

had been a friend of the late Sultán, and was deeply wounded by his death. He was also sorely annoyed by the ascendancy of the Parwáris, and by having to meet Hindus who patronized him. But he could do nothing, for Khusrú had deluded the people, and had made them his own by scattering his gold. Ghiyásu-d dín in Deobálpúr \* \* \* deplored the fate of the sons and ladies of his patron, 'Aláu-d dín, and pondered night and day over the means of exacting vengeance from the Parwáris and Hindus. But he was afraid of the Hindus hurting his son Fakhru-d dín Júná, and so could not move out of Deobálpúr to destroy them. In those dreadful days the infidel rites of the Hindus were highly exalted, the dignity and the importance of the Parwáris were increased, and through all the territory of Islám the Hindus rejoiced greatly, boasting that Dehlí had once more come under Hindu rule, and that the Musulmáns had been driven away and dispersed. \* \* \*

When more than two months had passed after the overthrow of the house of 'Aláu-d dín, and the degradation of all its connections and dependents before the eyes of several of its great nobles, Malik Fakhru-d dín began to take heart, and courageously to resolve upon exacting vengeance. One afternoon he mounted his horse, and, with a few slaves, confiding himself to God, he fled from Khusrú. \* \* \* At evening his flight became known, \* \* \* and filled Khusrú and his followers with dismay. \* \* \* A body of horse was sent after him, but Fakhru-d dín, the hero of Írán and Turán, reached Sarsutí, and his pursuers, not being able to overtake him, returned dispirited to Dehlí. Before he reached Sarsutí,<sup>1</sup> his father, Ghází Malik (afterwards Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín), sent Muhammad Sartaba with two hundred horse, and he had taken possession of the fort of Sarsutí. With these horsemen Fakhru-d dín proceeded to his father, whom, to his great joy, he reached in safety at Deobálpúr. Malik Ghází's hands were now free to wreak vengeance on the Parwáris and Hindus for the murder of his patron, and

<sup>1</sup> "Sarbarhindh" in one MS., "Narsinah" in the other—perhaps for Tabarhindh.





he immediately prepared to march against the enemy. Khusrú appointed his brother, whom he had made Khán-i Khánán, and Yúsuf Súfi, now Yúsuf Khán, to command his army. He gave his brother a royal canopy, and sent them with elephants and treasure towards Deobálpúr. So these two foolish ignorant lads went forth, like newly-hatched chickens just beginning to fly, to fight with a veteran warrior like Malik Ghází, whose sword had made Khurásán and the land of the Mughals to tremble. \* \* \* They reached Sarsutí; but such was their inexperience and want of energy, that they could not drive out Malik Ghází's horse. So they turned their backs upon the place, and in their folly, \* \* \* marched to encounter the hero, who twenty times had routed the Mughals. Like children in their parents' laps, they went on helplessly all in confusion. \* \* \*

On the other hand, Ghází Malik had called in the assistance of Malik Bahrán Abiya of Uch, one of the faithful, and he arrived at Deobálpúr with his horse and foot, and joined Ghází. When intelligence of the enemy's march from Sarsutí reached them, \* \* \* Ghází drew his forces out of Deobálpúr, and passing the town of Daliyá,<sup>1</sup> he left the river behind, and came face to face with the enemy. Next day he gave battle. \* \* \* The enemy broke at the first charge, and was thrown into utter confusion. The canopy and baton of Khusrú's brother, and the elephants and horses and treasure, fell into the hands of the victors. Many chiefs and officers were killed, and many were wounded and made prisoners. The two lads who called themselves Kháns \* \* \* fled, without stopping, to Khusrú. This defeat so terrified Khusrú and his followers that hardly any life was left in their bodies. \* \* \*

For a week after the victory Malik Ghází remained on the field of victory, and after collecting the spoils and arranging his forces, he proceeded towards Dehlí. \* \* \* Khusrú Khán and his followers, in dismay, left Sirí, and marched out into the field to the Hauz-i 'Alái, where he posted himself op-

<sup>1</sup> "Dálí" in the print.





posite Lahráwat, with gardens in front and the citadel in his rear. He brought out all the royal treasures from Kílúgharí and Dehlí, making a clean sweep of the whole, like one spurned by fortune or worsted in gambling. The records and accounts he caused to be burned, \* \* \* and everything in the public treasury he distributed as pay or gifts to his forces. Furious at the thought of anything valuable falling into the hands of the chief of Islám, he did not leave a *dāng* or *diram* behind. \* \* \* The soldiers, who were faithful to their creed, and had no thought of drawing a sword against Malik Ghází and the army of Islám, took the money of the wretched fellow, heaped hundreds of curses upon him, and then went to their homes. \* \* \* Ghází Malik, with his army and friends, arrived near Dehlí, and encamped in the suburb of Indarpat. On the night preceding the expected battle, 'Ainu-l Mulk Multání deserted Khusrú Khán, and went towards Ujjain and Dhár. This defection quite broke down the spirits of Khusrú and his followers.

On Friday, a day of joy and victory to the Musulmáns, but of woe to the Hindus and infidels, Ghází Malik led forth his forces from Indarpat against the foe. Khusrú, on the other side, sent forward his elephants, and, with his Parwáris, Hindus, and the Musulmáns who stood by him, advanced to the plain of Lahráwat, where both armies drew up in order of battle. Skirmishes ensued, in which the side of Ghází Malik had the advantage. Malik Talbagha Nágorí, who had attached himself heart and soul to Khusrú Khán, and drew his sword against the army of Islám, was overthrown, and his severed head was brought to Ghází Malik. Sháyista Khán, formerly known as the son of Karrat Kimár, and now *'ariz-i mamálík*, seeing all was over, led away his force towards the desert, but plundered the baggage of Ghází Malik at Indarpat as he pursued his flight. The main armies still confronted each other, but in the afternoon \* \* \* Ghází Malik advanced against the centre of Khusrú's force. The effeminate wretch could not bear the attack of men. He





fled, and, leaving his army, he took the road to Tilpat. \* \* \* His Parwáris were separated from him, and not one remained with him when he reached that place. He fell back from thence and concealed himself for the night in a garden which formerly belonged to Malik Shádi, his patron. After the defeat and dispersion of the Parwáris and Hindus, they were cut down wherever they were found, and their arms and horses were seized. Those who, in parties of three or four, fled from the city towards Gujarát, were likewise slain and plundered. On the day after the battle Khusrú was brought out of the garden of Malik Shádi and was beheaded.

That night, while Ghází Malik was at Indarpat, most of the nobles and chief men and officers came forth from the city to pay their respects, and the keys of the palace and of the city gates were brought to him. On the second day after the battle he proceeded with a great following from Indarpat to the palace of Sirí. He seated himself in the Hazár-sutún, and, in the presence of the assembled nobles, wept over the unhappy fate which had befallen Kutbu-d dín and the other sons of 'Aláu-d dín, his patron, \* \* and gave thanks to God for the victory he had gained. Then he cried with a loud voice, "I am one of those who have been brought up under 'Aláu-d dín and Kutbu-d dín, and the loyalty of my nature has roused me up against their enemies and destroyers. I have drawn my sword, and have taken revenge to the best of my power. Ye are the nobles of the State! If ye know of any son of our patron's blood, bring him forth immediately, and I will seat him on the throne, and will be the first to tender him my service and devotion. If the whole stock has been clean cut off, then do ye bring forward some worthy and proper person and raise him to the throne; I will pay my allegiance to him. I have drawn my sword to avenge my patrons, not to gain power and ascend a throne." \* \* \* The assembled nobles unanimously replied that the usurpers had left no scion of the royal stock in existence. The murder of Kutbu-d dín and the supremacy of Khusrú and the Parwáris had caused disturbances,





and had stirred up rebels in every direction. Affairs were all in confusion. They then added, "Thou, O Ghází Malik, hast claims upon us. For many years thou hast been a barrier to the Mughals and hast prevented their coming into Hindustán. Now thou hast done a faithful work, which will be recorded in history; thou hast delivered the Musulmáns from the yoke of Hindus and Parwáris; thou hast avenged our benefactors, and hast laid every one, rich and poor, under obligation. \* \* \* All we who are here present know no one besides thee who is worthy of royalty and fit to rule." All who were present agreed with one acclaim, and, taking him by the hand, they conducted him to the throne. He then took the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín, \* \* \* and every one paid him due homage. \* \* \*

SULTÁNU-L GHÁZÍ GHIYÁS-U-D DUNYÁ WAU-D DÍN TUGHLIK  
SHÁHU-S SULTÁN.

Sultán. Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh ascended the throne in the palace of Síri in the year 720 H. (1320 A.D.) \* \* \* In the course of one week the business of the State was brought into order, and the disorders and evils occasioned by Khusrú and his unholy followers were remedied. \* \* \* The people in all parts of the country were delighted at his accession. Rebellion and disaffection ceased, peace and obedience prevailed. \* \* \* On the day of his accession, he ordered all the surviving relatives of 'Aláu-d dín and Kutbu-d dín to be sought out, and he treated these ladies with all due respect and honour. The daughters of 'Aláu-d dín he married into suitable families. He severely punished the men who unlawfully married Khusrú to the widow of Kutbu-d dín three days after her husband's murder. The *maliks*, *amirs*, and other officers of his predecessors, he confirmed in their possessions and appointments. When he attained the throne, his nobleness and generosity of character made him distinguish and reward all those whom he had known and been connected with, and all those who in former days had showed him



kindness or rendered him a service. No act of kindness was passed over. \* \* \* His eldest son<sup>1</sup> showed great elevation of character. To him he gave the title of Ulugh Khán, with a royal canopy, and he declared him his heir apparent. To his four other sons he gave the titles respectively of Bahráam Khán, Zafar Khán, Mahmúd Khán, and Nusrat Khán. Bahráam Abiya he honoured with the name of brother, and the title Kishlú Khán. To him also he entrusted Multán and Sindh. Malik Asadu-d dín, his brother's son, he made Náib Bárbak, and Malik Baháu-d dín, his sister's son, he made '*ariz-i mamálik* (muster-master), with the territory of Sámána. \* \* \* The excellence of his government is said to have inspired this verse of Amír Khusrú's—

"He never did anything that was not replete with wisdom and sense.  
 He might be said to wear a hundred doctors' hoods under his crown."

\* \* \* [In the generosity of his nature, he ordered that the land revenues of the country should be settled upon just principles with reference to the produce. \* \* \* The officers of the Exchequer were ordered not to assess more than one in ten, or one in eleven upon the *iktá's*, and other lands, either by guess or computation, whether upon the reports of informers or the statements of valuers. They were to be careful that cultivation increased year by year. Something was to be left over and above the tribute, so that the country might not be ruined by the weight of taxation, and the way to improvement be barred. The revenue was to be collected in such a way that the *raiya*t should increase their cultivation; that the lands already in cultivation might be kept so, and some little be added to them every year. So much was not to be exacted at once that the cultivation should fall off, and no increase be made in future.] Countries are ruined and are kept in poverty by excessive taxation and the exorbitant demands of kings. [The Hindus were to be taxed so that they might not be blinded with wealth, and so become discontented

<sup>1</sup> Barni follows the general practice of using the *régal* title by anticipation.





and rebellious; nor, on the other hand, be so reduced to poverty and destitution as to be unable to pursue their husbandry.<sup>1</sup> \* J \*

In the year 721 H. (1321 A.D.) the Sultán sent his eldest son, Ulugh<sup>2</sup> Khán, with a canopy and an army against Arangal and Tilang. Several of the nobles and officers, both of the old and new dynasty, were sent with him. The prince set out with great pomp, and when he arrived in Deogír, the officers and forces of that place joined, and marched with him to Tilang. Awe of the majesty of the Sultán, and fear of Ulugh Khán, drove Laddar Deo and all the *rúts* and *mukaddims* to seek shelter in the fortresses; they never dreamed of opposing the Khán (in the field). He arrived at Arangal, and invested the mud fort. He then sent some of his officers to spoil the land of Tilang, to collect plunder, and bring in forage. They brought in spoil and fodder in abundance, and the army pushed on the siege in full confidence. The mud fort and the stone fort of Arangal were both garrisoned with numerous Hindus, who had gathered in muniments from all quarters. *Maghribís*, *'arádas*, and *manjaníks* were brought into use. Sharp conflicts daily occurred. Fire was discharged<sup>3</sup> from the fort, and many were killed on both sides; but the army of Islám had the advantage, the garrison was reduced to distress, and the mud fort was on the point of being taken. They resolved to surrender, and Laddar Deo the Rái, with *mukaddims*, sent *basíths* to Ulugh Khán to make terms. They offered treasure and elephants and jewels and valuables, and begged that the Khán would accept these with tribute, as Malik Násb Káfúr had done in the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, and would then retire. The Khán would grant no terms, but resolutely determined to reduce the fort and capture the Rái. So the *basíths* returned disappointed and dejected.

When the besieged were thus reduced to extremities, and

<sup>1</sup> Many pages follow in eulogy of the character and government of Ghiyásu-d dín, but these are expressed in such general terms as not to be of much interest.

<sup>2</sup> The printed text and one of the two MSS. here fall into the error of writing this title, "Alaf Khán," as it always appears in Briggs and Elphinstone.

<sup>3</sup> *Atashhá mí-rekhtand*.





were suing for peace, very nearly a month had passed since any couriers had arrived from the Sultán, although the Khán had previously received two or three letters every week. This want of intelligence from the court caused some uneasiness in the minds of the Khán and his officers; they imagined that some of the posts on the road had been destroyed, and that consequently the couriers had been unable to prosecute their journeys with the news. It also caused apprehension and misgivings to spread among the troops, and stories were carried from one to another. 'Ubaid the poet, and Shaikh Zâda-i Dimashkî, two evil-disposed, turbulent fellows, who by some means had been introduced to the Khán, fanned the strife, and spread false reports among the soldiers, to the effect that the Sultán was dead, that the government had been overthrown, that a new prince now sat upon the throne of Dehlî, and that the way was quite closed against all couriers and messengers. So every man took his own course. These two malicious men trumped up another false story. They went to Malik Tamar, Malik Tigîn, Malik Mall Afghán, and Malik Káfûr, keeper of the seal, and told these nobles that Ulugh Khán looked upon them with envy and suspicion, as generals and nobles of the reign of Aláu-d din, and as obstacles to his attaining the throne; that their names were written down in a list as men to be disposed of, and that they would be all seized at once and beheaded. These nobles were aware that these two treacherous men were constantly about Ulugh Khán, and so they credited their statements. They therefore agreed to take flight, and, joining together their followers, they left the camp. Through this defection a panic fell upon the army, trouble and tumult arose, and no man thought of another. This event was very opportune for the besieged Hindus, and saved them. They sallied forth and plundered the baggage of the army, and Ulugh Khán with his immediate followers retreated to Deogîr. The soldiers were worn out, and fell in all directions. As they retreated, couriers arrived from the court, bringing news of the health and safety of the Sultán.





Differences arose among those 'Aláí nobles who had fled from the army, each of them pursued his own course. Their soldiers and servants perished, and their horses and arms fell into the hands of the Hindus. Ulugh Khán reached Deogír in safety. Malik Tamar, with a few horsemen, plunged into the Hindu territories, and there perished. Malik Tigin of Oudh was killed by the Hindus, and his skin was sent to Ulugh Khán at Deogír. Malik Mall Afghán, 'Ubaid the poet, and other revolvers, were made prisoners, and were also sent to Deogír. The prince sent them on alive to his father. The wives and children of the revolvers had been already seized. The Sultán held a public *darbár* in the plain of Sirí, when 'Ubaid, the poet, and Káfúr, the seal-keeper, and other rebels, were impaled alive;<sup>1</sup> some of the others, with their wives and children, were thrown under the feet of elephants. Such a terrible punishment was inflicted as long inspired terror in the breasts of the beholders. All the city trembled at the vengeance taken by the Sultán.

Four months afterwards the Sultán sent strong reinforcements to the prince, and directed him to march against Arangal once more. He accordingly entered the country of Tilang, took the fort of Bidr, and made its chief prisoner. From thence he proceeded to Arangal for the second time. He invested the mud fort, and after plying it for a few days with arrows from the *náwaks*, and stones from the *maghribis*, he captured the whole place. Rái Laddar Deo, with all his *ráis* and *mukaddims*, their wives and children, elephants and horses, fell into the hands of the victors. A despatch of victory was sent to Dehlí, and at Tughlikábád and Sirí there were great rejoicings. The prince sent Laddar Deo Rái, of Arangal, with his elephants and treasures, relations and dependents, to the Sultán, under the charge of Malik Bedár, who had been created Kadar Khán, and Khwája Háji, *náib* of the 'ariz-i *mamálik*. The name of Arangal was changed to Sultánpúr, and all the country of Tilang was conquered. Officers

<sup>1</sup> *Zindah bardár kardand*,—that is, crucified or impaled alive. Firishta says they were buried alive.





were appointed to manage the country, and one year's tribute was taken. The prince then marched towards Jájnapar,<sup>1</sup> and there took forty elephants, with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father.

At the time when Arangal was taken, and the elephants arrived from Jájnapar, several Mughal<sup>1</sup> armies attacked the frontiers, but the armies of Islám defeated them and sent their two generals as prisoners to the court. The Sultán had made Tughlikábád his capital, and the nobles and officials, with their wives and families, had taken up their abode there, and had built houses.

About this time certain noblemen came from Lakhnautí, complaining of the oppressive laws under which they were suffering, and informing the Sultán of the distress and tyranny under which they and other Musulmán<sup>s</sup> laboured. So the Sultán resolved to march against Lakhnautí, and he sent couriers to summon Ulugh Khán from Arangal. He made him his vicegerent, and placed all the affairs of the kingdom under his management during his own absence. He then marched to Lakhnautí, and so conducted his forces through the deep waters and mire and dirt, on this distant march, that not a hair of any man's head was hurt. Fear and respect for the Sultán had spread through Khurásán and Hindustán, and all the countries of Hind and Sindh, and the chiefs and generals of east and west, had trembled in fear of him for many a year (*karr*). When the Sultán reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnautí, Sultán Násiru-d dín, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultán; and without the sword being called into requisition, all the *rás* and *ránas* of the country made their submission. Tátár Khán, foster-son (*pisar i khwánda*) of the Sultán, held the territory of Zafarábád; and a force having been assigned to him, he brought the whole country under the imperial rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw made some resistance; but a cord was thrown upon his neck, and he was conducted to the Sultán.

<sup>1</sup>The Jájnapar on the Mahanadi in Cuttack referred to by Briggs. Firishá, I., 260.





All the elephants of the country were sent to the royal stables, and the army acquired great spoil in the campaign. Sultán Násiru-d dín had shown great respect and submission, so the Sultán gave him a canopy and a baton, sent him back, and placed Lakhnautí under his rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw, was sent to Dehlí with a rope round his neck, and the Sultán returned towards his capital triumphant. \* \* \*

When Ulugh Khán received information of the Sultán's hastening homewards to Tughlikábád, he ordered a temporary erection to be raised at Afghánpúr, about three or four *kos* from the city, where the Sultán might stay for the night and take rest, before marching on the following day into the city with pomp and triumph. \* \* \* Sultán Tughlik Sháh arrived in the afternoon and stopped. Ulugh Khán, and all the great nobles and officers, had gone forth to meet him, and had conducted him thither with great ceremony. The Sultán's table had been spread, and he took food; the nobles came out to wash their hands. A thunderbolt from the sky descended upon the earth, and the roof under which the Sultán was seated fell down, crushing him and five or six other persons, so that they died.<sup>1</sup>

SULTÁNU-L MUJÁHID ABÚ-L FATH MUHAMMAD SHÁH IBN  
TUGHLIK SHÁH.

Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlik Sháh, the heir apparent, succeeded his father, and ascended the throne at Tughlikábád in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). On the fortieth day after, he proceeded from Tughlikábád to Dehlí, and there in the ancient palace took his seat upon the throne of the old Sultáns. \* \* \*<sup>2</sup>

In the caligraphy of books and letters Sultán Muhammad abashed the most accomplished scribes. The excellence of his hand-writing, the ease of his composition, the sublimity of his

<sup>1</sup> The reticence of Barní upon this catastrophe favours the suspicion that it was the work of design; not an accident. Firishta, however, notices this suspicion, but to discredit it.

<sup>2</sup> A long strain of eulogy follows, from which one or two passages have been selected.









every conquest; but the rise and termination of every mutiny, and of events (of minor importance), I have passed over. \* \* \*

Sultán Muhammad planned in his own breast three or four projects by which the whole of the habitable world was to be brought under the rule of his servants, but he never talked over these projects with any of his councillors and friends. Whatever he conceived he considered to be good, but in promulgating and enforcing his schemes he lost his hold upon the territories he possessed, disgusted his people, and emptied his treasury. Embarrassment followed embarrassment, and confusion became worse confounded. The ill feeling of the people gave rise to outbreaks and revolts. The rules for enforcing the royal schemes became daily more oppressive to the people. More and more the people became disaffected, more and more the mind of the king was set against them, and the numbers of those brought to punishment increased. The tribute of most of the distant countries and districts was lost, and many of the soldiers and servants were scattered and left in distant lands. Deficiencies appeared in the treasury. The mind of the Sultán lost its equilibrium. In the extreme weakness and harshness<sup>1</sup> of his temper he gave himself up to severity. Gujarát and Deogír were the only (distant) possessions that remained. In the old territories, dependent on Dehlí, the capital, disaffection and rebellion sprung up. By the will of fate many different projects occurred to the mind of the Sultán, which appeared to him moderate and suitable, and were enforced for several years, but the people could not endure them.<sup>2</sup> These schemes effected the ruin of the Sultán's empire, and the decay of the people. Every man among them that was enforced wrought some wrong and mischief (Dehlí) the minds of all men, high and low, were disgusted with their ruler. Territories and districts which had been secure; many of their native homes.

<sup>1</sup> نازكي و درشتي

<sup>2</sup> The two MSS. differ slightly from each other, but both concur in the printed text. I have taken what appears to be the genuine reading, evidently deemed an obscure and doubtful passage.



were lost. When the Sultán found that his orders did not work so well as he desired, he became still more embittered against his people. He cut them down like weeds and punished them. So many wretches were ready to slaughter true and orthodox Musulmán as had never before been created from the days of Adam. \* \* \* If the twenty prophets had been given into the hands of these minions, I verily believe that they would not have allowed them to live one night. \* \* \*

[The first project which the Sultán formed, and which operated to the ruin of the country and the decay of the people, was that he thought he ought to get ten or five per cent. more tribute from the lands in the Doáb. To accomplish this he invented some oppressive *ábwaabs*<sup>1</sup> (cesses), and made stoppages from the land-revenues until the backs of the *raiyats* were broken. ] The cesses were collected so rigorously that the *raiyats* were impoverished and reduced to beggary. Those who were rich and had property became rebels; the lands were ruined, and cultivation was entirely arrested. When the *raiyats* in distant countries heard of the distress and ruin of the *raiyats* in the Doáb, through fear of the same evil befalling them, they threw off their allegiance and betook themselves to the jungles. The decline of cultivation, and the distress of the *raiyats* in the Doáb, and the failure of convoys of corn from Hindustán, produced a fatal famine in Dehlí and its environs, and throughout the Doáb. ] Grain became dear. There was a deficiency of rain, so the famine became general. It continued for some years, and thousands upon thousands of people perished of want. Communities were reduced to distress, and families were broken up. The glory of the empire and the power of the government of Sultán Muhammad in his time withered and decayed.

<sup>1</sup> project of Sultán Muhammad, which was ruinous to the empire, and distressing to the chief men of the empire, that of making Deogír his capital, under the

that this word, since so well known, has come under my notice.





title of Daulatábád. This place held a central situation : Dehlí, Gujarát, Lakhnautí, Sat-gánw, Sunár-gánw, Tilang, Ma'bar, Dhúr-samundar, and Kampila were about equi-distant from thence, there being but a slight difference in the distances. Without any consultation, and without carefully looking into the advantages and disadvantages on every side, he brought ruin upon Dehlí, that city which, for 170 or 180 years, had grown in prosperity, and rivalled Baghdad and Cairo. The city, with its *saráis*, and its suburbs and villages, spread over four or five *kos*. All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs. Troops of the natives, with their families and dependents, wives and children, men-servants and maid-servants, were forced to remove. The people, who for many years and for generations had been natives and inhabitants of the land, were broken-hearted. Many, from the toils of the long journey, perished on the road, and those who arrived at Deogír could not endure the pain of exile. In despondency they pined to death. All around Deogír, which is an infidel land, there sprung up graveyards of Musulmán's. The Sultán was bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival; but they were tender, and they could not endure the exile and suffering. They laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of all the multitudes of emigrants, few only survived to return to their home. Thus this city, the envy of the cities of the inhabited world, was reduced to ruin. The Sultán brought learned men and gentlemen, tradesmen and landholders, into the city (Dehlí) from certain towns in his territory, and made them reside there. But this importation of strangers did not populate the city; many of them died there, and more returned to their native homes. These changes and alterations were the cause of great injury to the country.

third project also did great harm to the country. It was the daring and arrogance of the disaffected in Hin-



dustán, and augmented the pride and prosperity of all the Hindo. This was the issue of copper money.<sup>1</sup> The Sultán, in his lofty ambition, had conceived it to be his work to subdue the whole habitable world and bring it under his rule. To accomplish this impossible design, an army of countless numbers was necessary, and this could not be obtained without plenty of money. The Sultán's bounty and munificence had caused a great deficiency in the treasury, so he introduced his copper money, and gave orders that it should be used in buying and selling, and should pass current, just as the gold and silver coins had passed. The promulgation of this edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint, and the Hindus of the various provinces coined krors and laes of copper coins. With these they paid their tribute, and with these they purchased horses, arms, and fine things of all kinds. The *ráis*, the village headmen and landowners, grew rich and strong upon these copper coins, but the State was impoverished. No long time passed before distant countries would take the copper *tanka* only as copper. In those places where fear of the Sultán's edict prevailed, the gold *tanka* rose to be worth a hundred of (the copper) *tankas*. Every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop, and the treasury was filled with these copper coins. So low did they fall that they were not valued more than pebbles or potsherds. The old coin, from its great scarcity, rose four-fold and five-fold in value. When trade was interrupted on every side, and when the copper *tankas* had become more worthless than clods, and of no use, the Sultán repealed his edict, and in great wrath he proclaimed that whoever possessed copper coins should bring them to the treasury, and receive the old gold coins in exchange. Thousands of men from various quarters, who possessed thousands of these copper coins, and caring nothing for them, had flung them into corners along with their copper pots, now brought them to the treasury, and received in exchange gold *tankas* and silver *tankas*, *shash-gánt*.

<sup>1</sup> The printed text adds, "his interference with buying and selling," but it to be found in either of my MSS., and is certainly superfluous.





and *dū-gānis*, which they carried to their homes. So many of these copper *tankas* were brought to the treasury, that heaps of them rose up in Tughlikābād like mountains. Great sums went out of the treasury in exchange for the copper, and a great deficiency was caused. When the Sultān found that his project had failed, and that great loss had been entailed upon the treasury through his copper coins, he more than ever turned against his subjects.

The fourth project which diminished his treasure, and so brought distress upon the country, was his design of conquering Khurāsān and 'Irāk. In pursuance of this object, vast sums were lavished upon the officials and leading men of those countries. These great men came to him with insinuating proposals and deceitful representations, and as far as they knew how, or were able, they robbed the throne of its wealth. The coveted countries were not acquired, but those which he possessed were lost; and his treasure, which is the true source of political power, was expended.

The fifth project \* \* \* was the raising of an immense army for the campaign against Khurāsān. \* \* \* In that year three hundred and seventy thousand horse were enrolled in the muster-master's office. For a whole year these were supported and paid; but as they were not employed in war and conquest and enabled to maintain themselves on plunder, when the next year came round, there was not sufficient in the treasury or in the feudal estates (*iktā*) to support them. The army broke up; each man took his own course and engaged in his own occupations. But *lacs* and *krors* had been expended by the treasury.

The sixth project, which inflicted a heavy loss upon the army, was the design which he formed of capturing the mountain of Karā-jal.<sup>1</sup> His conception was that, as he had undertaken the conquest of Khurāsān, he would (first) bring under the dominion of Islām this mountain, which lies between the territories of

<sup>1</sup> The printed text has "Farājāl," and this is favoured to some extent by one MS., but the other is consistent in reading Karā-jal. See *supra*, Vol. I., p. 46, note 2.



Hind and those of China, so that the passage for horses and soldiers and the march of the army might be rendered easy. To effect this object a large force, under distinguished *amirs* and generals, was sent to the mountain of Kará-jal, with orders to subdue the whole mountain. In obedience to orders, it marched into the mountains and encamped in various places, but the Hindus closed the passes and cut off its retreat. The whole force was thus destroyed at one stroke, and out of all this chosen body of men only ten horsemen returned to Dehlí to spread the news of its discomfiture. \* \* \*

REVOLTS.—\* \* The first revolt was that of Bahrám Abiya at Multán. This broke out while the Sultán was at Deogír. As soon as he heard of it he hastened back to his capital, and collecting an army he marched against Multán. When the opposing forces met, Bahrám Abiya was defeated. His head was cut off and was brought to the Sultán, and his army was cut to pieces and dispersed. \* \* \* The Sultán returned victorious to Dehlí, where he stayed for two years. He did not proceed to Deogír, whither the citizens and their families had removed. Whilst he remained at Dehlí the nobles and soldiers continued with him, but their wives and children were at Deogír. At this time the country of the Doáb was brought to ruin by the heavy taxation and the numerous cesses. The Hindus burnt their corn stacks and turned their cattle out to roam at large. Under the orders of the Sultán, the collectors and magistrates laid waste the country, and they killed some landholders and village chiefs and blinded others. Such of these unhappy inhabitants as escaped formed themselves into bands and took refuge in the jungles. So the country was ruined. The Sultán then proceeded on a hunting excursion to Baran, where, under his directions, the whole of that country was plundered and laid waste, and the heads of the Hindus were brought in and hung upon the ramparts of the fort of Baran.

About this time the rebellion of Fakhrá broke out in Bengal, after the death of Bahrám Khán (Governor of Sunár-gánw).





Fakhrá and his Bengali forces killed Kadar Khán (Governor of Lakhnautí), and cut his wives and family and dependents to pieces. He then plundered the treasures of Lakhnautí, and secured possession of that place, and of Sat-gánw and Sunár-gánw. These places were thus lost to the imperial throne, and, falling into the hands of Fakhrá and other rebels, were not recovered. At the same period the Sultán led forth his army to ravage Hindustán. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalamú, and every person that fell into his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultán had the jungles surrounded, and every individual that was captured was killed.

While he was engaged in the neighbourhood of Kanauj a third revolt broke out. Saiyid Hasan, father of Ibráhím, the purse-bearer, broke out into rebellion in Ma'bar, killed the nobles, and seized upon the government. The army sent from Dehlí to recover Ma'bar, remained there. When the Sultán heard of the revolt he seized Ibráhím and all his relations. He then returned to Dehlí for reinforcements, and started from thence to Deogír, in order to prepare for a campaign against Ma'bar. He had only marched three or four stages from Dehlí when the price of grain rose, and famine began to be felt. Highway robberies also became frequent in the neighbourhood. When the Sultán arrived at Deogír he made heavy demands upon the Musulmán chiefs and collectors of the Mahratta country, and his oppressive exactions drove many persons to kill themselves. Heavy *abwábs* also were imposed on the country, and persons were specially appointed to levy them. After a short time he sent Ahmad Ayyáz (as lieutenant) to Dehlí, and he marched to Tilang. When Ayyáz arrived in Dehlí he found that a disturbance had broken out in Lahor, but he suppressed it. The Sultán arrived at Arangal, where cholera (*wabá*) was prevalent. Several nobles and many other persons died of it. The Sultán also was attacked. He then appointed Malik Kabúl, the *náib-wazír*, to be ruler over Tilang, and himself returned homewards with all



speed. He was ill when he reached Deogír, and remained there some days under treatment. He there gave Shaháb Sultání the title of Nusrat Khán, and made him governor of Bidar and the neighbourhood, with a fief of a *lac* of *tankas*. The Mahratta country was entrusted to Katlagh Khán. The Sultán, still ill, then set off for Dehlí, and on his way he gave general permission for the return home of those people whom he had removed from Dehlí to Deogír. Two or three caravans were formed which returned to Dehlí, but those with whom the Mahratta country agreed remained at Deogír with their wives and children.

The Sultán proceeded to Dhár, and being still indisposed, he rested a few days, and then pursued his journey through Málwa. Famine prevailed there, the posts were all gone off the road, and distress and anarchy reigned in all the country and towns along the route. When the Sultán reached Dehlí, not a thousandth part of the population remained. He found the country desolate, a deadly famine raging, and all cultivation abandoned. He employed himself some time in restoring cultivation and agriculture, but the rains fell short that year, and no success followed. At length no horses or cattle were left; grain rose to 16 or 17 *jitals a sir*, and the people starved. The Sultán advanced loans from the treasury to promote cultivation, but men had been brought to a state of helplessness and weakness. Want of rain prevented cultivation, and the people perished. The Sultán soon recovered his health at Dehlí.

Whilst the Sultán was thus engaged in endeavouring to restore cultivation, the news was brought that Sháhú Afghán had rebelled in Multán, and had killed Bihzád, the *náib*. Malik Nawá fled from Multán to Dehli. Sháhú had collected a party of Afgháns, and had taken possession of the city. The Sultán prepared his forces and marched towards Multán, but he had made only a few marches when Makhdúma-i Jahán, his mother, died in Dehlí. \* \* The Sultán was much grieved. \* \* He pursued his march, and when he was only a few marches from Multán, Sháhú





submitted, and sent to say that he repented of what he had done. He fled with his Afgháns to Afghánistán, and the Sultán proceeded to Sannám. From thence he went to Agroha, where he rested awhile, and afterwards to Dehlí, where the famine was very severe, and man was devouring man. The Sultán strove to restore cultivation, and had wells dug, but the people could do nothing. No word issued from their mouths, and they continued inactive and negligent. This brought many of them to punishment.

The Sultán again marched to Sannám and Sámána, to put down the rebels, who had formed *mandals* (strongholds?), withheld the tribute, created disturbances, and plundered on the roads. The Sultán destroyed their *mandals*, dispersed their followers, and carried their chiefs prisoners to Dehlí. Many of them became Musulmánas, and some of them were placed in the service of noblemen, and, with their wives and children, became residents of the city.<sup>1</sup> They were torn from their old lands, the troubles they had caused were stopped, and travellers could proceed without fear of robbery.

While this was going on a revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal. Kanyá Náik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makbúl, the *naib-wazir*, fled to Dehlí, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kanyá Náik, whom the Sultán had sent to Kambala,<sup>2</sup> apostatized from Islám and stirred

<sup>1</sup> The work is not divided into chapters, or other divisions, systematically, in a way useful for reference, so the occasional headings have not been given in the translation. But the heading of the section in which this passage occurs is more explicit than the narrative; it says—"Campaign of Sultán Muhammad in Sannám, Sámána, Kaithal and Kuhram, and devastation of those countries which had all become rebellious. Departure of the Sultán to the hills; subjugation of the *ránas* of the hills; the carrying away of the village chiefs and head men, Bírāhas, Mandāhars, Jats, Bhats, and Menhís to Dehlí. Their conversion to Islám, and their being placed in the charge of the nobles in the capital."

<sup>2</sup> Kampala is the name given in the print, but both MSS. read "Kambala," making it identical with the place mentioned directly afterwards. I have not been able to discover the place. The author probably took the name to be identical with that of Kampila in the Doáb.



up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus. Deogír and Gujarát alone remained secure. Disaffection and disturbances arose on every side, and as they gathered strength the Sultán became more exasperated and more severe with his subjects. But his severities only increased the disgust and distress of the people. He stayed for some time in Dehlí, making loans and encouraging cultivation; but the rain did not fall, and the *raiya*ts did not apply themselves to work, so prices rose yet higher, and men and beasts died of starvation. \* \* \* Through the famine no business of the State could go on to the Sultán's satisfaction.

The Sultán perceived that there was no means of providing against the scarcity of grain and fodder in the capital, and no possibility of restoring cultivation without the fall of rain. He saw also that the inhabitants were daily becoming more wretched; so he allowed the people to pass the gates of the city and to remove with their families towards Hindustán, \* \* \* so many proceeded thither. The Sultán also left the city, and, passing by Pattiálí and Kampila,<sup>1</sup> he halted a little beyond the town of Khor, on the banks of the Ganges, where he remained for a while with his army. The men built thatched huts, and took up their abode near the cultivated land. The place was called Sargdwári (Heaven's gate). Grain was brought thither from Karra and Oudh, and, compared with the price at Dehlí, it was cheap. While the Sultán was staying at this place 'Ainu-l Mulk held the territory of Oudh and Zafarábád. His brothers had fought against and put down the rebels, thus securing these territories, \* \* and the Malik and his brothers sent to Sargdwári and to Dehlí money, grain and goods, to the value of from seventy to eighty *lacs* of *tankas*. This greatly increased the Sultán's confidence in 'Ainu-l Mulk, and confirmed his opinion of his ability. The Sultán had just before been apprized that the officials of Katlagh Khán at Deogír had, by their rapacity, reduced the revenues; he therefore proposed to make 'Ainu-l Mulk

<sup>1</sup> Towns in Farrukhábád.





governor of Deogír, and to send him there with his brothers and all their wives and families, and to recall Katlagh Khán with his adherents. When 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers heard of this design, they were filled with apprehension, and attributed it to the treachery of the Sultán. They had held their present territories for many years, and many nobles and officials of Dehlí, through fear of the Sultán's severity, had left the city, alleging the dearness of grain as the reason, and had come to Qudh and Zafarábád, with their wives and families. Some of them became connected with the Malik and his brothers, and some of them received villages. \* \* The Sultán was repeatedly informed of this, and it made him very angry, but he kept this feeling to himself, until one day, while at Sarg-dwáí, he sent a message to 'Ainu-l Mulk, ordering that all the people of note and ability, and all those who had fled from Dehlí to escape punishment, should be arrested and sent bound to Dehlí. \* \* \* This message, so characteristic of the Sultán's cruelty, enhanced the fears of the Malik and his brothers, and they felt assured that the Sultán's intention was to send them to Deogír and there perfidiously destroy them. They were filled with abhorrence, and began to organize a revolt.

About this time, during the Sultán's stay at Dehlí and his temporary residence at Sarg-dwáí, four revolts were quickly repressed. *First.* That of Nizám Má'in at Karra. \* \* \* 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers marched against this rebel, and having put down the revolt and made him prisoner, they flayed him and sent his skin to Dehlí. *Second.* That of Shaháb Sultání, or Nusrat Khán, at Bidar. \* \* \* In the course of three years he had misappropriated about a *kror* of *tankás* from the revenue. \* \* The news of the Sultán's vengeance reached him and he rebelled, but he was besieged in the fort of Bidar, \* \* \* which was captured, and he was sent prisoner to Dehlí. *Third.* That of 'Alísha, nephew of Zafar Khán, which broke out a few months afterwards in the same district. \* \* \* He had been sent from Deogír to Kulbarga to collect the revenues, but finding the country without soldiers and without any great men, he and his



brothers rebelled, treacherously killed Bhairan, chief of Kulbarga, and plundered his treasures. He then proceeded to Bidar and killed the *náib*, after which he held both Bidar and Kulbarga, and pushed his revolt. The Sultán sent Katlagh Khán against him \* \* \* from Deogír, and the rebel met him and was defeated. \* \* \* He then fled to Bidar, where he was besieged and captured. He and his brothers were sent to the Sultán, \* \* \* who ordered them to Ghazní. They returned from thence, and the two brothers received punishment. *Fourth.* The revolt of 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers at Sarg-dwári. The Malik was an old courtier and associate of the Sultán, so he feared the weakness of his character and the ferocity of his temper. Considering himself on the verge of destruction, he, by permission of the Sultán, brought his brothers and the armies of Oudh and Zafarábád with him when he went to Sarg-dwári, and they remained a few *kos* distant. One night he suddenly left Sarg-dwári and joined them. His brothers then passed over the river with three or four hundred horse, and, proceeding towards Sarg-dwári, they seized the elephants and horses which were grazing there, and carried them off. A serious revolt thus arose at Sarg-dwári. The Sultán summoned forces from Sámána, Amroha, Baran, and Kol, and a force came in from Ahmadábád. He remained a while at Sarg-dwári to arrange his forces, and then marched to Kanauj and encamped in its suburbs. 'Ainu-l Mulk and his brothers knew nothing of war and fighting, and had no courage and experience. They were opposed by Sultán Muhammad, \* \* \* who had been victorious in twenty battles with the Mughals. In their extreme ignorance and folly they crossed the Ganges below Bangarmú, \* \* \* and thinking that the Sultán's severity would cause many to desert him, they drew near to offer battle. \* \* \* In the morning one division of the Sultán's forces charged and defeated them at the first attack. 'Ainu-l Mulk was taken prisoner, and the routed forces were pursued for twelve or thirteen *kos* with great loss. The Malik's two brothers, who were the commanders, were killed in the fight.



Many of the fugitives, in their panic, cast themselves into the river and were drowned. The pursuers obtained great booty. Those who escaped from the river fell into the hands of the Hindus in the *Marwās* and lost their horses and arms. The Sultán did not punish 'Ainu-l Mulk, for he thought that he was not wilfully rebellious, but had acted through mistake. \* \* \* After a while he sent for him, treated him kindly, gave him a robe, promoted him to high employment, and showed him great indulgence. His children and all his family were restored to him.

After the suppression of this revolt, the Sultán resolved on going to Hindustán, and proceeded to Bahráich, where he paid a visit, and devoutly made offerings to the shrine of the martyr Sipáh-sálár Mas'úd,<sup>1</sup> one of the heroes of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigin. \* \* \*

When the Sultán returned to Dehlí, it occurred to his mind that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the *Khalifa* of the race of 'Abbás, and that every king who had, or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation, had been or would be overpowered. The Sultán made diligent inquiries from many travellers about the *Khalifas* of the line of 'Abbás, and he learned that the representatives of the line of 'Abbás were the *Khalifas* of Egypt. So he and his ministers and advisers came to an understanding with the *Khalifa* that was in Egypt, and while the Sultán was at Sarg-dwárá he sent despatches to Egypt about many things. When he returned to the city he stopped<sup>2</sup> the prayers of the Sabbath and the 'I'ds. He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the *Khalifa* substituted; and his flatteries of the *Khalifa* were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing. In the year 744 H. (1343 A.D.) Hájí Sa'id Sarsari came to Dehlí, from Egypt, bringing to the Sultán honours and a robe from the *Khalifa*.

<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Mas'úd had thus become a place of sanctity at this time. See Vol. II. App., pp. 513, 549.

<sup>2</sup> *Der tawakkuf dísht*, probably meaning that he substituted the name of the *Khalifa* of Egypt for that of the *Khalifa* of Baghdad.



The Sultán, with all his nobles and *saiyids* and \* \* \*, went forth to meet the Háji with great ceremony, \* \* \* and he walked before him barefoot for the distance of some long bow-shots. \* \* \* From that date permission was given, that out of respect the *Khalífa's* name should be repeated in the prayers for Sabbaths and holydays, \* \* \* and it was also ordered that in mentioning the names of the kings in the *khutba*, they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the 'Abbási *Khalífas*. The names of those kings who had not received such confirmation were to be removed from the *khutba*, and the kings were to be declared to be superseded (*mutaghallab*). \* \* \* The name of the *Khalífa* was ordered to be inscribed on lofty buildings, and no other name besides. \* \* \* The Sultán directed that a letter acknowledging his subordination to the *Khalífa* should be sent by the hands of Háji Rajab Barka'i, \* \* \* and after two years of correspondence the Háji returned from Egypt, bringing a diploma in the name of the Sultán, as deputy of the *Khalífa*.<sup>1</sup> \* \*

After the Sultán returned from Sarg-dwári, he remained for three or four years at Dehlí, where he devoted himself to sundry matters which he considered to be for the good of the State. *Firstly*. He did his best for the promotion of agriculture, and for the encouragement of building. \* \* \* The officers entrusted with the distribution of the loans from the public treasury took care of themselves, and appropriated the money to their own wants and necessities. Much of the pasture land being unfit for cultivation remained uncultivated, and the superintendents were in dread of punishment. In the course of two years about seventy *lacs* of *tankas* had been issued from the treasury to the superintendents of the cultivation of waste lands, and not one hundredth or a thousandth part of what was disbursed was reproduced in agriculture. If the Sultán had returned from his campaign against Thatta, not one of these superintendents and managers

<sup>1</sup> In the translation of Firishta it is made to appear that it was the *Khalífa* of Arabia who was thus recognized: the text, however, says correctly that it was he of Egypt.





would have remained alive. *Secondly.* The Sultán supported and patronized the Mughals. Every year at the approach of winter, the *amirs* of *tumans* (of men) and of thousands etc., etc., received *krors* and *lacs*, and robes, and horses, and pearls. During the whole period of two or three years, the Sultán was intent upon patronizing and favouring the Mughals. *Thirdly.* \* \* \* He was diligently engaged in drawing out plans and schemes for increasing his revenue and army, and for promoting agriculture. *Fourthly.* He applied himself excessively to the business of punishment, and this was the cause of many of the acquired territories slipping from his grasp, and of troubles and disturbances in those which remained in his power. \* \* \* The more severe the punishments that were inflicted in the city, the more disgusted were the people in the neighbourhood, insurrections spread, and the loss and injury to the State increased. Every one that was punished spoke evil of him. \* \* \* *Fifthly.* The exertions which he made in the latter part of these years to promote the settlement and prosperity of Deogír and the country of the Mahrattas. The Sultán and the evil counsellors who found favour in his sight came to the conclusion that vast sums of the revenues of Deogír were lost through the peculations of Katlagh Khán's officials. \* \* \* He divided the Mahratta country into four provinces (*shikk*). \* \* \* The officers who were sent thither received orders to exterminate all those who had revolted or were inimical to the Sultán's rule. \* \* \* Towards the end of the year Katlagh Khán, with his family and suite, were recalled to Dehlí, and 'Azíz Himár, a low fellow, depraved and foolish, was sent to Dhár, and made governor of all Málwa. The recall of Katlagh Khán quite disheartened the people of Deogír, and they saw themselves upon the very brink of ruin. They had enjoyed tranquility under the just and benevolent rule of that nobleman, and they had looked to him as their defence against the cruel punishments of the Sultán. The accounts which they heard of his severity had disgusted all the people of Deogír, both Hindus and Musulmán, and many of them broke out into rebellion. \* \* \* Mauláná



Nizámu-d dín, a simple inexperienced man, and brother of Katlagh Khán, was sent from Bahrúj (Broach) to succeed him. \* \* \* The cash raised from the revenues under Katlagh Khán had been accumulated at Deogír, for it was not possible to convey it to Dehli in consequence of the badness of the roads, the distress in Málwa, and the disaffection of the village chiefs. Orders were therefore given to secure it in Dháragír, a strong fort. \* \* \*

The Sultán having thus appointed the base-born 'Azíz Himár to Dhár and Málwa, gave him several *lacs* of *tankas* on his departure, in order that he might proceed thither with befitting state and dignity. \* \* \* He said to him, "Thou seest how that revolts and disturbances are breaking out on every side, and I am told that whoever creates a disturbance does so with the aid of the foreign *amirs*.<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* Revolts are possible, because these *amirs* are ready to join any one for the sake of disturbance and plunder. If you find at Dhár any of these *amirs*, who are disaffected and ready to rebel, you must get rid of them in the best way you can." 'Azíz arrived at Dhár, and in all his native ignorance applied himself to business. The vile whoreson one day got together about eighty of the foreign *amirs* and chiefs of the soldiery, and, upbraiding them with having been the cause of every misfortune and disturbance, he had them all beheaded in front of the palace. \* \* \* This slaughter of the foreign *amirs* of Dhár, on the mere ground of their being foreigners, caused those of Deogír, and Gujarát, and every other place to unite and to break out into insurrection. \* \* \* When the Sultán was informed of this punishment, he sent 'Azíz a robe of honour and a complimentary letter. \* \* \*

I, the author of this work, have been for seventeen years and three months at the court of Sultán Muhammad, and have re-

<sup>1</sup> The printed text, the MSS., and the text of Firishta all agree in this word *امیر صدگان*, in the plural *امیر صدگان*. It is the Mughal title for a centurion or commander of a hundred. Briggs converts it into "*Amir Judeeda*," and translates it "foreign chiefs." He is probably not far wrong in the popular meaning he has assigned to it, but he is not justified in his alteration of the original word.





ceived many favours and gifts from him, \* \* \* and I have often heard him speak with contempt of low-born, mean men. \* \* \* Now when I see him promoting and honouring low and unworthy persons, I am lost in amazement. \* \* \*

About the time when this horrid tragedy was perpetrated by 'Azíz Himár, the *náib-wazir* of Gujarát, Mukbil by name, having with him the treasure and horses which had been procured in Gujarát for the royal stables, was proceeding by way of Díhúí and Baroda to the presence of the Sultán. When he came near Díhúí and Baroda, the foreign *amirs* of those places, who, alarmed by the act of 'Azíz, had been impelled into rebellion, attacked Mukbil, and carried off all the horses and treasure. They also destroyed all the goods and stuffs which the merchants of Gujarát were carrying under his convoy. Mukbil returned to Nahrwála, and his party was dispersed. The *amirs* having acquired so many horses and so much property grew in power and importance. Stirring up the flames of insurrection, they gathered together a force and proceeded to Kanháyat (Cambay). The news of their revolt spread throughout Gujarát, and the whole country was falling into utter confusion. At the end of the month of Ramazán, 745 H. (Feb. 1345), the intelligence of this revolt and of the defeat and plunder of Mukbil was brought to the Sultán. It caused him much anxiety, and he determined to proceed to Gujarát in person to repress the revolt.

Katlagh Khán, who had been his preceptor, sent a communication to the Sultán by Zíá Barní, the author of this history, saying, "What are these *amirs* of Díhúí and Baroda, and in what position are they that the Sultán should proceed in person against them?" \* \* "If permission is granted I am willing to raise an army from the resources which I have received through the Sultán's bounty, and to march to Gujarát, to repress this revolt." \* \* \* The author of this work delivered the letter, \* \* \* but it did not meet with the Sultán's approval, and he vouchsafed no answer. He gave orders, however, for pressing on the preparations for his campaign. Before the news of the revolt arrived,



he had appointed Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dīn, son of Shaikh 'Alāu-d dīn Ajodhanī, to be *adīb* of Gujarāt. He now ordered three *lacs* of *tankas* to be given to the Shaikh for enabling him to raise in two or three days a thousand horse to accompany the royal army. He appointed Fīroz, afterwards Sultān, Malik Kabīr, and Ahmad Ayyāz to be vicegerents in the capital during his absence. He commenced his march and proceeded to Sultānpūr, about fifteen *kos* from Dehlī, where he remained a short time. This was just at the end of Ramazān. Here a letter reached him from Dhār from 'Azīz Himār, stating that \* \* \* as he was nearer to the rebels, and was ready with the forces of Dhār, he had marched against them. The Sultān was not very pleased with this movement, and became very anxious, for 'Azīz knew nothing of warfare, and the Sultān feared that he might be cut up by the rebels. This letter was followed immediately by the news that 'Azīz had engaged the enemy, and, having lost his head during the battle, he had fallen from his horse, and being senseless and helpless he had been taken by the rebels and put to an ignominious death.

Insurrection followed upon insurrection. During the four or five days of Ramazān that the Sultān halted at Sultānpūr, late one evening he sent for the author of this work, <sup>to</sup> Zīā Barnī. When he arrived the Sultān said, "Thou seest how many revolts spring up. I have no pleasure in them, although men will say that they have all been caused by my excessive severity. But I am not to be turned aside from punishment by observations and by revolts. You have read many histories; hast thou found that kings inflict punishments under certain circumstances?" I replied, "I have read in royal histories that a king cannot carry on his government without punishments, for if he were not an avenger God knows what evils would arise from the insurrections of the disaffected, and how many thousand crimes would be committed by his subjects. Jamshīd was asked under what circumstances punishment<sup>1</sup> is ap-

<sup>1</sup> "Siyadat." Capital punishment is evidently meant, in a limited sense of the word.





proved. He replied, 'under seven circumstances, and whatever goes beyond or in excess of these causes, produces disturbances, trouble, and insurrection, and inflicts injury on the country: 1. Apostasy from the true religion, and persistence therein; 2. Wilful murder; 3. Adultery of a married man with another's wife; 4. Conspiracy against the king; 5. Heading a revolt, or assisting rebels; 6. Joining the enemies or rivals of the king, conveying news to them, or aiding and abetting them in any way; 7. Disobedience, productive of injury to the State. But for no other disobedience, as detriment to the realm is an essential. The servants of God are disobedient to him when they are disobedient to the king, who is his vicegerent; and the State would go to ruin, if the king were to refrain from inflicting punishment in such cases of disobedience as are injurious to the realm.'" The Sultán then asked me if the Prophet had said anything about these seven offences in respect of their punishment by kings. I replied "that the Prophet had declared his opinion upon three offences out of these seven—viz., apostasy, murder of a Musulmán, and adultery with a married woman. The punishment of the other four offences is a matter rather of policy and good government. Referring to the benefits derivable from the punishments prescribed by Jamshíd, it has been remarked that kings appoint *wazirs*, advance them to high dignity, and place the management of their kingdoms in their hands in order that these *wazirs* may frame regulations and keep the country in such good order that the king may be saved from having to stain himself with the blood of any mortal." The Sultán replied, "Those punishments which Jamshíd prescribed were suited to the early ages of the world, but in these days many wicked and turbulent men are to be found. I visit them with chastisement upon the suspicion or presumption of their rebellious and treacherous designs, and I punish the most trifling act of contumacy with death. This I will do until I die, or until the people act honestly, and give up rebellion and contumacy. I have no such *wazir* as will make rules to obviate my shedding



blood. I punish the people because they have all at once become my enemies and opponents. I have dispensed great wealth among them, but they have not become friendly and loyal. Their temper is well known to me, and I see that they are disaffected and inimical to me."

The Sultán marched from Sultánpúr towards Gujarát, and when he arrived at Nahrwála he sent Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dín, with some officials, into the city, whilst he, leaving it on the left, proceeded into the mountains of Abhú,<sup>1</sup> to which Dihúi and Baroda were near. The Sultán then sent an officer with a force against the rebels, and these being unable to cope with the royal army, were defeated. Many of their horsemen were killed, the rest were dispersed, and with their wives and children fled to Deogír. The Sultán then proceeded from the mountains of Abhú to Broach, from whence he sent Malik Makbúl,<sup>2</sup> *ndíb-wazír-i mamálik*, with some of the soldiers from Dehlí, some of the foreign *amírs* of Broach, and the soldiers of Broach, in pursuit of the fugitives. Malik Makbúl accordingly followed the fugitives as far as the Nerbudda, where he attacked and utterly routed them. Most of them were killed, and their wives, children, and goods fell into the hands of the victors. Some of the most noted of the rebels fled upon bare-backed horses to Mán Deo, chief of the mountains of Sálír and Málír. Mán Deo made them prisoners, and plundered them of all the valuables they possessed. Their evil influence in Gujarát was thus put an end to. Malik Makbúl remained for some days on the banks of the Nerbudda, and under royal commands he seized most of the foreign *amírs* of Broach who had been sent to him, and put them to death. Of those who escaped the sword, some fled to Deogír, others to the chiefs (*mukaddims*) of Gujarát.

The Sultán remained for some time at Broach, busily engaged in collecting the dues of Broach, Kanháyat (Cambay), and

<sup>1</sup> Mount Abú. Print *أبو بر*. MS. 1. caret; 2. *أبو بكر*. Firishhta, Aboogur.

<sup>2</sup> He is called Kabúl in page 243 and Mukbíl in page 253.





Gujarát, which were several years in arrear. He appointed sharp collectors, and rigorously exacted large sums. At this period his anger was still more inflamed against the people, and revenge filled his bosom. Those persons at Broach and Cambay, who had disputed with Malik Makbúl, or had in any way encouraged insurrection, were seized and consigned to punishment. Many persons of all descriptions thus met their ends.

While the Sultán was at Broach he appointed Zín-banda and the middle son of Rukn Thánesarí, two men who were leaders in iniquity and the most depraved men in the world, to inquire into the matters of the disaffected at Deogír. Pisar Thánesarí, the vilest of men, went to Deogír; and Zín-banda, a wicked iniquitous character, who was called Majdu-l Mulk, was on the road thither. A murmuring arose among the Musulmáns at Deogír that two vile odious men had been deputed to investigate the disaffection, and to bring its movers to destruction. One of them was before their eyes, and they heard that the other had arrived at Dhár. It so happened that just about the same time the Sultán sent two well-known noblemen to Deogír with an order to the brother of Katlagh Khán, directing him to send to Broach fifteen hundred horsemen from Deogír with the most noted of the "foreign *amírs*." They accordingly proceeded to Deogír, and presented the order to Nizámu-d dín, brother of Katlagh Khán. In accordance therewith, he commissioned fifteen hundred horse, and despatched with them the chief foreign *amírs* under the conduct of the two nobles who had been sent for them. They marched toward Broach, but at the end of the first stage the foreign *amírs*, who were attended by their own horsemen, considered that they had been summoned to Broach in order to be executed, and if they proceeded thither not one would return. So they consulted together and broke out into open resistance, and the two nobles who had been sent for them were killed in that first march. They then turned back with loud clamour and entered the royal palace, where they seized Mauláná Nizámu-d dín, the governor, and put him in confinement. The officials, who had



been sent by the Sultán to Deogír, were taken and beheaded. They cut Pisar Thánesarí to pieces, and brought down the treasure from (the fort of) Dhárágír. Then they made Makh Afghán, brother of Malik Yak Afghán, one of the foreign *amirs*, their leader, and placed him on the throne. The money and treasure were distributed among the soldiers. The Mahratta country was apportioned among these foreign *amirs*, and several disaffected persons joined the Afgháns. The foreign *amirs* of Díhúí and Baroda left Mán Deo and proceeded to Deogír, where the revolt had increased and had become established. The people of the country joined them.

The Sultán, on hearing of this revolt, made ready a large force and arrived at Deogír, where the rebels and traitors confronted him. He attacked them and defeated them. Most of the horsemen were slain in the action. Makh Afghán, their commander, who had received a royal canopy, and had called himself Sultán, escaped, with his confederates and his wives and children, to the fort of Dhárágír, and there took refuge. Hasan Kángú, and the rebels of Bidar, and the brethren of Makh Afghán, fled before the royal forces to their own countries. The inhabitants of Deogír, Hindus and Musulmáns, traders and soldiers, were plundered. 'Imádu-l Mulk, *Sar-tez i Sultání*, with several other *amirs*, was sent by the Sultán to Kulbarga, with instructions to occupy that place and to secure the neighbouring country. He was also directed to hunt up the fugitives who had fled before the royal forces, and to put a stop to their machinations. The Sultán stayed for a while at Deogír, in the royal palace, and on New Year's Day all the Musulmáns in the place went to wait upon him. \* \* \*

While the Sultán was engaged at Deogír in settling the affairs of that place and in providing for the settlement of the Mahratta country, and before he had finished the business of the *amirs* and the army, news arrived of the revolt, excited by the traitor Taghí, in Gujarát. This man was a cobbler, and had been a slave of the general, Malik Sultání. He had





won over the foreign *amirs* of Gujarát, and had broken out into rebellion. Many of the *mukaddims* of Gujarát joined him. He marched to Nahrwála, killed Malik Muzaffar, the assistant of Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dín (the governor), and made the latter and his officers prisoners. Taghí then proceeded, at the head of his rebels, to Cambay, and, after plundering that place, he proceeded with a body of Hindus and Musulmáns to the fort of Broach. They attacked the fort, and every day had conflicts with the defenders. The Sultán, upon receiving intelligence of this rising, left the affairs of Deogír half settled, and placing certain officers in charge, departed with all speed towards Broach to meet the rebels. All the Musulmáns of that place who had remained in Deogír, high and low, marched with the royal army to Broach. Grain was very dear, and the army suffered great privations. I, Zlá Barní, the author of this history, just at this time joined the Sultán, after he had made one or two marches from Ghatí-sákún towards Broach. I had been sent from the capital by the present Sultán (Fíroz), Malik Kabír, and Ahmad Ayyáz, with letters of congratulation on the conquest of Deogír. The Sultán received me with great favour. One day, as I was riding in his suite, the Sultán conversed with me, and the conversation turned upon rebellion. He then said, "Thou seest what troubles these traitorous foreign *amirs* have excited on every side. When I collect my forces and put them down in one direction, they excite disturbances in some other quarter. If I had at the first given orders for the destruction of all the foreign *amirs* of Deogír, Gujarát, and Broach, I should not have been so troubled by them. This rebel, Taghí, is my slave; if I had executed him or had sent him as a memorial to the King of Eden, this revolt would never have broken out." I could not help feeling a desire to tell the Sultán that the troubles and revolts which were breaking out on every side, and this general disaffection, all arose from the excessive severity of his Majesty, and that if punishments were suspended for a while, a better feeling might spring up, and mistrust be removed from



the hearts of the people. But I dreaded the temper of the king, and could not say what I desired, so I said to myself, What is the good of pointing out to the Sultán the causes of the troubles and disturbances in his country, for it will have no effect upon him?

The Sultán arrived at Broach, and encamped on the banks of the Nerbadda, which flows by the town. When the rebel Taghí was apprized of the approach of the Sultán, he abandoned the town, with a party of his adherents not numbering more than three hundred horse. The Sultán then placed Malik Yúsuf Baghrá in command of two thousand horse, and sent him with some other *amirs* to Cambay. In four or five days he drew near to that place and encountered Taghí, when he and several other *amirs* were slain, and the army being routed, fled to Broach. Instantly upon hearing this, the Sultán crossed the river, and remained two or three days in Broach. Although he made every exertion to get to Cambay, Taghí heard of his advance and fled from that place to Asáwal.<sup>1</sup> Thither the Sultán pursued him, but the rebel again fled and went to Nahrwála. Before the Sultán left Broach, Taghí had executed Shaikh Mu'izzu-d dín and several other officials whom he had made prisoners. \* \* \*

The Sultán arrived at Asáwal and had to stay there about a month, on account of the ill-condition of his horses and the fall of rain. While the rains were still prevailing, news came from Nahrwála that Taghí had marched from thence with a party of horse towards Asáwal and had arrived at the town of Karra. The Sultán marched from Asáwal in the very height of the rains, and on the third or fourth day reached Karra. Next day he drew out his forces and attacked the rebel. Taghí, on seeing the approach of the royal force, plied his men with wine and made them drunk. The foreign horsemen (*savári sadi*) then made an impetuous and reckless charge with their drawn swords on the royal forces, but they were encountered by the elephants and overthrown. They then ran among the trees, dispersed and fled towards Nahrwála. Several were made prisoners, and all the

<sup>1</sup> Ahmadábád.





baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Four or five hundred men, combatants and non-combatants,<sup>1</sup> were taken with the baggage, and were all put to the sword. The Sultán then placed the son of Malik Yúsuf Baghrá at the head of a force, and sent him in pursuit of the fugitives, but night came on, so he and his troops halted to rest. Taghí, with his remaining horsemen, reached Nahrwála; there he collected all his family and dependents, and proceeded to Kant-baráhi,<sup>2</sup> where he stayed some days. From thence he wrote to the Rái of Karnál, imploring assistance in his flight, and proceeded to Karnál. Then he went to Thatta and Damrila, where he found refuge.

Two or three days after, the Sultán arrived at Nahrwála, and alighted at the garden of the reservoir of Sahsíláng. There he applied himself to settling the affairs of Gujarát. The *mukaddims*, the *ránas*, and the *mahants* of Gujarát, came in and paid their homage, and received robes and rewards. In a short time the inhabitants who had been scattered abroad returned to their homes and were delivered from the ravages of the rebels. Several of Taghí's chief supporters left him and went to the Rána of Mandal and Tári,<sup>3</sup> but that chief slew them and sent their heads to the Sultán. He also seized upon all their wives and children. For this service he received robes and rewards, and being so favoured he came to the Court.

While the Sultan was engaged in settling the affairs of the country, and was about to enter Nahrwála, news came from Deogír that Hasan Kángú and other rebels, who had fled before the royal army in the day of battle, had since attacked 'Imádu-l Mulk, and had slain him and scattered his army. Kiwámu-d dín and other nobles left Deogír and went towards Dhár. Hasan Kángú then proceeded to Deogír and assumed royal dignity. Those rebels who had fled before the Sultán's army to the summit of Dhárágír, now came down, and a revolution was

<sup>1</sup> *As tar o khush.*

<sup>2</sup> So the print. One MS. has "Katab and Baráí," the other "Kanhán and Baráhi."

<sup>3</sup> So the print. One MS. says "Mandal Tabrí," the other "Mandal Parí."



effected in Deogír. When intelligence of this reached the Sultán's ears, he was very disheartened, for he saw very well that the people were alienated. No place remained secure, all order and regularity were lost, and the throne was tottering to its fall.

During the months of the Sultán's stay at Nahrwála no one was sent to execution (*siyásat*). He summoned Ahmad Ayyáz and other nobles, with an army, from the capital, with the intention of sending them to Deogír, and they, having made every preparation, came to the Sultán. But news now arrived that Hasan Kángú had drawn together a large force at Deogír. The Sultán therefore did not deem it advisable to send them there, and gave up the idea of attacking it. He determined that he would free Gujarát, take Karnál, and put down the traitor Taghí; after which he would march to Deogír, overthrow the rebels, and remove every cause of trouble and anxiety. In pursuance of this plan he first directed his attention to the taking of Karnál and the fort of Khankár.<sup>1</sup> The *mukaddims* of Deogír, who had come from that place to wait upon the Sultán, now saw that the business of their country was postponed; so they went off by ones and twos, and, meeting at a rendezvous, they returned to Deogír.

The success of the rebels, and the loss of Deogír, greatly troubled the king. One day, while he was thus distressed, he sent for me, the author of this work, and, addressing me, said: "My kingdom is diseased, and no treatment cures it. The physician cures the headache, and fever follows; he strives to allay the fever, and something else<sup>2</sup> supervenes. So in my kingdom disorders have broken out; if I suppress them in one place they appear in another; if I allay them in one district another becomes disturbed. What have former kings said about these disorders?" I replied, "Histories record many remedies which kings have employed in these disorders. Some kings, when they have perceived that they do not retain the confidence of

<sup>1</sup> This is a personal name, see *infra*. The spelling is that of one of the MSS. The print has "Kanhgár" and "Khankár."

<sup>2</sup> "*Sadah*" in the print and in one MS., "*chize digar*" in the other."





their people, and have become the objects of general dislike, have abdicated their thrones and have given over the government to the most worthy of their sons. Retiring into privacy, and occupying themselves in innocent pursuits, they have passed their time in the society of sympathizing friends, without troubling themselves about matters of government. Other kings, when they have found themselves the objects of general aversion, have taken to hunting, pleasure, and wine, leaving all the business of the State to their *wazirs* and officers, and throwing off all concern in them. If this course seems good<sup>1</sup> to the people, and the king is not given to revenge, the disorders of the State may be cured. Of all political ills, the greatest and most dire is a general feeling of aversion and a want of confidence among all ranks of the people." The Sultán replied, "If I can settle the affairs of my kingdom according to my wish, I will consign my realm of Dehlí to three persons, Fíroz Sháh, Malik Kabír, and Ahmad Ayyáz, and I will then proceed on the pilgrimage to the holy temple. At present I am angry with my subjects, and they are aggrieved with me. The people are acquainted with my feelings, and I am aware of their misery and wretchedness. No treatment that I employ is of any benefit. My remedy for rebels, insurgents, opponents, and disaffected people is the sword. I employ punishment and use the sword, so that a cure may be effected by suffering. The more the people resist, the more I inflict chastisement."

When the Sultán gave up Deogír and applied himself to the settlement of Gujarát, he passed three rainy seasons in that country. The first he passed at Mandal and Terí,<sup>2</sup> devoting his time to the affairs of the country and the equipment of his army. The second he passed near the fort of Karnál. When the *mukad-dim* of that place saw the numbers and strength of the royal army, he resolved to make Taghí prisoner and deliver him up; but the rebel got notice of his intention, and fled to Thatta, where he found refuge with the Jám. After the rains were over, the

<sup>1</sup> The text has a negative here, which seems to mar the sense.

<sup>2</sup> "*Mandal bd Terí.*" "*Mandal parí*" in one MS.



Sultán took Karnál, and brought all the coast into subjection. The *ránas* and *mukaddims* came in and made submission, whereupon they received robes and rewards. A commissioner was sent to take charge of Karnál. Khankhár and the Rána of Karnál, being taken prisoners, were brought to the court, and all that country was completely subdued. The third rainy season the Sultán passed at Kondal. This is a place in the direction of Thatta, Súmargán,<sup>1</sup> and Damrila. At Kondal the Sultán fell sick with fever, which obliged him to remain there for some time. Before the Sultán went to Kondal he received from Dehlí the intelligence of the death of Malik Kabír, which deeply grieved him. Thereupon he sent Ahmad Ayyáz and Malik Makbúl from the army to take charge of the affairs of the capital. He summoned Khudáwand-záda,<sup>2</sup> Makhdúm-záda, and many elders, learned men and others, with their wives and families, to Kondal. Every one that was summoned hastened with horse and foot to join the Sultán at Kondal, so that a large force was gathered there and was formed into an army. Boats were brought from Deobálpur, Multán, Uch, and Siwistán to the river. The Sultán recovered from his disorder, and marched with his army to the Indus. He crossed that river in ease and safety with his army and elephants. He was there joined by Altún Bahádur, with four or five thousand Mughal horse, sent by the Amir of Farghan. The Sultán showed great attention to this leader and his followers, and bestowed many gifts upon them. He then advanced along the banks of the Indus towards Thatta, with an army as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts, with the intention of humbling the Súmras and the rebel Taghí, whom they had sheltered.

As he was thus marching with his countless army, and was thirty *kos* from Thatta, the *'áshúra* or fast of the 10th of Muharram happened. He kept the fast, and when it was over he ate some fish. The fish did not agree with him, his illness returned and fever increased. He was placed in a boat and con-

<sup>1</sup> Var: "Siyungán" and "Siyumragan."

<sup>2</sup> See page 276 *infra*.





tinued his journey on the second and third days, until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thatta. He then rested, and his army was fully prepared, only awaiting the royal command to take Thatta, and to crush the *Súmrās* of Thatta and the rebel *Taghí* in a single day, and to utterly annihilate them. But fate ruled it otherwise. During the last two or three days that he was encamped near Thatta, the Sultán's malady had grown worse, and his army was in great trouble, for they were a thousand *kos* distant from Dehlí and their wives and children, they were near the enemy and in a wilderness and desert, so they were sorely distressed, and looking upon the Sultán's expected death as preliminary to their own, they quite despaired of returning home. On the 21st Muharram, 752 H. (1350 A.D.), Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlik departed this life on the banks of the Indus, at fourteen *kos* from Thatta. \* \* \*

Sultán Firoz Sháh.

I, the author of this *Tárikh-i Firoz Sháhí*, have written all that I have witnessed during six years of the personal character of the reigning sovereign, and of the events which have occurred during that time. I have included these in eleven chapters, and if I live some years longer I intend to write ninety more chapters, so that the complete history of the reign may consist of one hundred and one chapters (*mukaddamas*). \* \* \*

*Chapter 1. Account of the Accession of Firoz Sháh.*

2. *March of the Sultán from Sivistán to Dehlí.*
3. *Eulogy of the personal character of the Sultán.*
4. *His bounty in the grant of pensions and in'áms.*
5. *His buildings.*
6. *Formation of Canals.*
7. *Rules of Government.*
8. *Conquest of Lakhnautí.*
9. *Arrival of letters and robes from the Khalífa.*
10. *Hunting matters.*
11. *Defeat of the attacks of the Mughals.*



1.—*Accession of Firoz Sháh.*

\* \* \* On the third day after the death of Muhammad Tughlik, the army marched from (its position) fourteen *kos* from Thatta towards Siwistán, on its return homewards. Every division of the army marched without leader, rule, or route, in the greatest disorder. No one heeded or listened to what any one said, but continued the march like careless caravans. So when they had proceeded a *kos* or two, the Mughals, eager for booty, assailed them in front, and the rebels of Thatta attacked them in the rear. Cries of dismay arose upon every side. The Mughals fell to plundering, and carried off women, maids, horses, camels, troopers, baggage, and whatever else had been sent on in advance. They had very nearly captured the royal harem and the treasure with the camels which carried it. The villagers (who had been pressed into the service) of the army, and expected the attack, took to flight. They pillaged various lots of baggage on the right and left of the army, and then joined the rebels of Thatta in attacking the baggage train. The people of the army, horse and foot, women and men, stood their ground; for when they marched, if any advanced in front, they were assailed by the Mughals; if they lagged behind, they were plundered by the rebels of Thatta. Those who resisted and put their trust in God reached the next stage, but those who had gone forward with the women, maids, and baggage, were cut to pieces. The army continued its march along the river without any order or regularity, and every man was in despair for his life and goods, his wife and children. Anxiety and distress would allow no one to sleep that night, and, in their dismay, men remained with their eyes fixed upon heaven. On the second day, by stratagem and foresight, they reached their halting ground, assailed, as on the first day, by the Mughals in front and the men of Thatta in the rear. They rested on the banks of the river in the greatest possible distress, and in fear for their lives and goods. The women and children had perished. Makhdúm Zâda 'Abbâsí, the Shaikhu-s Shaiyúkh of Egypt, Shaikh Nasíru-d





din Mahmūd Oudhī, and the chief men, assembled and went to Fīroz Sháh, and with one voice said, "Thou art the heir apparent and legatee of the late Sultán; he had no son, and thou art his brother's son; there is no one in the city or in the army enjoying the confidence of the people, or possessing the ability to reign. For God's sake save these wretched people, ascend the throne, and deliver us and many thousand other miserable men. Redeem the women and children of the soldiers from the hands of the Mughals, and purchase the prayers of two *lacs* of people." Fīroz Sháh made objections, which the leaders would not listen to. All ranks, young and old, Musulmáns and Hindus, horse and foot, women and children, assembled, and with one acclaim declared that Fīroz Sháh alone was worthy of the crown. "If he does not assume it to-day and let the Mughals hear of his doing so, not one of us will escape from the hands of the Mughals and the Thatta men." So on the 24th Muharram, 752 H. (1351 A.D.), the Sultán ascended the throne.

On the day of his accession the Sultán got some horse in order and sent them out to protect the army, for whenever the Mughal horse came down they killed and wounded many, and carried off prisoners. On the same day he named some *amirs* to guard the rear of the army, and these attacked the men of Thatta when they fell upon the baggage. Several of the assailants were put to the sword, and they, terrified with this lesson, gave up the pursuit and returned home. On the third day he ordered certain *amirs* to attack the Mughals, and they accordingly made several of the Mughal commanders of thousands and of hundreds prisoners, and brought them before the Sultán. The Mughals from that very day ceased their annoyance; they moved thirty or forty *kos* away, and then departed for their own country.

11.—*Stoppage of the evils inflicted by the Mughals of Changiz Khán.*

All men of intelligence in Hind and Sind have seen and remarked the stop which has been put to the inroads of the Mughals





of Changíz Khán in this auspicious reign. They have not been able to attack and ravage the frontier territories, nor have they been permitted to come in with professions of friendship and employ their arts to carry off the wealth of the country. They had the presumption to make two attacks. Once they crossed the Sodra and came into the neighbouring country. There they were met by the forces of Islám and were defeated. Many were killed and many were taken prisoners. These latter were placed upon camels, and were paraded in derision round Dehlí, with wooden collars on their necks. Those who escaped from the battle fled in the greatest precipitation and confusion, and many were drowned in the passage of the Sodra. On the other occasion they made a rapid dash into Gujarát. Some perished from thirst, some died by the hands of the soldiers, and some fell in a night attack which the natives of the country made upon them. Not one-tenth of these accursed followers of Changíz Khán reached their own country.





## XVI.

## TARÍKH-I FÍROZ SHÁHÍ

OF

## SHAMS-I SIRÁJ 'AẒÍF.

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

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



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

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

[Besides this history of Firoz Sháh, the author often refers to his *Manakib-i Sultán Tughlik*, and he mentions his intention of writing similar memoirs of the reign of Sultán Muhammad, the son of Firoz Sháh. Nothing more appears to be known of these works. Copies of the *Tárikh-i Firoz Sháhi* are rare in India, and Colonel Lees, who has selected the work for publication in the Bibliotheca Indica, has heard only of "one copy in General Hamilton's library, and of another at Dehli, in the possession of Nawáb Zíáu-d dín Loháru, of which General Hamilton's is perhaps a transcript."<sup>1</sup> The editor has had the use of four

<sup>1</sup> Jour. R. A. S., New Series, iii., 446.





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

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

*First Mukaddama.—Birth of Firoz Sháh.*

Firoz Sháh was born in the year 709 H. (1309 A.D.). It is recorded that his father was named Sipah-sálár Rajab, and was brother of Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Ghází. The writer of this work has given a full account of their parentage in his *Memoirs of Sultán Tughlik (Manákib-i Sultán Tughlik)*. The three brothers, Tughlik, Rajab, and Abú Bakr, came from Khurásán to Dehli in the reign of 'Aláu-d dín, and that monarch, under Divine guidance, treated them with great kindness and favour. All three were taken into the service of the Court, and the Sultán, observing their courage and energy, conferred upon Tughlik the country of Dípálpúr, and employed all the brothers in public business. Tughlik was desirous that his brother Sipah-



sólár Rajab should obtain in marriage the daughter of one of the *Ráís* of Dípálpúr; and while he was seeking a suitable match, he was informed that the daughters of Rána Mall Bhattí were very beautiful and accomplished. In those days all the estates, from the highest to the lowest, and all the jungle belonging to the Míní and Bhattí tribes, were attached to the town of Abúhar, which was one of the dependencies of Dípálpúr. The author's great-grandfather, Malik S'adu-l Mulk Shaháb 'Afif was then *'amaldar* of Abúhar, and Tughlik Sháh, after consultation with him, sent some intelligent and acute persons to Rána Mall with a proposal of marriage.

When the messengers delivered Tughlik's message, Rána Mall, in his pride and haughtiness, uttered unseemly and improper observations. This, together with the Rána's refusal, was communicated to Tughlik Sháh, who then again took counsel with the author's ancestor, and after much debate it was decided that Tughlik Sháh should proceed to the villages (*talwandí*) belonging to Rána Mall, and demand payment of the year's revenue. Next day Tughlik proceeded thither and demanded payment in ready money of the whole amount. The *mukaddims* and *chaudharis* were subjected to coercion, and payment in full was insisted upon. The Rána's people were helpless and could do nothing, for those were the days of 'Aláu-d dín, and no one dared to make any outcry. In the course of two or three days they were reduced to extremities and suffered much hardship. Some trustworthy and precise persons told the author that the mother of Rána Mall, who was an old woman, when she heard of Tughlik Sháh's severity to the people, proceeded at the time of evening prayer into the house of her son, weeping and tearing her hair, and spoke most feelingly upon the matter. At that time Rána Mall's daughter, the future mother of Fíroz Sháh, was in the court-yard. When that fortunate damsel heard the wailing and crying of the Rána's mother, she inquired what was the cause of her grief; and the dame replied, "I am weeping on your account, for it is through you that Tughlik Sháh is weighing so heavily on the



people of this land." The author's veracious informer said that the high-spirited, noble girl exclaimed, "If the surrender of me will deliver the people from such misery, comply instantly with the demand, and send me to him; consider then that the Mughals have carried off one of your daughters." The old lady went and told the Rána of his daughter's resolution, and he gave his assent. The Rána communicated the fact to the author's great-grandfather, when a messenger was sent to Tughlik Sháh announcing the Rána's assent to the marriage, and the damsel herself was brought to Dípálpúr. Before her marriage she was called Bíbí Náíla, but on entering the house of Sipah-sálár Rajab, she was styled Sultán Bíbí Kadbánú.

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

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



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

*Second Mukaddama.—Fīroz Sháh's Education in the Duties of Royalty.*

Fīroz Sháh was fourteen years old when Sultán Tughlik Sháh ascended the throne. The Sultán was engaged for four years and a half in travelling about his dominions, and during that time Fīroz Sháh attended him, obtaining full knowledge of all public business transacted by the Sultán. On the death of Sultán Tughlik he was succeeded on the throne of Dehlí by Muhammad Sháh. At the accession of this monarch Fīroz Sháh was eighteen years of age. He was appointed deputy of the lord chamberlain (*náib-i amir-hájib*), with the title of *Náib Bár-bak*, and received the command of 12,000 horse. The Sultán was exceedingly kind and generous to him, and keeping him constantly near his person he used to explain to him, with much intelligence, all affairs of State that came up for consideration. Even at this period Fīroz Sháh showed himself very kind and generous to the poor, and when any case of distress came before him he was prompt to relieve it. When Muhammad Sháh divided the territories of Dehlí into four parts, as the author has fully explained in his *Manákib-i Sultán Muhammad*, he placed one part under the charge of Fīroz Sháh, so that he might acquire experience in the art of government. The wise have said that the man who can perform the duties of one charge may guide the affairs of a State and accomplish the government of a kingdom. So the clear-sighted Sultán Muhammad placed Fīroz Sháh over a fourth part of his kingdom, in order that, with the Divine favour, he might become an adept in all political matters.





It is commonly said that Sultán Muhammad Sháh used to keep Fíroz Sháh continually at work in various matters, and the statement is true. But this labour was not imposed upon him out of any ill-feeling, for, had the king disliked him, he would have sent him far from his court. Muhammad Sháh was an illustrious king, and a most intelligent and able man, so much so that he was remarkable for his talents among the great men of Dehli. His object was to train Fíroz Sháh, so that he might become thoroughly versed in the duties of royalty. Thus Fíroz Sháh completed his forty-fifth year under the tuition of Sultán Muhammad Sháh.]

*Third Mukaddama.—Accession of Fíroz Sháh.*

When Sultán Muhammad Sháh died, a body of Mughals plundered the baggage train and went off towards their own country. At this conjuncture all the *Kháns* and princes, the learned men, *shaiikhs*, and officials who were with Sultán Muhammad at Thatta, met in council and decided that nothing could be done without a leader, saying, "Dehli is distant,<sup>1</sup> and these things have happened. Sultán Muhammad is gone to Paradise, and the Mughals have taken the field and have come up against us."<sup>2</sup> In fine, a Mughal band plundered the baggage, and their insatiate desires being unsatisfied with the plunder thus wickedly obtained, they approached closer in search of further booty. The nobles of Sultán Muhammad Sháh then assembled in council, and, after a long and anxious deliberation, the nobles and the administrative officers both agreed that the proper course was to place the reins of government in the hands of Fíroz Sháh.

Fíroz Sháh, through fear of God, was averse to being made sovereign, and stated that he had formed the design of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. But the divine approval of the succession of Fíroz Sháh was from the first made known by means of the *shaiikhs*, because in attaining royalty the mode of its acquisition is an important point. Sometimes when an elder is about

<sup>1</sup> A proverbial expression.

<sup>2</sup> *Dú-ba-dú-i má dáw-amadeh.*



to quit the world, he authoritatively places one of his disciples in his place, and hands over to him his prayer-carpet, although the disciple may be reluctant to undertake the serious charge. This mode of appointment is called authorization by investiture with the religious garment, and is highly honoured among *shaikhs*. So all the princes, and judges, and doctors, and *shaikhs*, and officials who had gone to Thatta with Muhammad Sháh, agreed unanimously upon choosing Fíroz Sháh, but he was reluctant to assent, feeling the weight of the responsibility to God. This however, is a feeling which can only be allowed to saints, because the burden of royalty is an arduous one. Every one approved the choice, and all men set their hearts upon its acceptance.

When this election was made known, Khudáwand-záda, daughter of Tughlik Sháh and mother of Dáwar Malik, sent a message to the nobles, urging that it was not right to prefer the *Amír-hájib* to her son by Malik Khusrú, seeing that she was daughter of Sultán Tughlik, and sister of Sultán Muhammad. Whilst her son lived, how could any stranger sit upon the throne? Some historians add that Khudáwand-záda used indecorous language upon the matter. On her message being delivered to the nobles, they all winced as if snake-bitten. It pleased nobody, but all the assembly agreed to send Malik Saifu-d dín Khojú to her. The Malik was a celebrated man, and whatever he said, he said well, with dignity and firmness. He accordingly proceeded to Khudáwand-záda, and addressed her in polite, though decided, language, saying, "O woman, if thy son had been chosen instead of Fíroz Sháh, thou wouldst have no home to look upon, nor should we have wives or children to gladden our eyes, because thy son is an incompetent person, incapable of governing. We have come into this foreign country, and a large Mughal army confronts us; if thou wishest to save thyself from that army, do thou acquiesce in what we all have determined, and the office and title of *Náib Bár-bak* shall be conferred upon thy son." Khudáwand-záda was silent, and Malik Saifu-d dín returned.





All the nobles then agreed upon choosing Fīroz Sháh, but still he would not consent. Writers of credit report that Tátár Khán, who was president of the meeting, then stood up, and taking the arm of Fīroz Sháh, forced him to sit upon the throne. Upon this Sultán Fīroz said to Tátár Khán, "Since you have placed this heavy trouble and grievous labour upon my shoulders, you must be patient for a while till I have performed my devotions." He then went through his ablution, and repeated the regular form of prayer in singleness of heart. Afterwards, bowing his head to the ground, he, with tearful eyes, poured forth his supplications to the Almighty, saying, "O Lord! the stability of states, the peace, regulation, and occupations of governments do not depend upon man. Permanence of dominion depends upon thy behests. Oh God, thou art my refuge and my strength." After this they placed the crown of empire upon his head, and invested him with the robes of sovereignty. Many persons who were present in this assembly have told the author that Sultán Fīroz Sháh put on the robes of royalty over his garments of mourning, and although the nobles of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh wished to remove the dress of mourning, he would not allow them, and said: "Although in compliance with your counsels I have assumed the robes of sovereignty, still I cannot throw off my garments of mourning, for Sultán Muhammad was my lord, my teacher, and my guide in all things. It was my earnest desire to make the pilgrimage to the holy temple, but I have yielded to your strenuous opposition; it will be well, therefore, that the robes of royalty should cover the garments of mourning." He was so attired, when an elephant was brought, which he mounted, and went forth in state. The heralds and attendants shouted in loud acclaim, the drums were beaten in exultation, and universal joy prevailed.

The first public act of Sultán Fīroz Sháh was to invest Shir-áb-rú Chashm with the duties of 'Imádu-l Mulk.<sup>1</sup> The date of his accession to the throne was the 24th Muharram, 752 H.

<sup>1</sup> "Pillar of the state"—i.e. minister.





(March 23rd, 1351 A.D.). Fīroz Sháh, the sovereign elect, proceeded on his elephant to the female apartments, and threw himself at the feet of Khudáwand-záda. She embraced him, and with her own hands placed upon his head a crown, valued at a *lac* of *tankas*, which had belonged to Sultán Tughlik Sháh and Sultán Muhammad Sháh. The Sultán Fīroz Sháh then returned, and general satisfaction prevailed.

*Fourth Mukaddama.—Fīroz Sháh wars with a Mughal force.*

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

*Fifth Mukaddama.—On the mistake made by Khwāja-i Jahán Ahmad Ayyáz in setting up the son of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh.*

When Sultán Muhammad Sháh, in the latter days of his reign, proceeded to Daulatábád (Deogír), he left three persons in (charge of) Dehlí;—Malik Kabír, Katlagh Khán, and Fīroz Sháh, who was then *Náib-i amír hájib* (deputy of the lord chamberlain). The two former died before their master, and the latter was summoned to attend his person in Thatta. Dehlí being thus left vacant, *Khwāja-i Jahán* was sent thither from Thatta as representative of the absent sovereign. With him were several





other nobles, Malik Kiwámu-l Mulk the *Khán-i Jahán*, Malik Hasan, Malik Hisámu-d dín Uzbek, and others. It is commonly reported that when the *Khwája-i Jahán* heard that Sultán Muhammad Sháh was dead, and that Sultán Fíroz Sháh had been chosen by the nobles and chief men to succeed him, he set up the son of Muhammad Sháh in opposition at Dehlí, and gained the people over to his side. But this commonly received story is not true. The author here gives the true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khán, son of Kishlú Khán Bahrám, one of the servants of the Court.

When Sultán Muhammad Sháh died at Thatta, the chiefs of the Hazára of Khurásán, who had come to assist him, as soon as they heard of his death, plundered the chief *bázár*, as the author has related in his *Manákib-i Sultán Muhammad Sháh*. In those days the baggage belonging to the forces, which were at detached stations, was plundered, and the men of these detachments all fled to the city. Fíroz Sháh had not yet been placed on the throne. A slave named Malih Tántún<sup>1</sup> had been sent from Dehlí by Khwája-i Jahán to Sultán Muhammad, and just at this juncture, when the alarming news was coming in from the army, he started on his return to Dehlí. On his arrival he unfolded to Khwája-i Jahán the intelligence of the death of the Sultán, the attacks of the Mughals upon the army, the plundering of the *bázár*, and the disaffection and bloodshed among the royal forces. He then proceeded to add that Tátár Khán and the *Amír-hájib* Fíroz Sháh were missing, and it was not known whether they had been taken prisoners or killed by the Mughals; that many other nobles had been slain; and that such untoward events had happened in the royal army.

When the Khwája-i Jahán heard this news, he mourned for the death of Sultán Muhammad, and also for Fíroz Sháh. There was great affection between the Khwája and Fíroz Sháh, so that they had no reserve with each other, and it reached to such an extent that the Khwája called Fíroz his son. After the duties

<sup>1</sup> Var. "Tántún." Barní calls him "Altún," which is more likely.



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

*Sixth Mukaddama.—Khwāja-i Jahān hears of the accession of Sultān Fīroz Shāh.*

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

When these proceedings and rumours were reported to Sultān Fīroz, he called a council of all the princes and nobles in his army. It was unanimously agreed that Sultān Muhammad Shāh had no son, but only a daughter, who was born in the reign





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

*Seventh Mukaddama.—March of Fíroz Sháh from Thatta to Dehlí.*

When the Sultán was about to march upon Dehlí, a consultation was held as to the most suitable route. The council was in favour of proceeding by way of Gujárát, so that the riches of that country might be secured. But the Sultán took another view, and said, "When Sultán Tughlik Sháh marched to repress the insurrection of Khusrú Khán, he went by way of Dípálpúr, and by God's favour obtained the victory. I am therefore resolved upon pursuing the same route by Dípálpúr and Multán,



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

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

The Sultán at length entered Multán, and behaved very liberally to the *shaikhs* of the city. From thence he proceeded to Ajodhan, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikhu-l Islám Farídu-l hakk. He next marched to Sarsutí, which is ninety *kos* from Dehlí. The bankers and merchants of the place assembled and brought several *lacs* of *tankas* to the Sultán who accepted the money as a loan, and promised to repay it after his arrival at Dehlí, making Malik 'Imádu-l Mulk responsible for its discharge. All the money thus received was paid to the army. \* \* \*





*Eighth Mukaddama.—Kiwámu-l Mulk the Khán-i Jahán Makbúl joins Sultán Fīroz.*

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

Early one morning Kiwámu-l Mulk got into a *chaudol* (kind of sedan), and with his armed retinue, his wives, children, friends, and dependents proceeded to the gate of the *maidán*. When he reached it, the sentinels attempted to bar it, but the horsemen rode up with drawn swords and frustrated their design. So Kiwámu-l Mulk, the Khán-i Jahán, then went leisurely out of the city to meet Sultán Fīroz Sháh. The Sultán had left Sarsutí, and, having made several marches, had reached Ikdár, where he was joined by, and received homage from, Khán-i Jahán. Another pleasure which the Sultán received on the same day at this place was the birth<sup>1</sup> of a son, who was named Fath Khán. The Sultán founded a town there, to which he gave the name of Fath-ábád (Futtehabad).

<sup>1</sup> The text says "in the house of Prince Fīroz Khán," but these words have been omitted to prevent confusion.