



which he wrote of that Sultán. A similar robe was now sent to Fíroz Tughlik with great courtesy and marks of respect. Three robes in all were sent, one for the Sultán, one for the Prince Fath Khán, and one for Khán-i Jahán. * * *

Fourth Mukaddama.—How Sultán Fíroz used to sit in State.

There were three palaces in which Sultán Fíroz used to sit publicly in state. One was the *Mahal-i sahan-i gilin*¹ (the palace of the clayey quadrangle). It was also called the *Mahal-i dikh*, i.e., the *Mahal-i angúr*, or Palace of Grapes. The second was called *Mahal-i chhaja-i² chobín*. The third was the *Mahal-i bár-i 'ámm*, or Palace of the Public Court, and it was also called *Sahn-i miyánagi*, the central quadrangle. The first palace was appropriated to the reception of the *kháns*, *maliks*, *amírs*, officials and distinguished literary men. The *Mahal-i chhaja chobín* was for the reception of the principal personal attendants. The palace of the *Sahn-i miyánagi* was used for general receptions. * * * من پناہ

Sultán Fíroz had given up residing in Dehli, and stayed at Fírozábád. When it was necessary to hold a court, he left his devotions [*which are described*] and proceeded to the capital to hold his Court. [*Precedence, ceremonial, and dress.*] Khán-i Jahán, the *wazír* of the State, used to sit on the right near the throne. The Amír-i Mu'azzam Amír Ahmád Ikbál sat higher up and a little (*yak zánú*) behind Khán-i Jahán, which position was considered to be neither higher nor lower than that of the Khán. Malik Nizámu-l Mulk, Amír Husain, Amír Mírán, who were deputies of the *wazír*, sat near the throne below Khán-i Jahán. [*Positions of the various officials.*] In those days the humble author of this work, Shams-i Siráj 'Afif, used to go into the reception chamber, under the royal regulations, in attendance upon the officers of the *wazír's* department. [*Precedence and ceremonial of the Court. Reception of the Shaikhul Islám.*]

¹ This name is rendered only by conjecture, it may be *kalin*, *gulin*, etc., etc.

² Three of the MSS. write the word "*jhaja*," but this is not conclusive. The fourth has *chhaja*, a Hindi word, meaning "*gallery*," and this is probably right. The title of the palace would so be "Palace of the wooden gallery."

Balcony is the appropriate word



Fifth Mukaddama.—Prosperity and happiness of the nobles.

During the reign of Fīroz Sháh * * * all men, high and low, bond and free, lived happily and free from care. * * * When the Sultán went to the palace, at the "grand city" of Fīrozábád, the Khán-i Jahán used to make preparations some days beforehand for his reception, by having the palace whitewashed and ornamented with pictures. Every possible care was taken by the Khán for the proper reception of the Sultán. [*Splendour and ceremonial of the Court. Easy condition of the people.*] Things were so plentiful and cheap; and the people were so well to do, and enjoyed such ease, that the poorest married their daughters at a very early age. Nothing in the least degree unpleasant or disagreeable happened during his reign; how wonderful is it that, since his decease, the city of Dehlí has been turned upside down. Those who survive will ever call to mind the reign of Fīroz Sháh, and exclaim, "The reign of Fīroz will always dwell upon the memory, and can never be forgotten."

Sixth Mukaddama.—The plenty and cheapness in the reign of Fīroz Sháh.

By the blessing of God favourable seasons and abundance of the necessities of life prevailed in the reign of Fīroz Sháh, not only in the capital, but throughout his dominions. During the whole forty years of his reign there was no appearance of scarcity, and the times were so happy that the people of Dehlí forgot the reign of 'Aláu-d dīn, although no more prosperous times than his had ever fallen to the lot of any Muhammadan sovereign. 'Aláu-d dīn took such pains to keep down the price of the necessities of life, that his exertions have found a record in famous histories. To the merchants he gave wealth, and placed before them goods in abundance, and gold without measure. He showed them every kindly favour, and fixed on them regular salaries.¹

¹ [*Mawājib*, salaries, allowances, or pensions].

In the reign of 'Aláu-d dīn the necessities of life were abundant through excellent management,¹ but through the favour of God grain continued cheap throughout the reign of Fīroz Shāh, without any effort on his part. Grain was so cheap that, in the city of Dehlī, wheat was eight *jitals* a *man*, and gram and barley four *jitals* a *man*. A camp follower could give his horse a feed of ten *sirs* of corn (*dālida*) for one *jital*. Fabrics of all kinds were cheap, and silk goods, both white and coloured, were of moderate price. Orders were given for the reduction of the price of sweetmeats, in unison with the general fall of prices.

During the forty years of this sovereign's reign, cheapness prevailed. If occasionally prices rose from bad seasons, or from scarcity of rain, and reached one *tanka* per *man*, it was only for a short time. The good fortune of the Sultān prevailed, so that no dearth occurred. Such was the prosperity that, throughout the Doāb, from the hill of Sakrūdih and Kharla to Kol, not one village remained waste, even in name, nor one span of land uncultivated. In the Doāb there were fifty-two *parganas* flourishing, and a similar (state of prosperity) prevailed elsewhere. The like prosperity prevailed in every *fief* (*iktā'a*) and district (*shikk*). Thus, in the district of Sámāna, there were four prosperous villages within one *kos*, and the inhabitants were happy and free from care. Such perfect happiness did the kingdom enjoy in those days.

Sultān Fīroz had a great liking for the laying out of gardens, which he took great pains to embellish. He formed 1,200 gardens in the vicinity of Dehlī. Such of them as were private property, or were religious endowments, after² due investigation of the titles, he settled for with their owners. All gardens received

¹ ["*Ba hikmat-i kibriyā*," These words may be translated "by Divine wisdom," but they are evidently used antithetically to the "*baghair koshish*," or "absence of effort" on the part of Fīroz].

² Three of the MSS. have "بغیر *without*;" while the fourth (East India Library, No. 1002) says "بعد *after*" verification of titles. The latter is certainly most probable.

abundant proofs of his care,¹ and he restored thirty gardens which had been commenced by 'Aláu-d dín. In the neighbourhood of Salaura he made eighty gardens, and in Ohitúr forty-four gardens. In every garden there were white and black grapes, of seven [named] varieties. They were sold at the rate of one *jital* per *sir*. Of the various articles grown in the gardens, the government share of the produce amounted to 80,000 *tankas*, without taking into account the dues of the owners and gardeners.

[The revenues of the Doáb in this reign amounted to eighty *lacs* of *tankas*; and under the fostering care of this religious sovereign, the revenues of the territories of Dehlí were six *krors* and eighty-five *lacs* of *tankas* (60,850,000). The Sultán, throughout his reign, in his great sagacity and prudence, endeavoured to circumscribe the extent of his dominions, but still the revenues amounted to the sum stated.] All this large revenue was duly apportioned out; each Khán received a sum suitable to his exalted position, the *amirs* and *maliks* also obtained allowances according to their dignity, and the officials were paid enough to provide a comfortable living. The soldiers of the army received grants of land, enough to support them in comfort, and the irregulars (*ghair wajh*) received payment from the government treasury. Those soldiers who did not receive their pay in this manner were, according to necessity, supplied with assignments (*itlák*) upon the revenues. When these assignments of the soldiers (*wajh-dárs*) arrived in the fiefs (*iktá'át*), the holders used to get about half of the total amount from the holders of the fiefs. It was the practice of certain persons in those days to buy up these assignments, which was an accomodation to both parties. They used to give one-third of the value for them in

¹ The text is a little confused here. I have ventured upon one emendation in reading از عنایت بسیاری استمالت بی نهایت در باغات کرده instead of از غایت بسیاری, etc., etc. All the MSS. concur in the latter reading, although it seems to make nonsense.



the city, and receive one half in the districts. The purchasers of these assignments carried on a traffic in them, and gaining a good profit, many of them got rich and made their fortunes.

Sultán Fīroz, under Divine inspiration, spread all the revenues of his territories among his people. The various districts of the fiefs were also divided. Khán-i Jahán, the *wazir*, exclusive of the allowances for his retainers, friends, and sons, received a sum of thirteen *lacs* of *tankas*, or instead of it sundry fiefs and districts. Other chiefs were similarly provided for, according to their merit; some receiving eight *lacs* of *tankas*, others six *lacs*, and others four *lacs*. All the *kháns* and *maliks* grew rich in his reign, and had vast stores of wealth, and jewels and diamonds of great value. When Malik Sháhín Sháhna, who was *naib-amir* of the *majlis-i kháss*, died, and his effects were examined, a sum of fifty *lacs* of *tankas*, in cash, was taken out of his house, besides horses, valuables, and jewels in abundance. The enormous wealth left by 'Imádu-l Mulk, Bashir-i Sultání, was well known, and is well remembered. An account of it will be given in the fifth book of this work. The Sultan being thus beneficent, all men, high and low, were devoted to him.

Seventh Mukaddama.—Affairs of the Army.

In the reign of Fīroz Sháh there was an army of 80,000 and sometimes 90,000 horse, exclusive of slaves. These men remained on service all the year. Horses of little value were often brought to the registry office (*diwán*) and were passed as serviceable. Stories about this often reached the ears of the Sultán; but he treated them as if he had never heard them. When the year drew to a close, and there remained yet many men who had not presented their horses, the clerks made a statement to his Majesty of the number of men that had not yet registered their horses. An order was then issued granting two months' grace

¹ Several passages of this chapter are very obscure, and seem to have been so considered by the copyists, for the MSS. show many discrepancies and omissions.

for the production of the animals. When this term was passed a statement was again made of the men who had not produced them. In those days Malik Razī, a very venerable and righteous man, was deputy 'ariz, and administered the business of the army in a very proper manner. He used to point out to the Sultān that those men who had not brought in their horses were generally members of a troop, that their assignments (*itlāk*) had been sent into the districts to realize the amount of their pay, and when that was effected they would come into the city. But before this could be accomplished the year passed by, and the poor men remained in a state of distress. Many of those who had failed were employed in other business (*masālih* and). On hearing these kind representations the Sultān said, that if any man had been sent on business (*masālih*) by his commanding officer, and the year should end while he was absent, without his making any statement of the fact or presenting his horse, then if he were discharged, it would go ill with him, and mourning would fall upon his house. The Sultān also directed that substitutes should be found by the officers for all men who went away on business. The soldier himself who was absent might put in his appearance at the office of the chieftain in whose district he was; he might also produce his new horse there, so that all inconvenience might be spared the poor soldier. Thus the kindness of the Sultān for his people was such as no father or brother could show. [*Story of the Sultān overhearing a soldier complain that he was unable to produce his horse at the muster.*] The Sultān told him to go and arrange matters with the clerks of the office, and he replied that his difficulty was that he had not got the necessary money. The Sultān inquired how much was wanted, and the soldier said that if he had a gold *tanka* he could get a certificate for his horse. He then ordered a *tanka* to be given to him. On receiving the coin the soldier went to the office, and placing it in the hands of the clerks, he got the certificate; he then returned to the Sultān and expressed his thanks.



Eighth Mukaddama.—Report made to the Sultán by the son of 'Imádu-l Mulk, and the Sultán's appropriate reply.

Malik Is'hák, (son of) 'Imádu-l Mulk, made a report to the Sultán that many of the soldiers were old and feeble, and unfit for duty. It was therefore expedient to replace them with young and efficient men. At this period 'Imádu-l Mulk was an old man, and Malik Is'hák discharged for him the duties of the *diwán-i 'arz*. When he made this report the Sultán observed it was a very proper one: when men grew old they should be set aside, and their places should be filled by their sons or strangers; no consideration whatever should be shown to these old men. "Now," said he, "Your father is an old man, first turn him out of his office, and then I will remove all the old men from the service of the State." Malik Is'hák was silenced.

The Sultán, in the kindness of his heart, then said: "If I remove the old and inefficient men, and appoint their sons or strangers in their stead, the poor old men will be greatly troubled, and will be reduced to distress in their old age. I do not approve of dismissing them, and putting their sons in their places. This is not a time for encouraging disobedient children. With age the heart becomes desolate, and if the old men are turned off and their sons succeed them, these sons may prove undutiful, and the hearts of their poor old fathers may break in their distress. Let an order therefore be promulgated that, when a soldier grows old and incapable, his son shall succeed him, as his deputy; if he has no son, his son-in-law, and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall represent him. The veteran may thus remain at home at ease, and the young ride forth in their strength."

Addressing Is'hák, he said, "Do not make such reports. The Almighty does not take away his servants' sustenance because they are old, how then can I, his creature, dismiss my aged servants." All the actions and words of Sultán Firoz * * * were like unto this, and are worthy of a place in history. This humble author desires to write the Sultán's memoirs, but his

gracious words and generous actions are so numerous that the author makes but slow progress towards his conclusion.

Ninth Mukaddama.—Transport of stone Obelisks.

After Sultán Fīroz returned from his expedition against Thatta, he often made excursions in the neighbourhood of Dehlī. In this part of the country there were two stone columns. One was in the village of Tobra, in the district (*shikk*) of Sálaura and Khizrábád, in the hills (*koh-páyah*); the other in the vicinity of the town of Mírat. These columns had stood in those places from the days of the Pándavas, but had never attracted the attention of any of the kings who sat upon the throne of Dehlī, till Sultán Fīroz noticed them, and, with great exertion, brought them away. One was erected in the palace (*kushk*) at Fīrozabád, near the *Masjid-i jama'*, and was called the *Minára-i zarín*, or Golden Column, and the other was erected in the *Kushk-i Shikár*, or Hunting Palace, with great labour and skill. The author has read in the works of good historians that these columns of stone had been the walking sticks of the accursed¹ Bhím, a man of great stature and size. The annals of the infidels record that this Bhím used to devour a thousand *mans* of food daily, and no one could compete with him. * * * In his days all this part of Hind was peopled with infidels, who were continually fighting and slaying each other. Bhím was one of five brothers, but he was the most powerful of them all. He was generally engaged in tending the herds of cattle belong to his wicked brothers, and he was accustomed to use these two stone pillars as sticks to gather the cattle together. The size of the cattle in those days was in proportion to that of other creatures. These five brothers lived near Dehlī, and when Bhím died these two columns were left standing as memorials of him. * * * When Fīroz Sháh first beheld these columns, he was filled with admiration, and resolved to remove them with great care as trophies to Dehlī. * * *

¹ One MS., to the credit of the writer, omits this execration.



Removal of the Minára-i zarín.—Khizrábád is ninety kos from Dehlí, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultán visited that district, and saw the column in the village of Tobra, he resolved to remove it to Dehlí, and there erect it as a memorial to future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doáb, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Sembal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultán came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 *mans* of grain, and the least of them 2,000 *mans*. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Fírozábád, where it was landed and conveyed into the *Kushk* with infinite labour and skill.

Account of the Raising of the Obelisk.—At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Múr Khán. When the pillar was brought to the palace, a building was commenced for its reception, near the *Jámi' Masjid*, and

the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone¹ and chúnám, and consisted of several stages or steps (*poshish*). When a step was finished the column was raised on to it, another step was then built and the pillar was again raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a *gaz*. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent its sinking again. In this way, by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as shores, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (*do sar-i án*), and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindí *kalas*.² The height of the obelisk was thirty-two *gaz*; eight *gaz* was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four *gaz* was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hindí characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees³ were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpreted them as stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan king, named Sultán Fíroz, *etc., etc.*

¹ Two MSS. call the stone كهر سنگ, and the other two كهر سیل.

² A spire, pinnacle, or cupola.

³ [سیورگان. Qy. Hind. سیورگان].



Erection of the other Obelisk in the Kushk-i Shikár.—This obelisk stood in the vicinity of the town of Mirat, in the Doáb, and was somewhat smaller than the *Minára-i zarín*. This also was removed by Sultán Fíroz, with similar skill and labour, and was re-erected on a hill in the *Kushk-i Shikár* [*amid great feasting and rejoicing*]. After the erection of the pillar a large town sprang up, and the *kháns* and *malíks* of the Court built houses there. * * * Every great king took care during his reign to set up some lasting memorial of his power. So Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh raised the large pillar in the *Masjid-i jama'* at old Dehlí, the history of which is well known. * * *

In these days, in the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.), Amír Timúr, of Khurásán, has marched into India, and by the will of fate has subdued the empire of Hindustán. During his stay of some days in Dehlí, he inspected all the monuments of former kings, * * * and among them these two obelisks, when he declared that in all the countries he had traversed he had never seen any monuments comparable to these. * * *

Tenth Mukaddama.—Hunting Excursions.

* * * The author proposes to describe, in succession, how the various kinds of hunting were carried on.¹ The chase of the *gor-khar* or wild ass was pursued in the deserts between Dípálpúr and Sarsutí * * * during the hot season, when these animals congregate. * * * The chase of the deer, *níl-gáos*, etc., was carried on principally in the neighbourhood of Badáún and Anwála,² where these animals were found in great numbers. This district was waste, but well furnished with water and grass. No other such waste was to be found near Dehlí. * * * Orders were given for its being retained waste for hunting purposes, otherwise it would quickly have become peopled and cultivated under

¹ He tells us that he sometimes accompanied these expeditions, and he describes the mode of proceeding in great detail and with evident gusto.

² Var. Anwala, Atwála.

the prosperous and fostering government of Fíroz. * * * If a lion, tiger, or wolf was surrounded, the Sultán used to kill it first, and then pursue the other animals.

Eleventh Mukaddama.—Buildings erected by Fíroz Sháh.

Sultán Fíroz excelled all his predecessors on the throne of Dehlí in the erection of buildings, indeed no monarch of any country surpassed him. He built cities, forts, palaces, *bands*, mosques, and tombs, in great numbers. Of cities, there were Hisár Fírozah and Fath-ábád, of which the author has given an account in a previous chapter. Fíroz-ábád, Fíroz-ábád Hární Khíra, Tughlikpúr-i Kásna, Tughlikpúr-i Mulúk-i Kamút, and Jaunpúr, besides sundry other places and forts which he repaired and strengthened. His palaces (*kushk*) were those of Fíroz, Nuzúl, Mahandwáí, Hisár Fírozah, Fath-ábád, Jaunpúr, Shikár, Band-i Fath Khán and Salaura. *Bands*: Fath Khán, Málja (into which he threw a body of fresh water, *áb-i zamzam*), Mahpálpúr, Shukr Khán, Salaura, Wazírábád, and other similar strong and substantial *bands*. He also built monasteries, and inns for the accommodation of travellers. One hundred and twenty *khánkáhs* (monasteries) were built in Dehlí and Fíroz-ábád for the accommodation of the people of God, in which travellers from all directions were receivable as guests for three days. These one hundred and twenty buildings were full of guests on all the three hundred and sixty days of the year. Superintendents and officers of the *Sunní* persuasion were appointed to these *khánkáhs*, and the funds for their expenses were furnished from the public treasury. Malik Ghází Shahna was the chief architect, and was very efficient; he held the gold staff (of office). 'Abdu-l Hakk, otherwise Jáhir Sundhár (was deputy, and) held the golden axe. A clever and qualified superintendent was appointed over every class of artisans. * * * The Sultán also repaired the tombs of former kings. * * * It is a custom among kings while they are on the



throne to appropriate villages and lands to religious men in order to provide means for the maintenance and repair of their tombs. But these endowments had all been destroyed, and the grantees being divested of them, were reduced to distress. * * * The Sultán carefully repaired all the tombs and restored the lands and villages after bringing into cultivation such as had been laid waste. He also sought out and restored the superintendents and officers of these endowments who had been driven out of them. * * * The financial officer (*diwán-i wizárat*) examined the plan of every proposed building, and made provision so that the work should not be stopped for want of funds. The necessary money was issued from the royal treasury to the managers of the building, and then the work was begun. Thus it was that so many buildings of different kinds were erected in the reign of Fíroz Sháh.

Twelfth Mukaddama.—Consideration of the Sultán for the unemployed.

* * * The Sultán gave directions that when there were any workmen out of employ in the city they were to be sent to him. The *kotwál* used to call his district officers before him, and make enquiries of them. The most respectable people, out of shame, would not make their necessities known, and such gentlemen as these were brought to the *kotwál* by his officers. * * * When they were brought before the Sultán they were all placed in employ. Men of the pen were sent into the Government establishments (*kár-khána*), intelligent men of business were placed under the Khán-i Jahán, if any one expressed a desire to be made the slave (*banda*) of any particular nobleman, the Sultán himself used to send a letter of recommendation to that noble; and if one desired to be made the slave (*banda*) of an *amír* who held a fief (*iktá'*), a *farmán* was sent to that *amír*, and the applicant proceeded thither. So, few persons remained without employment, and wherever one of the unemployed was sent, there he found a comfortable settlement. * * *

Thirteenth Mukaddama.—The royal establishments (kār-khāna) of Fīroz Shāh.

Sultān Fīroz had thirty-six royal establishments, for which enormous supplies of articles were collected, * * * and the annual outlay on which was very large. Some of them were in receipt of a regular payment (*rāyātī*); others had no fixed income (*ghair-rāyātī*). Thus among the *rāyātī* establishments there were the elephant, horse, and camel stables, the kitchen, the butlery, the candle department, the dog-kennels, the water-cooling department and other similar establishments. These received a regular monthly allowance of one *lac* and sixty thousand *tankas* for their expenses, in addition to which there was the cost of their furniture,¹ and the monthly salaries of the accountants² and other officers, which also amounted to one *lac* and sixty thousand silver *tankas*. In the establishments which received no regular allowance, such as the wardrobe, the '*alam-khāna* or insignia, the carpet stores, and the like, new goods were procured every year according to orders given. In the winter season six *lacs* of *tankas* were expended on the wardrobe, besides the outlay for the spring and summer. 80,000 *tankas* were expended on the '*alam-khāna* in the purchase of articles, besides the salaries of the accountants and the wages of the work-people. About two *lacs* of *tankas* were expended in the carpet department. Each of these establishments was under the charge of a *khān* or *malik* of high rank; thus the wardrobe was under the superintendence of Malik 'Alī and Malik Isma'īl. * * *

Khwāja Abū-l Hasan Khān was charged with the general

¹ *Rakht*, furniture, fittings, plant.

² The copyists seem to have been puzzled with this chapter. They all, in the early part of it, write حاشیه, "border of a garment," although it makes no sense; while the correct word appears to be حاسبه, "an accountant," which is used in similar passages subsequently. The reading of this passage in three of the MSS. is خارج مشاهره حاشیه واصمات, but the writer of the MS. 1002, of the East India Library, seeing the inconsistency of *hāshiyā* and *ashāb*, changes the latter word into *ashāb*. In another part, one MS. instead of '*alam-khāna* has *kham-khāna*, "wine cellar;" and they all write "*sar-mahī*," which has been translated as being either an equivalent, or a mistake, for *dar-māhī*, "monthly pay."

superintendence of all the *kār-khānas*, and through him all orders were issued to the respective establishments. There was a separate financial department (*diwān-khāna*) for the *kār-khānas*, in which the general accounts were kept, but the accounts were rendered to and recorded in the exchequer (*diwān-i wizārat*). So that the exchequer not only kept an account of the land revenues (*iktā'*), but also of the expenditure of the *kār-khānas*. There were many accountants in the various *kār-khānas* who received monthly pay. * * * The royal stables were in five different places, * * * and, beside these, some thousands of horses grazed in the neighbourhood of Dehlī, and were called *sih-panj*. The camel establishment was distinct, * * * and was in the district of Dub-lāhan, where whole villages were appropriated to them and their keepers. * * * Their numbers increased every year, because the great feudatories, when they came to Court, brought camels of all sorts among their presents to the throne. * * *

In this reign there were audits of the accounts of the fiefs. When the feudatory came up from his fief to Court, he was brought before the exchequer, where an audit of his accounts was held, and the results were reported to the throne. The balance was struck, and the chieftain was questioned, after which he was sent back at once to his fief. The managers (*muharrir*) of the *kār-khānas* also had to attend in the exchequer at the end of every year, and present abstracts of their accounts, showing the balance of cash and the stores of goods. * * *

Fourteenth Mukaddama.—On the striking of the Coin called Shashgāni.

Sultān Fīroz issued several varieties of coins. There was the gold *tanka* and the silver *tanka*. There were also distinct coins of the respective value of forty-eight, twenty-five, twenty-four, twelve, ten, eight, six, and one *jital*, known as the *chihal o hashtgāni*,¹ *bist o panjgāni*, *bist o chahārgāni*, *dwāzdahgāni*,

¹ *Gān* is an aggregate particle added to numerals. The meaning of *gāni* is exactly expressed in the vulgar phrases "a fiver," "a tenner." Mr. Thomas, however, finds quite a different origin for the term. See Jour. R. A. S., Vol. II, new series, p. 166.

dahgāni, *hashtgāni*, *shashgāni* and *yak jital*. When the Sultān had issued these many varieties of coins, it occurred to his benignant mind that a very poor person might buy an article in the market, and a half or a quarter *jital* might be due to him in change, but if the shopkeeper had no *dāngs* (quarters) no change could be be given, and the purchaser would incur a loss. If the purchaser demanded his due, how could he get it if there was no coin in which to pay it. Contentions might thus arise between buyer and seller. The Sultān accordingly gave directions for the issuing of a half *jital*, called *ādha*,¹ and a quarter *jital*, called *bikh*, so that the requirements of the indigent might be supplied.

When the Sultān ordered the coinage of the *shashgāni* (or six-*jital*-piece), Kajar Shāh was Director of the Mint, and he exerted himself to execute the orders of the Sultān. The new coin was accordingly struck during the reign of the Sultān, under the management of Kajar Shāh. When it came into circulation two sharp individuals made a representation to the Sultān that there was a deficiency of one grain of silver in the *shashgāni*, and prayed for an investigation to test the truth of their statement. If it proved true the officials must take the consequences. The Sultān directed his ministers to make private enquiry into the truth of the statement. Khān-i Jahān Makbūl was then alive; it was the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.), and he turned his attention and political experience to the matter. He observed that the coinage of kings was like an unmarried daughter, whom no one would seek after, however beautiful and charming she might be, if any aspersion had, either rightly or wrongly, been cast upon her character. So also with royal coins, if any one honestly or falsely, from interested motives, alleged a deterioration of the coinage, the insinuation would spread, the coinage would obtain a bad name, and no one would take it. On hearing this his Majesty said, what course can we take to ascertain the rights of this matter. The minister replied that it would be very impolitic to publish the secret rules (of the manufacture of the

¹ Hindi, "half."



coin); but to pass the matter over would be an error, and to hold an (open) investigation would be a great mistake. The Sultán insisted that the truth must be ascertained so that his doubts might be dispelled. The minister then recommended that the two informers should be placed in confinement, and that a careful examination should be made (in private). Accordingly the informers were confined in the prison of the Exchequer (*dhván-i wizárat*), and the next day was appointed for the business of testing.

Khán-i Jahán retired, and his Majesty went into his private apartments. The minister then sent secretly for Kajar Sháh, and when he arrived¹ Khán-i Jahán addressed him saying that his officials had been very covetous, and had greatly diminished the value of the coins. It was well known in the world that government clerks and servants (*kár-kun*) were given to speculation.² There was no intention of charging him (Kajar Sháh) with participation in this delinquency, but he had better go and make enquiry among his subordinates. If the charge of deterioration proved to be true, he (Khán-i Jahán) would devise some adroit move³ by which the *shashgánt* coin should appear to the world as of full intrinsic value. Kajar Sháh returned to his office and made the necessary investigation, when it was acknowledged that the *shashgánt* was one grain of silver deficient. He accordingly made a full and true report to the Sultán. The minister thereupon recommended that some goldsmiths should be called in privately to test the truth of the matter, and Kajar Sháh was directed to provide them. When Kajar Sháh received this instruction he proceeded to the goldsmiths and communicated to

¹ The words from the beginning of the paragraph to this point are found in only one of the four MSS. (No. 1002 East India Library), although they are necessary to the sense.

² The translation here follows the general sense of the context rather than the actual word used, which is a very doubtful one. One MS. has *توفیرات*, another *توافرات*, the third seems to agree with this as it writes *توافرات*. The fourth has *افراط*.

³ The game of chess is here used to express the speaker's meaning.



them what he had heard from the minister; telling them that they must contrive to show that matters were all right and proper. The goldsmiths replied that when they should be called to make the assay in the presence of the Sultán they would have to go naked, excepting only the barest clothing required by decency; but that if a few grains of silver could be smuggled into the palace they would throw it into the crucible. Kajar Sháh then proceeded to the charcoal dealers, and after making known his wishes they agreed to scoop out a piece of charcoal, to introduce a few grains of silver, and to seal up the aperture with wax. Next day the Sultán took his seat in a private apartment with his minister. Kajar Sháh and his accusers were then called in. The goldsmiths also were brought in wearing the most scant clothing, and the charcoal dealers brought the charcoal and placed it before the goldsmiths. Several *shashgání* pieces were placed in a crucible, which the goldsmiths put upon the fire. The Sultán entered into conversation with his minister, and while he was so engaged, the workmen adroitly threw into the melting pot the piece of charcoal which contained the silver. After a while the crucible was taken off the fire and allowed to cool. It was then taken before the Sultán and (the contents were) weighed, when the weight corresponded to the estimate, and the *shashgání* proving to be of full standard value, the informers were declared to be false accusers. The Sultán presented Kajar Sháh with a robe, and bestowed on him other marks of favour. Khán-i Jahán then said that as the coin had come triumphant out of the test, Kajar Sháh should be mounted on an elephant and paraded round the city, so that all men might understand that the *shashgání* was of full value, and not to be charged with impurity. Kajar Sháh was accordingly carried through the city in triumph, and the two informers, being shown to be false, were banished. After awhile the minister caused Kajar Sháh to be dismissed upon some other charge. If there were no such wise ministers the affairs of States would fall into confusion, and the animadversions of the high and low would be cast upon the most excellent institutions.



Fifteenth Mukaddama.—Establishment of a House of Charity and a Hospital.

Sultán Fíroz founded an establishment (*diwán-i khairát*) for the promotion of marriages. Many needy Musulmán's were distressed at having marriageable daughters, for whom they could provide no marriage portion. * * * Notice was given that any man having a marriageable daughter might apply at the *diwán-i khairát* and state his case and his poverty to the officers of that establishment, * * * who, after due enquiry, might fix an allowance of fifty *tankas* for the first class of recipients, thirty for the second, and twenty-five for the third. * * * People, small and great, flocked to the city from all parts of the country, and received grants for purchasing housekeeping requisites for their daughters. * * *

The *Shifá-khāna*, or *Hospital*, also called, *Sihhat-khāna*. * * * The Sultán, in his great kindness and humanity, established a hospital for the relief of the sick and afflicted, whether natives (*áshná*) or strangers. Able physicians and doctors were appointed to superintend it, and provision was made for the supply of medicines. The poor afflicted went to the hospital and stated their cases. The doctors duly considered and applied their skill to the restoration of health. Medicines, food, and drinks were supplied at the expense of the treasury. * * *

When the Sultán founded these institutions for the public benefit he settled some rich and well cultivated villages upon them, to provide for their expenses. Allowances were also granted to learned men and Kurán readers. The author has understood from the best authority that the sum of thirty-six *laos* of *tankas* out of the revenues of the kingdom were appropriated to the payment of wages (*idrár*), and that 4,200 afflicted persons received these monthly allowances. * * *

857½ tankas
7
per week.

Sixteenth Mukaddama.—Festivals.

Sultán Fíroz used to keep the 'ids, the *Shab-i barát*, and the *Nau-roz* (New Years Day) as public festivals. * * *



Seventeenth Mukaddama.—Engagement of musicians at the Palace on Fridays, after prayers.

Every Friday, after public service, parties of musicians from the four cities,¹ athletes, and story-tellers, amounting in all to about three thousand persons, used to attend at the palace.

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Inventions or new contrivances.

The *Tás-i Ghariyál* has already been described in the eighteenth *Mukaddama* of the Third Book, etc., etc.

KISM V.—TONSURE OF FÍROZ SHÁH. THE PRINCE FATH KHÁN.
THE GREAT KHÁNS AND MALIKS. CLOSE OF THE REIGN.

First Mukaddama.—The Tonsure of Firoz Sháh.

The Sultán showed great respect to Shaikhu-l Islám 'Aláu-dín and Shaikhu-l Islám Farídu-dín Ajodhaní. As long as he lived he paid much attention to the elders of religion, and towards the end of his reign he himself became a shaveling (*mahlúk*).² * * * In the year 776 H. (1374 A.D.), the Sultán went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sálár Mas'úd Gházi at Bahráich. He stayed there some time, and one night the spirit of Sálár Mas'úd appeared to him in a dream,³ and stroked his own beard with his hand, thereby intimating to the Sultán that age was prevailing over him, and that he must prepare for death. When he returned from the visit, many of the *kháns* and *amírs*, out of love for the Sultán, performed the tonsure.

Second Mukaddama.—Suppression of unlawful practices.

Abuses which had pressed upon the people in revenue matters, mal-practices in the administration of public business, and

¹ The four towns or divisions of Dehli.

² Three of the four MSS. write "*mahlúk*, created," instead of "*mahlúk*, shaven," although there are passages which expressly mention the removal of the hair from the Sultán's head. Mr. Thomas's MS. has the word *mahlúk* correct.

³ The ghost of Mas'úd must apparently have attained a notoriety for revisiting the mortal world, and so the author of the *Mir-di-i Mas'údi* only adopted a popular belief in asserting that he wrote his book under the inspiration of that spirit. See Vol. II, p. 513.



breaches of the Holy Law were all forbidden. One of these (last) was the painting of portraits in the private apartments of kings. It was held right among monarchs to have painted chambers to gratify their eyes in retirement, but Fīroz Shāh, in his fear of God, prohibited the painting of portraits as contrary to the Law, and directed that garden scenes should be painted instead.

Former kings used to have ornaments of brass and copper, silver and gold, in opposition to the Law; these he interdicted. They had also used plates and drinking vessels of metal; these also were forbidden, and he used only stone and earthenware table furniture. Pictures on banners and ensigns were also forbidden.

Learned and holy men were also present in the Court of the Sultān, and whatever they objected to as being unlawful in the collection of taxes he forbade, even though it diminished the revenue. They brought to the notice of His Majesty several abuses which had sprung up in former reigns, and among them was that of *dāngāna*. Merchandize that had paid the regular *zakāt*, after being passed, was carried off to the *zariba*, again weighed, and an impost of one *dāng* per *tanka* levied. A large sum was thus raised. Merchants, both natives and strangers, were sorely vexed with the proceedings at the *dāngāna* office, for they were subjected to annoyances and delays by the officials, and were quite helpless. In the city of Dehlī there was an unlawful impost called *mustaghall*—a ground rent levied from houses and shops, which produced annually 150,000 *tankas*. It was also called *kirā-zamīn*, or ground rent. There was another unlawful tax called *jazārī*, levied from butchers, at the rate of twelve *jitals* for every ox they killed, and this brought a considerable sum to the treasury. The *Rozī* was an impost upon traders. When traders, native or foreign, brought grain, salt, sugar, or other goods into Dehlī, laden upon bullocks,¹ the customs officers used to seize these animals for a day and send them to old Dehlī. In this old city

¹ "Sulār," any beast of burden.

there were seven fortifications (*hisār*), built by famous sovereigns ; but these buildings were old and falling to decay, and they furnished an inexhaustible supply of bricks. The trader's animals were sent to this place for a day (*roz*) by the government officials, and had to convey one load of bricks from thence to Fīrozábád. No merchant who came to Dehlī was allowed to depart until his animals had rendered this service. This made traders reluctant to come to the city, and, consequently, grain and salt began to grow dear.

The facts of these various imposts were brought to the knowledge of his Majesty and were fully explained. The case of a trader was reported who had brought in three *mans* of cotton, which was carried to the *dāngāna zarība* and detained. The officials would not take three *dāngs* proffered in payment, nor would they let it pass. While it was thus detained it caught fire and was burnt. Such was the hardship on traders. The *rozī* also was so oppressive that traders kept away from the city, and commodities rose in price. The *mustaghall*, or ground rent, was levied from all classes ;—from widows and the very poorest people, so that it bore very hardly upon them.

The Sultán, in his benevolence, * * * called to his presence the elders and learned men, the magistrates and revenue officers, and examined them upon these subjects. The doctors and elders all gave their opinion, which they supported by quotations from books of authority, that these imposts were opposed to the Law. So the Sultán ordered the abolition of them all. Kāzī Nasrullah, who was the *Kāzī* of the army, was mounted on an elephant, and was sent out to read publicly the royal proclamation of abolition. * * * The author of this work, who was then under Mūr Khán, was present and heard this proclamation read. The numbers of people who crowded to hear it exceeded all computation. * * * The author has been informed that the loss incurred by the abolition of these imposts amounted to thirty *lacs* of *tankas* per annum. This abolition was proclaimed in 777 H. (1375 A.D.).



Third Mukaddama.—Burning of a Brahman before the Royal Palace.

A report was brought to the Sultán that there was in Dehli an old Brahman (*zunár dár*), who persisted in publicly performing the worship of idols in his house; and that the people of the city, both Musulmán and Hindus, used to resort to his house to worship the idol. This Brahman had constructed a wooden tablet (*muhrak*), which was covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects. On days appointed, the infidels went to his house and worshipped the idol, without the fact becoming known to the public officers. The Sultán was informed that this Brahman had perverted Muhammadan women, and had led them to become infidels. An order was accordingly given that the Brahman, with his tablet, should be brought into the presence of the Sultán at Fírozábád. The judges and doctors and elders and lawyers were summoned, and the case of the Brahman was submitted for their opinion. Their reply was that the provisions of the Law were clear: the Brahman must either become a Musulmán or be burned. [The true faith was declared to the Brahman, and the right course pointed out, but he refused to accept it. Orders were given for raising a pile of faggots before the door of the *darbár*. The Brahman was tied hand and foot and cast into it; the tablet was thrown on the top and the pile was lighted. The writer of this book was present at the *darbár* and witnessed the execution. The tablet of the Brahman was lighted in two places, at his head and at his feet; the wood was dry, and the fire first reached his feet, and drew from him a cry, but the flames quickly enveloped his head and consumed him. Behold the Sultán's strict adherence to law and rectitude, how he would not deviate in the least from its decrees.]

Fourth Mukaddama.—Levy of the Jizya from the Brahmans.

* * * [The *Jizya*, or poll tax, had never been levied from Brahmans; they had been held excused, in former reigns. But

the Sultán convened a meeting of the learned men and elders, and suggested to them that an error had been committed in holding Brahmans exempt from the tax, and that the revenue officers had been remiss in their duty. The Brahmans were the very keys of the chamber of idolatry, and the infidels were dependent on them. They ought therefore to be taxed first. The learned lawyers gave it as their opinion that the Brahmans ought to be taxed.) The Brahmans of all the four cities then assembled and went to the *Kushk-i Shikár*, where the Sultán was engaged in building, and represented that the Brahmans had never before been called upon to pay the *Jizya*, and they wanted to know why they were now subjected to the indignity of having to pay it. They were determined to collect wood and to burn themselves under the walls of the palace rather than pay the tax. When these pleasant words (*kalimát i pur naghmat*) were reported to the Sultán, he replied that they might burn and destroy themselves at once, for they would not escape from the payment. He could not overlook the matter as former kings had done, and they must give up all hope of it. The Brahmans remained fasting for several days at the palace until they were on the point of death. They clearly perceived that the Sultán did not intend to spare them. The Hindus of the city then assembled and told the Brahmans that it was not right to kill themselves on account of the *Jizya*, and that they would undertake to pay it for them. In Dehlí, the *Jizya* was of three kinds: 1st class, Forty *tankas*; 2nd class, Twenty *tankas*; 3rd class, Ten *tankas*. When the Brahmans found their case was hopeless, they went to the Sultán and begged him in his mercy to reduce the amount they would have to pay, and he accordingly assessed it at ten *tankas* and fifty *jitals*¹ for each individual.

Fifth Mukaddama.—Account of two giants and a dwarf; also of two bearded women [and other wonders of the reign].

در نغري دهگان تنكه پنجاه گاني بستانند²

*Sixth Mukaddama.—Memoir of the Khán-i 'azam Tátár Khán.*

Tátár Khán was of Turkí origin. * * * In the reign of Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Ghází, a king of Khurásán made an attack upon Multán and Dípálpúr, and was ravaging and wasting that country. He had a wife, a very handsome woman, from whom he could not bear to be absent, and so he took her with him on his campaign. She was pregnant, and was delivered of a child in the neighbourhood of Multán and Dípálpúr. On that same night, Sultán Tughlik made an attack upon the army of her husband, which he defeated and put to flight. In the confusion the child was left in its cradle. * * * and was found by the soldiers of Sultán Tughlik. The Sultán was pleased with the child, brought him up like a son, and gave him the name of Tátár Malik. He was young when that Sultán died, but grew up in the reign of Sultán Muhammad, and became distinguished for his courage, intrepidity, and military talents. * * * In the reign of Fíroz Sháh he obtained the title of Tátár Khán [*and many marks of distinction*]. * * * He collected a great number of commentaries on the Kurán, and having secured the assistance of a number of learned men, * * * he produced the commentary which he called the *Tafsír-i Tátár Kháni*. He also compiled a law book, called the *Fatawa-i Tátár Kháni*. * * * He died some years after the accession of Fíroz Sháh.

Seventh Mukaddama.—Memoir of Khán-i Jahán.

The name of Khán-i Jahán was Makhbúl. In his state of ignorance (*i.e.* when he was a Hindu) he was called Kattú. He was a native of Telingana, and a man of high position in his tribe, and he had attracted the favour of the *Rái* of that country. When Sultán Muhammad sent the *Rái* of Telingana to Dehlí, the *Rái* died upon the road. Kattú then presented himself to Sultán Muhammad, and made his profession of the Muhammadan faith. On being admitted to the honour of the faith, the Sultán gave him the name of Makhbúl, and bestowed on him many marks

of his favour. Sultán Muhammad perceived in him many marks of sagacity and intelligence, so he made him deputy-*wazir* of Dehlí, when he used to seal and place his signature on *parwānas* as follows, "Makbúl, slave of Muhammad Tughlik." Although he had no knowledge of reading and writing, he was a man of great common sense, acumen and intelligence, and was an ornament to the Court. In the reign of Sultán Muhammad he received the title of Kiwámu-l Mulk, and a grant of the fief of Multán. This was before he became deputy-*wazir*. In those days Khwája-i Jahán was *wazir* of Sultán Muhammad. * * * When this Sultán died, and Sultán Fíroz attained the throne, Khwája-i Jahán was desirous of giving the crown to a son of Sultán Muhammad, and opposed Sultán Fíroz, as has been related in a former part of this work. Khwája-i Jahán and Kiwámu-l Mulk were both in Dehlí at the time, and when Fíroz Sháh approached the city, Kiwámu-l Mulk went out to meet him, and helped him to get possession of the city. He was then made *wazir* [and received the title of *Khán-i Jahán*]. * * * When the Sultán departed from Dehlí on affairs of State, or for hunting, he used to leave Khán-i Jahán as his deputy, who, during his absence, rode about Dehlí with a great display of power, * * * having his sons, grandsons, sons-in-law, and slaves in his train. * * * During the absence of the Sultán, the city was thus kept in subjection. After the death of the Khán, the Sultán ceased from his excursions, and only went out riding in the neighbourhood of the capital.

Khán-i-Jahán had a great number of children. He was much devoted to the pleasures of the harem, and sought eagerly for pretty handmaids. It is reported that he had two thousand women of Rúm and Chín in his harem, where he spent much of his time notwithstanding his onerous official duties. He had numerous sons, and the Sultán made a provision that every son born to him should from his birth receive an allowance (*nán*) of 11,000 *tankas* for his maintenance, he also provided that every daughter on her marriage should receive an allowance

of 15,000 *tankas*. His sons and sons-in-law all wore caps and white waist-bands, and his magnificence reached to such a pitch, that the Sultán was often heard to say that Khán-i Jahán was the grand and magnificent king of Dehli.

'Ainu-l Mulk was also called 'Ain Máhrú. * * * He was a wise, accomplished, excellent, clever man, full of sound judgment and intelligence, * * * but during the reign of Sultán Muhammad bin Tughlik his brothers had been guilty of some improper and unworthy action, through which he had properly been sent into disgrace. * * * One day Muhammad Tughlik held a general Court, * * * when he perceived 'Ainu-l Mulk, and, pointing to him, said, that the misconduct of his brothers had deprived the State of his services, and the Sultán gave orders that he should be re-instated in his position at Court. 'Ainu-l Mulk was a clever and accomplished man of the highest ability. He wrote some excellent books in the reigns of Muhammad Tughlik and Fíroz Sháh. One of them is the '*Ainu-l Mulki*, a popular and approved work. * * In the reign of Fíroz Sháh he was appointed to the office of *Ashráful-l Mamálik*, and entered actively upon his duties in the minister's office. But a dispute arose between him and the minister, * * * which was carried to extremities. * * * The contention reached such a height that Khán-i Jahán often uttered most bitter personal remarks in the presence of 'Ainu-l Mulk, and the latter retorted in the same strain; there was no delicacy between them. * * * Khán-i Jahán told the Sultán that he could no longer stay in the country, and therefore he wished to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. * * * At length the Sultán said to Khán-i Jahán, "I have given to you the office of *Dicán-i wazárat*, all officers are under you, dismiss whom you please and give the office of *Ashráfu-l mamálik* to another." The *wazír* went home rejoiced, * * * and sent 'Ainu-l Mulk his dismissal. When 'Ainu-l Mulk received his discharge he did not go to the palace for three days, but on the third day he went and paid his respects to the sovereign. The Sultán called him near, and observed that the world is ruined



by dissensions, * * * * and as a quarrel had arisen between Khán-i Jahán and him, there was granted to him the fiefs of Multán, Bhakkar, and Siwistán, whither he had better repair and look after their affairs. But 'Aínu-l Mulk replied, that if he managed these territories he would not render his accounts to the office of the *wazír*, but that he would submit them to the Sultán himself. The Sultán accordingly ordered that the fief of Multán should be removed from the jurisdiction of the minister, and told 'Aínu-l Mulk that he would himself receive his reports¹ and that his books would be sufficient. Upon these conditions 'Aínu-l Mulk accepted the fiefs. The writer has been informed that when 'Aínu-l Mulk was thus dismissed, the chief servants met to consider the matter, and they observed that he had been disgraced through the influence of the minister, and that the same might happen to them to-morrow. They therefore endeavoured to set the Sultán against Khán-i Jahán. * * * 'Aínu-l Mulk had started for Multán, and had proceeded about twenty-four *kos*, when he received an order from the Sultán directing him to leave all his train and return quickly. He did so with alacrity, and when he arrived in Dehlí, the Sultán gave him a private audience, when the officers who were present observed that it was not right to give such predominance to Khán-i Jahán, and that it would be well to beware of him. The Sultán looked towards 'Aínu-l Mulk who said that * * * Khán-i Jahán was a wise and experienced minister, and that his removal would be a calamity to the State. These sentiments greatly pleased the Sultán. He afterwards consulted with him and asked him what ought to be done. He replied that the * * * *wazír* should be sent for, and that all fear and apprehension should be removed from his mind. * * * The minister was accordingly summoned, and when the officers who were sent to call him informed him of what had passed he was greatly amazed. * * * When the Sultán saw he was disturbed in mind

¹ This seems to be the meaning of the sentence, but the exact words are "all that you may happen to do in the fief of Multán shall be listened to."



he reassured him, clothed him with a splendid robe and sent him away with many marks of favour. As the minister retired, radiant and happy, he embraced 'Ainu-l Mulk and said, "I had never thought that you were so friendly towards me. I have been wrong and ungracious to you." 'Ainu-l Mulk replied that he hoped that all misgiving would be removed from the mind of the minister, he had spoken warmly for him, notwithstanding their old feud, and all that he had said had been for the good of the throne of Sultán Fíroz. Khán-i Jahán strongly wished to take 'Ainu-l Mulk home with him but he declined.

[*Order of Precedence at Court*]. Khán-i Jahán lived to a ripe old age, till he was more than eighty years old, and all his limbs had become very feeble. * * * He died in the year 770 H. (1368 A.D.), in the eighteenth year of the reign of Fíroz Sháh. When he died all Dehlí went into mourning, and crowded to the mosques and tombs. [*Eulogy of the Khán.*] The Sultán was greatly affected at his death, and wept bitterly; and he resolved in his mind that he would never more ride forth on any great enterprise. * * *

When Khán-i Jahán held the fief of Multán, he had a son born to him. * * * He wrote to acquaint Sultán Muhammad Sháh of the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Júnán Sháh. This was he who was afterwards known as Khán-i Jahán, son of Khán-i Jahán. * * * After the death of his father, the Sultán promoted him to the office of *wazír*, and bestowed on him this title. * * * He acted as minister under Fíroz Sháh for twenty years, * * * and the Sultán committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge. But towards the end of the reign of Fíroz Sháh, * * * enmity broke out between the minister and Prince Muhammad Khán, afterwards Sultán Muhammad Sháh. Their dissensions were the cause of great trouble and disaster to the country; old and young, small and great, suffered, and the country at length fell a prey to the inroads of the Mughals. The author has entered fully into the details of this quarrel in his memoir of Sultán Muhammad bin Fíroz.

Eighth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik Náib Bar-bak.

*Ninth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik-i Mulúku-sh Sharf,
'Imádu-l Mulk, Bashir-i Sultán.*

* * * Some say that Sipáh-sálár Rajab, the father of Sultán Fíroz received 'Imádu-l Mulk as part of his wife's dower, others that he purchased him with the price of some of his wife's jewels, and others assert that when Sultán Fíroz, after his accession, married a daughter of Sultán Kutbu-d dín, this lady gave her slave 'Imádu-l Mulk to her husband. * * * The great wealth of 'Imádu-l Mulk has already been spoken of; it amounted to *krors*. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2,500 *tankas* were expended in the purchase of the material, the cost of each bag being four *jitals*. * * * When the accounts were brought before 'Imádu-l Mulk he objected to this extravagant outlay for bags, and directed that pits should be dug in the ground and the money placed therein like as corn is stored. * * * There were many rich *kháns* and *maliks* in the time of Fíroz Sháh, but no one was so rich as he; indeed there never had been one so rich in any reign or in any kingdom. It is said that he amassed thirteen *krors* (of *tankas*) but he was avid in the acquisition of more. He held the fief of Ráprí and looked very vigilantly after it. The clerks of the Exchequer (*diván-i wazárat*) were afraid of him, and they refrained from calling him to account, so that in the course of years a large balance was due by him. This fact became known to the Sultán. * * * When 'Imádu-l Mulk heard about the enquiry he drew up a statement of his wealth which he himself presented to the Sultán, who read it without making any observation and returned it. * * * One day 'Imádu-l Mulk brought a *kror* (of *tankas*) in bags to Court, and when the Sultán cried out "Bashir, what is this?" he replied that it was a small contribution (*chize 'altufah*) for the use of the servants of the court. The Sultán declined to take it, but 'Imádu-l Mulk urged its acceptance. At length the Sultán said, "Bashir is my property,



and so his property is mine. But this *kror* must not be placed in the public treasury, because that is the depository of the public revenue. Let it therefore be deposited with Makbúl the perfumer (*'itr-dár*). Whenever Khán-i Jahán required money for fitting out the equipage of the Sultán, he used to give notice to the Sultán, and this *kror* in the hands of Makbúl was drawn upon for the necessary expenses.¹ But as money was continually coming in from 'Imádu-l Mulk's) fief, which was handed over to Makbúl the perfumer, the *kror* (of *tankas*), so long as the Sultán lived, was not diminished. * * * When 'Imádu-l Mulk died the Sultán decided that the wealth did not belong to the deceased. There were twelve *krors*, of which the Sultán took nine, leaving three for Malik Is'hák.)

Tenth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik Saiyidu-l Hujjáb.

Eleventh Mukaddama.—Memoir of Malik Shamsu-d dín Abúrjá, Mustaufi-mamálík.

Twelfth Mukaddama.—Memoir of Shamsu-d dín Dámaghání.

Thirteenth Mukaddama.—Destruction of a band of murderers by Firoz Sháh.

Fourteenth Mukaddama.—Attention shown to three subjects by Firoz Sháh towards the end of his life, viz.,

1. Liberation of prisoners. 2. Restoration of mosques. 3. Redressing the wrongs of the oppressed.

Fifteenth Mukaddama.—The last farewell of Saiyid Jalálu-d dín.²

Sixteenth Mukaddama.—Repentance of Firoz Sháh.

Seventeenth Mukaddama.—Resignation (*taslim kardan*) of Firoz Sháh to Khán-i Jahán.

Eighteenth Mukaddama.—Account of the charms (*ahwál-i síhr*) performed for Firoz Sháh.

¹ Sir H. Elliot's and Mr. Thomas' MSS. here come to an abrupt termination, having been evidently copied, as before observed, from the same (imperfect) original.

² The best MS. terminates abruptly in this chapter. The headings of the remaining three chapters are taken from the Preface.



XVII.

FUTUHAT-I FÍROZ SHAHI

OF

SULTÁN FÍROZ SHAH.

[This little work, the production of the Sultán Fíroz Sháh, contains a brief summary of the *res gestae* of his reign, or, as he designates them, his "Victories." Sir H. Elliot was unable to obtain a copy of it, but considered its recovery very desirable, "as everything relating to the noble character of Fíroz is calculated to excite attention." Colonel Lees also speaks of it, but he had never seen it, and was not well informed as to its extent.¹ Mr. Thomas was more fortunate, for he possesses a copy which purports to have been written in 1139 H. (1726 A.D.), but it is quite modern; the date therefore must be that of the MS. from which it was copied. The work is a mere brochure of thirty-two pages, and the editor has translated the whole of it, with the exception of a few lines in the preface laudatory of the prophet. It exhibits the humane and generous spirit of Fíroz in a very pleasing unostentatious light, recording his earnest endeavours to discharge the duties of his station with clemency, and to act up to the teaching of his religion with reverence and earnestness.]

EXTRACTS.

[Praises without end, and infinite thanks to that merciful Creator who gave to me his poor abject creature Fíroz, son of Rajab, the slave of Muhammad Sháh son of Tughlik Sháh, His impulse for the maintenance of the laws of His religion, for the

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV., New Series, p. 446. See also Briggs' Ferishta, I, 462.



repression of heresy, the prevention of crime, and the prohibition of things forbidden; who gave me also a disposition for discharging my lawful duties and my moral obligations. * * * My desire is that, to the best of my human power, I should recount and pay my thanks for the many blessings He has bestowed upon me, so that I may be found among the number of His grateful servants. First I would praise Him because when irreligion and sins opposed to the Law prevailed in Hindustán, and mens' habits and dispositions were inclined towards them, and were averse to the restraints of religion, He inspired me His humble servant with an earnest desire to repress irreligion and wickedness, so that I was able to labour diligently until with His blessing the vanities of the world, and things repugnant to religion, were set aside, and the true was distinguished from the false.

1. In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Musulmáns had been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musulmáns, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men.

"Thanks for God's mercies I will show,
By causing man nor pain nor woe."

All these things were practised that fear and dread might fall upon the hearts of men, and that the regulations of government might be duly maintained.

"Would'st thou see thy land at rest?
Keep the (headsman's) sword at rest!"

Through the mercy which God has shown to me these severities and terrors have been exchanged for tenderness, kindness, and mercy. Fear and respect have thus taken firmer hold of

the hearts of men, and there has been no need of executions, scourgings, tortures, or terrors. But this blessed result is altogether due to the mercy and favour of the Creator.

“Thy power is great, then mercy show :
Pardon than vengeance better know.
Greatness to thee from Heaven descends :
Proneness to wrath thy God offends.
Withhold thine hand, some respite give,
Nor kill the man thou might'st forgive ;
Let not his body lifeless fall,
His spirit thou can'st ne'er recall.
See how the mother's tender breast
Is by her child's distress oppress.
Boast not the hundreds thou hast slain,
To save one life's a nobler aim.
Thou shrinkest from the lancet's smart,
Keep then thy sword from neck and heart.
Seek not to shed a victim's gore,
The life-stream stopped will flow no more.
From deeds of blood thy hand restrain,
Thy blood the assassin's blade may stain.
That leader praise whose generous heart,
Disdains with captives' lives to sport.
From the well of fate he life will draw
Who shields the wretch from tyrants' law.
A vanquished foe should claim thy care,
Then pity show—in mercy spare!”

By God's help I determined that the lives (*khán*) of Musulmáns and true believers should be in perfect immunity, and whoever transgressed the Law should receive the punishment prescribed by the book and the decrees of judges.

2. The next matter, which by God's help I accomplished, was the repetition of the names and titles of former sovereigns which had been omitted from the prayers on Sabbaths and Feasts. The names of those sovereigns of Islám, under whose happy fortune and favour infidel countries had been conquered, whose banners had waved over many a land, under whom mosques and pulpits had been built and exalted, the fragrant creed had been extended, and the people of Islám had waxen strong and warlike, the names of these men had fallen into neglect and oblivion. So I decreed that according to established custom their names and



titles should be rehearsed in the *khutba* and aspirations offered for the remission of their sins.

"Would'st thou enjoy a lasting fame?
Hide not the merits of an honoured name!"

3. In former reigns they used to collect frivolous, unlawful, and unjust cesses at the public treasury, such as the *Mandari bark*, *dalalat-i bazārha*, *jārari*, *amiri-tarab*, *gul-faroshi*, *jaribā-i tumbol*, *changi-ghala*, *kitābi*, *būlgari*, *māhi-faroshi*, *sābunkari*, *risman faroshi*, *raughan-kari*, *nukhud-biryān*, *tah-bāzari*, *jhaba*, *kimār-khāna*, *dād-banki*, *kotwāli*, *ihisābi*, *karhi*, *charāi*, *musā-darāi*. I had all these abolished and removed from the accounts, and any revenue collector who exacted these cesses from the people was to be brought to punishment for his offence.)

"Better a people's weal than treasures vast,
Better an empty chest than hearts downcast."

The money received in the public treasury should be derived from sources recognized by the Sacred Law, and approved by books of authority. First the *kharāj* or tenth from cultivated lands, then the *zakāt* or alms, then the *jizya* or poll tax on Hindus and other separatists, then the *khams* or fifth of the spoil and of (the produce of) mines. No tax unauthorized by the declarations of the book should be received in the public treasury.

4. Before my time it was the rule and practice that in repressing infidelity four-fifths of the spoil was appropriated to the public treasury and one-fifth was given to the captors; but the rule of the Law is that one-fifth should be taken by the State, and four-fifths allotted to the captors. The provisions of the Law had thus been entirely subverted. As the Law was thus set at nought, every man looked upon himself as the lawful owner of the spoil he captured. Hence, children borne by female captives were the offspring of fornication. To prevent these irregularities I decreed that one-fifth (of the spoil) should be taken by the State, and four-fifths given to the captors.)

5. The sect of *Shi'as*, also called *Rawāfiẓ*, had endeavoured to make proselytes. They wrote treatises and books, and gave in-

struction and lectures upon the tenets of their sect, and traduced and reviled the first chiefs of our religion (on whom be the peace of God!). I seized them all and I convicted them of their errors and perversions. [On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (*siyásat*), and the rest I visited with censure (*tázir*) and threats (*tahdib*) of public punishment (*tashhár-i zjir*). Their books I burnt in public, and so by the grace of God the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed.]

6. [There was a sect of heretics (*mulhid*), and sectarians (*abáh-tiyán*), who laboured to seduce the people into heresy and schism.] They met by night at an appointed time and place, both friends and strangers. Wine was served, and they said that this was their religious worship. They brought their wives, mothers, and daughters to these meetings. The men threw themselves on the ground as if in worship, and each man had intercourse with the woman whose garment he caught. I cut off the heads of the elders of this sect, and imprisoned and banished the rest, so that their abominable practices were put an end to.

7. [There was a sect which wore the garments of atheism, and having thrown off all restraint, led men astray.] The name of their chief was Ahmad Bahárí. He dwelt in the city, and a party of his followers called him a God. They brought those people before me in bonds and chains, and informed me that he presumptuously made himself a prophet, and said that there could be none of the grace of prophecy in any one who had not been admitted into his following. [One of his disciples affirmed that a God had appeared in Dehlí, that is, Ahmad Bahárí. When these facts were proved against them, I ordered them both to be confined and punished with chains. I admonished the others to repent and reform, and I banished them to different cities to put a stop to the influence of this wretched sect.]

8. There was in Dehlí a man named Ruknu-d dín, who was called Mahdí, because he affirmed himself to be the Imám Mahdi who is to appear in the latter days, and to be possessed of knowledge by inspiration. He said that he had not read or studied



under anyone, and that he knew the names of all things, a knowledge which no prophet had acquired since Adam. He pretended that the mysteries of the science of letters (*'ilm-i' huruf*) had been revealed to him in a way never made known to any other man, and that he had written books upon the subject. He led people astray into mystic practices, and perverted ideas by maintaining that he was Ruknu-d din, the prophet of God. The elders brought the facts of this case to my attention, and gave evidence of what they had heard him say. When he was brought before me I investigated the charges of error and perversion brought against him, and he was convicted of heresy and error. The doctors of the Law said he was an infidel, and worthy of death, for having spread such vile and pernicious ideas among the people of Islám. If any delay were made in putting them down they would spread like a pestilence, and many Musulmánas would stray from the true faith. A revolt (against religion) would follow; and many men would fall into perdition. I ordered that this vile fellow's rebellion and wickedness should be communicated to all societies of learned men, and be made public to all men, high and low : and that in accordance with the decision of the doctors learned in the holy Law, the guilty should be brought to punishment. They killed him with some of his supporters and disciples, and the people rushing in tore him to pieces and broke his bones into fragments. Thus was his iniquity prevented. God in His mercy and favour, made me, His humble creature, the instrument of putting down such wickedness, and abolishing such heresy; and guided me to effect a restoration of true religion. Thanks for this are due to the great and glorious God. Upon hearing or reading the facts here recorded, every well-wisher of His religion will admit that this sect was deservedly punished, and for this good action I hope to receive future reward.

9. A person who was one of the pupils of 'Ain Máhrú,¹ had set himself up as a *shaikh* in the country of Gujarát, and having

¹ از ملازادگان عین ماهرو.

got together a body of disciples, used to say, "*Ana-l Hakk*" (I am God). He commanded his disciples that when he used these words they were to say, "Thou art, thou art!" He further said, "I am the king who dies not;" and he wrote a book in which he inserted the words of his profession (*kalamât*). He was put in chains and brought before me. The charge being proved, I condemned him to punishment, and his book I ordered to be burnt, so that his innovation (*fasâd*) might be prevented from spreading among the faithful people of Islâm.

10. A custom and practice unauthorized by the Law of Islâm had sprung up in Musulmân cities. On holy days women riding in palankins, or carts, or litters, or mounted on horses or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs. Rakes and wild fellows of unbridled passions and loose habits, took the opportunity which this practice afforded for improper riotous actions. I commanded that no woman should go out to the tombs under pain of exemplary punishment. Now, thanks to the great God, no lady or respectable Musulmân woman can go out on pilgrimage to the tombs. The practice has been entirely stopped.

11. The Hindus and idol-worshippers had agreed to pay the money for toleration (*zar-i zimmiya*), and had consented to the poll tax (*jizya*), in return for which they and their families enjoyed security. These people now erected new idol temples in the city and the environs in opposition to the Law of the Prophet which declares that such temples are not to be tolerated. Under Divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and I killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisement, until this abuse was entirely abolished. The following is an instance:—In the village of Malûh there is a tank which they call *kund* (tank). Here they had built idol-temples, and on certain days the Hindus were accustomed to proceed thither on horseback, and wearing arms. Their women and children also went out in palankins and carts. There they assembled in thousands and performed



idol worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the *bázár* people took out there all sorts of provisions, and set up stalls and sold their goods. Some graceless Musulmáns, thinking only of their own gratification, took part in these meetings. When intelligence of this came to my ears my religious feelings prompted me at once to put a stop to this scandal and offence to the religion of Islám. On the day of the assembling I went there in person, and I ordered that the leaders of these people and the promoters of this abomination should be put to death. I forbad the infliction of any severe punishments on the Hindus in general, but I destroyed their idol temples, and instead thereof raised mosques. I founded two flourishing towns (*kasba*), one called Tughlikpúr, the other Sálárpúr. Where infidels and idolaters worshiped idols, Musulmáns now, by God's mercy, perform their devotions to the true God. Praises of God and the summons to prayer are now heard there, and that place which was formerly the home of infidels has become the habitation of the faithful, who there repeat their creed and offer up their praises to God.

12. Information was brought to me that some Hindús had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Sálihpúr, and were performing worship to their idol. I sent some persons there to destroy the idol temple, and to put a stop to their pernicious incitements to error.

13. Some Hindús had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Kohána, and the idolaters used to assemble there and perform their idolatrous rites. These people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that the perverse conduct of the leaders of this wickedness should be publicly proclaimed, and that they should be put to death before the gate of the palace. I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols, and the vessels used in their worship, which had been taken with them, should all be publicly burnt. The others were restrained by threats and punishments, as a warning to all men, that no *zimmi* could follow such wicked practices in a Musulmán country.

14. It had been the practice in former reigns to use vessels of

gold and silver at the royal table, and sword-belts and quivers were ornamented with gold and jewels. I forbade these things, and I ordered the fittings of my arms to be made of bone, and I commanded that only such vessels should be used as are recognized by the Law.

15. [In former times it had been the custom to wear ornamented garments, and men received robes as tokens of honour from kings' courts.] Figures and devices were painted and displayed on saddles, bridles, and collars, on censers, on goblets and cups, and flagons, on dishes and ewers, in tents, on curtains and on chairs, and upon all articles and utensils. Under Divine guidance and favour I ordered all pictures and portraits to be removed from these things, and that such articles only should be made as are approved and recognized by the Law. These pictures and portraits which were painted on the doors and walls of palaces I ordered to be effaced.

16. Formerly the garments of great men were generally made of silk and gold brocades, beautiful but unlawful. Under Divine guidance I ordered that such garments should be worn as are approved by the Law of the Prophet, and that choice should be made of such trimmings of gold brocade, embroidery, or braiding as did not exceed four inches (*asābi'*) in breadth. Whatever was unlawful and forbidden by, or opposed to, the Law was set aside.

Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me, His humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices, and aid the kind builder with their prayers. The digging of canals, the planting of trees, and the endowing with lands are in accordance with the directions of the Law. The learned doctors of the Law of Islām have many troubles; of this there is no doubt. I settled allowances upon them in proportion to their necessary expenses, so that they might regularly receive the income. The details of this are fully set forth in the *Wakf-nāma*.



Again, by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay from lapse of time; giving the restoration of these buildings the priority over my own building works. The *Masjid-i jāmi* of old Dehlī, which was built by Sultān Mu'izzu-d dīn Sām, had fallen into decay from old age, and needed repair and restoration. I so repaired it that it was quite renovated.

The western wall of the tomb of Sultān Mu'izzu-d dīn Sām, and the planks of the door, had become old and rotten. I restored this, and, in the place of the balcony, I furnished it with doors, arches, and ornaments of sandal-wood.

The *mināra* of Sultān Mu'izzu-d dīn Sām had been struck by lightning. I repaired it and raised it higher than it was before.

The *Hauz-i Shamsi*, or tank of Altamsh, had been deprived of water by some graceless men, who stopped up the channels of supply. I punished these incorrigible men severely, and opened again the closed up channels.

The *Hauz-i 'Alāi*, or tank of 'Alāu-d dīn, had no water in it, and was filled up. People carried on cultivation in it, and had dug wells, of which they sold the water. After a generation (*karn*) had passed I cleaned it out, so that this great tank might again be filled from year to year.

The *Madrasa* (college) of Sultān Shamsu-d dīn Altamsh had been destroyed. I rebuilt it, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. The columns of the tomb, which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built its court (*sahn*) had not been made curved (*kaj*), but I now made it so. I enlarged the hewn-stone staircase of the dome, and I re-erected the fallen piers (*pushti*) of the four towers.

Tomb of Sultān Mu'izzu-d dīn, son of Sultān Shamsu-d dīn, which is situated in Malikpūr. This had fallen into such ruin that the sepulchres were undistinguishable. I re-erected the dome, the terrace, and the enclosure wall.

Tomb of Sultān Raknu-d dīn, son of Shamsu-d dīn, in Malik-



púr. I repaired the enclosure wall, built a new dome, and erected a monastery (*khánkáh*).

Tomb of Sultán Jalálu-d dín. This I repaired, and I supplied it with new doors.

Tomb of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. I repaired the wall of the *abdár-khána*, and the west wall of the mosque, which is within the college, and I also made good the tessellated pavement (*farsh-i ta'shīb*).

Tomb of Sultán Kutbu-d dín and the (other) sons of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín, viz., Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, Faríd Khán, Sultán Shahábu-d dín, Sikandar Khán, Muhammad Khán, 'Usmán Khán, and his grandsons, and the sons of his grandsons. The tombs of these I repaired and renovated.

I also repaired the doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikhul Islám Nizámu-l hakk wau-d dín, which were made of sandal-wood. I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome, and I built a meeting room, for before this there was none.

Tomb of Malik Táju-l Mulk Káfúrí, the great *vazír* of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries, on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and he caused the *khutba* of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín to be repeated there. He had 52,000 horsemen. His grave had been leveled with the ground, and his tomb laid low. I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful subject.

The *Dáru-l ámán*, or House of Rest. This is the bed and resting place of great men. I had new sandal-wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended.

The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments. In those cases where no income had been settled on these foundations in former times for (procuring) carpets, lights, and furniture for the use of



travelers and pilgrims in the least of these places, I had villages assigned to them, the revenues of which would suffice for their expenditure in perpetuity.

Jahán-pandáh. This foundation of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored.

All the fortifications which had been built by former sovereigns at Dehlí I repaired.

For the benefit of travelers and pilgrims resorting to the tombs of illustrious kings and celebrated saints, and for providing the things necessary in these holy places, I confirmed and gave effect to the grants of villages, lands, and other endowments which had been conferred upon them in olden times. In those cases where no endowment or provision had been settled, I made an endowment, so that these establishments might for ever be secure of an income, to afford comfort to travelers and wayfarers, to holy men and learned men. May they remember those (ancient benefactors) and me in their prayers.

I was enabled by God's help to build a *Dáru-sh shifá*, or Hospital, for the benefit of every one of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering. Physicians attend there to ascertain the disease, to look after the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine. The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments. All sick persons, residents and travelers, gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither; their maladies are treated, and, under God's blessing, they are cured.

Under the guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed (*kushta*) in the reign of my late lord and patron Sultán Muhammad Sháh, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultán and be appeased with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest, which was placed in the *Dáru-l ámán* at the head of the tomb of the



late Sultán, in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him.

Another instance of Divine guidance was this. Villages, lands, and ancient patrimonies of every kind had been wrested from the hands of their owners in former reigns, and had been brought under the Exchequer. I directed that every one who had a claim to property should bring it forward in the law-court, and, upon establishing his title, the village, the land, or whatever other property it was should be restored to him. By God's grace I was impelled to this good action, and men obtained their just rights.

I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musulmán should be exempt from the *jizya*, or poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves, and were admitted to the honour of Islám. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the *jizya*, and were favoured with presents and honours.

Through God's mercy the lands and property of his servants have been safe and secure, protected and guarded during my reign; and I have not allowed the smallest particle of any man's property to be wrested from him. Men often spoke to me officiously, saying that such and such a merchant had made so many *lacs*, and that such and such a revenue collector had so many *lacs*. By reproofs and punishments I made these informers hold their tongues, so that the people might be safe from their malignity, and through this kindness men became my friends and supporters.

"Labour to earn for generous deeds a name,
Nor seek for riches to extend thy fame.
Better one word of praise than stores of gold,
Better one grateful prayer than wealth untold."

Under God's favour my heart was occupied with an earnest



desire to succour the poor and needy (*fukrá wa masákin*) and to comfort their hearts. Wherever I heard of a *fakir* or religious recluse, I went to visit him and ministered to his necessities, so that I might attain the blessing promised to those who befriend the poor.

Whenever a person had completed the natural term of life and had become full of years, after providing for his support, I advised and admonished him to direct his thoughts to making preparation for the life to come, and to repent of all things which he had done contrary to the Law and religion in his youth; to wean his affections from this world, and to fix them on the next.

I desired to act upon the sentiment of these lines—

“The practice of the great should be
To succour honest men;
And when a good man dies, to see
His children find a friend.”

When any government servant filling an important and responsible position was carried off under the decrees of God to the happy future life, I gave his place and employment to his son, so that he might occupy the same position and rank as his father and suffer no injury.

“Kings should make their rule of life
To love the great and wise;
And when death ends this mortal strife,
To dry their loved ones' eyes.”

[The greatest and best of honours that I obtained through God's mercy was, that by my obedience and piety, and friendliness and submission to the *Khalifa*, the representative of the holy Prophet, my authority was confirmed; for it is by his sanction that the power of kings is assured, and no king is secure until he has submitted himself to the *khalefa*, and has received a confirmation from the sacred throne. A diploma was sent to me fully confirming my authority as deputy of the *khiláfat*, and the leader of the faithful was graciously pleased to honour me with the title of “*Saiyidu-s Salátin*.” He also bestowed upon me robes, a banner, a sword, a ring, and a foot-print as badges of honour and distinction.]



My object in writing this book has been to express my gratitude to the All-bountiful God for the many and various blessings He has bestowed upon me. Secondly, that men who desire to be good and prosperous may read this and learn what is the proper course. There is this concise maxim, by observing which, a man may obtain God's guidance : Men will be judged according to their works, and rewarded for the good that they have done.



XVIII.

MALFUZAT-I TIMURÍ,

OR

TU'ZAK-I TIMURÍ:

THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TIMUR.

[This is an autobiographical memoir of the Emperor Tímúr, written in the Chaghatái Turkí language, translated into Persian by Abú Tálíb Husainí, and dedicated to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, who began to reign in A.D. 1628.

In the brief preface to his translation, Abú Tálíb states that he found the original Turkí work in the library of Ja'far, Hákim of Yaman,¹ and that it consisted of a history of Tímúr, from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age. The reticence of Abú Tálíb as to the authenticity of the original work, and the strangeness of the place for the discovery of a MS. in a Turkí language, have given rise to the suspicion that there was no such work, and that Abú Tálíb made the statement to give greater authority to a production of his own. Major Davy, who first brought the work to notice, argued against this supposition, grounding his opinion on the internal evidence of the work itself, and on the improbability of an author resorting to "an artifice which could tend only to diminish his fame and his profit." The probability is that Abú Tálíb knew nothing more of the work than what he learned from its own pages, and that when he had turned these into Persian he had nothing to add. Tímúr's descendants seem to have had a partiality for writing

¹ A person of this name was Pasha of Yaman in 1610.—Astley's *Voyages* referred to by Stewart in the Preface to his translation.

their own memoirs, as in the instances of Bábar and Jahángír; and others, who did not profess to be their own biographers, provided for a record of their lives and actions being written. This family predilection is of itself something in favour of the authenticity of the work.

The fact of its being a genuine work, produced under the supervision of Tímúr himself, can however be proved upon more certain evidence. Only thirty years after Tímúr's death, Sharafu-d dín Yazdí wrote his celebrated *Zafar-náma*, or Book of Victory, to commemorate the exploits of Tímúr, and in his preface he details the sources from which his work was drawn, and the auspices under which it was written. To establish the veracity and authority of his history, he first describes, in the following words, the way in which a record of the events of Tímúr's reign was kept at the Court of that Emperor.

“The third recommendation (of this my work, named *Zafar-náma*) is its truthfulness—the exactness and verity of the accounts and descriptions of the various events of Tímúr's life, both at home and abroad. Men of the highest character for learning, knowledge, and goodness, Aighúr officers and Persian secretaries, were in attendance at the Court of Tímúr, and a staff of them under the orders of the Emperor wrote down an account of everything that occurred. The movements, actions and sayings of Tímúr, the various incidents and affairs of State, of religion, and the ministers, were all recorded and written down with the greatest care. The most stringent commands were given that every event should be recorded exactly as it occurred, without any modification either in excess or diminution. This rule was to be particularly observed in matters of personal bearing and courage, without fear or favour of any one, and most especially in respect of the valour and prowess of the Emperor himself. The learned and eloquent writers having recorded the facts, their compositions were polished and finished off in verse and prose. From time to time these writings were brought into the royal presence and were read to



the Emperor, so as to insure confidence by the impress of his approval. In this way the records of the various incidents and actions of the life of Tímūr, whether recounted in Turkí verse or Persian prose, were revised and finally recorded in prose and verse. Besides this, some of the officers of the Court wrote down the incidents of the reign of Tímūr, and took the greatest pains to ascertain the truth of what they recorded. Accomplished writers then moulded these productions into Turkí verse and Persian prose."

Sharafu-d dín then goes on to relate how his own royal patron Ibráhím, grandson of Tímūr, took the greatest interest in the composition of the *Zafar-náma* how he procured from all parts of his dominions copies of the works relating to the life of Tímūr, in prose and verse, in Turkí and in Persian; how he supplied him with men learned in Persian and Turkí as assistants; how reference was made to surviving actors in the events recorded; how he wrote letters in all directions to settle discrepancies in the MSS., and how he had the work read to him in the rough draft and in the finished state.¹

So the basis of Sharafu-d dín's history was a work or works written under the direction or with the approval of Tímūr, and a comparison of the *Zafar-náma* with the *Malfúzát* proves the one to be a mere reproduction of the other. The events recorded and their succession are identical,² and leave no doubt upon the mind that Sharafu-d dín translated or wrote over again in an ornate style that history which had been compiled under Tímūr's direction. Like Oriental writers in general, he half conceals the true origin of his book, and so exaggerates the magnitude and importance of his own labours, but the only difference observable in the two works is, that one is the production of a skilful and accomplished writer, the other the work of a plain, laborious, and minute chronicler of events. With all

¹ Petis de la Croix in his translation of the Preface of the *Zafar-náma*, which is abridged, and is less accurate than the rest of his translation, has made all this to appear as if it applied to Tímūr.

² So far at least as concerns the extracts in this volume.



the rhetoric and flourishes of the *Zafar-nāma*, the narrative is shorter than that of the detailed and verbose biography.

The *Tuzūkāt* or Institutes were translated into English by Major Davy, and published under the editorship of Professor White, at Oxford, in 1783, and this work was turned into French by M. Langlès, and published in 1787.

The *Malfuzāt* or Memoirs, as far as the forty-first year of Tímúr's age, were translated into English by Major Stewart, and were published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1830.

The MS. used by Major Davy and Major Stewart was imperfect, ending abruptly with the forty-first year of Tímúr's age. This MS. is now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which library also possesses another imperfect copy. There is a similar defective copy in the library of the East India Office; Sir H. Elliot also procured a defective copy in India, and there are several in the British Museum. These, in all probability, were derived directly or indirectly from one MS. But the British Museum has lately secured a perfect copy from the library of the late General Hamilton, which bears the marks of having once belonged to the Royal Library at Lucknow.

Besides the Version of Abú Tálíb, there is another, the work of Muhammad Afzal Bukhári. The author of this later version tells us in his preface that when Amír Abú Tálíb's translation had been read by the Emperor Shah Jahán, it was found to contain errors and mistakes. Its statements occasionally differed from those of the *Zafar-nāma* and other histories; and while omitting events recorded in the *Zafar-nāma*, it added others of which no notice had been taken in that work. For these reasons he goes on to say:—"In the year 1047 of the Hijra, and tenth of his Majesty Sháh Jahán's reign (A.D. 1637),¹ the royal orders were issued to me, the meanest of the servants of the Imperial Court (Muhammad Afzal Bukhári), to read and revise this book from beginning to end, and to assimilate it with the *Zafar-nāma*, of the correctness of which no intelligent person can have a doubt, and compare it with some

¹ So, Abú Tálíb's version was finished between 1628 and 1637 A.D.

other trustworthy histories ; to omit some things which the translator had inserted, and to insert some occurrences which he had omitted ; also to translate the Turkí and Arabic sentences into Persian, and to correct several dates, which do not agree with the *Zafar-náma*. * * * (The author) has exerted himself as much as possible in revising and correcting the said translation, and has thrown out all the unauthenticated passages which Abú Tálíb had inserted. He has inserted several passages that have been omitted by that translator, and he has thereby made the book conform with the *Zafar-náma*." Major Stewart observes that "It appears in Dow's History of Hindustán that Muhammad Afzal was the name of the Emperor Sháh Jahán's preceptor, and so he was probably the person employed to revise this work, but he has not complied with his promise of translating all the Turkí passages, although a native of Bukhárá, where that language was well understood."

So the *Zafar-náma* was based upon the Turkí memoirs of Tímúr translated by Abú Tálíb into Persian, and Muhammad Afzal was afterwards employed to bring these memoirs more completely into accord with the *Zafar-náma*, which was founded upon them. The alterations of Abú Tálíb's work are, however, made to appear greater and more important than they actually are. Major Stewart, after the translation of his fragment of Abú Tálíb's work, received two copies of Muhammad Afzal's, and he says in his Appendix : "I have minutely compared them with Colonel Davy's MS. as far as it extends, and find that the only additions they contain are extracts from Sharafu-d dín's history, an explanation of some particulars omitted in the Memoirs, and an attempt to prove that Tímúr was of the *Sunni* sect, although there is the strongest evidence that he was a very bigoted *Shí'a*." The editor of this work has made a comparison, though not a minute one, of the text of the following extracts as given in the MS. of Abú Tálíb in the British Museum, and in one of Muhammad Afzal's belonging to Sir H. Elliot, and he has found no greater differences between them than might be expected in two

MSS. of the same work. So far as regards the portion relating to India the works are identically the same. The concluding sentences differ slightly in the two works, but in both Tímúr is made to record his own death. Muhammad Afzal, the later writer, makes him briefly say, "I arrived at the village of Atrár¹ and died;" but Abú Tálíb is more specific, saying, "At night, on the 17th of the month of Sha'bán (March 19, 1405 A.D.), calling upon the name of God, I lost my senses, and resigned my pure soul to the Almighty and Holy Creator" (and pure it was if blood could make it pure!). Major Stewart has noticed this apparent record by Tímúr of his own death, and shows that it ought not to stamp the work as a forgery. In the fourth clause of his Testament Tímúr says, "I desire that this my Testament, and whatever I shall say to the last moment of my existence, shall be written in my Memoirs as if proceeding from my own mouth." This instruction has only been carried a trifle too far. The narrative given in this work of Tímúr's expedition to India has been closely followed by Mirkhond in the *Rauzat-u-Safá*, used by Price in his *Retrospect of Mahomedan History*.

Two MSS. of Muhammad Afzal's work have been used for the following extracts. One belonging to the Nawáb of Jhajjar, and a copy of a portion of the work made for Sir H. Elliot from a MS. belonging to the Raja of Balamgarh. Up to page 421 the translation is the production of Mr. C. E. Chapman, of the Bengal Civil Service; the remainder has been prepared by the Editor.]

The History of my expedition against Hindustan.

About this time there arose in my heart the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels, and to become a *gházi*; for it had reached my ears that the slayer of infidels is a *gházi*, and if he is slain he becomes a martyr. It was on this account that I formed this resolution, but I was undetermined in my mind whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of China or against the infidels and polytheists of India. In this

¹ A large town two parasangs or leagues north of the Sihún (Jaxartes).



matter I sought an omen from the Kurán, and the verse I opened upon was this, "O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers, and treat them with severity."

My great officers told me that the inhabitants of Hindustán were infidels and unbelievers. In obedience to the order of Almighty God I determined on an expedition against them, and I issued orders to the *amírs* of mature years, and the leaders in war, to come before me, and when they had come together I questioned the assembly as to whether I should invade Hindustán or China, and said to them, "By the order of God and the Prophet it is incumbent upon me to make war upon these infidels and polytheists." Throwing themselves upon their knees they all wished me good fortune. I demanded of the warrior chieftains whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of Hindustán or China. At first they repeated fables and wise sayings, and then said, in the country of Hindustán there are four defences, and if any one invading this extensive country breaks down these four defences, he becomes the conqueror of Hindustán.

The first defence consists of five large rivers, which flow from the mountains of Kashmír, and these rivers unite in their course, and passing through the country of Sind, flow into the Arabian Sea, and it is not possible to cross them without boats and bridges. The second defence consists of woods and forests and trees, which, interweaving stem with stem and branch with branch, render it very difficult to penetrate into that country. The third defence is the soldiery, and landholders, and princes, and Rájás of that country, who inhabit fastnesses in those forests, and live there like wild beasts. The fourth defence consists of the elephants, for the rulers of that country in the day of battle equipping elephants in mail, put them in the van of their army, and place great confidence in them, and they have trained them to such a pitch that, lifting with their trunks a horse with his rider, and whirling him in the air, they will dash him on the ground.

Some of the nobles said in reply that Sultán Mahmúd Subuktigin conquered the country of Hindustán with 30,000 horse, and established his own servants as rulers of that region, and carried off many thousand loads of gold and silver and jewels from that country, besides subjecting it to a regular tribute, and is our *amir* inferior to Sultán Mahmúd? No; thanks to Almighty God, to-day a 100,000 valiant Tátár horsemen wait at the stirrup of our *amir*; if he determines upon this expedition Almighty God will give him victory, and he will become a *gházi* and *mujáhid* before God, and we shall be attendants on an *amir* who is a *gházi*, and the army will be contented and the treasury rich and well filled, and with the gold of Hindustán our *amir* will become a conqueror of the world and famous among the kings of earth.

At this time the prince Sháh Rukh said: "India is an extensive country; whatever Sultán conquers it becomes supreme over the four quarters of the globe; if, under the conduct of our *amir*, we conquer India, we shall become rulers over the seven climes." He then said: "I have seen in the history of Persia that, in the time of the Persian Sultáns, the King of India was called Daráf, with all honour and glory. On account of his dignity he bore no other name; and the Emperor of Rome was called *Cæsar*, and the Sultán of Persia was called *Kisra*, and the Sultán of the Tátárs, *Khákán*, and the Emperor of China, *Faghfür*; but the King of Írán and Túrán bore the title of *Sháhinsháh*, and the orders of the *Sháhinsháh* were always paramount over the princes and *Rájás* of Hindustán, and praise be to God that we are at this time *Sháhinsháh* of Írán and Túrán, and it would be a pity that we should not be supreme over the country of Hindustán." I was excessively pleased with these words of Prince Sháh Rukh. Then the Prince Muhammad Sultán said: "The whole country of India is full of gold and jewels, and in it there are seventeen mines of gold and silver, diamond and ruby and emerald and tin and iron and steel and copper and quicksilver, etc., and of the plants which grow there are those



fit for making wearing apparel, and aromatic plants, and the sugar cane, and it is a country which is always green and verdant, and the whole aspect of the country is pleasant and delightful. Now, since the inhabitants are chiefly polytheists and infidels and idolaters and worshipers of the sun, by the order of God and his prophet, it is right for us to conquer them.

My *wazirs* informed me that the whole amount of the revenue of India is six *arbs*; now each *arb* is a 100 *krors*, and each *kror* is a 100 *lacs*, and each *lac* is a 100,000 *miskdls* of silver. Some of the nobles said, "By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India, but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions, and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish." The *amirs* of regiments (*kushúnát*) were disturbed at these words, but I said to them, "My object in the invasion of Hindustán is to lead an expedition against the infidels that, according to the law of Muhammad (upon whom and his family be the blessing and peace of God), we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *gházis* and *mujáhidis* before God." They gave an unwilling consent, but I placed no reliance upon them. At this time the wise men of Islám came before me, and a conversation began about the propriety of a war against infidels and polytheists; they gave it as their opinion that it is the duty of the Sultán of Islám, and all the people who profess that "there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah," for the sake of preserving their religion and strengthening their law, to exert their utmost endeavour for the suppression of the enemies of their faith. And it is the duty of every Muslim and true believer to use his utmost exertions in obedience to his ruler. When the edifying words of the wise men reached the ears of the nobles, all their hearts were set upon a holy war in Hindustán, and throwing themselves on their knees, they repeated the Chapter of Victory.

When I girded up my loins for the expedition, I wrote to Hazrat Shaikh Zainu-d dín to the effect that I had determined on a religious expedition to Hindustán. He wrote in the margin of my letter: "Be it known to Abú-l Gházi Tímúr (whom may God assist) that great prosperity in this world and the next will result to you from this undertaking, and you will go and return in safety." He also sent me a large sword which I made my sceptre.

In the meanwhile there came a petition from the Prince Pír Muhammad Jahángír, from the confines of Kábulistán, the government of which country, from the boundaries of Kunduz and Bakalán and Kábul and Ghazní and Kandahár, was vested in him. When I looked at this petition it was thus written: "Since, according to your order, I arrived in this country, I have acted towards all the people conformably to the exalted order and wisdom-increasing counsels of the great king. When I had satisfied my mind with the conquest and settlement of this kingdom, I turned my thoughts towards the acquisition of some of the provinces of Hindustán. I enquired concerning the condition of that country, and received the following account: that the city of Dehli is the capital of the sovereigns of India, and after the death of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, two brothers among his nobility, of whom one was named Mallú and the other Sárang, becoming very powerful, established their independence, giving the nominal sovereignty to one of the sons of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, by name, Sultán Mahmúd, they kept the real power in their own hands, and virtually governed the empire. Mallú, the elder brother, lives at Dehli, about the person of Sultán Mahmúd, and Sárang is established in the city of Multán, for the protection of that country. When I became acquainted with these matters, acting according to the practice of the great king, I wrote a letter and sent it to him (Sárang) by an ambassador, purporting that since the fame of the victories and conquests, and of the extensive empire of the great king is spread all over the world, it is certain that it must have reached him also. The great king has appointed me to the government of those provinces which lie on



the borders of Hindustán, and has ordered that 'If the rulers of Hindustán come before me with tribute I will not interfere with their lives, property, or kingdoms; but if they are negligent in proffering obedience and submission, I will put forth my strength for the conquest of the kingdoms of India. At all events, if they set any value upon their lives, property, and reputation, they will pay me a yearly tribute, and if not, they shall hear of my arrival with my powerful armies. Farewell.' When the ambassador reached the presence of Sárang at Multán, he was treated with great respect and consideration; but in reply to his letter, Sárang said, 'It is difficult to take an empire like a bride to your bosom without trouble and difficulty and the clashing of swords. The desire of your prince is to take this kingdom with its rich revenue. Well, let him wrest it from us by force of arms if he be able. I have numerous armies and formidable elephants, and am quite prepared for war.' With these words he dismissed the ambassador. But when this unsatisfactory answer was brought back to me, I issued immediate orders for the armies to assemble from all quarters, together with such of the nobles as were in my province, such as Amír Sáikal Kandahári, and other *amirs*,¹ and soldiers. I got ready for the invasion of Hindustán. I plundered and laid waste the country of the Aghánís who inhabit the mountain Sulaimán, and marching steadily forwards I crossed the river Indus, and assaulted the city of Uch, and through the good fortune of the great king, I took it. Leaving a body of men there as a garrison, I proceeded to Multán, which I besieged; but as Sárang had carefully fortified and strengthened this fortress, the siege has been protracted for some days, and, indeed, I am at this moment engaged in the siege, giving an assault twice every day. All the nobles have displayed great valour and intrepidity, more especially Tímúr Khwájah, the son of Amír Ákúghá, and I am now waiting for further instructions."

When I had read this letter, my previous resolution was confirmed and strengthened.

¹ [A long string of names is given.]

The holy war against the infidels of Hindustán.

I acted in such a manner that by the spring of that year I had collected the soldiery from all parts of the countries under my sway; and in the auspicious month Rajáb, A.H. 800 (March, 1408), which may be expressed according to the rule of *Abjad*, by the words *karib fath*, appointed the prince Umar, the son of Prince Mirzá Sháh, my viceroy in Samarkand, and leaving him some of the nobles and soldiery, I placed my foot in the stirrup at a lucky moment, and quitting my capital Samarkand, directed my course towards Hindustán. Marching on, hunting as I went, I reached Turmuz, and ordering the construction of a bridge of boats over the Jihún, I crossed that river with my whole army and encamped at the village of Khulm. Beating the drum of departure from that place, and passing in my march Ghaztik and Samankán, I arrived at Indaráb, and the nobles and people of that place, high and low, pouring out in crowds to meet me, all at once set up a great cry and lamentation, demanding justice. I sent for a number of the nobles and chief men among them and instituted an enquiry into this matter.

On their knees they made representation demanding protection from the infidel Kators and the Siyáh-poshes, saying, we have brought our petition against these oppressive infidels to the presence of the king of Islám, for the infidel Kators and the Siyáh-poshes exact tribute and black mail every year from us who are true believers, and if we fail in the least of our settled amount, they slay our men and carry our women and children into slavery, so that we helpless Musulmáns fly for protection to the presence of the great king that he may grant to us oppressed ones our hearts' desire upon these infidels. On hearing these words the flame of my zeal for Islám, and my affection for my religion, began to blaze, and I addressed those Musulmáns with the following consolatory words:—By the help and assistance of Almighty God I will grant you your hearts' desire on these oppressive infidel Kators and Siyáh-poshes, and I will relieve



you who are Musulmán's from the tyranny of these unbelievers. They all lifted their hands invoking blessings on me.

Account of the holy war against the infidel Kators and the Siyáh-poshes.

I immediately selected ten battalions from my army, and giving the command to Prince Sháh Rukh, left him in charge of the remaining forces and baggage, in Tílák Ghúnán, and Díktúr, while I myself set my foot in the stirrup to chastise the infidel Kators. Setting spurs to my horse I marched forward in great haste, accomplishing two days journey in the twenty-four hours. When I arrived at the place called Paryán I detached prince Rustam and Burhán Aghlán Jújítar, who were reckoned among my chief nobles, against the country of the Siyáh-poshes, which lay on the left hand. With them I sent some of the nobility and a body of 10,000 cavalry, while I myself pursued my march towards the mountains of Kator. When I made enquiries concerning the extent and condition of that kingdom from Muzíd, who was the chief man of Indaráb, he informed me that the length of the kingdom of Kator stretches from the frontier of Kashmír to the mountains of Kábul, and there are many towns and villages in this country. One of their large cities is called Shokal, and another Jorkal, which latter is the residence of their ruler. The country produces fruits in large quantities, such as grapes, apples, apricots, and various other kinds. Rice and other grains are cultivated. Much wine is made, and all people, great and small, drink of it. The people eat swine's flesh. Cattle and sheep abound in this country. Most of the inhabitants are idolaters; they are men of a powerful frame and fair complexion. Their language is distinct from Turkí, Persian, Hindí, and Kashmírí. Their weapons are arrows, swords, and slings. Their ruler is called 'Adálshú.¹ When I arrived at Kháwak I perceived a dilapidated fort which I resolved to repair,

¹ [The *Zafar-náma* writes this name "Udáshú;" only one of the four MSS. admits the *ú*.]