gave the permission. Khusrú then brought some Gujarátis, called Parwáris,¹ and, pretending they were his kinsfolk, kept them near him, giving them horses and clothes, and entertaining them in grand state. The villain, in prosecution of his designs, used to call the chiefs of these Parwáris and some other conspirators round him every night, in the rooms of Malik Náib Káfúr, to plot with him, and each of them used to propose the plan which his malignity suggested for killing the Sultán. Just at this time the Sultán went on a hunting excursion to Sarsáwa, and the Parwáris proposed to execute their design in the field; but some of their leaders opposed this, arguing that if they slew the Sultán in the field, all his armed followers would collect and destroy the assassins. * * It seemed preferable to accomplish their purpose in the palace, and make that building their protection. They might then, after the deed was done, call the *maliks* and *amirs* together and make them accomplices, or kill them on their refusal. * * *

After the Sultán returned from his excursion, the favourite made another request. He said that when he returned home from the palace at early dawn, the doors were locked, and those kinsfolk who had come from Gujarát to enjoy his society could not then see him. If some of his men were entrusted with the key of the postern gate (*dar-i chák*), he might bring his friends into the lower apartments and hold converse with them. The Sultán, in his infatuation, did not perceive the design, and the keys were given over. Every night, after the first or second watch, armed Parwáris, to the number of 300, used to enter by the postern, and

¹ *Bardáran* in the print, but *Baráwán* and *Baráwan* in the MSS.



assemble in the lower apartments. The guards of the palace saw the entry of armed men, and had their suspicions; and men of sense all perceived that this entry of the Parwáris boded evil. * * * But no human being dared to utter a word to the Sultán, even to save his life. * * * Kázi Zíáu-d dín, generally called Kázi Khán, * * venturing his life, spoke to the Sultán [*acquainting him with the facts, and urging him to make an investigation*]. The Sultán was incensed at the words of the Kázi, grossly abused him, and spurned his honest counsels. Just then Khusrú came in, and the Sultán [*told him what the Kázi had said*]. The infamous wretch then began to weep and lament, saying, that the great kindness and distinction which the Sultán had bestowed upon him had made all the nobles and attendants of the Court his enemies, and they were eager to take his life. The Sultán * * * said that if all the world were turned upside down, and if all his companions were of one voice in accusing Khusrú, he would sacrifice them all for one hair of his head. * * * When a fourth of the night was past and the first watch had struck, * * Randhol, the maternal uncle (*niyá*) of Khusrú, and several Parwáris, entered the *Hasár-sutún* with their swords, which they hid under a sheet. * * * A Parwári named Jáhariyá, who had been appointed to kill the Sultán, approached Kázi Zíáu-d dín, and pierced him with a spear, which he drew fram under the sheet. * * An outcry arose in the palace, and Jáhariyá hastened, with some other armed Parwáris, to the upper rooms. The whole palace was filled with Parwáris, and the uproar increased. The Sultán heard it, and asked Khusrú what it was. * * He went and looked, and told the Sultán that his horses had broken loose, and were running about in the court-yard, where men were engaged in catching them. Just at this time Jáhariyá, with his followers, came to the upper story, and despatched the officers and door-keepers. The violent uproar convinced the Sultán that treason was at work, so he put on his slippers and ran towards the harem. The traitor saw that if the Sultán escaped to the women's apartments, it would be difficult to consummate the plot.



Prompt in his villany, he rushed after the Sultán and seized him behind by the hair, which he twisted tightly round his hand. The Sultán threw him down and got upon his breast, but the rascal would not release his hold. They were in this position when Jáhariyá entered at the head of the conspirators. Khusrú called out to him to be careful. The assassin stuck the Sultán in the breast with a spear, dragged him off Khusrú, dashed him to the ground, and cut off his head. All persons that were in the palace or upon the roof were slain by the Parwáris, who filled all the upper story. The watchmen fled and hid themselves. The Parwáris lighted torches; they then cast the headless trunk of the Sultán into the court-yard. The people saw it, and knew what had happened. Every one retired to his home in fear. Randhol, Jáhariyá, and other of the assassins, proceeded to the harem. They killed the widow of 'Aláu-d dín, mother of Faríd Khán and 'Umar Khán, and committed atrocities which had never been paralleled among infidels and heathens. * * * After killing all there were to kill, the whole palace was in the hands of the Parwáris. Lamps and torches were lighted in great numbers, and a Court was held. Though it was midnight, Malik 'Ainu-d dín Multání, Malik Wáhidu-d dín Kuraishí, Malik Fakhru-d dín Júná afterwards Sultán Muhammad Tughlik, and other nobles and great men were sent for, and were brought into the palace and made accomplices in what passed. When day broke the palace was full inside and out with Parwáris and Hindus. Khusrú Khán had prevailed, the face of the world assumed a new complexion, a new order of things sprung up, and the basis of the dynasty of 'Aláu-d dín was utterly razed. * * *

As morning broke, Khusrú, in the presence of those nobles whom he had brought into the palace, mounted the throne under the title of Sultán Násiru-d dín. * * * He had no sooner begun to reign, than he ordered all the personal attendants of the late Sultán, many of whom were of high rank, to be slain. Some were despatched in their houses, others were brought to the palace and were beheaded in private. Their wives, women, children,



and handmaids were all given to the Parwáris and Hindus. The house of Kázi Zíáu-d dín, with all that it contained, was given to Randhol, the maternal uncle of Khusrú. The wife and children of the Kázi had fled in the early part of the night. The brother of Khusrú received the title of Khán-i Khánán, Randhol was made Rái-ráyán, * * * and Baháu-d dín received the title of 'Azamu-l Mulk. To keep up a delusive show, and to implicate the great men of the preceding reigns, 'Ainu-l Mulk Multání, who had no kind of connection with the usurper, was entitled 'Álam Khán; the office of *diwán* was conferred on Táju-l Mulk. * * * In the course of four or five days preparations were made for idol worship in the palace. Jáhariyá, the murderer of Kutbu-d dín was decked out in jewels and pearls; and horrid Parwáris sported in the royal harem. Khusrú married the wife of the late Sultán Kutbu-d dín; and the Parwáris, having gained the upper hand, took to themselves the wives and handmaids of the nobles and great men. The flames of violence and cruelty reached to the skies. Copies of the Holy Book were used as seats, and idols were set up in the pulpits of the mosques. * * * It was Khusrú's design to increase the power and importance of the Parwáris and Hindus, and that their party should grow; he therefore opened the treasury and scattered money about. * * * Calling himself Sultán Násiru-d dín, the base-born slave had his title repeated in the *khutba*, and impressed upon coins. For the few months (that he reigned) he and his satellites thought only of overthrowing the adherents of the late Sultáns, and they had no awe of any *malik* or *amir* except of Gházi Malik, afterwards Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh.

This nobleman held the territory of Deobálpur, and dwelt there in his palace. When he heard of the overthrow of the dynasty of 'Aláu-d dín, he writhed like a snake. To induce him to come into the city and into their toils, they tried every art with his son (Muhammad Fakhru-d dín Júná, afterwards) Sultán Muhammad Tughlik. They made Júná master of the horse, and gave him *in'áms* and robes of honour. But he