











THE REIGN  
OF  
'ALĀUDDĪN KHILJĪ

TRANSLATED FROM  
ZIA-UD-DIN BARANI'S  
TARĪKH-I-FIRŪZ SHĀHĪ

By  
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## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

We are happy to present to the world of scholars an English translation of a part of Zia-ud-din Barani's *Tarikh-i Firūz Shāhī* dealing with the reign of 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. Its importance as a source book for the mediaeval history of India can hardly be overestimated.

A. R. Fuller's translation is reprinted from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1869, pp. 181-220, and 1870, pp. 1-51. The relevant portion left untranslated by A. R. Fuller has been rendered into English by Mr. A. Khallaque.

The *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* was edited by Sayyid Ahmed Khan and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1862. The portion translated in the following pages covers pages 242 to 369 of this edition.

We are grateful to Mr. A. Khallaque for agreeing to translate the portion assigned to him. We also express gratitude to Prof. S. Ray for permitting us to reprint his article on Zia-ud-din Barani first published in *J. N. Banerjea Volume*. Thanks are also due to Mr. C. Sen, Mr. D. N. Das, Mr. A. Bhattacharya and Mr. T. Banerjee, who have seen this book through the press, and to Mr. D. Sen, who has prepared the index.





# THE REIGN OF 'ALĀUDDĪN KHILJĪ



## INTRODUCTION

ZIA-UD-DIN Barani is India's first great Muslim historian : his predecessors—Utbi, Baihaqi and Minhaj-us-Siraj who wrote on India—were all foreigners. Zia-ud-din was a child of the soil, a native of Baran, modern Bulandshahr in U. P. His forefathers were employed in the service of the State : his father held the deputy-governorship of Baran for several years ; his uncle was Kotwal of Delhi in Alauddin Khilji's reign and was one of the king's friends and counsellors and his maternal grandfather was appointed to a position of trust under Balban. He was born in 1284 when that iron king had already laid deep the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi ; his manhood was passed in the palmy days of Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad ibn Tughluq when the kingdom of Delhi reached its climax and his old age witnessed the first premonitions of its decay in the last days of Muhammad and the beginning of the reign of his successor Firuz Shah. Barani spent long seventeen years at the court of his patron Sultan Muhammad ; he held no official position ; he was an entertaining conversationalist and raconteur rather than an official and was held in high esteem by the Sultan. Barani thus had ample opportunities of acquainting himself with the affairs of the Sultans of Delhi. Though

## Introduction

he had not the erudition of an Al-Biruni or an Abu'l Fazl, he possessed the requisite intellectual equipments for a historian. He received his education at Delhi which had then become a refuge of men of letters and science from Persia and Central Asia due to Mongol devastations. He was a friend of the great poets, Amir Khusru and Amir Hasan and the trio formed a happy team. He was well-read in Commentaries of the Quran, Tradition, Jurisprudence as well as Sufism but he considered history as superior to all these studies. He wrote treatises on scriptural commentaries and religious practices as well as on law and statecraft but his magnum opus was his History—*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* which he completed in 1357 at the ripe old age of seventy-two and dedicated to the reigning king.

Barani's conception of history is lofty indeed. History according to him makes a man wise and enables him to take lessons from the past. Truth is indispensable for the historian : it is the foundation of all history. A historian who describes the good qualities of a king should not conceal his defects. Bias of friendship should not influence the writing of history. If it is not possible for the historian to record the truth frankly, he must do so by implications and suggestions. If it is not possible for the historian to state the truth about living persons, he should by no means be excused if he fails to do so about the dead. One is reminded of the recluse of Lausanne who drew his inspiration from the ruins of the Eternal City and wrote his Eternal work of the Roman empire with the motto : 'truth, naked and unblushing truth'.

Barani assures us that he has recorded nothing but the truth. Some regard this as an empty boast, an inflated self-estimation. True, the personal equation of the author could not be eliminated in his work : Barani could not be free from the clerical outlook of his age. *Pari passau* no historian of Mediaeval India could except Akbar's Boswell who too had his own bias. And to do justice to Barani we have to bear in mind that the citizen of the world Thucydides could be Athenian that Macaulay was a Whig, that Mommsen's imperial bias is unmistakable and even Gibbon is anti-christian.

Barani takes up the thread of narrative where Minhaj-us-Siraj leaves it ( there is of course a lacuna of six years ). The *Tarikh i-Firuz Shahi* deals with the history of Muslim India from the accession of Balban in 1266 to the sixth year of Firuz Shah's reign (1356). For this period of ninety years Barani is our primary authority and all subsequent historians based their accounts of the period on his narrative. It is a significant period of India's history, the foundation, consolidation and the beginning of the decline of the Delhi kingdom : a period which produced such colourful and dramatic personalities as the Persianised Balban, the 'Prussian' Alauddin and the marvellous Muhammad. For the earlier portion of this period Barani had of course to depend on others, his father and uncle and people who had knowledge of thing but from the times of Alauddin Khilji he could write on personal observation and particularly on Mahammad ibn Tughluq with whom he was in closest contact.

Barani's style is simple and lucid, though in the Introduction as well as here and there, e.g. in dealing with Sultan Kaiqubad's personal life, his diction is florid and highly ornate. He frequently uses Hindi words in the course of his narrative. As a historian Barani is weak at chronology ; his dates are few and far between and they are not always correct. His *History* lacks method and arrangement and is rather anecdotal in character. It contains long discourses which the author puts in the mouth of important personages and these mar the continuity of narrative. The best example is Alauddin's historic conversation with the Qazi of Bayana in which the historian's motive to strain after effect is obvious. Barani has a tendency to strive after the picturesque even at the cost of strict accuracy. His description of the fateful night of Mubarak Shah's murder is so vivid and graphic that one feels as if the historian was present in the apartment where the king was sleeping. He is so fond of epigram that the reader is sometimes at difficulty to understand him : one cannot easily follow whether Barani's Balban is a doctrinaire or a practical statesman or his Alauddin, a tyrant or a benevolent ruler. In his appreciation he is generous and lavish ; in his condemnation he is bitter and acrid. Both in his *History* as well as in his work on statecraft the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* he has described his ideal king and his duties. The clerical bias of Barani runs throughout his work : his hero is the orthodox Firuz and the last portion of his *Tarikh* dealing with that sovereign is nothing but a 'strain of adulation'. Barani regrets that the condition of the Hindus was so flourishing :

he considered it so. He is guilty of *suppressio veri*, e.g. he fails to mention the circumstances of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq's death and of the perfidy and blood through which his patron waded to the throne. He has omitted many of the inroads of the Mongols in the time of Alauddin Khalji. The charge of deliberate falsehood, however, cannot be laid at his door ; he wrote what he sincerely believed and knew to be true.

Unlike most of India's historians Barani is not a mere chronicler : his *History* is not a mere catalogue of events. He is brief in his description of battles, sieges and campaigns ; he analyses the causes and consequences of occurrences ; he appreciates, condemns and assesses men and events. He criticises with subtle and incisive humour : he acquaints us with the cheapness of price and the impoverishment of the people by the remark that in Alauddin's time 'a camel was available for a *dang*, but wherefrom a *dang* ?' ; he hints at the rigours of Alauddin in the revenue administration by saying that 'nobody gave his daughter in marriage to a revenue clerk.' Philip Guedalla has somewhere remarked that the historian should also be a portrait painter ; the historical figures who are no more should live once again in his pages. Barani possesses this gift to a certain extent ; his character sketches are admirably done and particularly illuminating are those of Balban and Muhammad ibn Tughluq. 'No sovereign' remarks Barani, 'had ever established such pomp and grandeur in Delhi. For the twenty-two years that Balban reigned he maintained the dignity, honour and majesty



of the throne in a manner that could not be surpassed. His attendants who waited on him in private never saw him otherwise than full-dressed. He never conversed with persons of low origin or occupation, and never indulged in any familiarity either with friends or strangers by which the dignity of the sovereign could be lowered. He never joked with anyone nor did he allow anyone to joke in his presence ; he never laughed aloud, nor did he permit anyone in his court to laugh'. The complex character of Muhammad ibn Tughluq whose conduct was a mass of inconsistencies he has drawn with skill and effect : he has referred to Muhammad's splendid versatility and his practical incompetence, his disregard of Islamic law and absolute subservience to the Caliph, his lavish generosity and his savage cruelty and has summed up by saying that the king was one of the marvels of creation, a freak of nature.

Barani's interest in administrative details, particularly in agrarian matters, lends additional weight to his work, though his remarks are sometimes vague and sketchy. He is one of the very few of India's historians who refers to the peasantry, the backbone of her economy. He discusses at some length the economic measures of Alauddin, Ghiyas-ud-din and Mahammad ibn Tughluq. Barani himself criticises those historians who confine their accounts to kings, their courts and their conquests. His work throws considerable light on the socio-economic conditions of the country. His references to food, clothes and other necessary articles of those days enable us to have some idea about the standard of life obtaining at the time.

Barani the man remains a shadowy figure behind the historian. We do not know so much how he lived and had his being, shed his tears of joy and sorrow and 'cast his shadow in the lost sunlight of forgotten afternoons'. Polite and charming in manners, he possessed social bonhomie and was loved and respected by those who came into contact with him. In any assembly he rivetted the attention of all. Large was his bounty—he had before his death given in charity even the cloths he was wearing. He who had basked in the sunshine of courtly favour for long seventeen years become the *persona non-grata* of the court under Firuz. These last days of despair and gloom he spent in devout retirement at a suburb of Delhi when he composed his literary works. India's great votary of Clio died poor and destitute—so poor that he had not a piece of cloth to cover his shroud. He was buried near the mausoleum of the celebrated saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya whose devoted disciple he had been.

SUKUMAR RAY



# THE REIGN OF 'ALĀUDDĪN I KHILJĪ<sup>1</sup>

ZIA-UD-DIN BARANI

In the name of God the most merciful !

Praise be to God, the cherisher of mankind, and blessings rest upon his prophet, Muhammad, and all his offspring, as well as perfect peace and safety.

Thus says the most devout of Musalmāns, Ziā of Baran, when, during the year 695, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn ascended the imperial throne, he conferred on his brother the title of Ulugh Khān, on Malik Nuśrat Jalesarī that of Nuśrat Khān, on Malik Hizabruddīn that of Zafar Khān, and on Sanjar, his [Mīr Majlis] that of Alap Khān. He also raised his intimate friends to the rank of Amīrs, and such as were already Amīrs, he promoted to the grade of Maliks. He further granted every one of his old associates permission to take fresh horsemen into service, and as a countless hoard of wealth had fallen into his hands, and he had been guilty of an act condemned alike by God and man, either with a view to the expediency of the moment, or to deceive the public, or else for the purpose of glossing over the murder of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn, he threw open the door of liberality and munificence before (high and low, *i. e.*) all grades. He occupied himself too

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by A. R. Fuller from the *Tarikh i Firuz Shāhi*; reprinted from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1869, pp. 181—220 and 1870, pp. 1—51.

in making preparations for his journey ( to the capital of Delhi ), but owing to the incessant fall of rain, the copious floods, and the heaviness of the sands, he continued to delay his departure and was purposing to proceed to Delhi after the rising of Canopus. He was under considerable apprehension, however, of Arkalī Khān, the second son of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn, who was one of the Rustoms of the age, and the most valiant man of his day. As soon therefore, as the news arrived from Delhi, that the latter had not come yet, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn conceiving his non-arrival to be favourable to his own fortunes, and knowing that the throne of Delhi could not be upheld by Sulṭān Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm, and that there was not sufficient coin in the Jalālī treasury to raise and enrol fresh levies, he took advantage of the opportunity, and in the very height of the rainy season, set out for Delhi. From the excess of rain that year, the Ganges and Jamna had become vast rivers, and every ( paltry ) stream was as a Ganges or a Jamna, and from the depth of mud and mire, the roads remained (almost impassable). At a season like this, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn set forth from Kaṣāh with his elephants and his wealth and his army; and he exhorted his Khāns and Maliks to use their best endeavours towards raising fresh horsemen, (bidding them) not to be particular or scrupulous in fixing the amount of their pay, nor to take into account the exact year and month (of enlistment) but to scatter about gold without stint, so that vast hosts might be collected by such bountiful largess. About the time Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn was proceeding towards Delhi, they had constructed some

small light moveable machines [ *manjanīq* ], and at every halting-place where his pavilion was erected, just at the time of his alighting there, they daily placed in front of his portico five maunds of gold coin in one of these waggons, and scattered them among the spectators ; whereupon the soldiery and the neighbouring population used to congregate all round, and carry off the coin. The concourse in front of the royal portico thus increased day by day, and by the end of two or three weeks the news spread, throughout the whole of the districts [ *khiṭāṭ* ] and towns of Hindūstān, that Sulṭān 'Alāuddin was on his way to take possession of Delhi and was scattering gold profusely among the populace, and was entertaining countless levies of horse and foot. On this, the population, whether military or non-military, all hurried towards the Sulṭān's camp ; so that by the time 'Alāuddin reached Badāon, fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot had congregated in this royal camp during a rainy season like this, and had formed a vast multitude. When Sulṭān 'Alāuddin arrived at Baran, [ in the open space of the Masjid of the town ] Nuśrat Khān began taking the inhabitants of the place into service whether they were nobles, men of note, or common soldiers, and paid no heed to fixing the amount of their wages, or taking security from them. In a loud tone he proclaimed : "If Delhi fall into my hands, I shall be able to acquire on the first year a hundred times as much wealth as what I now disburse, and should the kingdom not come into my possession, it is better that the wealth which I have brought away from Deogīr with such infinite trouble, should fall into the hands

of the people rather than into those of my foes and adversaries."

On Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn's arrival at Baran, as he had made over a force to Zafar Khān, he directed him to proceed by way of Kol, and march along that road at a rate corresponding to that at which he himself ( the Sulṭān ) marched along the Badāon and Baran roads. The Maliks and Amīrs of Jalāluddīn's party who had been nominated to oppose the advance of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn and Zafar Khān, such as Malik Tājuddīn Kūchī, Malik Abāji Ākhurbak, Malik Amīr 'Alī Diwānah, Malik 'Usmān Amīr Ākhur, Malik Amīri Kalān, Malik 'Umar Sarkhah, and Malik Hiran-mār, all came into Baran, and joined the Sulṭān. They each received 20 or 30, and some even 50 maunds of gold ; and to every one of the force which accompanied those Maliks and Amīrs, a present of 300 tankahs was distributed. The Jalālī army being thus totally broken up, the Amīrs that had stayed behind at Delhi began to waver in their allegiance and the maliks who had gone over to Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn used to say publicly, "The inhabitants of the city certainly find fault with us, and declare that we have been guilty of base ingratitude in turning our backs on our master's son and going over to the enemy, but these misguided individuals do not perceive that in reality the kingdom of Jalāluddīn came to an end the day he set out from the place of Kilokhari,<sup>2</sup> and of his own free will went in hot haste to Karah,

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<sup>2</sup> Kilok'hari lies about eight miles South of Delhi, on the Jamnah. "Six months after his accession, Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kai Qubād left Delhi, and founded Fort Kilok'hari, the ruins of which

and there of his own accord and with his eyes open, put his neck and those of intimate associates in jeopardy. What can we do therefore but join Sultān 'Alāuddīn ?”

At this juncture when the Maliks had all gone over to Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and the Jalālī army was completely broken up, Malikah Jahān, who was one of the most weak-minded of weak minded women, sent to call Arkalī Khān from Multān, writing to this effect: “I was wrong in placing your younger brother on the throne, while you are still in existence ; for none of the Maliks and Amīrs stand in any awe of him, and most of them have gone over to Sultān 'Alāuddīn, so that the sovereignty is passing out of our hands. Make post haste therefore, if you can, and come to me, and mount the throne of your father, and redress my wrong. As for the son who now occupies the throne, you are his elder brother, and more worthy and better fitted for the sovereignty ; he shall therefore serve you as an obedient vassal. As for me, I am a woman, and females are (proverbially) deficient in intellect ; ( I confess ) I have been in error, but pardon the fault of your mother, and take possession of your father's kingdom. Should you give way to your resentment and fail to come, Sultān 'Alāuddīn is advancing in such strength and grandeur that he will assuredly seize upon Delhi, and will spare neither me nor you.”

Arkalī Khān would not come at his mother's bidding, however, but sent her an excuse (saying) : As the nobles

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may even now [A. H. 1004] be seen on the [right] bank of the Jannah near Khwājah Khizr's ford," *Badaonī* I., p, 137,



and their retainers have all gone over to the enemy, what would be the good of my coming? Sultān 'Alāuddīn no sooner heard that Arkali Khān would not comply with his mother's invitation than he ordered the drum of rejoicing to be sounded.

Some delay occurred to Sultān 'Alāuddīn in the vicinity of the fords of the Jamnah, owing to the vast volume of water in the river, and his having no boat in his possession, but while he tarried at various places along its bank, [Canopus rose above the horizon] the stream decreased, and he was thus enabled to cross with the whole of his forces at the ford of Bāghpat, after which he encamped in the plain of Jūd.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm then issued forth from the city with the royal insignia, attended by such force as he still had with him, and pitched his camp opposite to Sultān 'Alāuddīn's with the intention of bringing on an early engagement. After night had come on, however, the entire left wing of Sultān Ruknuddīn's army having mounted their horses about midnight, a tremendous uproar arose, and they all went bodily over to Sultān 'Alāuddīn. Sultān Ruknuddīn was thus rendered utterly powerless, but towards the close of the

<sup>3</sup> Bāghpat lies north of Delhi on the Jamnah. Opposite to it on the right side our maps give a place Joondhpūr, which appears to be the Jūd mentioned by Baranī. For Bāghpat, the Society's Edition, p. 246, l. 2 has Kāt'h (?). Regarding Sīrī, *vide J A S B*, 1847, p. 974; but in the whole article Sīrī is wrongly spelt *Secree*, for *Seeree*; also *J A S B* 1866, p. 199.

night they managed to open the Badīon gate ; and he having taken some gold tankahs out of the treasury, and a few horses out of the stable, placed his mother and other females of his household in front, and issuing forth under cover of the darkness from the Ghaznīn gate, took the road to Multān. Malik Quṭbuddīn 'Alawī together with his children and Malik Ahmad Chap also abandoned their homes, and accompanied Malikah Jahān and Sulṭān Ruknuddīn towards Multān.

Next day Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn set out with regal pomp and splendour, and entered the plain of Sīrī where he alighted, and the sovereignty was there delivered over to him. He also pitched his camp at Sīrī, and the dīwāns the custodians of the elephants with the animals in their charge, the governors (*Kotwāls*) with the keys of their forts, the justices and judges, and all the other persons of note and respectability in the city waited upon him, whereupon the earth assumed a totally different aspect, and a state of affairs altogether new arose throughout the world. By the immensity of his wealth, and the vast number of his adherents, no matter whether an individual (here and there) took the oath of allegiance to him or not, the public prayers were offered in his behalf, and the coinage of the mint was struck in his name.

Towards the end<sup>4</sup> of the year 695 Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn entered into the city with a most wonderful retinue and a countless multitude, and took his seat on the throne of Delhi in the

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<sup>4</sup> The 22 and Zi Hajjah 695, or 20th October 1296

Daulat Khānah, after which he repaired to the Koshak i la'l, (i.e., crimson palace) and made that the royal residence. As there was a countless hoard of wealth accumulated in his treasury, and vast sums had been distributed in larges among the people, whereby their purses and money bags had been replenished with coin [*tanbahs* and *jetals*], they gave themselves up to gaiety and pleasure, and indulged in wine and all kinds of revelry. Within the city they erected several wondrous pavilions, where wine, sherbet, and betel were distributed gratis, and in almost every house an entertainment was held. The Maliks, Amīrs, and all the other men of note and respectability invited one another to feasts; and wine and beauty, music and mirth, became the order of the day.

Sultān 'Alāuddin also, under the excitement of youth and prosperity, and the pride of his countless treasures, his servants and domestics, and his numerous elephants and horses, was immersed in festivity and pleasure, and from the extent of his generosity and munificence, he made the populace ardent supporters of his rule and government. From motives of state expediency moreover, he bestowed offices and estates [*aqṭā*] upon the Jalālī Maliks and Amirs who had gone over to his side. To Khwājah Khaṭir who was one of the most celebrated Wazīrs, he gave the dignity of prime minister; to Qāzī Śadr i jahān Śadruddīn 'Arif, the father of Dāwar Malik, the Kazā i Mamālik; and (the offices of) Sayyid Ajall, Shaikh Islām, and Khaṭīb he left to the former Sayyid Ajall, Shaikh Islām and Khaṭīb, respectively. The Diwan i inshā too he conferred on the former 'Umdatalmulk, father of Malik

Hamīduddīn<sup>5</sup> and A'azzuddīn, and he sent for Malik Hamīduddīn and Malik A'azzuddīn, the sons of 'Umdatulmulk, who in wisdom, virtue, and a thorough knowledge of mankind, as well as in their high and noble birth, and all kinds of excellencies, possessed no equals ; one of whom became a confidential officer of the royal household, and the other was entrusted with the management of the *Dīwān i inshā*.

Although Nuśrat Khan was Nāib i mulk, during the first year he was made Kotwāl, while Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī obtained the post of Dādbeg i hazrat,<sup>6</sup> Zafar Khān became the 'Arzimamālik,<sup>7</sup> Malik 'Abaji Jalālī [*i.e.*, who had served under Jalāluddīn] the Akhurbeg, and Malik Hiranmār, the Nāib Bārbeg. Such an assemblage of Khāns and Maliks both of the Jalālī and 'Alaī party was thus congregated at the Sultān's Court, as could never have been witnessed in former times.

Malik 'Alāulmulk, the compiler's uncle, was appointed to Karah and Audh during the first year of his reign, and Malik Jūnā received his old post of Nāib Vakildar, while Muayyīdulmulk the compiler's father, was given the place of Nāib and Khwajaship of Baran. Thus were all the onerous duties and

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<sup>5</sup> The *Bibl. Indica*, Edition, p. 248, has *Amīruddīn* (?) and immediately after *Hamīduddīn*. For *Dīwān i Inshā* we find under the Mughuls the title of *Mīr Munshī*

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, The *Dādbeg* of the residence of the emperor, as opposed to the office of *qāzī i lashkā*. The office corresponds to that of the *Mīr 'Adl* under the Mughuls. For *Kūchī* the list of grandees (*Ed. Bible. Indica*, p. 240) has the more usual *Jūnā*.

<sup>7</sup> The *'Arzi Mamālik* corresponds to the *Mīr 'Arz* of the Mughuls, whose office is defined in the *Āin Akbarī*, p. 257.

important situations committed to the charge of able, eminent, and experienced persons, and Delhi as well as all other parts of the country became a rose garden and a pasture.

Estates were then bestowed on each Malik,<sup>s</sup> grants made to religious communities, and lands, pensions, and gratuities lavished on all such as had just claims to them; while a considerable increase was added to those already in existence.

[ To the people he gave new employments. ] The people consequently grew so enamoured of gold, that the mention of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn's base deed, and his ungrateful treachery never crossed anyone's lips, and naught was left to mankind but to revel in gaiety.

In the first year of this reign moreover, the retainers of 'Alāuddīn, both new and old, had reached a vast number, yet all of them received donations of (twelve and) six months' salary in hard cash; and during that year folks of all classes both high and low lived in such ease and affluence, that I never recollect seeing in any age or period such perfect happiness and contentment, nor can those who are of much riper years then I recal such to remembrance.

At the very outset, directly Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had settled himself on the throne of Delhi, he first of all set about the Multān business, and applied himself to the overthrow of Sulṭān

<sup>s</sup> Perhaps it would be correcter to say—*Milks* and *Waqfs* were bestowed on such as were worthy of *Waqfs*. The word *amlāk* is the pl. of *milk*, not of *malik*. *Vide Ain i Akbari*, p. 271. Soon after 'Alāuddīn resumed the *milks* and *waqfs*, as Akbar did with the *Say ūrghāls* of his times.

Jalāluddīn's sons. He forthwith nominated Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with a party of Maliks and Amīrs and [30 or] 40,000 horse to Multān, whither they proceeded, and at once invested the fortress. After the seige had continued for a month or two, the Kotwāl and inhabitants of Multān turned away from their allegiance to Sultān Jalāluddīn's sons, and some of the nobles came out from the fort to Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān.

The Sultān's sons then made use of Shaikhul Islām Ruknuddīn as their envoy, and through him asked quarter of Ulugh Khān, and after entering, into a compact and treaty, they took the Shaikh along with them and accompanied by the Maliks and Amīrs who still adhered to them, repaired to the presence of Ulugh Khān. He treated them with great respect on that occasion, and gave them quarters alongside his own pavilion. He then forwarded a despatch announcing his success to Delhi; whereupon they immediately erected festive canopies, and sounded the drum of rejoicing, published the news of the victory [*Fathnāmah*] from the pulpits (of all the mosques), and sent the good tidings in all directions. Thus the Kingdom of Hindūstān had been fully and completely consigned to the care of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and no rival or competitor for the Government was now left.

Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān taking the captive sons of Sultān Jalāluddīn, both of whom were scions of royalty [*Śāhib i Chattr*], as well as their Maliks and Amīrs, along with them, set out from Multān towards Delhi, crowned with victory and success. Nuśrat Khān being deputed from the

latter place, met Ulugh Khān in the midst of his journey, and put out the eyes of Sultān Jalāluddīn's sons, of his son-in-law Ulghū, and of Ahmad Chap Nāib Amīr Hājib, and then separated their families from them. All their goods and chattels too, provisions<sup>9</sup> and slaves, both male and female, together with all that they had, did Nuśrat Khān seize upon. He confined Sultān Jalāluddīn's younger<sup>10</sup> son in the stronghold of Hānsī while he put to death altogether the sons of Arkalī Khān. As for Malikah Jahān and the other ladies of the household, as well as Ahmad Chap, he brought them all into Delhi, and shut them up in his own mansion.

In the second year of this reign [697, *Badāonī*], Nuśrat Khān was made Wazīr. As Sultān 'Alāuddīn had sent for Malik 'Alāulmulk, the compiler's uncle, he came to Court attended by the Maliks and Amīrs, and brought in elephants and treasure that had been left with him at Karah by the Sultān. In consequence of Alāulmalik's having grown excessively obese, and incapable of active duty, he gave him

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<sup>9</sup> Major Fuller's Ms. appears to have had *rozīnah*. The Ed. Bibl. Indica (p. 249) has *Zarrīnah* gold vessels, which seems preferable.

The place where Nuśrat Khān met Ulugh Khān is called in *Badāonī* (I, 183) Abhobar, a *mauza* near Hānsī, and the Lucknow Edition of *Badāonī* (p. 47) has *Wahr*, neither of which names I can trace on our Trig. Survey maps.

<sup>10</sup> The Ed. Bible Indica, and *Firishtah* have merely *son* (Arkalī ?) If Major Fuller's MS. had *younger son* [Ruknuddīn] what became of *Arkalī*? *Badāonī* says, both were handed over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and killed together with the two sons of Arkalī. The women of the late emperor, and his remaining children (*farzandān*) were imprisoned in Delhi. Ahmad Chap [the Lucknow Edition of *Firishtah* reads *Habīb*], and Alghū Mughbul were sent to Gwaliār.

the post of Kotwāl instead of his former place of Malikulumarā, whereby all the able-bodied convicts [*bandiyān i tāzūk*] were put under his charge; They also laid hands on the estates [free-holds, *amlāk*] and possessions of all the Jalālī, Maliks and Amīrs, Nuśrat Khān himself making extraordinary exertions to get hold of their property, and so collecting thousands upon thousands. In fact he brought wealth into the treasury by every means that he could.

In this year moreover, *viz.* 696, A.H.<sup>11</sup> an inroad of the Mughuls took place, some of them having crossed the river Sind and entered the country. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with a host of the 'Alāī and Jalālī Amīrs, and immense forces were nominated to repel their attack; and on the confines of Jarīmanjūr the army of Islām had a severe engagement with the miscreants; in which the standard of the true faith proved victorious, many of the enemy being slain or captured, and their heads despatched to Delhi.

After the Multān success, and the capture of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn's sons, the coinge of the 'Alāī government had become (to a certain degree) established; but it was now still

<sup>11</sup> So also the Ed. Bibl. Indica. Badāonī and Firishtah have 698. The leader of the Mughuls is called Chitaldī (Badaoni Ed. B.I.), Salādī (Lucknow Badāonī) and Dawā. Khān, ruler of Māwarānnaḥr, by Firishtah (Lucknow Ed.) who adds that he came with nearly 100,000 Mughuls. They were heathens. The place of the battle is called *Jarīmanjūr* (Major Fuller) *dar hudūd i Jāran Manjūr* (both editions of Badāonī) *dar hudūd i Lāhūr* (Firishtah, Lucknow Ed.); and *dar hudūd i Jālinḍhar* (Ed. Bibl. Indica).

Badāonī seems to have carelessly copied, as a Mughul Chitaldī is mentioned below. He has left out the attack on Siwistān.



further confirmed by this victory over the Mughuls, and the Sultān's power and authority were vastly augmented. Proclamations of the victory were published throughout the city, drums beaten, pavilions erected, rejoicings made, and festivities celebrated. Now that the 'Alāī Government had been thus consolidated, the whole of the Jalālī Maliks, in each town and throughout the army, who had turned their backs upon their master, and gone over to Sultān 'Alāuddīn, for which they had received maunds of gold, and obtained various employments and estates, were seized, and while some of them were cast into prison, and kept in confinement, others were (blinded and) executed forthwith. All the wealth that they had received from Sultān 'Alāuddīn was confiscated together with their household goods, and property; their dwelling-houses being converted to the royal use, and their estates annexed to the crown lands, so that nought was left for their children. Their servants and domestics too were placed under the control of the 'Alāī Amīrs, and their (military) establishments were completely subverted.

Out of the whole of the Jalālī Maliks and Amīrs, three persons only were spared by Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and suffered no hurt from him until the close of his reign. First, Malik Quṭbuddīn 'Alawī; second Malik Nasīruddīn Rānah, custodian of the elephants, and third, Amīr Jamal<sup>12</sup> father of Qadr Khān. These three individuals did not desert Sultān Jalāluddīn and his sons, nor would they take any money from Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and they also remained safe in consequence,

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<sup>12</sup> Badāoni has Amīr Jamālī i khiljī

while the rest of the Jalālī Amīrs were exterminated root and branch.

In the course of this year, Nuśrat Khān collected by fines and taxes a crore ( of money), and lodged it in the treasury.

In the third year of his reign, Ulugh Khān and Nuśrat Khān were deputed to Gujrāt ; whither they accordingly led their army, accompanied by several Amīrs and Malīks, and a host of retainers, and commenced ravaging and plundering Nahrwālah ( Patan ) and the whole territory of Gujrāt. Karan Rāī of Gujrāt thereupon fled from Nahrwālah, and repaired to Rām Deo at Deogīr, leaving his wives and daughters<sup>18</sup> as well as his treasure and elephants to fall into 'the hands of the orthodox army, who now pillaged the entire country. The idol, which subsequently to Sulṭān Mahmūd's victory and the destruction of the Manāt, had been named Somnāt by the Brahmins, and had become a popular object of worship among the Hīndūs, was also dragged from thence and forwarded to Delhi, where it was trampled under foot by the populace.

Nuśrat Khān next proceeded to Kambāit, from the Khwājahs of which place, who had grown excessively opulent, he exacted bullion, jewels, and other valuables to a vast extent. He also took Kāfūr Hazār Dīnāri, who became Malīk Nāib, and with whose beauty Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn was captivated, forcibly from the Khwājah, his master, and sent him to the Sulṭān.

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<sup>18</sup> 'Among them was *Dewal Rāni*, with whom later Khizr Khān, 'Alāuddīn's son, fell in love. When the poet Khusrau of Delhi was told by the prince of his deep attachment, he composed his '*Ashīqah*, (often wrongly spelt '*ishqiyah*), which he dedicated to

After th'roughly ravaging and plundering Gujrāt, Ulugh Khān and Nuśrat Khān set out on their return loaded with immense spoils, and on the way back, in order to collect their fifth share of the booty; and in searching after and scrutinizing the amount of the spoils, they inflicted various penalties and punishments, and carried their investigation to the extreme; for they placed no credence whatever on what the soldiery put down in writing, but persisted in calling for more. By dint of persecution (*banamah-āb*) they endeavoured to exact the gold, silver, jewels, and all other valuables; and used to put the troops to all kinds of torture, till at last the soldiery were unable to bear such tyranny and ill-usage any longer.

The number of newly converted Amīrs and horsemen in the army was very considerable; so having entered into a combination, some two or three thousand horsemen assembled together, and mutinied.<sup>14</sup> They first slew Malik A'azzuddīn, the brother of Nuśrat Khān, who was Amīr Hājib to Ulugh Khān; and with a great uproar forced their way into Ulugh Khān's pavilion; but the Khān, dreading their fury, escaped out of his tent, and conveyed himself by stratagem to Nuśrat Khān's quarters. The nephew (sister's son) of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, however, happened to be sleeping below Ulugh Khān's quarters; and

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Khizr Khān'. *Badāoni*.

The Lucknow Edition of *Firishtah* calls the princess *Kamalā Dī*. Cowell suggests *Kamalā Devī*.

*Karan*, according to *Firishtah*, went from Deogir to Baglānah, 'which lies on the frontier of the Dak'hin, but was then attached to Gujrāt.' For *Rām Deo*, the Ed. B. I. of *Badāoni* has *Biramdeo* (r).

the mutineers imagining that he might possibly be the Khān, put him to death under this misapprehension. The mutiny extended at length throughout the army, and the camp was very nearly becoming the scene of indiscriminate riot and pillage ; but as the good fortune of 'Alāuddīn was in the ascendant, such a tumult as this even was speedily quelled. The cavalry and infantry of the army formed up in front of Nuśrat Khān's pavilion, and the recently converted Amīrs and horsemen dispersed, such of them as had been the chief actors and confederates in the mutiny fleeing away and gaining the disaffected and rebellious Rāis. After this, the search after the booty in the army was abandoned, and Ulugh Khān and Nuśrat Khān reached Delhi with all the wealth, elephants, slaves, and other spoils they had got possession of from the pillage of Gujrāt.

As soon as the news of the mutiny among the new converts reached Delhi, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, under the influence of the haughty pride which had now inflated his brain, directed that the wives and children of all the mutineers, both high and low, should be seized and imprisoned. This system of seizing upon the wives and children for the fault of the men dates its commencement from this period ; for previous to this at Delhi, they never laid hands on women and children on account of the crimes of their male relatives, nor used they to seize and incarcerate the families of any delinquents.

<sup>14</sup> Firishtah calls the leader of the rebels Muhammad Shāh. He says, the mutiny took place at *Jālor* (Jodhpur) ; but the editions of *Badāoni* have *Alwar*, which lies nearer to Rantambhūr and Jhāyin to the chief of which place, Hamīr Deo (Ed. Bibl. Indica, *Hambar Deo*), the mutineers ultimately retreated.

Besides this tyrannical system of seizing women and children, a still more glaring piece of injustice was committed in those days by Nuśrat Khān, who was the originator of numerous acts of oppression at Delhi ; for it was publicly witnessed that in revenge for his brother's death, he brought infamy and dishonour on the wives of those who had pierced his brother with arrows, by delivering them over to sweepers to be violated like helpless victims, while the infant children were ordered to be cut in pieces in presence of their mothers.<sup>15</sup>

Such cruelty as this that he was guilty of, has never been allowed by any code of religion, and at every fresh act of this description he committed, the people of Delhi were the more struck with profound wonder and amazement [and trembling came over the hearts of the people].

In the same year that Ulugh Khān and Nuśrat Khān were sent into Gujrāt, Zafar Khān was deputed to Siwistān, which (province) had been seized upon by Śaldī, and his brother with a party of Mughuls.

Zafar Khān accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having invested the fort of Siwistān, succeeded in capturing the stronghold with the aid only of sword and arrow, and dagger and spear, without having recourse to war engines and projecting machines of a larger kind. The Mughuls, moreover,

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<sup>15</sup> Historians call this wholesale slaughter of women and children *gharīb-khushī* or killing of the poor. Badaoni (p. 190) says that many historians relate the event before mentioning the return of Ulugh Khān from Gujrāt, 'without paying regard to proper chronological order ; but God knows best.'

from the interior of the fort shot arrows in every direction, in so much that it was not possible for a bird ever to approach it ; yet inspite of all this Zafar Khān came off victorious by the use of sword and arrow only, and having captured Śaldī and his brother, as well as all the Mughuls with their wives and children, he sent the whole party bound, collared, and chained into Delhi.

In consequence of this success, a profound dread of Zafar Khān was established at Delhi, and Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn began to regard him with a malignant eye on account of the hardihood, valour, and gallantry which he had displayed in a manner before unknown in Hindūstān. Ulugh Khān, the Sulṭān's brother, also conceived a feeling of malice and enmity towards him, owing to his consummate generalship, and bravery, which had quite eclipsed his own.

In that year, he (*i.e.*, Zafar Khān) held the territory of Samānah, and as he had become so famous, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, who was deeply impregnated with jealousy, was under considerable apprehension regarding him, and anxiously desired one or other of these two alternatives, either that the Khān should be in constant attendance upon him, or else that he should give the Khān some thousand horse, and despatch him towards Lakhnautī to subdue the country, after which he should stay there, and send off the elephants together with his resignation of office<sup>16</sup> from thence to Court. Otherwise the Sulṭān

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<sup>16</sup> Or rather *with his tribute*, which is the meaning of *Khidmatī*, Even in later times transfers to Bengal or to Bhakkar were looked upon as punishments.

thought of ridding himself of him by administering poison, or putting out his eyes somehow or other.

Towards the close of the aforesaid years, Qutlugh Khwāajh, son of Dūdul'ain,<sup>17</sup> invaded Hindūstān with 20 "*Tum ins*" of Mughuls. Starting from Māwaru-n-nahr fully equipped and prepared for a severe engagement, he crossed the river Sind, and proceeded by regular stages until he reached the vicinity of Delhi.

As the Mughuls this year had determined to attack Delhi, they did not plunder and lay waste the provinces bordering on their line of march, nor do any injury to the strongholds they met with. At the advance of these Mughuls, therefore, with an army as numerous as a multitude of ants or locusts, violent apprehensions were felt throughout Delhi, more especially as the enemy had fixed on that as the main object of their attack, and had abstained in consequence from lying waste the provinces (they passed), and from carrying off plunder. The people of the adjoining districts all flocked into the fortress of Delhi, and the old fortifications had not yet been built up, so that such consternation among men has never been witnessed, nor even heard of ; for all the inhabitants of the city both great and small were completely overpowered with terror.

At last such a crowd was congregated in the city, that the

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<sup>17</sup> So Major Fuller's MS. The Ed. Bibl. Indica (p. 254) calls him *Zaud Ul'ain* (?), Bādāonī (Ed. B. I.) *Dāūd*; Bādāonī (Lucknow Edition), and Firishtah p. 103 (Lucknow Ed.) *Dawā*, in accordance with the note on p. 189.

• A *tuman*, or *tumān* is from 10000 to 12000.

people could not find room in the streets, the market places, or the mosques. Everything became excessively dear within the town, and the approach of caravans, and merchants being stopped, the people were reduced to the most pressing want.

Sultān 'Alāuddīn then went from the city with great pomp and magnificence, and pitched the imperial camp at Sirī. The Maliks, Amīrs, and other retainers, were next summoned from all quarters to Delhi.

The compiler's uncle, Malik 'Alāulmulk, who was one of the Sultān's confidential advisers, in those days held the office of Kotwāl at the Metropolis of Delhi, and the Sultān had entrusted the town together with the ladies of the royal family and treasure, to his custody. The Sultān having gone forth from the city with the intention of engaging in a general action, Malik 'Alāulmulk came out to Sirī to bid him farewell, and there, at a private audience, addressed thus—

“Ancient monarchs and former prime ministers, who have held sway and sovereignty over the world, have invariably abstained and refrained altogether from tremendous conflicts, in which it is impossible to decide what may happen at any precise moment, as to what side victory is likely to incline ; and with respect to encounters between equally powerful chiefs, whereby the state and prosperity of the Sovereign as well as the whole population of the kingdom are placed in jeopardy, they have recommended that they should be avoided to the utmost extent of one's power and ability. It is further recorded among the injunctions of ancient monarchs, that a



battle resembles the scales of a balance ; for by the prevailing force of a scanty number of men, one scale becomes heavy, while the other gets light. Thus in an instant the affair slips out of one's hand, passing away so entirely that there is no hope left in one's heart of its ultimate return or recovery ; for although in contests between the commanders of an army merely, there is not so much danger to be apprehended from a defeat, as the hope of a retrieval is not totally cut off ; yet in the case of conflicts between equally powerful chiefs, when a kingdom is staked on a single throw of the dice, monarchs have always exercised the utmost discretion, and have warded off the event as long as they could by sound judgment and clever diplomacy. Why does your Majesty then purposely and wilfully, and without paying any heed or attention, enter into a perilous crisis, that has ever been avoided by other monarchs as far as possible ; when you can push forward Khāl Sitari (?)<sup>18</sup> who has been authorized to raise a lakh of

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<sup>18</sup> Here Major Fuller's MS. seems to be at fault, though otherwise his MS. would appear to have been as excellent as his translation. The *Bibl. Indica* edition, p. 256, 1, 3, has —

*Khudāwand i ālam mītuwānad kīh kohān i shuture (not khāl sitārī) az barāe darāmad i mughul, kīh hukm i yak lak suwār dārad. dar pīsh andāzad, ubā lash karhā Farūdāyad.* 'Your Majesty can place the hump of a camel (*kohān i shuture*) before yourself on account of the arrival of the Mughuls who muster a lakh of horse, and you can place your forces into a fortified camp (*bā lash karhā farūdāmadan*).'

'Alāuddīn's reply will shew that this reading is the correct one. Of course, 'Alāulmulk advised the emperor to act the part of a *Cunctator*. *Placing the hump of a camel before oneself* means to have recourse to a place of safety.

horse on account of this invasion and encamp with your forces (in the rear) ? You may thus delay a few days from engaging these Mughuls, who have poured down upon us like swarms of ants and locusts, and keep procrastinating, until we discover what they purpose doing, what is going on, and how matters are likely to turn out ; when if there appear to be no help for it but fighting, you can do so. As they do not lay their hands on plunder you might gather together your subjects, and place them in security within the fortress. Meanwhile how long can so vast an army as they possess, continue to exist without forage, considering that they never detach ten horsemen even away from their main body, and how will it be possible for them to stand their ground ? Or if a few days are passed in sending envoys backwards and forwards, until we have clearly ascertained their precise aim and object, it will be as well ; so that they may come to want, and set out on their return, and devote themselves to pillage. If at that juncture, your Majesty were to march after them a few stages by way of pursuit, how excellent it would be !”

After making this address, 'Alāulmulk went on to say, “I am an old servant, and have always been in the habit of stating to you whatever crosses my mind respecting current events, and I have heretofore ever met with kindness in return. I have therefore, in the present emergency also, stated all that has occurred to my mind ; but that alone is right and proper which may have struck your Majesty’s discerning intellect ; for the illustrious sentiments of a king are superior to those of all his subjects.

“Several ideas have also passed through my mind, relating to the prevention of all invasions of the Mughuls, which I purpose pouring into your auspicious ear at a fitting opportunity. On the present occasion of these miscreants advancing in such formidable array, we have, by God’s grace, numerous forces equipped and ready to oppose them. Our army, however, is composed principally of the soldiery of Hindūstān, who have spent their lives in warfare with Hindūs only, and have never yet joined in battle with the Mughuls, and are consequently ignorant of their cunning system of tactics, their sallies, their ambuscades, and other stratagems. If the Mughuls then through good management on our part retire defeated this time, the soldiery of Delhi will be able to pursue and follow after them, so that (in future) our troops will long with ardour for an engagement with these Mughuls.”

Sultān 'Alāuddīn on hearing this address from the faithful Malik 'Alāulmulk praised him highly, and having summoned all the great Khāns and Maliks into his presence, he made the following speech to the assembled throng.

“You are all well aware, that 'Alāulmulk is both a ‘nazīr’ and the son of a ‘wazīr’, as well as a true and loyal servant to me, and that from the first days of my assuming the government upto the present time, he has been in the habit of giving me the benefit of his advices ; and that it was only his obesity which caused me to appoint him Kotwāl ; for otherwise he was entitled to the office of wazīr. At this juncture he has expressed some sound opinions, and brought forward arguments to induce me to refrain from engaging the Mughuls,

and now I purpose giving him my reply in the presence of all of you, who are the pillars of my state, so that you may all hear it."

The Sultān then turned towards 'Alāulmulk alone in that assembly and said :

"O 'Alāulmulk, thou art my confidential servant and ancient supporter, and hast claims to the office of wazīr, and to a large stock of wisdom ; hear now from me these clear and distinct truths. Long before both you and I (were born), this proverb was in vogue, 'It is nonsense crouching down (to hide yourself from detection) when stealing a camel (as the animal's tall body must necessarily be visible)' ; and in like manner to hold the sovereignty of Delhi and yet hide behind Khāl Sītārī's [a camel's] back as you suggest ; and to assume a menacing attitude towards the Mughuls, and yet refrain from an engagement with them, is altogether impossible ; nor is it feasible to prevent a contest with the Mughuls by the vain and idle talking of poltroons. Were I to shelter myself in the way you propose, my contemporaries and those men who shall be born after my time will laugh at my beard, and will tax me with cowardice ; more especially my foes and adversaries, who may have travelled some 2000 *kos* from their own land, and have come under the minarets of Delhi to offer battle. What say you ? Shall I under these circumstances be guilty of backwardness and cowardice, and send Khāl Sītārī to the front [hide behind the camel's back], whilst I remain inert like a goose or a hen seated on her eggs, and endeavour to repel them by diplomacy and negotiation. And if I should do as

you say, to whom could I shew this countenance, or how could I enter the apartments of my own female relatives ? Of what account too would my subjects esteem me, and what daring and boldness would the rebellious and disaffected see in me to make them preserve their allegiance to me ? Come what may, I am bent upon marching to-morrow from Sirī into the plain of Kīlī, where I purpose joining battle with Qutlugh Khwājah and his army ; so that in the course of this mighty conflict it may be proved between him and me, to which of us God intends to grant the victory, and to which success is to present itself.

“O 'Alāulmulk ! to thee have I confided the post of Kotwāl, and the charge of my seraglio, and treasures, together with the whole town. Whichever of us two, whether he or I, prove the conqueror, salute the victor with the keys of the gates, and of the treasures, and lay them before him, and become his obedient servant and vassal.

“Do not you with all your wisdom and ability know this much, that prudence and judgment can only ward off hostilities so long as the enemy be not close at hand. Now that he has come up in hot haste however, no mode of thought or action is left to me, but to make haste in falling upon him, and to dash out the brains of my foes with the stroke of battle-axe, sword, and arrow. You propose pacific measures, but pacific measures are incompatible with the turmoil of this busy world. The refined and elegant expressions that you can use ( when seated ) on the four square yard carpet of your house,

are never taken into the wide world, and would ill become the field of carnage, where streams of blood shall flow from either side.

“As for what you say about the ideas you entertain on the subject of preventing these invasions of the Mughuls, as soon as I am at leisure from this war, and have fulfilled all the duties attending it, I will listen to these ideas of your's. You are a literary character and the son of a literary man, and doubtless your mind steadfastly contemplates all these matters, of which you speak to me.”

'Alāulmulk humbly submitted that he was indeed an old servant, and invariably mentioned any suggestion that happened to cross his mind.

The Sultan exclaimed : “You are a truly loyal subject, and I have always had a high regard for your opinion. Now, however, a crisis has occurred, in which it is necessary to set wisdom aside, and not a thought or deed is requisite beyond carnage and bloodshed, the sacrifices of one's head and life, unsheathing of swords, and the combating with our foes.”

'Alāulmulk then took leave by kissing the royal hand, and having returned into the city, secured all the gates, except the Badāon one, which was left open ; and all the town people, both great and small, were in great dismay, and lifted up their hands in prayer.

*Account of the battle between Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn and Qutlugh Khān, with the ( ultimate ) defeat of the Mughuls and martyrdom of Zafar Khān and other Amīrs.*

Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn marched with the army of Islām from Sīri to Kīli, and pitched his camp there ; while Qutlugh Khwājah encamped with the Mughul forces right opposite ; and as two such armies had never been seen in any age or era confronting each other with hostile intent, the people were struck with wonder and dismay. Both armies were then drawn up in line, and stood anxious confronting each other in the coming struggle.

Zafar Khān was in command of the right wing, and he and the Amīrs belonging to his division having drawn their swords, made a furious assault on the Mughul force, and fought hand to hand with them. The Mughuls could not withstand the attack, and were immediately broken and routed, whereupon the army of Islām set off in pursuit of them. Zafar Khān, who was the Rostam of his day, and the [ hero ] of his age, never ceased from the pursuit, but kept following close upon them, and driving them before him [ eighteen kos ] with the [ sword, cutting off their heads ]. The Mughuls consequently had no opportunity of rallying, and fled in such consternation that they scarcely knew their bridles from their cruppers.

Ulugh Khān, who was in command of the left wing of the army and had several great Amīrs, and a numerous host of troops in his division, did not stir from his position, on account of the animosity he entertained towards Zafar Khān,

nor would he advance to his support. The accursed Turghī<sup>19</sup> meanwhile had laid an ambushade with his *tuman* [ along the Būrūji road ? ]<sup>20</sup> and as soon as he saw that Zafar Khān had pressed well forward in persuit, and no force was coming up behind to his support, he came in rear of him, and the Khān was surrounded on all sides as if in a ring by Mughul army. While thus hemmed in by the enemy, who kept firing showers of arrows upon him, Zafar Khān fell from his horse and thus was that hero of the age, and the Rustam of his time, obliged to fight on foot. Emptying the arrows out of his quiver before him, he overthrew one of the Mughul horsemen with every shaft, till at length in the ( middle of the ) conflict Qutlugh Khwājah sent him a message saying : “Come over to me, that I may take you to my father, who will treat you with higher honour than the Emperor of Delhi has done.” Zafar Khān paid no attention to his words however, and the Mughuls seeing that he could not be captured alive, pressed upon him from all sides, and caused him to suffer martyrdom ; after which the Amīrs of his division also suffered the like. They then wounded the Khān’s elephants, and slew the drivers of the animals.

That day, under cover of night, the Mughuls managed to make a stand ( or recover themselves ) but such an astounding dread had been imprinted on their breasts from Zafar Khān’s

<sup>19</sup> He commanded the left wing of the Mughuls. *Firishtah*.

<sup>20</sup> This is doubtful. The Text (p. 260), has *bar tarīq i būrūjī*, which is opposed to *bar tarīq i halqah*, a few lines lower down ; hence *būrūjī* must be the Turkish name of a stratagem. *Firishtah* has merely, ‘he had laid an ambushade on the road’. The position of *Klī*



fierce assault, that they retreated from their position towards the close of the night, and departed to a distance of 30 *kos* from Delhi, where they made [daily marches of about] 20 *kos*, and until they reached the confines of their own country, they never once halted at any stage.

The dread of this attack of Zafar Khān's remained in their hearts for years; and if a horse of their's would not drink water any time, they used to say: "What, have you seen Zafar Khān that you will not drink water?" And never again after this did so vast an army advance to the environs of Delhi with hostile intentions.

Sultān 'Alāuddin now returned from Kili, estimating this defeat of the Mughuls by the peerless Zafar Khān, and such a loyal sacrifice of life as his, a most glorious triumph.

In the third year of his reign, Sultān 'Alāuddin did nought but indulge in pleasure and gaiety, giving full scope to the bent of his inclinations, and convoking festive assemblies. His national undertakings all turned out well, one after another, and despatches announcing victories were pouring in from all quarters. Every year two or three sons were born to him, and pavilions were erected and festivities held to celebrate the events.

The whole of his state affairs in short were satisfactorily managed agreeably to the utmost wish of his heart. In his magazines he beheld vast treasures, and daily did he enjoy

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is not given on the Maps; it could not have been far away from modern Dihli, *i.e.*, north of Sirī The Society's edition of Badāoni has *Gīlī* (?).

the spectacle of his jewels and pearls, of which he possessed chests and caskets full ; while his eyes likewise fell on numerous elephants and 70,000 horses in the sheds and stables in and around the city. He also found two or three vast countries firmly bound under his rule, and the idea of any adversary or rival in the kingdom never crossed his mind.

Intoxicated under all these varied incentives to pride, he began to brood over in his head the grandest projects and most extraordinary schemes, which were neither suited to his capacity, nor indeed to the capacity of a hundred thousand like him ; and such ideas came to his mind, as he never entered imagination of any other monarch. From his utter intoxication and senselessness, his supreme arrogance and self-conceit, his intense ignorance and infatuation, and his excessive folly and stupidity, he lost all control over himself, and began to conceive impossibilities and absurdities. He was a man who had not a smattering even of education, and had never associated with men of learning ; for he neither knew how to read nor write.

In disposition he was ill-natured, and in temper harsh ; and in his heart was lodged a mass of cruelty. The more frequently the world went well with him, the oftener his enterprizes were crowned with success ; and the more fortune favoured him, so much the more senseless and intoxicated he became.

The object of my ( bringing forward ) the above peroration is this, that Sultān 'Alauddin during these periods of senselessness and intoxication used to say in the presence of his

assembled guests, that he had two projects before him, and he used to consult his friends, boon companions, and associates about the furtherance of these two projects, and to ask the Maliks he was intimate with, what he had better do, so as to carry out his plans most effectually.

One of these two projects, which he was always talking about carrying out, was this. He used to say : "God Almighty gave to the Prophet, on whom be peace, four companions, by means of whose power and influence, he originated the orthodox faith, and owing to the institution of the orthodox faith, the fame of the Prophet has lasted and will continue to last till the day of Judgment ; and since the time of the Prophet, on whom be peace ! Whosoever has acknowledged and called himself a Musalmān, has considered himself belonging to his faith and sect. Now, God Almighty has also granted to me four companions ; first Ulugh Khān, secondly Zafar Khān, thirdly Nuśrat Khān, and fourthly Alap Khān, who through my favour have attained to princely power and influence. If I like, therefore, I can with the aid of these companions institute a new religious faith, and by the force of my arms and those of my companions, cause all the people to adopt it as the clear way ( to salvation ) ; and thus my fame and that of my companions would continue to last among the people, just as that of the Prophet and his companions has lasted."

Impelled by youthful arrogance, and folly, want of judgment, thoughtlessness and audacity, he used to utter the above sentiments at convivial assemblies openly and without reserve,

and consult with the chief men of the party regarding the institution of a new and separate religion. He would likewise enquire of such as were present, how he should manage matters, so that his name might continue for ever, and the people adopt the faith that he originated.

Respecting the second project, he used personally to inform those present, that the wealth, elephants, horses, and retainers that he had gathered together were innumerable ; and that he would therefore make over charge of Delhi to some one, and starting like Alexander in quest of territorial aggrandizement, would bring the four quarters of the inhabited globe under his dominion.

Another piece of presumption was this. Some of his enterprises having turned out satisfactorily, he caused himself to be styled "Alexander the Second", in the public prayers and on the coinages. In the midst of his wine-bibbing too, he would boastfully exclaim, "Every country that I conquer, I will give in charge to one of my confidential ministers and set out myself in pursuit of further acquisitions ; for who is there to stand up against me ?" The bystanders although well aware that he was perfectly intoxicated, and demented from the possession of vast wealth, elephants, horses, followers and dependents as well as from his innate folly, and that he only discussed both these projects out of arrogance, incapacity, and stupidity, yet they were obliged to have a regard for his hasty temper and evil disposition. Through fear of his irascibility therefore, they commended his sentiments, and bringing forward false dogmas

and similes as true, they made the application of them conformable to his vile disposition ; so that he fell into the idea at last that these impossible propositions that had issued from his senseless heart and tongue, might perhaps be accomplished. The above absurdities, that escaped from his lips at convivial assemblies, were gradually disseminated throughout the city ; and while some respectable men laughed, and attributed them to his folly and ignorance, other intelligent persons were sore afraid and said among themselves, "This fellow has the very pride of Pharaoh without possessing a particle of sense ; and such immense treasures, as would blind the eye of the wise even, not to mention the foolish and unwary, having fallen into the hands of this idiot, if Satan instil into his mind a mode of faith opposed to true religion, and he, in enforcing its false doctrines, should slay sixty or seventy thousand individuals, what would become of us Musalmāns and our religion."

The author's uncle, 'Alāulmulk, the Kotwāl of Delhi, on account of his extreme obesity used to go and pay his respects to the Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn on the first day of every month only. On the first of one month, when he had come according to his usual custom, and had joined the Sulṭān's wine-party, the latter asked his advice regarding his two insane projects. 'Alāulmulk had heard from others that the Sulṭān was in the habit of expressing these sentiments in public, and that the bystanders always corroborated his opinions, and were unable to speak the real truth for fear of his violent and hasty temper. On this occasion however, when 'Alāulmulk heard the Sulṭān express these sentiments, and demand his advice on the matter he

replied : "If your Majesty will order the wine to be removed from this assembly, and will permit no one to stay with him, but four Maliks, I will lay clearly and explicitly before the throne my views and the conclusion that I have arrived at with respect to these two schemes of your Majesty."

The Sulṭān accordingly directed the wine to be removed from the assembly, and no one was permitted to remain in it, but Ulugh Khān, Zafar Khān, Nuśrat Khān and Alap Khān, all the other nobles being called upon to retire. The Sulṭān then said to 'Alāulmulk, "Whatever plan or designs has occurred to your mind for the execution of these two projects, do you now in the presence of these my four companions and of myself explain it, in order that I may proceed to carry it out."

'Alāulmulk prefacing his speech with an apology (for his boldness) spoke as follows : "The subject of religion with its tenets and doctrines should certainly never be discussed and commented on by your Majesty ; for that is the duty of the prophets, not of kings. Religion springs from divine inspiration, and cannot be founded on human intellect and wisdom. From the time of Ādam to the present day, has religion been instituted by the prophets, while kings have exercised worldly sway and sovereignty ; and since the world began, is now and ever shall be, the spirit of prophecy has never been exercised by kings, although prophets have sometimes held kingly sway. Your humble servant's petition at the throne therefore is this : That henceforth your Majesty will never either under the influence of wine or without it, speak a word

about founding any form of faith or religion, or such matter as are within the especial province of the prophets, and which have been finally determined by our own (last and greatest) Prophet. For, should expressions of this kind reach the ears of the public generally, the whole of them will turn from their allegiance, not a Musalmān will approach your royal person, tumult, and sedition will arise on every side, and vast dangers assail the State, arising solely from such sentiments as these. Your Majesty may have heard too, how, notwithstanding the torrents of blood that Changīz Khān caused to flow from all the cities of the Musalmāns, he was unable to implant among them the civil and religious institutions of the Mughuls. Most of the latter in fact turned Musalmāns, and professed the Muhammadan creed, while not a single Musalmān turned Mughul, nor adopted their faith. As for myself, I am your loyal servant, and my life and soul is bound up in your Majesty's existence. Should sedition arise in the royal dominions, I should neither be left alive, nor would my wife and children, my followers and dependents be allowed to exist on the face of the earth. If then I see a means of averting danger from the royal dominions, and I fail to report it explicitly, I should be destitute of feeling for my own life as well as that of my children and family retainers. From these expressions, that have issued from your Majesty's tongue, moreover, such a tumult is sure to arise, as could not be repressed by the sagacity of a hundred Buzurjmihrs ; and those who, professing the utmost loyalty and good will towards your royal person, have heard the above sentiments expressed in various assemblies

by your Majesty, and have both confirmed and commended them, have only done so by way of flattery, and have not fulfilled their duty honestly.

On hearing these words of 'Alāulmulk, Sultān 'Alāuddin bent down his head, and became absorbed in reflection. The Sultān's four companions too were excessively pleased with 'Alāulmulk's speech, and anxiously waited to see what would escape from the Sultān's lips. After a minute or two, the Sultān addressed 'Alāulmulk thus : "The reason why I have made you my confidential adviser, and shew such regard for you is, that I know you to be a truly loyal subject of mine, and frequently have I perceived and become fully convinced by experience, that in giving an opinion, you always speak the whole truth before me, and never conceal the real state of the case. I have just this minute reflected, and see that everything is as you say. I ought not to discuss these subjects, and henceforward no one shall hear me utter such expressions in any assembly. A hundred mercies rest on you, and on your father and mother, inasmuch as you have spoken the truth before me, and have duly fulfilled the rights of loyalty. In respect to the second project, what say you ; is that likewise wrong, or is it proper ?"

'Alāulmulk then addressed the Sultān thus on the subject of his second project, which was that of territorial aggrandizement.

"Your second project is one that high-minded monarchs are often bent upon ; and it is the custom and habit of these



conquerors to desire that they should subjugate the whole world, and bring it under their dominion. Your Majesty likewise with all these vast hoards of treasure, as well as retainers, elephants, and horses, can set forth from your capital fully equipped and arrayed, and will ( doubtless ) achieve the greatest feats of conquest. I do not therefore object to the execution of this design, and I am well aware that your Majesty possesses sufficient wealth to enable you to enlist two or three lakhs of horsemen, and conquer the whole world. It would be right however, for your Majesty to reflect as to whom you could consign the charge of Delhi and its empire, which you have gained at the cost of much vast sums of money, and so much bloodshed, and what force you would give him ; while you yourself departed in persuit of territorial aggrandizement, and proceeded like Alexander to conquer the habitable globe. For, no matter whom your Majesty might appoint in Delhi or any other country ; by the time you thought of returning to your own capital again, how could those officers, or those countries have secured peace and safety in these times of sedition and rebellion. The age of Alexander was a totally different era from the present one ; for it was the established usage, and settled habit of the men of that period to adhere strictly and conscientiously to the engagements they entered into, even after the lapse of many years ; and consequently excuses and frauds, falsehood and deceit, and the violation of contracts and agreements were much less frequent in those days. If the nobles and plebeians of any clime or country therefore entered into any contract or

agreement with Alexander or any other sovereign, they neither, during his presence nor in his absence, ever swerved from their promise or engagement. Where too, could you find a prime minister like Aristotle? For all the Greeks, both high and low, notwithstanding their vast amount of population, immense extent of cavalry, and great wealth and affluence, were so attached, faithful, and obedient to Aristotle, placed such confidence in his spoken or written promise, and his strict virtue and probity, and were so well pleased and contented with his administration and rule, unaided and unsupported by considerable forces, that during Alexander's absence not a soul swerved a needle's point from his express order and mandate, nor joined in any revolt or rebellion. When Alexander therefore ceased from his conquest after an interval of two and thirty years, and returned again to his pristine capital, he found the land of Greece tranquil, obedient, and secure; nor in the course of a generation (*qaran*) moreover, had any disturbance occurred within his ancient kingdom. Very different are the men of the present time and age, more especially the Hindūs, in whom there is not the slightest respect for treaties, and agreement. If they see not a mighty and successful sovereign at their head, nor behold crowds of horse and foot with drawn swords and arrows threatening their lives and property, they fail in their allegiance, refuse payment of revenue, and excite a hundred tumults and revolts. Now your Majesty's territories are the territories of Hindūstan; how then will your absence, especially an absence that may continue for years, suit such

men as these, who have neither any respect for treaties and engagements, nor any regard for the due fulfilment of promises ?”

Sultān 'Alāuddīn observed : “Since so much wealth as well as elephants and horses has come into my hands, if I make no conquests, and subdue no new territories, but content myself with the kingdom of Delhi merely, of what use will it be to me, and how shall I acquire a reputation for victorious achievements ?”

'Alāulmulk replied : “I am an old servant, and it appears most expedient to me, that your Majesty should commence upon the two following undertakings before all others, and subsequently set out after the rest.”

The Sultān asked, what these two undertakings were, which he ought to commence upon first ; to which 'Alāulmulk replied : “One of them is, the bringing under proper subjection of the entire country of Hindūstān ; so that Rantambhūr, Chitor, Chanderī, Mālwah, Dhār, and Ujain, and from the East to the banks of the Sarw, and the Sawāliks to Jālūr, Multān, to Damrīlah [?] and from Pālam to Lāhaur and Dipālpur<sup>21</sup> might all become so tranquil and obedient, that the name of rebel should never pass from any body's tongue.

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<sup>21</sup> *Sarw* (or *Saro*) is the name of the Western and Eastern Surjoo in the N. E. of Oudh. The Eastern Surjoo is often distinguished as *āb i Bahrāich* or *Sarw i Bahrāich*, the Sarw on which the town of Bahrāich lies. The Western Surjoo is merely called *Sarw* ; but the name is also given to the Ghogra. The Ghogra again is often called *āb i Narhan*, as it falls into the Ganges a little below the town and

“The second undertaking, which is far more important, is the prevention of the inroads of the Mughuls by strengthening the strongholds in their direction, by the appointment of trustworthy commandants, and the repair of the fortifications, and excavation of the ditches as well as the formation of magazines for arms and depots for grain and fodder, and the organization of projectile engines of war, with skilful and experienced workmen to serve them. To this end, a commander should be stationed at Samānah with a large force, another at Deopālpūr, and another at Multān with a body of horse ; for in order that the Mughuls may be entirely restrained from any hostile

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Parganah or Narhan in Sāran, (North Bihar). In the *Āīn* and older books Ghogra is spelt *Ghag'har*. The modern spelling is *G'hāg'hor*. or, *G'hāg'hrā*. “The Ghogra joins the Sarw at a distance of one *kos* from Awadh (Faizabād) and passes below the Fort of that town.” *Āīn*. Abulfazal mentions the *Sarw* among the rivers of the Sūbah of Itāhābād, together with the *Arand*, or *Ārand* (*anglice* Urrunde or Rind.), the *Ken* (Cane, a tributary of the Jamnah, left bank), and the *Bārnah* (near Banāras).

*Lūhūr*, and *Luhāwar* are archaistic forms for Lāhor, just as *Nūdīh* for *Naddiā* (Nuddiah in Bengal, even now *vulgarly* called *Noodee*) ; *Gālewar*, *Galewar*, and *Gālewār*, for *Gwāhār*.

Dīpālpūr lies on the old bed of the Biāh, between Lat. 30° and 31°, and must not be confounded with the Dīpālpūr in Mālwah, S. W. of Ujain. *Dīpālpūr* (Deopālpūr), Samānah (in Patialā), and Multan lie almost in a straight line ; hence 'Alāulmulk's advice.

Pālam lies S. W. of Dihli, about eleven miles from it. Under Sulṭān Mahmūd Shāh (795 to 815, A.H.), people used to say ironically, *Hukm i khudāwand i 'ālam az Dihli tā Pālam*.

For *Damrīlah* (?) the Society's Edition has *Marīlah* (?). Perhaps, *Narīlah*, near Dihli. What we call *Rintambore* is spelt in all good MSS. *Rantanbhūr*, not *Rant'hanbūr* *Dhār* is in Mālwah.

attempt of Hindūstān, military commanders of loyalty and experience, and a picked and chosen body of troops well mounted, must be depended on.

“As soon as these two objects, *viz.* the extinction of the rebellious spirit of the Hindūs from the realms of Hindūstān, and the appointment of famous and illustrious nobles to the quarters, whence the incursions of the Mughuls take place, have been satisfactorily attained, your Majesty should stay perfectly at ease in the metropolis of Delhi, which is the centre of the kingdom, and employ yourself with a tranquil mind in the state affairs ; for the stability of the sovereign in the centre produces stability in the government of the provinces. After the establishment of the paramount power in the centre, and the consolidation of the provinces of the Empire, your Majesty can proceed to territorial aggrandizement without stirring from your throne, by deputing your loyal and confidential servants with well equipped and organized forces, and the faithful nobles of the state, to march into distant countries and wage war there ; bidding them plunder and lay waste all the territories of Hind, and spare neither the wealth, elephants, nor horses of its kings and princes, but bring them all under the royal subjection, after which their lands and principalities can be restored to them, on condition that they agree to furnish an annual tribute to your Majesty in money, horses, and elephants.”

After giving vent to the above opinions, 'Alāulmulk made obeisance and continued thus : “What your humble servant has

recommended can never be brought about, unless your Majesty will refrain from drinking wine to excess, from holding constant convival and festive assemblies, and from indulging both day and night in the pleasures of the chase, nor until you take up your parmanent residence in the centre of the kingdom and allow the affairs of the state, and measures of government to be transacted agreeably to the advice of your faithful and sagacious councillors. Your Majesty's excessive indulgence in wine occasions delay and detriment to all measures, and nothing can be effected conformably to the true spirit of good government ; while from your constant pursuit of field sports, there is danger of treason and sedition from deceitful and treacherous individuals, and the royal life is in jeopardy. As soon as it becomes well-known among the populace both high and low, that the Sovereign is absorbed day and night in the pleasures of wine, and of the chase, the due reverence of royalty will no longer remain implanted in their hearts, and the gates of sedition will be thrown open to traitors. If you can not do without indulging in wine and in the chase altogether, you should drink only after the hour appointed for the second prayers, when you are alone without any party of boon companions, nor should you take so much as to get intoxicated ; and for sport, you ought to have a villa erected at Sīrī, on all sides of which spacious and extensive plain there should be, where you could take your hawks and fly them. In this manner you should satisfy your longing for field sports, so that the disaffected and ill-disposed characters in the kingdom may not have the opportunity for malevolent designs

against you. Your Majesty's life, and the stability of your government are most dear to me ; for my own life and that of my whole family and household depends upon the royal existence ; and should this kingdom fall into the hand of another, which God forbid, myself, my wife and children, and my followers and dependants would never be permitted to live."

When Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had heard 'Alāulmulk's opinions he was highly pleased with him and said : "The views that you have expressed are decidedly correct, and I will do exactly according to what God has brought forth from your lips." He then presented 'Alāulmulk with a garment wrought in gold with pictures of tigers, a woven waist belt, 15,000 tankahs, two caparisoned horses, and a couple of landed estates. Out of the four Khāns too, in whose presence 'Alāulmulk had continued from early morn till midday explaining his views, as given above before the throne, everyone of them sent to his house three or four thousand tankahs, and two or three caparisoned horses. As soon as the above opinions reached the ears of the ministers, officials, and other wise men of the city, they also highly lauded and commended 'Alāulmulk's sagacity and good advice.

This event occurred in the days, when Zafar Khān had returned from the Siwistān expedition, and had not yet suffered martyrdom in the engagement with the miscreant Qutlugh Khwājah.

Sultān 'Alāuddīn resolved in the first place to capture the fort of Rantambhūr, as it was not only somewhat near the capital of Delhi, but was already encompassed with a besieging force under Hamir Deo, the son of Pathorā Rāī. He accordingly despatched thither Ulugh Khān, who held the Biānah district ; and directed Nuśrat Khān, who was the Jāgirdār of Karāh, to move likewise with the whole forces of Karāh and the troops of the districts on that side of Hindūstān, to Rantambhūr, and cooperate with Ulugh Khān in taking the fortress. Ulugh Khān and Nuśrat Khān having captured Jhāyin,<sup>22</sup> invested the stronghold of Rantambhūr, and exerted themselves to the utmost in the construction of entrenchments and batteries, while a constant shower of projectiles was kept up from the fort. One of these missiles happened to strike Nuśrat Khān, whereby he was seriously wounded, and after two or three days he expired.

As soon as intelligence of this event reached Sultān 'Alāuddīn, he came out of the city with the imperial forces and marched in the direction of Rantambhūr.

<sup>22</sup> *Jhāin* lies near Ratambhūr. "It is known under the name of *Naushar*." Bad. I, p. 190. The Society's Editions of Badāonī and Ziā i Baranī have invariably, but wrongly, *Jhābin*. Vide Elliot's Index (First Edition), p. 193.



*Description of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn's march towards Rantambhūr, his arrival at Tilpat, and Ikit Khān's insurrection at that place.*<sup>23</sup>

When Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn set out from Delhi with the view of capturing the fort of Rantambhūr, and had arrived at Tilpat,<sup>24</sup> he halted there for sometime, riding out every day to the chase, and indulging in field sports. On one occasion having

<sup>23</sup> I have written *Ikit Khān* instead of *Ukhat*, which Major Fuller's translation has. *Ikit* is Turkish, and means *Jawān*, young and *Ikit Khān* would thus be the opposite of *Ulugh Khān*, as *Ulugh* means *Kalān*, old, senior. *Khān i Kalān* also was a title in use before the times of Akbar. The usual *scriptio plena* also occurs, *viz.* *Ikit* for *Ikt*, *Ulugh* for *Ulgh*, just as *Qutlugh* and *Qūtlugh* (the same as *Mubārik*), or *Tughlaq* and *Tughlugh* (the same as 'alamdār, standard bearer), or *Mughal* and *Mughul* (a simple hearted man). Having accidentally mentioned the word *Mubārik*, which occurs so often in names, I may remark that it should be spelt *Mubārik* with an *i*, as it is the Part. Active, *asking God to bless some one*; but inasmuch as the Persians change the final *i* of such Arabic forms to *a*, we may write *Mubārak*. In India the pronunciation *Mubarik* is preferred.

Firishtah calls *Ikit Khān Sulaimān Shāh*. In Briggs and Elphinstone's History the name of *Ulugh Khān* is wrongly given *Alaf Khān*.

<sup>24</sup> *Tilpat* formed the South Eastern frontier of the Parganah of Dihlī; *vide* Beames's Edition of Elliot's Glossary, II. 123. The Nawāb Farid Khān mentioned by Elliot is Farid i Bukhbārī (Murtazā Khān) who defeated Khusrau. Faridābād in Balabgarh, south of Dihlī, is named after him, and formed part of *Tilpat*.

For *Tilpat*, the Society's Edition of Badāonī has *Panhit* (?), and in a foot note *Sūnpat*, which is a town and Parganah forming the northern boundary of the Parganah of Dihlī but Firishtah has likewise *Tilpat*.

The place *Bādah* mentioned a few lines lower down, may be the *Mauza*' of Bādah, S. W. of the town of Jhārsah. The Parganah of Jhārsah forms the S. W. boundary of the Parganah of Dihlī.

gone out as usual to the chase, he was benighted, and obliged to take up his quarters in the village of Bādah, where he passed the night. Next day before sunrise he gave orders for a [manoeuvre, *nargah*], so the officers of the household, and all the retinue occupied themselves in making the necessary preparations for it, while the Sultān himself took up a position in the open country, when he sat down upon a cane stool (*morah*) with only a few attendants standing round him. The Sultān was thus sitting in expectation of seeing the arrangements for the battle completed, when meanwhile Ikit Khān, his nephew (brother's son), who held the appointment of *Vakīldārī*, raised an insurrection, under the idea and impression that just as Sultān 'Alāuddīn had slain his uncle, and seated himself on his throne, he would likewise be able to slay 'Alāuddīn and ascend his throne. With this design, Ikit Khān accompanied by several newly converted horsemen of great skill, who were old retainers of his, came headlong upon Sultān 'Alāuddīn shouting out, "the tiger", "the tiger", and several arrows were fired by those expert marksmen upon him. It being winter time, the Sultān had on a thick wadded garment [and a *daglah*<sup>25</sup>], and when they began to pour down a shower of arrows on him, he got off the stool, and made use of it as a shield to defend himself. Two arrows, however, struck the Sultān, and wounded him in the arm, but neither of them was fatal. There was a servant with him called Nānak [Ed. Bibl. Indica, *Mānik*], who

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<sup>25</sup> The word *daglah* is not to be found in native dictionaries, and is but rarely used now-a-days. From the words *qabā wa daglah dar bar dā.sh*, we may infer that *daglah* is the short ornamented jacket which natives put over the long *qabā*. It has often short sleeves.

at the time when the new converts were showering arrows on the Sultān, made a shield of his own body for him, and received three or four wounds. The Pāik soldiery (foot soldiers) who were standing behind the Sultān also protected him with their bucklers, and when Ikit Khān came up with his horsemen, and they wished to dismount, and cut off the Sultān's head, they perceived that the Pāiks had drawn their swords, and were fully prepared to receive them. Notwithstanding the vast tumult and revolt that they had raised, they were thus unable to dismount and lay hands on the Sultān. At this juncture moreover the Pāiks called out that the Sultān was dead, and Ikit Khān, being a stupid, foolish, senseless youth, devoid of all tact and intelligence, in spite of the great superiority he had gained in coming upon the Sultān with so many expert horsemen, was unable to give stability to his revolt by severing the Sultān's head from his body, previous to engaging in other affairs ; but through his consummate folly, he was too premature and contented himself with the word of the Pāiks. [Then he returned and hastened to Tilpat, and rode to the Imperial Pavilion.] He then seated himself on Sultān Alāuddīn's throne, and called out in a loud tone to the royal door-keepers, that he had slain the Sultān. The people also began to reflect, that if he had not put the Sultān to death ( as he said ), how could he have entered the royal pavilion mounted (*i.e.* in state), or by the aid of what force could he have seated himself on the throne of 'Alāuddīn and given audience there. A great tumult and uproar consequently arose throughout the camp, and everything began to be turned topsyturvy. The elephants

were caparisoned with *haudahs* and brought before the royal pavilion ; the household servants came out, and everyone stood in waiting at his proper post ; the sentries kept shouting and bawling out ; the clergy read the Qorān ; the minstrels breathed forth music ; the aristocracy on paying homage offered their congratulations and tendered their services ; and the door-keepers raised the continual cry of "Bismillah" ( in the name of God ).

The wretched Ikit Khān then out of intense folly and stupidity, wished to enter into the interior of the haram among the females, but Malik Dīnār, the custodin of those apartments would not permit him ; for arming himself together with his comrades, he took his stand before the door, and kept it securely, saying to the ill-fated Ikit Khān, "You must shew me the head of Sultān 'Alāuddīn before I can let you enter the haram."

At the time when the Sultān had been wounded by the arrows, all the horsemen engaged in the manoeuvre dispersed, and a great disturbance arose among them, every one going off in a different direction, until there were only some sixty or seventy men left with the Sultān. When he recovered his senses after Ikit Khān's departure, they found that he had received two wounds in the arm, and had lost a good deal of blood ; so they washed and bound up the wounds, and slung the arm from his neck in handkerchiefs.

On coming to himself, the Sultān made certain, that the Maliks and Amirs and a vast body of the soldiery in the camp

must be in confederacy with Ikit Khān, or he would never without their support have been able to make such an outbreak.

He accordingly thought of abandoning his camp and proceeding at once from the spot to gain Ulugh Khān and Jhāyin, purposing to march night and day until he reached his brother, when he could adopt any plan that might seem most conducive to the recovery of his kingdom, or could flee from thence to some distant quarter, which ever plan might prove most expedient here after.

With this idea, he was about to start forthwith for Jhāyin, had not Malik Hamīduddīn, the Wakilidar, son of 'Umdatulmulk, senior, who was the Aristotle and the Buzurjmīhr of the age, dissuaded him from the measure and said, "Your Majesty should proceed this instant to the imperial pavilion ; for all the people in the city and the camp are your loyal slaves and subjects ; and no sooner will the insignia of loyalty come into their view, and the safety of your august person become known to them, than they will repair to your threshold, and bring the elephants before you, and in a moment the head of the traitor, Ikit Khān, will be cut off and fixed on the point of a spear. Should the night, however, elapse without it being made known to the people, that your Majesty is safe and sound, it is probable that some one may join the wretch, and insurrection become much more formidable than at present ; and after the people have once made themselves his confederates, and pledged their allegiance

to him, the dread of your Majesty will compel them to stick to him."

Sultān 'Alāuddīn approved of Hamīd's suggestions, and having mounted at once he set out for the camp. On the way, such horsemen as saw that the Sultān was in safety, joined him ; so that by the time he reached the encampment, about 600 horse had collected in his train. As soon as the Sultān arrived near the camp, he ascended an eminence, and shewed himself conspicuously, so that the umbrella of the Sultān was seen by a considerable number. The concourse at the royal pavilion immediately broke up, and the household with the whole of the elephants repaired to the imperial presence ; whereupon Ikit Khān made his escape through an opening in the tent, and mounting a horse, took the road of Afghāmpūr. The Sultān then coming down from the eminence with regal pomp and splendour, proceeded to his own pavilion, and took his seat upon the throne, and gave a public audience.

Malik A'azzuddīn Yighān Khān and Malik Naśīruddīn Būr Khān [Ed. B. I., *Nūr Khan*] undertook the pursuit of Ikit Khān, and overtaking him in the vicinity of Afghānpūr,<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Badāonī (I, p. 193) says : "*Ikit Khān fled towards Afghānpūr, and a detachment which in forced marches (elghār) pursued him, caught him, and sent him to the Sultān.*" Afghānpūr is either the town and Parganah in Sambhal, or the *mausa*' of that name, 'which lies three kos from Tughluqhābād (*Badāonī* I, p. 224), where Tughluq Shāh died from the fall of the pavilion. *Vide* also Mr. Cowell's paper in *JASB*, 1860, p. 231.

they cut off his head, and presented it 'before the royal pavilion. By the Sulṭān's order, the miscreant's head was fastened on a spear, and carried round the whole camp ; after which it was carried publicly through the city of Delhi, and from thence despatched Ulugh Khān at Jhāyin with an announcement of his victory. The rebel's younger brother, whose title was Qutlugh Khān, was also instantly sacrificed. Sulṭān 'Alāuddin stayed some days at this encampment, during which he used the utmost rigour and severity in tracing out and apprehending all the agents and horsemen, and those who had had any knowledge of, or connection with, Ikit Khān's revolt. He put them to death under the torture of the iron scourge, confiscated their property to the royal use, and sent their wives and children as captives into various forts.

After having concluded his search after the conspirators engaged in Ikit Khān's revolt, Sulṭān 'Alāuddin proceeded by continuous marches to Rantambhūr, and pitched his camp at Ran,<sup>27</sup> where he executed the surviving portion of the rebels.

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<sup>27</sup> Or rather, *on the Ran*, Major Fuller's MS. has correctly *Dar Ran* instead of the absurd *Drān* of the Ed. Bibl. Indica. Akbar also attacked Rantambhūr from the Ran (Bad. II, 107). "On Monday, I inspected the Fort of Rantambhūr. There are two mountains opposite to each other, one is called *Ran*, and other *Tanbhūr*. Though the fort is on the latter people call it 'Rantanbhūr'. It is very strong, and has plenty of water. The Ran also is a strong position, *in fact the only one from which the Fort can be taken*. Hence my father [Akbar] ordered guns to be carried to the top of the Ran [Rajal 976], and had them pointed to the houses in the Fort. The First shot hit the Chaukhandī Mahall of Rāi Surjun, which made his heart so tremble, that he surrendered \* \* \* The houses in the Fort are just as Hindūs

The siege of the fort had been going on for some time previous to this, on the Sultān's arrival it was prosecuted with still greater vigour. From all quarters of the country, they collected leather skins and bags, and served them out among the soldiery, who used to fill the bags with sand, and throw them into the [ravine] of the Ran. They also made trenches and approaches, raised batteries, and kept up a constant fire of projectiles, with which they harassed and annoyed the garrison, who used to throw down fire from the top of the fort in return, and thus vast numbers were slaughtered on both sides. The army moreover had overrun the district of Jhāyin as far as the frontier of Dhār, and brought it all under subjection.

*Description of the revolt of 'Umar and Mangū Khān, the nephews (sister's sons) of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, in Badāon and Audh, and receipt of the intelligence at Rantambhūr.*

Just about the time when the Sultān had finished with the conspiracy of Ikit Khān, and had turned his attention to the siege, making his whole army engage zealously therein, news reached him that Amīr 'Umar and Mangū Khān had taken advantage of his absence, and having heard of his zealous attention to the siege of Rantambhūr, and the extreme difficulty of capturing it, had broken out into rebellion, and were now collecting an army from the people of Hindūstān.

will build them, narrow and without ventilation ; hence I was not pleased and did not stay." *Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī*, p. 256. During the reign of Akbar, Rustam Khān commanded the Fort for a long time,



The Sulṭān immediately appointed certain of the great nobles of Hindūstān to coerce them ; so that before the rebels had time to do any mischief, they seized both the brothers, and brought them in captive to the Sulṭān at Rantambhūr. Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn was of an extremely harsh and severe temper, so that he even executed both his nephews himself, and scraped out their eyes with a knife just as he would a piece of a melon, and exterminated their followers and dependents. As for the horse and foot, who had taken service with them, some fled away, and suffered great hardships, while others fell into the hands of the Nobles of Hindūstān and were taken prisoners.

*Description of the revolt of Hājī Maulā, (servant of) Malik ul Umarā Fakhruddīn Kotwāl.*

The Sulṭān was still engaged in this siege of Rantambhūr, and had his whole army zealously employed in it, when Hājī Maulā i Malik Fakhruddīn,<sup>28</sup> the former Kotwāl, raised a revolt in ( Delhi ), and caused a very considerable commotion ; intelligence of which reached the Sulṭān at Rantambhūr on the third day. In the course of this insurrection, the people of Delhi, and of the royal camp, were completely upset ; for the above mentioned Hājī was a man of the most sanguinary, audacious, and depraved disposition. In these days, while the Sulṭān with his whole army was occupied at Rantambhūr, where a large number were being constantly

<sup>28</sup> The final i in *Maulā i* is the *Izāfat*. Firishtah and Badāonī call him a *servant* of Fakhruddīn, which his name *Maulā* (freed slave) also implies.

killed, and the soldiery in consequence were sorely distressed, Hāji Maulā held the office of superintendent of the crown lanc's of Ratol.<sup>29</sup> A person of the name of Tirmidī was the Kotwāl, and he was engaged in building the Badāon gate, and near this gate on the inside he had erected a private domicile, in which he resided, while for the transaction of the official business of the *vizārat*, sheds [ *chhapparhā* ] had been put up in the plain of Sīri, where all public affairs were settled. 'Alāuddīn Ayāz, the father of Ahmad Ayāz, held the post of Kotwāl to the New Fort [ *Hiṣar i nau* ]. The aforesaid Hāji Maulā then saw that the city was thus left vacant, and that the people were grumbling and complaining of the tyranny and oppression of Tirmidī the Kotwāl, while constant reports were coming in of the distress of the soldiery employed in the siege of Rantambhūr, and the numbers of them that were being killed, so that the mass of them were reduced to the greatest extremity, though for fear of the Sultān's laying a fine of three years' pay upon them, it was impossible for any one to get away from the camp—Hāji Maulā therefore, fancying, that in their distress the people of the camp as well as of the city would stand by him, made friends of all the former Kotwāl, raised a very considerable insurrection, and kindled a conflagration, the flames of which blazed up to the skies. About midday in the month of Ramazān, during which Ramazān the sun was in Gemini, and people to avoid the

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<sup>29</sup> Perhaps correcter *Tol* or *Bartol*. Major Fuller takes the first letter as the Persian preposition *ba*, though we expect *bar*, which the Ed. B. I. has. The place is not known to me.

heat of the weather had retired into the interior of their domiciles and were enjoying a siesta, and the number of people passing to and fro in the streets was consequently but few ; Hāji Maulā entered the Badāon gate with a forged warrant under his arm, and accompanied by several foot soldiers with drawn swords, took his stand in front of the Kotwāl Tirmidī's private dwelling. On pretence that he had come from the Sulṭān and brought a warrant from him, he summoned the Kotwāl, who was taking a nap, and had none of his guards or others about him, to come out of his house to the doorway. The Kotwāl accordingly rose from his couch, and slipping on his shoes, came out to the door ; but no sooner did Hāji Maulā catch sight of him, than he ordered the pāiks to sever his neck and cut off his head from his body. He then took the *Tughhrā* warrant from under his arm, and exhibiting it to the bystanders, he exclaimed, "By virtue of this warrant have I put the Kotwāl to death," at which the people remained silent. He next ordered all the gates, that were under the Kotwāl Tirmidī's charge, and the guards of which had espoused his wretched cause, to be shut, and the door of every house throughout the city was kept closed.

After slaying the Kotwāl Tirmidī, the above named Hāji sent for 'Alāuddīn Ayāz, the Kotwāl of the New Fort, with the intention of killing him as well. The message he sent was this : "I have brought a warrant from the Sulṭān ; come over and hear its contents." A confidential friend of this Kotwāl's, however, among the conspirators, gave him warning and

informed him of the intended reachery ; so he refused to come, and keeping vigilantly on his guard, had the gates of the new fort strongly secured.

Hājī Maulā with the other conspirators then repaired to the palace, and having seated himself in the raised balcony of state, he released the whole of the 'Alāī prisoners, some of whom joined his cause. He also took bags of money from the treasury, and began to squander it among the populace. He likewise presented the rebels with arms from the magazine, and horses from the stud ; and whoever became his ally, had his lap filled with gold.

There was a Sayyid, who used to be called the son of Shāh Najaf, and on his mother's side was descended from Sulṭān Shamsuddīn. To this poor wretch's house, Hājī Maulā proceeded on horseback with a large retinue, and bringing him by force to the palace, placed him on the throne. He also compelled all the grandees and nobles to come from their homes, and do homage to their Sayyid, and offer him their allegiance.

Thus from time to time he kept kindling the flame of turbulence, and some ill-fated wretches, whose hour of death had arrived near at hand, used from avaricious motives to come willingly and cheerfully to him, and he conferred on these rebels all the royal appointments, and paid homage himself. From fear of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, and their dread of this miscreant, the people abandoned both sleep and food, and passed their days and nights in the deepest anxiety.

During the week that Hājī Maulā excited this revolt, news of it was several times received by Sultān 'Alāuddīn ; but the intelligence was never explicitly divulged throughout the camp, and no tumult arose from it.

On the third or fourth day of the Hājī's insurrection, Malik Hamīduddīn Amīr Koh, attended by his sons and relatives, every one of whom was a roaring lion, forced upon the Ghaznīn gate, and entering the city, made for the Bhandarkal gate, whereupon a distant conflict with arrows was commenced between them and the rebels. On such an occasion, the covetous and avaricious naturally set their lives on the palms of their hands (*i.e.*, recklessly exposed themselves to danger), and received large donations of money from the Hājī ; but after two or three days Malik Hamīduddīn Amīr Koh, and his sons, who were a most loyal, true, and faithful crew, got the better of the rebels. Some of Zafar Khān's comrades too, who had come into the city from Amrohah for the purpose of presenting a petition, joined the Malik Amīr Koh and his sons. The latter then entered from the Bhandarkal gate, and a close combat ensued between him and Hājī Maulā in the shoemaker's quarter.<sup>30</sup> The Amīr Koh having dismounted from his horse, and thrown Hājī Maulā down, sat himself on his chest, and notwithstanding all the cuts that the Hājī's retainers showered upon this valiant and loyal hero, and the number of places in

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<sup>30</sup> The Society's text has *dar miyān i mozahdoxān o miyān i ū o miyān i Hājī Maulā*. Major Fuller's MS. has no *and* before the second *miyān*.

which they sorely wounded him, he would not stir from his place on the Hāji's chest until he had slain him.

After his death, the supporters of 'Alāuddīn repaired to the Lāl palace, and having severed the head of that senseless Sayyid from his body, and carried it round the city on the point of a spear, they forwarded it to the Sulṭān at Rantambhūr with a despatch announcing the victory and Hāzi Maulā's demise.

Notwithstanding the many tumults and revolts that were reported to Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn as having taken place at Delhi and completely subverted that city ; inasmuch as he had fixed his imperial mind upon the capture of the fort of Rantambhūr, he would not stir from this place, nor turn his face towards Delhi. Notwithstanding the large army too, that was engaged in the siege, and reduced to such distress in every way, not a single horseman or footman through fear and dread of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, dared turn his face towards Delhi, or go elsewhere.

In short, in the course of five or six days, whosoever in the city had been a confederate of Hāji Maulā, and had taken money of him, was seized and imprisoned ; and all the money that he had taken out of the treasury and distributed among the populace was fully recovered and replaced in the treasury. At the end of a week, Ulugh Khān arrived by express from Rantambhūr, and entering Delhi took up his quarter at the place of Mu'izzī. They then brought all the rebels before him

and he executed the whole of them, making a torrent of blood to flow. On account of these rebels too, he put mercilessly to the sword, as a warning to others, the sons and grandsons of Malikulumarā, the former Kotwāl, who had no knowledge at all of the insurrection, together with every surviving member of his family and his attendents, and would not permit their name even to exist in the world. (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 242 to p. 282.)<sup>31</sup>

When Sultān 'Alāuddīn had witnessed four consecutive revolts, commencing with that in Gujrāt which was raised by the new converts to Islām, up to that of Hājī Maulā, he awoke from his slumber of apathy and oblivion, and recovered from his various insane fancies. While using his utmost exertions in the prosecution of the siege of Rantambhūr, he held privy councils both by day and night, to which were convoked Malik Hamiduddīn, and Malik A'azzuddīn, the sons of 'Alā Dabir, and Malik 'Ainulmulk of Multān, every one of whom was an Āśaf and a Buzurjmīhr in soundness of judgment, as well as same other sage advisers. With these he held consultations and conferences, as to the cause of the revolts, in order that when their origins and causes had been correctly ascertained, they might be altogether removed, so that hereafter no revolt might possibly occur again.

After several days and nights' deliberation, the conclusion arrived at by these councillors was, that the cause of the revolts

<sup>31</sup> The Persian text of this portion of the translation of 'Alāuddīn's reign has four doubtful words, viz. *akhtarzar* Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 243, 1.8 from below; *tāzik* p. 250, 1.3; *amraj* p. 252, 1.12; *būrūjīl* p. 260, 1.9 from below.

was comprised in four things ; first, the king's disregard as to the affairs of the nation, whether they are prosperous or adverse ; secondly, wine, for people are in the habit of having parties for the purpose of wine-drinking, when they disclose their most secret thoughts to each other, make confederates and hatch conspiracies ; thirdly, the friendship, amity, relationship, and constant intercourse existing among the Maliks and Amīrs, and their close connection with one another ; so that if any accident befalls one of them, a hundred others on account of their connection, relationship, and attachment to him, become his confederates ; and fourthly, wealth, by reason of which the ideas of treason and disaffection enter their brains, and disloyalty and ingratitude come to a head ; for, were people destitute of wealth, every one would attend to his own business and employment, without giving heed to conspiracies and rebellions ; and were no means at their disposal, such ideas would never enter the minds of poor and improverished folks.

Some time after Hājī Maulā's revolt, Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn succeeded with immense toil and difficulty in capturing the fort of Rantambhūr, whereupon he put Rai Hamīr Deo, and the new converts, who had fled from the Gujrāt insurrection and taken shelter with him, to death. Rantambhūr, together with the surrounding country, was given to Ulugh Khān, and whatever was in the fort became his.

The Sulṭān then returned from Rantambhūr to Delhi, and being greatly incensed against the inhabitants of that city, sentenced many of the chief men to be exiled from it ; and he



himself would not enter the town ; but took up his quarters in the suburbs.

Ulugh Khān for four or five months during the Sultān's absence enlisted an immense force, purposing to effect the invasion of Talinga and Ma'bar [Malabar] ; but fate happened to overtake him, and he was seized with death about the time of his approach to the capital. His corpse was accordingly brought into the city, and interred in his own mansion. The Sultān was deeply grieved at the sad event [and distributed a great deal of alms to the memory of the departed].

[The Sultān 'Alāuddīn<sup>32</sup> then took active measures to render revolts in future impossible. First of all, he commenced

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<sup>32</sup> Here is a blank in Major Fuller's translation, extending from p. 283, l. 5, from below, Ed. Bibl. Indica, to p. 285, last line. The text of this portion is full of blunders, and a few words have remained untranslated. Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 283, l. 2 from below, for *bakushānīd*, read *bikashānand*. For *Ayār* in the last line, read *ayyār* and as *baskhalg zarrā rahā Nakunad* has no sense, we may perhaps read *bahech khalg zar-rā rahā nakunad* and leave no one in possession of God.

P. 284, l. 2, *sāhān* is unclear to me. After *ān qadrē* a sentence with *keh* is wanting. For *khānah* we expect *khānahā*, though it is in accordance with the clumsy style of Ziā i Baranī. *Mafrūz* on l. 3 is a queer word, and should be either *bādrozah* or *rozīnah*. daily allowance, the same was *wasīfah*. Another queer word is *azāmat* on l. 14, for which we have perhaps to read *gharāmat* fine, mulct. For *jāhā wa zindān* on l. 4 from below, read *chā-ha-i-zindān* as on p. 285, l. 2 from below. For *mīdādand* on l. 9 of the same page ( 284 ), we should perhaps read *mīdād*, if *daur* be the subject ; for the plural *mīkardand* in the following line issued *honoris causā* of the Sultān. The word *bakāh* is doubtful.

with confiscating the property of certain classes, and gave the order that all villages which people held as *milk*, or *in'ām*, or *waqf*, should forthwith be resumed and made Imperial Domain land. The officers, moreover, were to treat the people as tyrannically as possible ; they should think of pretexts for extorting money, and leave no one in possession of gold. After a short time matters had gone so far, that only in the houses of the Maliks, and Amirs, and officers, and Multāni merchants, and...not even so much money remained...and from his excessive demands only a few thousand tankahs... to him in Delhi...all pensions, grants of land,...and legacies in the whole kingdom they opened (?), and the whole people had so much to do with earning their livelihood, that no one had even time to pronounce the word 'rebellion.'

[Secondly, with the view of making revolts impossible, the Sultān appointed informers (*munhiyān*) and their number was so great, that he knew the good and bad things that men did. People could not utter a syllable without his knowledge ; and whatever happened in the houses of the Amirs and the Maliks, of well known and great men, of the officers and collectors, was, in the course of time, brought to the Sultān. Nor did he treat indifferently (*farū naguzashī*) whatever information was brought to him by the patrol (*daur*), but he

The word *daur* is evidently the name which 'Alāuddīn gave his corps of spies, and is the same as *nanbat*, a watch, a petrol.

On p. 285, l. 13 *dele wa* before *gāh*. An amusing alteration by the printer's devil and 'superintendent' may be found on p. 287, l. 3, where for *fitnah angezī*, we read *fitnah i Angrezī* !!

made the petrol responsible for it. The spies were so intruding, that the Maliks in Hazār Sitūn could no longer say a single word openly, and if they had to say anything, they made use of gestures. Day and night they trembled in their houses, lest the patrol of informers should come; and they no longer spoke, nor did they do anything which might subject them to reproof, fines (*gharāmat*), or punishments (*ta'zīr*).<sup>33</sup> Every Bāzār news, sales and purchases, and the doings of the people in the markets were reported by the watch, and inquired into by the Sulṭān.]

[Thirdly, with the view of preventing revolts in future, the drinking and the sale of wines were prohibited. Afterwards the Sulṭān also prohibited *bagnī*<sup>34</sup> and hemp (*bang*), as also gambling. Great exertions were made to carry out the prohibition of the sale of wine and *bagnī*, and special wells were constructed to serve as prisons. Drunkards, gamblers, *bagnī*-vendors, were driven out of the city into the country, and the enormous taxes which the state had derived from them, had to be struck off the revenue books. The Sulṭān,

<sup>33</sup> *Ta'zīr* is a punishment not fixed by the Qorān, and is opposed to *hadd* when the Qorān fixes the punishment, as stoning for adultery. In the former the judge may use his discretion, and control the degree of the punishment according to circumstances.

<sup>34</sup> I do not know why the 'superintendents' of the Ed. Bibl. Ind. have written *bagnī*. The word is only given in the *Majma'ul-furs* by Surūrī (vide *J A S B*, 1868, p. 16).

From this *Burhān* has copied, though he has left out the form *piṅni*, which has also come under Surūrī's observation.

first of all, gave the order to remove from the social assembly rooms of the palace all decanters, *ma'barīs*,<sup>35</sup> the procelain vessels painted with gold, and the glasses and bottles. All were smashed, and the broken bits were thrown in heaps before the Badāon gate. The bottles of wine were also taken from the assembly rooms and poured out, and the quantity of wine thus thrown away was so great, that pools and puddles were formed as in the rainy season. The Sultān 'Alāuddīn also discontinued his wine-assemblies, and he told the Maliks to mount elephants and go to the gates of the city, and into the streets and the districts, the *bāzārs* and *sarāis*, and proclaim that it was his order that no one should drink or sell wine, or have anything to do with wine. Decent people gave up wine drinking as soon as the order was published, but shameless ill-disposed wretches, pimps and panderers, erected stills (*Hind. bhaṭṭī*), and distilled spirits from sugar, and drank and sold wine in secret ; or the filled leather bags outside the town with wine and put them between loads of grass or fuel, or had recourse to other tricks of conveying wine into the city. The spies made strict inquiries, and the guards at the gates and the runners (*b. rīd*) posted there examined every one, and seized the wine and the owners, and took them before the palace. It was then ordered to give the wine to the elephants of the Imperial stables to drink ; and such as had sold it. or smuggled it into the city, or had drank any, were

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<sup>35</sup> The text ( p. 284, 1.1. ) has a word not to be found in our dictionaries. From the context it is clear that a *vessel for holding wine* is intended. It may come from *ma'bār*, Malabar.

beaten with sticks, and fettered, and put into prison, where they were detained for some time. But as the number of the prisoners increased very much, they made wells before the Badāon gate at a place where all people pass by, and into these wells all were thrown that drank or sold wine.]

Some from the distress and misery they suffered in the wells died there, while others who were released after a time, came out half dead, and it took ages for them gradually to recover their health, and pull up strength. Many, therefore, through fear of imprisonment, abjured the use of wine, and if they were unable to control their appetites, they used to go [to the fords] of the Jamnah, and the villages ten or twelve *kos* off, and drink it there. In Ghiāspūr, however, and Indarpat,<sup>36</sup> and Kīlūk'harī, and the villages four or five *kos* away, as well as in the Sarāis outside the town, the sale and purchase of liquor was no longer feasible. It is nevertheless certain that some reckless individuals continued to distil wine at their own houses, and to drink and to sell it ; and ultimately suffered disgrace and infamy, and were cast into prison.

When the prohibition of the use of wine began to press too severely, the Sultān gave orders that, if any one distilled spirits

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<sup>36</sup> Ghiāspūr and Indarpat are portions of Dilbī. Kīlūk'harī had been noticed before. Ghiāspūr is that portion of Dihlī where Nizāmuddin Auliā lies buried. It is also called Mughulpūr, from a party of Mughuls that were converted to Islām and settled there ; *Badāonī* I, p. 173, 1.4. I am not quite sure whether this Mughulpūr is not the same as *Afghānpūr*, mentioned before (*J A S B*, 1869, p. 214, note) for the parganah and the town of Afghānpūr in Sambhal also were called both Afghānpur and Mughulpūr.

privately, and drank the liquor in seclusion, without having a party or assembly, and without selling it, the spies were not to interfere with him, nor enter his house, nor apprehend him.

From the day that the use of wine was interdicted in the city, treasonous conferences and conspiracies began to decrease, and thoughts and ideas of rebellion were no longer agitated by the people.

Fourthly, with a view to obviate the causes of revolt, it was directed that the Maliks and Amirs, and all the noble and confidential officers of the crown, should not go to one another's houses, and give parties and entertainments, nor should they, without first reporting the matter before the throne, enter into family alliances with one another, nor permit the people to have constant intercourse with them at their houses.

This order also was enforced with such strictness that not a stranger was permitted to stay in the houses of the Maliks and Amirs ; and feasts and entertainments, when a great concourse of people would be gathered, were altogether stopped.<sup>87</sup> The Maliks and Amirs, through fear of the patrols, behaved most cautiously, and never held an assembly, nor uttered an

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<sup>87</sup> So perhaps in Major Fuller's MS. the last line on p. 286, of the *Edit. Bibl. Indica* has no grammar. Page 287 of the same edition is dreadfully disfigured by blunders and typographical errors. Line 3, read *angezī* for *angrezī*. For *mushaḥḥiṭā* we expect *mushaḥḥiti*. Line 15, for *āwardan* read *awardand*. Line 17, for *khūtan* read *khūtānrā*. Line 18 for *ya* read *tā*. Line 19, for *charāi*, read *charāī* ; for *bistanīd* read *bistānand* ; and *sukūnatgarī* should not be broken up. Line 20, for *ghubbato* read *ghabane*.

imprudent expression, nor allowed any rebellious, infamous, or disaffected character to come near them. When they repaired to the palace, moreover, it was no longer possible for them to put their heads close to one another's ears, and to utter and hear whispered conversations, nor could they sit down in close proximity at one spot, and give vent to the sorrows of their hearts, and to complaints against the world.

Owing to this prohibition also, no information of a treasonous conference ever reached Sultān 'Alāuddīn nor did any revolt again occur.

After settling the above regulations, Sultān 'Alāuddīn requested his councillors to suggest some rule or regulation, where by the Hindūs might be ground down, and their property or wealth, which is the source of rebellion and disaffection, might no longer remain with them; and that one law respecting the payment of revenue might be instituted for all of them, whether landlords or tenants,<sup>38</sup> and the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak; and that so much should not be left to the Hindūs as to admit

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<sup>38</sup> The text has *Khotah wa-balāhar*. Lower down we find *Khotan wa-balāharan*. *Balāhar* may be Hindūstani, and signify a *low-caste servant*. *Khūṭ* is a rare Arabic word signifying a *fine, strong man*. From the passages below it is quite clear that these terms mean *the strong and the weak*, and most probably *landlords and tenants*, as translated by Major Fuller. If I did not know that Major Fuller's MS. had *Khotah* with a *Kha*—he says in a foot note that the words *Khotahwa balāhar* are unintelligible to him—, I would say that *Khotah* was a blunder for *fotah* with a *fa*.

of their riding horses, wearing fine clothes, and indulging in sumptuous and luxurious habits.

In furtherance of the above object, which is indeed the chief of all objects of Government, they suggested two regulations. First this, that whatsoever the Hindūs cultivated, whether great or little, they should give one half agreeable to the measurement and [ the full value of the produce per *biswah* ], without any distinction, and that they should leave the landlords nothing beyond their proprietary rights [ ? ]. Secondly, that they should levy a grazing tax on every animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat, and that they should collect them in a fold in rear of every dwelling house [ ? ],<sup>39</sup> so

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<sup>39</sup> The text has *bahukm i masāhat o wafā i biswah bikinand*,—very unclear terms. Major Fuller left a' blank. 'Alāuddīn wants to grind down the Hindūs; they are to pay taxes amounting to one-half, *i.e.* 50 per cent., and their lands are to be measured, and *not* even a *biswah* of their grounds is to escape taxation.

The words from *without distinction to dwelling house*, with all due deference to a scholar like Major Fuller, are wrongly translated, though I am not sure whether the following is absolutely free from objections. Translate—

'First this, that they (the officers) should measure, and tax to the full value, even the last *biswah*, whatever grounds the Hindūs cultivated, whether great or little; and the Hindūs should pay 50 per cent. without distinction, and that there should be no difference between the powerful and the weak, and that they (the officers) should remit the powerful nothing of the sums due by them for their wealth. Secondly, they should levy a grazing tax on every animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat. And this grazing tax was established. Also, for every house, they should demand a dwelling tax so that no opportunity, &c.' The difficult words are *as pas*



that no opportunity might be left for evasion or subterfuge in levying the tax, and the burden of the strong might not fall upon the weak, but that both to the strong and to the weak there might be but one law for the payment of the revenue.

On the duty, and in calling to account those functionaries, clerks, overseers, and agents, who were in the habit of taking bribes and committing embezzlements, Sharif i Qāyini,<sup>40</sup> Nāib Wazīr of the Empire, who had not his equal in the art of calligraphy throughout the whole kingdom, and was conspicuously distinguished for his judgment and ability and his elegant composition, was several years employed. He used the greatest efforts, until he made all the villages around the capital, the towns and districts in the Duāb, from Biyānah to Jhāyin, from Pālam to Deopālpūr, and Lūhūr, all the territories of Samānah and Sunnām, from Rewārī to Nāgor, from Karah to Kānodī, and Amrohah, Afghānpūr, and Kābar, from Dabhāi to Badāon and K'harak, and Koelah, and the whole of Katehar,<sup>41</sup>—until he made all these places, with regard

*i har khānah sukūnatgarī ṭalab numāyand.* Ziā as shall be shewn below, is a most miserable writer, as per as style is concerned. His language is Hindī literally translated into Persian. Even in his work on the History of the Barmakides his style is very poor. *Az Fas i har hhānah* is idiomatic Hindī or Hindūstānī, *har g'har ke p'chhe*, behind every house *i e.* for every house, *per* house. That a new tax is meant is clear from p. 288, 1.10 and p. 323, 1.10, where *Barahi* is either *qaddhi* or, *Ghari*, from *Garh* or *ghar*, a house.

<sup>40</sup> So according to Major Fuller's MS. Qāyini is the well known in Persia.

<sup>41</sup> Samānah and Sunnām occur often together. They belong to the Sirkār of Sarhind; Dabhāi, or Danbhāi belongs to the

to the payment of revenue, subject to one standing regulation of measurement and [ the full value of the produce per *biswah*, and of a house tax, and ] the grazing tax, as if they were but one village.

He carried out the system so well too, that contumacy and rebellion, and the riding<sup>42</sup> of horses, carrying of weapons, wearing of fine clothes, and eating of betel, went out entirely among the Chowdries, landed proprietors, and other opulent men. In collecting the revenue he made one law applicable to all of them, and to such a degree did their obedience extend, that a single constable of the revenue department in exacting the taxes would seize some twenty landed proprietors, chief men, and agents, and minister kicks and blows to them. It was not possible in fact for a Hindū to hold up his head, and in their houses not a sign was left of gold and silver [ *and tenkahs and Jetals* ], and articles of luxury, which are the main incentives to disaffection and rebellion. In consequence of their impoverished state, the wives of the landed proprietors and chief men even used to come to the houses of the Musalmāns and do work there, and receive wages for it.

The same Sharaf of Qāyin, the Nāib Wazīr, also carried out the business of investigating and recovering the embezzlements Sirkār of Kol, and must not be confounded with Dehbā, (now *Dahmah*) in the Sirkār of Ghāzīpūr *Kānaudī*, or *Kanāudah*, belongs to the Sirkār of Nārnaul, Kaṭehar is Rohilcund. Kōbur is in Sambhal; another Kābur belongs to the Sirkār of Bihār in Bihār. Amrohah lies in Sambhal. For *Kharak* Major Fuller's MS. had *Kozak* (?).

<sup>42</sup> Compare *J A S B*, 1869. I, p. 121, 1.15.

of all the superintendents, overseers, revenue officers, and functionaries, agents, and collectors, to such an extent, and effected such a close scrutiny, that every *jetal* standing against the name of each of them was extracted from the ledgers (*bahī*) of the *paṭwārīs* ( or village accountants ), and in accordance with that, the sums were levied from them under pain of torture. It was no longer possible, therefore, for any one to take one *tanḳah* or any single thing indeed from either a Hindū or Musalmān by way of bribe.<sup>43</sup>

He thus reduced the revenue officers, collectors, and other functionaries to a state of poverty and destitution ; for he used to commit them to prison, and kept them for years in irons for the sake of a thousand or five hundred *tanḳahs*, so that these appointments were regarded with greater disgust by the people than a plague. The office of revenue clerk too fell into bad odour, so that no one would give his daughter in marriage to such a person, while the post of superintendent would only be accepted by one who had no regard for his life ; for these officials and collectors passed most of their days [ on suspicion ] in confinement, suffering from blows and kicks.

Sultān 'Alāuddīn was a monarch, who had not a particle

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<sup>43</sup> In the *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 289, 1.3, *dele* the words *barishwat chūze*. On 1.9, the word *Shagq* has either the meaning the *jail situated in the shiqqah of a Shiqdār* (?), or it is blunder for *Shakk* and *dar shakk* means *on suspicion*.

In Shakespear's Hindūstāvī Dictionary I find *Shiqqdār* given in the sense of *perplexing, uncertain* ; but surely, this is a mistake, or an Indian spelling, for *Shakkdar* from *shakk*, doubt.

of education, and had never cultivated the society of intelligent persons.

On attaining to the sovereignty, he formed the opinion in his own mind, that the business of ruling and governing was a totally distinct affair from giving efficacy to the statutes of religion, and the royal mandates appertained to kings, but the commandments of the law of the Prophet to Qāzīs and Muftīs. In accordance with this idea, therefore, whatever measure in the course of government pleased him, or appeared advantageous to the state, that he invariably adopted, no matter whether it was consonant with the precepts of religion or not ; and never, in the transaction of state affairs, did he ask for an ecclesiastical verdict or decree on the propriety of any measure. Very few intelligent persons had frequent intercourse with him ; but of those who used to visit him were, first, Qāzī Ziāuddīn of Biyānah ; second, Maulānā Zahīruddīn Lang, and third, Maulānā Mushayyid of Guhrām.<sup>44</sup> [ They were ordered to sit at the table, and sat together with the Amīrs outside ]. Qāzī Mughīsuddīn of Biyānah also had constant communication with the Sultān, and used to attend both at public and private audiences.

One day, about the time when a great deal of trouble was being taken with regard to levying heavier taxes, and imposing fines and recoveries on revenue officers, Sultān Alāuddīn told

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<sup>44</sup> Guhrām is a town and parganah in the Sirkar of Sarhind. In Elliot's works, also in Prof. Dawson's Edition, the name is wrongly spelt *kohrām*.

the Qāzī Mughīs that he intended asking him for his professional opinion on several subjects, and required him to state the exact truth in return. Qāzī Mughīs said in reply : "It seems as if the hour of my death were near at hand ;" whereupon the Sulṭān enquired, "Why should you think so ?" "Because", exclaimed the Qāzī, "When your Majesty asks my opinion on religious points, and I state the truth, your Majesty will get enraged and put me to death". "Rest assured," said the Sulṭān, "that I will not harm you ; only reply with truth and sincerity to whatever questions I may put to you". Qāzī Mughīs answered, "Whatever I have read in theological works, that will I assèrt".

The first question proposed by Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn to the Qāzī Mughīs was : "Under what circumstances can the epithets of *Khīrājīdīh*, and *Khīrājīguzār* be properly applied to a Hindū ? The Qāzī replied, "By the ecclesiastical law, the term '*Khīrāj-guzār*' is applicable to a Hindū only, who, as soon as the revenue collector demands the sum due from him, pays the same with meekness and humility, coupled with the utmost respect, and free from all reluctance ; and who, should the collector choose to spit in his mouth, opens the same without hesitation, so that the official may spit into it, and under such circumstances continues to pay him homage. The purport of this extreme meekness and humility on his part, and of the collector's spitting into his mouth, is to shew the extreme subservience incumbent on this class, the glory of Islām and the orthodox faith, and the degradation of false

religion. God Almighty himself [in the Qorān] declares with regard to their being subjected to degradation '*an yadin wahum sāghirūn*,'<sup>45</sup> and thus he expressly commands their complete degradation, inasmuch as these Hindūs are the deadliest foes of the true Prophet. Mustafā, on whom be blessing and peace, has given orders regarding the slaying, plundering and imprisoning of them, ordaining that they must either follow the true faith or else be slain and imprisoned, and have all their wealth and property confiscated. With the exception of the Imām i A'zam [Abū Hanifah], whose doctrines we uphold, we have no other great divine as authority for accepting the poll tax (*jazyah*) from a Hindū; for the opinion of other learned men is based on the [*Hadīs*] text, "either death, or Islām". Sultān 'Alāuddīn burst out laughing at Qāzī Mughis' answer, and said: "I know nothing of the subjects that you have been talking about; but it had often struck me, that the landed proprietors and chief men used to ride fine horses, wear handsome clothes, shoot with the Persian bow [*i.e.* cross bow], fight among themselves, and follow the chase, and yet never paid a *jetal* of their taxes on lands, persons, flocks and herds, although they took their proprietary share of the produce separately, and that they were further in the habit of having parties and drinking wine; yet some of them would never come to the collectorate, whether summoned or not, nor pay the least respect to the revenue officers. My anger was roused at this, and glowing with passion, I said to

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<sup>45</sup> Qorān 9, 29. Sale's Qorān, 1857, p. 152. *Vide* Ain translation, p. 237, note 7.

myself : Here am I desirous of conquering other countries, and bringing more realms under my subjection, while a hundred classes, in my own kingdom, do not shew that obedience to my rule that ought to be shewn ; how can I then expect to bring other countries properly under my subjection ? For this reason I have established laws, and made my subject thoroughly submissive, so that under fear of my commands they would all escape into a mouse hole ; and now you tell me that it is inculcated in the divine law, that the Hindū should be made obedient and submissive in the extreme. You are a learned man, O Maulānā Mughīs, but you possess no experience ; while I have no learning, but a vast stock of experience. Rest assured, that the Hindū will never be submissive and obedient to the Musalmān, until he becomes destitute, and impoverished. I have, therefore, directed that so much only shall be left to my subjects as will maintain them from year to year in the produce of the ground, and milk and curds, without admitting of their storing up or having articles in excess."

The second question proposed by Sultān 'Alāuddīn to Qāzī Mughīs was this : "As to the robbery, embezzlement, and bribery, going on among officials, and the way in which they falsify accounts and defraud the revenue ; is this mentioned any where in the divine law ?" Qāzī Mughīs replied : "It has never occurred to me, nor have I ever read in any book, that when officials receive a sufficient salary, and yet rob the money of the public treasury, which contains the

aggregate of the national income, or receive bribes, or defraud the revenue, they cannot be chastised by their superiors, either by fire, imprisonment, or other infliction as may seem most advisable ; but for such a delinquent, who robs in his official capacity, amputation of the hand has not been authorized (*i.e.*, the recognized sentence awarded to a common thief.)”

The Sultān said : “Well, I have ordered the revenue commissioners to recover by means of various kinds of torture whatever sums may appear on investigation against the names of the agents, superintendents, and other officials ; and ever since they have been called so strictly to account, I hear robbery and bribery have greatly diminished. I have, however, also directed, that the salary of superintendents, and other officials shall be fixed at such a rate as to allow of their living respectably ; and if, notwithstanding this, they still commit frauds, and decrease the actual sums received, it shall be recovered from them with stripes ; and accordingly you yourself can see how it fares in the present day with persons holding these appointments.”

The third question proposed by the Sultān to Qāzī Mughīs was this : “As regards the wealth that I brought from Deogīr with so much trouble, on my gaining the sovereignty ; is that wealth my private property, or does it belong to the national treasury of all Musulmāns ?” Qāzī Mughīs replied : “I have no option but to speak the truth before the royal throne ; the wealth that your Majesty brought from Deogīr,



was gained by the force of the army of Islām ; and whatever is gained by such means, becomes the national treasure of all Musulmāns. Had your Majesty acquired the wealth from anywhere by yourself, it would be a satisfactory reason according to divine law, and the wealth so acquired would be your Majesty's private property."

The Sultān getting testy with Qāzī Mughīs, then exclaimed, "What is this you say ? And are you thoroughly aware of what you are speaking about ? How can the wealth, for which I staked my own life and that of my followers, and which at the time of my gaining the sovereignty I took from certain Hindūs, whose name and designation even were not known at Delhi, reserving it for my own use without placing it in the royal coffers ; how can such wealth (I say) belong to the national treasury ?" Qāzī Mughīs replied : "Your Majesty has proposed a question in divine law to me, and if I speak not agreeably to what I have read in the Scriptures, and your Majesty should, by way of test, enquire of other learned men also, and they give a different opinion to what I have given, while I speak in accordance with the royal inclination, how could your Majesty retain any confidence in me, or enquire of me as to the statutes of the divine law ?"

The fourth question proposed by Sultān 'Alāuddīn to Qāzī Mughīs was this : "What portion of the national treasury belongs by right to myself and my children ?" Qāzī Mughīs exclaimed : "Surely my hour of death has arrived ;" to which

the Sultān replied : “Why should your hour of death have arrived ?” “Because”, said the Qāzī, “if I answer this question which your Majesty has put to me, according to the truth, your Majesty will get into a passion, and put me to death ; and should I tell an untruth, on the day of judgment, I shall have to enter into hell.” The Sultān replied : “State whatever is authorized by the divine law, and I shall not harm you.” Then said Mughīs : “If your Majesty intends following the example of the virtuous Caliphs, and desires the highest honours of a future state, you should take for your own use and that of your just as much only as you have assigned to each of the soldiery, *viz.*, 234 *tankahs*. But if your Majesty prefers following a middle course, and considers that sum would not suffice to maintain the dignity of your exalted position, you might take for your own use and that of your family as much as you give to the chief dignitaries of your Court, such as Malik Qīrān, Malik Qīrbak, Malik Nāib Wakīlīdar and Malik Khās Hājib. Or should your Majesty adopt the opinions of the sages of the world, in taking a sum from the national treasury for your own use and that of your family, you should take a portion that is larger and better than that of other nobles of your Court, in order that a distinction may be drawn between yourself and others, and the dignity of your exalted position may not be lowered. Whatever your Majesty takes from the national treasury however, in excess of these three modes which I have represented, and for all the lakhs, and krons, and gold jewels you bestow on your family, you will have to answer for at the day of judgment.”

Sultān 'Alāuddīn flew into a passion, and exclaimed : “Do you not fear my sword, that you dare to say, all the wealth which is spent on my family is unauthorized by divine law ?” Qāzī Mughīs replied : “I dread your Majesty’s sword (I assure you), and lay before you my shroud, which is my turban ; but your Majesty having asked me a question on divine law, I have replied to it according to what I know. Were your Majesty to seek information as to its political expediency, I should say that whatever is expended on your family should be increased a thousand fold, in order that the royal dignity might thereby be enhanced in the eyes of the people ; for this enhancement of the royal dignity is essential to political expediency.”

After discussing the aforesaid questions, Sultān 'Alāuddīn said to Qāzī Mughīs : “After the way in which you have stigmatized my acts as contrary to divine law, listen to this : “I have even established a fine of three years’ pay for every horseman, who does not stand muster ; I cast into prison all who indulge in wine or sell it ; when any one commits adultery with another’s wife, I cut off his (offending) organ and put the woman to death ; in revolts I slay both the good and the bad ; embezzled money I recover by means of various kinds of torture, and keep the delinquents in prison and in chains so long as one *jetal* of the sum remains unliquidated, and revenue defalcators I make prisoners for life. Now, do you mean to say all these acts are contrary to divine law ?”

Qāzī Mughīsuddīn then rose from his seat and advancing

to the foot of the throne, bowed his head upon the ground, and cried in a loud voice : "O monarch of the world ! whether you permit your poor slave to live, or whether you order me, this instant, to be removed from the world, I must declare that all are contrary to divine law ; and in the tradition of the Prophet, (on whom be peace !) and in the doctrines of the learned, it is nowhere stated that a sovereign may do whatever he chooses with regard to the promulgation of orders."

Sultān 'Alāuddīn offered no reply on hearing the above speech, but putting on his slippers, retired into his private apartments. Qāzī Mughīs also returned home, and next day, having taken a final adieu of his family, dispensed alms, and performed ablutions, entered the royal court, and came before the Sultān, prepared to undergo execution. Sultān 'Alāuddīn, however, summoning him to the front, treated him with great kindness, and giving him a robe and a thousand *tankahs*, said : "O Qāzī Mughīs, although I am not versed in learning, yet for many generations have my ancestors been Musalmāns ; and in order that insurrections may not occur, in which so many thousands of Musalmāns are constantly destroyed, I adopt such measures towards the people, as seem most to their advantage. The people, however, shew a rebellious and contumacious spirit, and will not fulfil my commands ; and I am, therefore, compelled to make such severe laws as will reduce them to obedience. I know not whether these laws are sanctioned by faith or not ; but whatever I conceive to be for the good of the state, and whatever appears expedient to me at the time, that I

order, and as for what may happen to me on the approaching day of judgment, that I know not."

[But stop, O Maulānā Mughīs ! One thing I do not forget in my prayers to God, and I often say, "O God, thou knowest that my kingdom suffers nothing, if any man sleeps with the wife of his neighbour ; or that it is no loss to me, if any one drinks wine ; and that I feel no grief, if any one commits a robbery, for he won't steal anything from my inheritance ; or that if any one takes advances of money and does not go to his work, the work will yet go on, even if ten or twenty people are lazy. With regard to these four things I certainly act according to the orders of the Prophets. But the people of these times, from one to a lac, nay to five hundred lacs and one thousand lacs, do nothing but talk and boast, caring neither for this world nor the world to come. Now I am ignorant and do not know how to read and write ; in fact my whole knowledge consists in saying an *Alhamdu* (the first chapter of the *Qorān*), a *Q ul hua-llāhu* (*Qor.*, Sur. 112), the prayer *Qunūt* (as described in law books), and the formulæ of blessing the prophets ; but it is I who have given the order in my realm that a married man who commits adultery with the wife of another, shall be castrated ; and yet, notwithstanding this harsh and bloody order, several men stand before the Palace who have slept with the wives of others.]

[And those who take advances of money and then do not go to their work, are made liable to refund advances of three

years.<sup>46</sup> But in every employment there are hundreds, two hundreds that are made liable to refund three years' advances, and yet people will take money and not work, and prefer to live broken down in the jails. And for thefts committed in the city, I have reduced to beggary about ten thousand clerks and collectors; nay, I have made their flesh so sore, that worms eat up their bodies, in order to see whether that bad lot will keep their fingers from stealing; for keeping accounts and stealing at the same time is what a clerk, in these days, is born to.]

[And as regards selling and drinking wine, I have killed and am now killing people in the wells. What do they care for being inside? What is a jail to them?—They will drink wine, they will sell it. No one has ever managed God's 'pious subjects', and I can't either.]

[In the same year in which the Sultān 'Alauddin asked Qāzi Mughis on some questions of the law, Maulānā Sham-suddin Turk, a very excellent and learned teacher of the Hadis, had come to Multān, bringing with him a collection of four hundred works on the Hadis. He would not go beyond Multān, because he had heard that the Sultān said no

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<sup>46</sup> On p. 296, *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, 1.15 read *bā san i yake for san i yake*, and *kunad for kunand*; on 1.18 read *bistānad for bistānand*, and *banāmsādī for namzādī*.

*Bād i burūt zadan* (1.12) is said, of men, to boast; of women, we say *bāb i gestāzadan*.

prayers, nor attended the Friday-prayer in the mosque. Fazlullah, son of Shaikhul Islam Śadrūddīn, became his pupil. This learned man, while at Multān, wrote a commentary on the Science of the Hadīs, which he sent, together with a pamphlet in Persian, to Court. In the preface, he had said much of the praise of the Sultān. In the pamphlet the following passage occurred. "I have come from Egypt with the wish of seeing your Majesty and the city of Dilhī, and my intension was there to establish a school of followers of the Hadīs<sup>47</sup> and to deliver the Musalmans from acting upon the traditions of learned but irreligious men. But when I heard that your Majesty says no prayer, nor attends the mosque on Fridays, I returned from Multān. However, I heard of two or three qualities which your Majesty possesses in common with pious kings, and I also heard that your Majesty has two or three qualities which do not belong to religious kings.

Now, the good sides of your Majesty are these. I am told that the wretchedness and the misery and the despicable condition and the worthlessness of the Hindūs are now so great, that Hindū children and women will go about begging at the doors of the Musalmāns. Hail, King of Islam! the protection which thou affordest the religion of Muhammad (God's peace rest on him!) is such that, if for a single act

<sup>47</sup> *I.e.*, the Maulānā rejected the decisions of the early lawyers, unless based upon the Qorān and the Hadīs.

done by thee to the glory of Islam, a measure of sins filling Heaven and Earth be not forgiven thee, thou mayest grasp the hem of my garment on the morrow of resurrection.

*Secondly*, I have heard that thou hast made grain and apparel and other things so cheap, that no one could improve matters by the breadth of the point of a needle ; and it is a matter of astonishment how in this important matter also, which interests all men on earth, and which other kings of Islām have striven to bring about by labours extending over twenty, thirty years, and yet have failed, thou, O king of Islām, hast so well succeeded.

*Thirdly*, I have heard that your Majesty has banished every thing that intoxicates, and the lust and the lying of the lusty and the liars have turned bitterer than poison. Hail, hail, bravo, bravo, O king, that thou hast brought about this result.

*Fourthly*, I have heard that thou hast driven the trades people with their voluble tongues into mice holes, and hast taken the cheating, and lying and falsifying out of them ; and yet thou thinkest<sup>45</sup> it little that, in this regard also, thou hast managed bāzār-people as no king ever has done since the days of Adam. O King, bless God that thou sittest for

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<sup>45</sup> On p. 298, in Bibl. Ind. Edition, 1.4, read *bamanāfi'* for *manāfi'*, and on 1.11, *mīshumārī* for *mashumārī*. It looks as if *mashumārī* had been taken in the sense of *mashumārī*, because the same grammatical blunder is perpetrated three times on p. 327.

On p. 302, 1.8, read *lashkar* for *shukr* ; 1.11, *nāgirīft* for *tā girīft* ; 1.17, *as* for *ar*.



such deeds in the company of the prophets !

But the other things which I have heard of your Majesty, are such as neither God, nor the prophets and the saints, nor even the rationalist, can approve of.

*First*, for the office of Qāzī of the realm ( a most critical office which suits no one, except he despise the world ) thou hast appointed Hamīd of Multān, whose family from the times of his grandfather and father have lived on usury. Nor dost thou carefully enquire into the belief of thy other Qāzīs, and thou givest the laws of the Prophet into the hands of the covetous, the avericious, and the worldly. Be on thy guard, lest thou shouldst not be able to bear thy sinful drowsiness on the morrow of resurrection.

*Secondly*, I have heard that people in the city give up walking after the tradition of the Prophet, and walk after the sayings of the 'wise'. It is difficult for me to understand why thy town, the people of which have the tradition but do not follow it, has not long ago become a heap of rubbish, or why the visitations of heaven do not pour down upon it.

*Thirdly*, I have heard that ill-starred, black-faced, learned men in thy town sit in the mosques with abominable law books and dicisions before them, making money and perverting the right of Musalmāns by interpreting, and cheating, and adopting various ways of swindling. They drown the accuser and the accused ; but they too shall be drowned.'

But I have also heard that these two last things are not brought to thy notice, on account of the impious and shameless Qazī who stands near thy throne; else, thou wouldst never give thy sanction to such a rebellion against the religion of Muhammad.

Now the book and the pamphlet written by this teacher of the Hadīs came into the hands of Bahāuddīn, the Counsellor ; and Bahāuddīn, the ungrateful Counsellor, gave the book to Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, but the pamphlet he did not give and kept it hidden, on account of his partiality for Qazī Hamīd of Multān. But I, the author of this book, have heard from Malik Qirā Beg that the Sulṭān learned from Sa'd, the logician, that such a pamphlet had arrived, and he called for the pamphlet, and he wanted to make away with Bahāuddīn and his son, because he had not given up the pamphlet, and the Sulṭān was very sorry that Maulānā Shamsuddīn Turk had returned from Multān disappointed." ] ( Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 299. )

*Death of Ulugh Khān Conquest of Chītor. Invasion of the Mughuls.*

Not long after Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had returned from Rantambhūr to Delhī, and began pursuing this parsimonious and cruel conduct towards the people, and had thrown open the gate of fines and chastisements ; Ulugh Khān fell sick, and while proceeding to the capital, he died at one of the halting-places on the road.

Malik A'azzuddīn Abūrjā, [ Būr Khān (?), Ed. Bibl. Ind. ] was appointed Wazīr in [ Shahr i Nau (Jhāyin) ] the revenue of

which was now levied, like that of the environs of Delhi, according to measurement and the exact value *per* biswas.

Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn then took the army away again from the Capital, and marching to Chitor, invested that fort, and speedily reduced it, after which he returned to the capital. Just about the time of his return, an invasion of the Mughuls took place ; for the Mughuls had heard in Māwarannahr, that Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had marched with his army to a distant fortress, and was engaged in besieging it, and that Delhi was consequently unprotected. Ṭurghī accordingly got together two or three *tumāns* of horse, and reached Delhi by a series of rapid marches with the utmost celerity.

During this year too, in which the Sulṭān had proceeded to capture the stronghold of Chitor, Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā Dādbak i hazrat, and Malik Jhujhū, Jāgīrdār [*muqṭa'*] of Karāh, the nephew ( brother's son ) of Nuśrat Khan, together with all the Amīrs of Hindūstān, had been despatched to Arangul ; but by the time they arrived there, the rains had begun to descend from the sky, and the season became most unpropitious, so that the army of Hindūstān could effect nothing at Arangul, and ultimately returned about the beginning of the cold weather, totally disorganized, and with all its stores and equipments lost and ruined.

It was during this very year, when Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had returned to Delhi after the capture of Chitor, and the army that had started along with him, and lost all its stores and equipments during the rainy season, and a month had not

elapsed since the time of the Sultān's return, so that the soldiery had not yet been mustered, nor their kits renewed, that the invasion of the Mughuls took place, and the accursed Turghī, advancing swiftly with 40,000 horsemen, encamped on the banks of the river Jamnah, and blockaded the roads of ingress and egress of the city.

A strange incident was this that befel the soldiery during this year ; for Sultān 'Alāuddīn, after returning from the capture of Chītor, had not sufficient time to provide the army with horses and arms after the loss of equipments they had sustained at Chītor, and Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, the Dādbak, having returned with the army of Hindūstān broken and disorganized from Arangul into the provinces, not a horseman or footman out of it could force his way into the city, on account of the blockade kept up by the Mughuls on all the roads, and the piquets they had stationed. In Multān, Sāmānah, and Deopālpūr, moreover, there was no force of sufficient strength to overthrow the Mughul army, and join the Sultān's camp [ at Sīrī ]. The army of Hindūstān was summoned to advance, but in consequence of the hostile presence of the Mughuls, they remained at Kol and Baran. [ The Mughuls moreover had occupied all fords ( of the Jamnah ) ].

Sultān 'Alāuddīn, therefore, with the few horsemen that he had at the capital, came out of the city, and fixing his headquarters at Sīrī, pitched his camp there. The Sultān was then under the necessity of having a trench dug round the camp,

and palisades, formed of the planks of house doors, erected along side the trench, whereby he prevented the Mughuls from forcing an entrance into the camp. He also kept his troops ever alert and vigilant, and constantly on the guard and watch, and in every [ trench, *alang* ] under arms ready to receive any assault of the Mughuls ; but he deferred engaging in a pitched battle. With each division and in each trench too, were stationed five elephants incased in armour, and a party of infantry to keep guard and watch over them. On the other hand, the Mughuls used to go round and round the camp, longing to make a sudden irruption on it, and destroy it.

So formidable an invasion of the Mughuls as this, had never before been witnessed at Delhi for many ages, for did Ṭurghī remain but a single month longer on the banks of the Jamnah, he would inspire such dread, as to create utter desolation in Delhi. During the present blockade, however, whereby the supply of water, forage, and fire-wood was rendered very difficult for the people, the entrance of caravans of grain totally prevented, and the dread of the Mughuls so widely spread that their horsemen used to advance up to Chautrah Segani, [*Bibl. Ind.* Subhānī, as on p. 320] and Murdodhi [Morī and Hadhī, *Bibl. Ind.*], and the reservoir, and alight at these places, and drink wine there ; grain and stores were sold at a moderate price out of the royal depots, and no great scarcity was felt.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *Vide* a plan of 'Alāuddīn's Intrenchment in Campbell's 'Note on the Topography of Delhi', *JASB*, 1866, Pt. I, p. 217.

On two or three occasions desultory conflicts and skirmishes occurred between the outposts on either side, but neither party gained any decided advantage. By the grace of God, Ṭurghī found himself unable to force his way by any means into the Sultān's camp ; and by virtue of the supplications of the poor, after a period of two months, the accursed wretch marched off with his army, and made the best of his way back to his own country.

This occasion, on which the army of Islām had received no injury from the Mughul force, and the city of Delhi had escaped unharmed, appeared one of the miracles of the age to all intelligent persons ; for the Mughuls had arrived in great force quite early in the season, and had blockaded the roads against the entry of reinforcements or supplies ; and the royal army was suffering under the want of proper equipments, while they were in the most flourishing and hearty condition.

As soon as the danger threatened by Ṭurghī, which indeed appeared most appalling (for the time), had passed away, the Sultān awoke from his lethargy, and gave up carrying on wars and sieges. He built a palace at Sirī, and took up his abode there, making Sirī his capital, and rendering it populous, and flourishing. He also directed the fortress of Delhi to be built up, and issued orders that the forts on the line of march of the Mughuls, which had gone to ruin, should be erected wherever they were required, and distinguished and able governors appointed to all these strongholds in the direction whence the

inroads of the Mughuls occurred. He further commanded that they should make up numerous warlike engines, enlist expert marksmen, establish magazines for arms of all kinds, and accumulate stores of grain and fodder after the manner of granaries, within the ramparts ; that numerous picked and chosen troops should be enrolled at Sāmānah, and Deopālpur, and kept ready for service, and that the districts in the direction of the Mughul inroads should be confided to experienced nobles, and firm and energetic chiefs.

*Administrative Measures of 'Alāuddīn. (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 303 to p. 326.)*

After Sultān 'Alāuddīn had taken care to make these preparations against another inroad of the Mughuls, he used to have discussions with his councillors both by day and night as to the means of effectually resisting and annihilating these marauders ; and on this point he was most particular in procuring the best advice. After prolonged deliberation, it was agreed and determined by the Sultān and his advisers, that an immense army was required for the purpose ; and that all the troops should be picked and chosen men, expert archers, well-armed, and well-mounted ; so that they might be always fully equipped and [well-mounted]. With the exception of this one plan, none other appeared feasible for resisting the Mughuls.

The Sultān then took counsel with his advisers, everyone of whom was unequalled and eminently distinguished, saying :

“To maintain an immense picked and chosen force well mounted, so that they may be fully equipped and efficient at all times, is impossible, without the expenditure of vast treasures ; for one must give regularly every year whatever sum is fixed upon at first ; and if I settle a high rate of pay upon the soldiery, and continue to disburse money to them at that rate annually, at the end of a few years, notwithstanding all the treasure I possess, nothing will be left, and without treasure it is of course impossible to govern or deliberate.

“I am accordingly desirous of having a large force, well mounted, of picked and chosen men, expert archers, and well armed that will remain embodied for years ; and I will give 234 *tanḳahs* to a *Murattab* and 78 *tanḳahs* to a *Du-aspah* ; from the former of whom I shall require two horses with their corresponding equipments, and from the latter one<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> *I. e.*, one horse. The Ed. Bible. Ind. has *yaḳ aspah*, one horseman.

This passage is unfortunately unclear and useless, because Baranī has not supplied a commentary. *First*, it is clear from the following that the wages of 78 and 234 ( *i. e.*,  $78 \times 3$  ) *tanḳahs* were unusually low, and Baranī has not stated what the ordinary rates were. *Secondly*, it is also clear that 'Alāuddīn takes the terms *Murattab* and *Duaspah* in a new sense, because he defines them for his councillors, and Baranī has not stated what their usual meanings were. The word *Murattab* does not appear to occur in later histories ; it may mean *equipped*, though *murattib* would give a meaning too. To call a man *duaspah*, because he joins the army with *one* horse, is extraordinary, and against the meaning which the word has in the *Akbarnāmah*, *Bādaonī*, the *Pādishāhnāmah*,



with its usual gear. Consider now and inform me how this idea that has entered into my mind about raising a large force, and maintaining it permanently, may be carried into execution."

The councillors, endowed with abilities like those of Āsaf, exercised their brilliant intellects, and after some reflection unanimously expressed the following opinion before the throne: "As it has entered into your Majesty's heart, and become implanted<sup>51</sup> there, to raise a large force and

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etc. *Vide* the annotator's note on Akbar's *Manṣabs* (Āin translation p. 238 to 247). *Thirdly*, we expect in the wages proportion of 1 : 2, not 1 : 3, because 'Alāuddīn's *Murattab* furnishes two, and his *Duasbah* one horse; but this difficulty may be explained away (*vide* Āin translation, p. 251, 1, 3, where also the rates are given Akbar gave his *Yakasbahs*)

Badāoni's interesting remark that Akbar's *Dagh-law* had been the rule under 'Alāuddīn i Khiljī and Sher Shāh (Āin translation, p. 242, and *JASB* for 1869, p. 126) can but little be verified by a reference to Zia's work, though the word *Dāgh* (in Akbar's sense) occurs on p. 319, 1.2 from below (*Ed. Bibl. Ind.*) and p. 477, 1.6, (Muhammad Shāh's reign)—also an interesting page for the military history of India, inasmuch an army of 380,000 troopers is mentioned, a statement which may advantageously be compared with Āin translation. p. 245.

<sup>51</sup> The Text has *jāgīr*, which is taken in its etymological meaning of *jā-giriftah*, having taken a place, having taken root, *vide* Āin translation, p. 256, note.

The earliest passage at present known to me, of *jagir* being taken in a sense approaching its later (Indian) meaning of *lands assigned to military commanders*, occurs in Barani (*Ed. B. I.* p. 40, 1.13).

The word *munṣab*, like *zamindar*, is old, and occurs even in the *Ṭabaqāt i Naṣirī*.

permanently maintained on small allowances [ *ba mawajjib i andak,* ] such can never be accomplished unless horses, arms and all the equipments of a soldier, as well as subsistence for his wife and family, become excessively cheap, and are reduced to the price of water ; for if your Majesty can succeed in lowering the price of provisions beyond measure, a large force can be raised and permanently maintained according to the idea that has entered your august mind ; and by the aid of this vast force all fear of danger from the Mughuls will be averted."

The Sultān then consulted with his trusty and experienced councillors and ministers, as to what he should do, in order that the means of livelihood might be made exceedingly cheap and moderate, without introducing capital punishment, torture, or severe coercion. The Sultān's ministers and advisers represented, that until fixed rules were established, and permanent regulations introduced for lowering prices, the means of livelihood would never get exceedingly cheap. First then, for the cheapening of grain, the benefit of which is common to all, they proposed certain measures, and by the adoption of these measures, grain became cheap, and remained so for years.

These measures were as follows : a fixed price current ; a magistrate ( to carry out the provisions ) of the law ; royal granaries, prohibition against all sales at enhanced prices ; consignment of the caravans of grain into the hands of the

magistrate of the market ; sale of grain by the cultivators at their own fields, publication of the price current daily before the throne.

By the adoption of the seven measures detailed above, whatever was the price current determined before the throne, it never rose a *dāng*, whether there was an excess or a scarcity of rain.

[For the last two paragraphs, the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 304, 1. 4 from below to p. 305, 1. 10, has the following :—

*Regulation I*—The price of grain to be fixed before throne.

*Regulation II*—The Sultān to store a large quantity of grain in granaries.

*Regulation III*—To appoint a *Shihnah* ( inspector ) of the market ( *mandī* ) and trustworthy men with full power and dignity.

*Regulation IV*—The merchants ( *kārwāniān* ) of all parts of the empire to be registered in a *Daftar*. They are to be in charge of the *Shihnah i Mandī*.

*Regulation V*—The revenue of the *Duab* and the country to a distance of 100 *Kos* so to be settled, that the subjects cannot even lay by 10 *mans* of grain, and to be ground down to such an extent, that they sell the grain on the fields to the merchants. ( For *Talaband* 1. 2. p. 305, read *Natlaband* ! )

*Regulation VI*—To take certificates from the Collectors ( *Kārkunān* )<sup>52</sup> of the country to shew that the merchants get the grain on the fields. ( For *Kārkunān-i-welāṭ* read *Kārkunān-i-welāyet*, as is clear from p. 307. )

*Regulation VII*—To appoint a trustworthy travelling agent ( *barīd* ) who, together with the *Shihnah*, is to report to the Sultān on the state of the market.

*Regulation VIII. for rendering produce cheap.*—In times of drought, no produce, not even for a *dāng*, uselessly to be sold in the markets.

In consequence of these *eight* rules, the price of grain did not rise a *dāng*, whether there was an excess or a scarcity of rain. ( The last regulation is not enumerated separately on p. 308 of the text ]].

The *First* regulation was of this description—Wheat, 7½ *jetals* per man ; barley, 4 *j.* ; gram, 5 *j.* ; rice, 5 *j.* ; māsh,

<sup>52</sup> We should not forget that *Karkun* was the title of a class of Revenue officials under the *Āmil*, or collector. During the reign of Akbar, the *Āmil*, had two *bitikchīs* or 'writers' under him, whose titles were *kārkun* and *khaśnawīs*. Abul Fazl specifies their duties in the *Akbar-nāmāh* ( beginning of the 27 year ).

The *Barīd* ( Pr. 'runner', from the Latin *veredus* ), in time of Baranī had to perform those duties which the *Waqi'ahnawīs* under the Mughuls had to perform. *Vide* my 'Āin translation, p 258. Abul Fazl, indeed, says that the office of the *Waqi'ahnawīs* was an innovation by Akbar, but from Baranī ( Ed. Bibl. Ind., p 40, l. 6 from below ) it is quite clear that the office existed as early as in the reign of Balban, though the '*Waqi'ahnawīs*' was called *barīd*. Hence *news agent* would be perhaps a better term than *travelling agent*.

5 j. ; and mot'h, 3 j.<sup>53</sup> The above prices held good for years, and as long as Sultān 'Alāuddīn was alive, grain never did rise a *dāng* above that, either during an excess or a scarcity of rain, and this establishment of a fixed price in the market was considered one of the wonders of the age.

The *Second* regulation for effecting cheapness in the price of grain was, that Malik Qabūl [ a servant of Ulugh Khān ], who was a wise, discreet, and trustworthy noble, was appointed magistrate ( *Shihnah* ) over the market. The official in question was granted a large state, and a large body of cavalry and infantry to support his power and consequence. A deputy, shrewd and experienced, was also appointed from the throne, out of the circle of his friends, and a distinguished travelling agent [ *barīd* ] with a due sense of respect for royalty was also installed in the market.

The *Third* regulation for the same purpose was the accumulation of vast hoards of grain in store-houses. Sultān 'Alāuddīn gave order that throughout the crown lands in the Duāb, they should take the grain itself in place of money payments for revenue, and send it into the royal granaries at the capital, while in [ *Shahr i nau* ] and its adjoining territory, they should take a moiety of the royal share in kind and that in Jhāyin and its several districts also, they should

<sup>53</sup> Professor Cowell, I think, observes very correctly that these price lists would be more interesting, if the coins and their value were better understood. But they may be compared with the price lists in the *Āin*, p. 62.

form depots for grain, and forward it by the caravans to the capital. In short, so much of the royal grain reached Delhi, that there was scarcely a street, which did not contain two or three of the royal store-houses filled with it ; and when there was a scarcity of rain, or the caravans, from some cause or other, failed to convey sufficient grain into the market, they used to bring it into market from the royal stores, selling it at the regulated price, and supplying the people according to their wants, while in *Shahr i nau* they used to consign the grain out of the royal depots to the caravans. By these two arrangements, there was never a dearth of grain in the market, nor did it ever rise one *dāng* above the regulated price.

The *Fourth* regulation for the same purpose was, the consignment of the caravans to ( the charge of ) Malik Qabūl, mā'īstrate of the market. Sultān 'Alāuddīn gave orders, that the whole of the caravans from all parts of the kingdom should be subject to the magistrate of the market, and their leaders should be [ fettered and chained ]. The magistrate also was directed to keep the leaders of the caravans [ fettered and chained ] ever present before him, until they became of the same mind, and agreed to sign a deed on mutual security, and that until they brought their wives, children, cattle and property with them, and set up their abodes in the villages bordering on the Jamnah, where the jurisdiction of the magistrate would extend over them and their wives and children, and the caravans would be completely subject to him, he should not remove the chains from their necks. By

the establishment of this regulation, so much grain began to pour into the market, that there was no need for the royal stores, and the price never rose a *dāng* above the fixed rate.

The *Fifth* regulation for the above purpose was, the prohibition against the hoarding up of grain and selling in at enhanced prices. This check was so rigorously enforced during the 'Alāi reign, that it was not possible for any one of the various classes of merchants, traders, grain-dealers, etc., to hoard up a single *man* of grain, or sell it secretly at their own houses for one *dāng* or *diram* above the fixed price, and if any hoarded grain was discovered, it became confiscated to the crown, and the proprietor was fined. Written agreements were also taken from the superintendents and agents of the territory lying within the Duāb, binding them not to permit any one within their jurisdiction to hoard up again, and engaging that if anybody was detected at this practice, the officials themselves should be considered at fault, and have to answer for it before the throne.

Owing to the enforcement of this prohibition therefore, the price current in the market never rose a single *dāng* or *diram* either during the greatest superabundance or scarcity of rain.

The *Sixth* regulation for securing the cheapness of grain, was the taking of written agreements from the superintendents and agents of districts to this effect, that they would cause

the grain to be delivered to the caravans by the cultivators at their own fields. Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn accordingly gave orders, that at the chief office of revenue, written engagements should be taken from the magistrates and collectors of the country lying within the Duāb, which is nearest to the city, binding them to exact the revenue due from the cultivators with the utmost rigour, so that it might be impossible for them to carry off any large quantities of grain from the fields to their own houses and hoard it there, and that they might thus be induced to sell it to the caravans at the fields at a cheap rate.

By the establishment of the above regulation, no excuse was left to the caravans for not bringing grain into the market, and constant supplies consequently were continually arriving, while the agriculturists also found it to their own advantage to convey as much of their grain as they could, from their fields to the market, and sell it at the regular price.

The *Seventh* regulation for above purpose [ consisted<sup>64</sup> in this that reports had to be furnished of the prices current in

<sup>64</sup> Here is a blank in Major Fuller's translation, extending from p. 308, l. 3, *Īd. Bibl. Indica*, to p. 312, l. 4 from below, on page 308, l. 5 from below for *ar* read *ao*; l. 3 from below, *dalewa* and for *bistawakān* read *bistagan*. Page 310 l. 5 read *konla-i*, for *konlah*; the Hamzah cannot be left out, as the word is an adjective; l. 7 *dale* the Hamzah, and read *Shwanem* for *Sineem*; l. 10 *Salāhati* for *Salaḥti*; l. 12 read *Sukhar tar* for *Sukar tari*; l. 14. *Seh* for *Sar* and *do wa neem* for *deed wa yek*; l. 19 *tazkirā i-āsāmi* for *āsāmi*. Page 311, l. 4 the second word is *birasanand*; l. 6 dele the Hamzah of *aqmeshā*; l. 13, dele *wa*; l. 18, read *Sustari* (of *Shushtar* or *Shustar*) for *Sashtari*. Page 313, l. 3, read *Aspahāi* or *aspaha-e* for *asamī*;



the Bāzars. The continuance of the prosperity of the Bāzars was ascertained in three ways. *First*, the *Shihnah i Manqī* had to furnish a list of prices and report on the condition of the Bāzār. *Secondly*, the *Barīd i Manqī*, reported on the quality of the articles. *Thirdly*, the informers who had been appointed for every Bāzār made reports. If there were discrepancies between the reports of the informers and that of the Barīd and that of the Shihnah, the Shihnah got for it what he had to get. But as the officers appointed in the Bāzars knew that Sultān got his reports on the transactions and the state of the market from three sources, it was impossible to deviate, even in the least, from the Bāzār regulations. Experienced people that lived during the reign of 'Alāuddīn were astonished to see how firm the prices of articles remained; for though it is nothing uncommon to see prices remain firm during years when the season is good and there is plenty of rain, it was most remarkable that during the reign of 'Alāuddīn no famine occurred at Delhi, not even in years when there was a draught and people thought a famine unavoidable. Neither the grain of the Sultān, nor the grain of the merchants could indeed rise a single *dāng*, and it is certainly a matter of astonishment that no other king besides 'Alāuddīn ever did effect such results. If even once or twice the *Shihnah i Manqī* petitioned

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and compare lines 14 and 15 with l. 20. Page 314 l. 6 *shamī* ? Line 10, read *khāhad* for *nakhad*; l. 11 *kardandey* for *kardandandy*; l. 12 read *kunand az meezan wa pesh* for the absurd—*kunand wa meezan-i-pesh*; l. 19, *bahazār* for *hazār*. Page. 315, l. 10 read *mazkur* for *mazkurar*; last line, *zahmat* for *zahmas* and *Mozah* for *Moh*. The pages from 308 to 332 of the Bibl. Indica Edjtion look like uncorrected proof sheets,

the Sultān to raise the price of grain by half a *jetal* on account of a season of draught, he got twenty lashes ].

[ In seasons of draught, the merchants of each quarter of the town received daily supply of grain according to the number of the inhabitants in each quarter, and they issued grain to the common people at a rate not exceeding half a *man* per individual ; but rich people also and notables, who were not in possession of villages and lands, got grain from the Bāzār. If during a season of drought poor and helpless people crowded to the Bāzārs and got crushed to death, and the officers neglected to pay attention to the influx, the matter was immediately reported to the Sultān, and the Shihnah had to suffer for it. ]

[ Five regulations were also given keep all articles at low prices, as cloth, common sugar, refined sugar (*nabāt*), fruits, grease, oil ; and an account of the continuance of these five regulations, the cheapness of the articles continued. The price fixed by the king did not rise, and the people got what they wanted. These five regulations referred to :

1. The establishment of the *Sarāi 'Adl*.
2. The fixing of prices.
3. The registration of all merchants in the Empire.
4. Advances made from the Treasury to rich and respectable Multāni traders, who were put in charge of the *Sarāi 'Adl*.

5. Passes to be given by the chief of the town (*raīs*)<sup>55</sup> to great and rich people when they wanted to purchase costly articles ].

[ The *first* regulation for keeping the prices of articles low, consisted in the establishment of the *Sarāi 'Adl*. The open space inside the Badāon Gate, in the direction of the *koshak i salz*, which for years had not been used, was called *Sarāi 'Adl*, and 'Alāuddīn gave the order that no article belonging to the Sultān or to merchants of the town and the country, should be stored up in any other place but the *Sarāi 'Adl*. Every article should there be sold at the price fixed by the Sultān, and if any one should store up wares in his own house, or sell them, or sell them a *jetal* dearer than was fixed, such wares should lapse to the Sultān, and the owner should be liable to severe punishment. On account of this regulation all wares were deposited in the *Sarāi 'Adl*, whether in value from one hundred, or from thousand to ten thousand *tankāhs* ].

[ The *Second* regulation for the above purpose fixed the prices of sundry articles. Thus the prices of silk, etc., were as follows :—

Delhi <i>Khazz</i> Silk,	...	... 16 <i>Tankāhs</i> .
Orange coloured, raw silk, <i>Khazz i</i>		
<i>Kaunlāi</i> , <sup>56</sup>	...	... 6 <i>T</i> .

<sup>55</sup> Perhaps the *Dīwān*, as below, in the third regulation, Barani uses *Raīs* as equivalent to *Dīwān i Riyāsat*.

<sup>56</sup> Regarding *khazz* silk, *vide*, *Āin* translation p. 92, note 4. The word *Konlai* must be written with a hamzah above the *ha*,

Half silks mixed with hair, as prescribed in the Muhammudan law, fine, ... . 3 <i>T.</i>			
Red striped stuffs, ... 6 <i>Jetals.</i>			
Common stuffs, ... 3½ <i>J.</i>			
Red lining as woven at Nāgor, 24 <i>J.</i>			
Coarse lining, ... 12 <i>J.</i>			
<i>Shīrīn bāft</i> , fine, ... 5 <i>T.</i>			
Do., Middling, ... 3 <i>T.</i>			
Do., Coarse, ... 2 <i>T.</i>			
<i>Sitāhatī</i> , <sup>57</sup> fine, ... 6 <i>T. (?)</i>			
Do., Middling, ... 4 <i>T.</i>			
Do., Coarse, ... 2 <i>T.</i>			
Long cloth ( <i>Kīrpās</i> ), fine, 1 <i>T.</i> , for 20 <i>gaz.</i>			
Do., Coarse, ... 1 <i>T.</i> , for 40 <i>gas.</i>			
Again,	White sugar,	....	2½ <i>Jetal per ser.</i>
	Light brown sugar ( <i>shakar i tar</i> ),	....	1½ <i>J.</i> , Do.
	Brown sugar,	....	1½ <i>J.</i> , for 3 <i>ser.</i>
	Grease, of different animals,		1 <i>J.</i> , for 1½ <i>s.</i>
	Sesame oil,	....	1 <i>J.</i> , for 3 <i>s.</i>
	Salt,	....	1 <i>J.</i> , for 2½ <i>mans.</i>

as in all other adjectives denoting colour; e.g., *pistai*, looking green like the pistachio nut, *nuqraī* looking like silver, *chihraī* pink, etc. *Vide JASB*, 1861, p. 41.

Hence *Konlai*, looking like a *Konla* (*Hind.* an orange), as raw cocoon silk looks.

<sup>57</sup> The price mentioned is very high. The stuff which people now-a-days call *Sitāhatī* is a kind of cloth made of cotton, and was even at the times of Akbar very cheap. *Āin. translation*, p. 95. Compare the above list with Briggs I, p. 356

[ The prices of other fine and coarse articles may be inferred from those which I have given ].

[ The *Sarāi 'Adl* was open from early morning till the time of the last prayer. People thus got what they needed, and no one returned disappointed ].

[ The *third* regulation for the above purpose was this that the name of the merchants of the town and the country had to be registered in the book of the *Dīwān (raīs)*. The Sultān 'Alāuddīn ordered that the names of all merchants, whether Musalmāns or Hindūs, of the Empire should be registered in the book of the *Dīwān (Dīwān i riyāsat)*, and further that a regulation should be made for all merchants in the town and outside. According to this order a regulation was made, and merchants had to sign engagements, whereby they were compelled to bring a certain quantity of wares to town and to sell them at the rates fixed by the Sultān. When the latter provision of the regulation was carried out, the articles which the Sultān had to furnish, fell off in number, and the merchants that came within the regulation, brought a great deal of wares to the *Sarāi 'Adl*, where they were stored up for a long time without being sold ].

[ The *fourth* regulation for the above purpose provided that advances from the treasury should be made to Multānī traders, so that they might bring articles to town, and sell them in the *Sarāi 'Adl* at the rates fixed by the Sultān. The Sultān 'Alāuddīn ordered that advances within twenty lacs of *tankāhs*

should be made to rich Multānī merchants, from the treasury, who were to be put in charge of the *Sarāi 'Adl*; and he told Multānīs to bring articles from all parts of the Empire, and sell them at the rates fixed by the Sultān in the *Sarāi*. Whenever merchants did not bring articles to town, this regulation was applied, and articles remained cheap ].

[ The *fifth* regulation for the above purpose consisted in this that the Dīwān (*raīs*) was ordered to grant passes for the purchase of costly articles. The Sultān 'Alāuddīn ordered that no man should be allowed to buy in the *Sarāi 'Adl* costly stuff, as Tasbih, Tabrizī, embroidered, cloths with gold threads, Delhi *foselle* silks, Kamkhābs, Shushtar silks, Harirī silks, Chinese silks, Bhīram (?) silks, Deogīr silks, and other stuffs which common people do not use, without first obtaining a pass from the Dīwān, and writing out a receipt for them. The Dīwān then used to give Amīrs, Maliks, great well-known men, passes according to his knowledge of their circumstances; but if he knew that some of them, though not merchants, had merely applied to him for permission to take costly stuffs from the *Sarāi 'Adl* in order to sell them in the country at four or five times the price at which they had got them from the stores of the Sultān, he refused to give passes. The very reason why the pass system had been introduced, had in fact been this, to prevent merchants, both in and outside the town, from obtaining costly stuffs from the *Sarāi 'Adl* at the rates fixed by the Sultān, and then taking them to the country where they could not be had, and selling them at high prices ].

[ In consequence of the continuance of these five regulations, all things remained so cheap in Delhi, as to astonish old experienced people. Politicians of the age used to ascribe the low prices prevailing during the reign of 'Alāuddīn to four reasons ; *first*, the harsh way in which he enforced his orders, from which there was absolutely no escape ; *secondly*, the oppressiveness of the taxes and the rigour with which they were exacted, so that people had to sell grain and other articles at the rates fixed by the Sultān ; *thirdly*, the scarcity of money among the people, which was so great that the proverb got *en vogue*, a camel (may be had) for a *dāng* ; but where is the *dāng* to be had ? *fourthly*, the impartiality and consequent harshness of the officials, who would neither take a bribe, nor pay regard to the rank of any man ] .

[ Four regulations also were given to maintain cheap rates for horses, slaves, and cattle. They were introduced in a very short time. These four regulations were— ]

Specification of quality, and its corresponding price ; prohibition of purchase by dealers and monied men ; coercion and castigation of brokers, dealers, and monied men ; investigation into the sale and purchase of each market at certain intervals before the throne. By the institution of the four laws mentioned above, at the end of a year or two, such a reduction in the prices of horses, slaves, and cattle ensued as was never witnessed subsequent to the 'Alāi reign.

*First*, with respect to the specification of quality and the corresponding price of a horse, it was determined thus. Horses

coming under the designation of taxable animals, were divided into three qualities, which fixed prices [?];<sup>58</sup> that of the first quality varying from 100 to 120 *tanḳahs*, the second from 80 to 90, and the third from 60 to 70, while such as did not pass the custom house [or rather, the *Dīwān's muster*], were called *tattos* (ponies), averaging from 10 to 20 *tanḳahs*.

The *second* regulation for securing the cheapness of horses was the prohibition of dealers and monied men from purchasing animals in the market, or employing any one to purchase on their account. Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn directed, with regard to the establishment of the above regulation, which is the very basis of all laws for the cheapening of horses, that no dealer should be allowed to go about the horse market. Such strictness was observed in carrying out this regulation, that no dealer was accordingly permitted to frequent the horse mart, and several of them, who for years had been getting a profit and gaining a livelihood by traffic in horses, and were in league with the chief

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<sup>58</sup> I do not know what Major Fuller's MS. had. The Ed. *Bibl. Indica*, p. 313, l. 3, has (reading *asphāi* for the absurd *asāmī*)—

Horses which under the designation of *hasham* (i.e. fit for war) passed the muster of the *Dīwān*, were divided into three classes, and (pattern horses) were shewn to brokers with the prices fixed for them.

The passage may be compared with my *Āin* translation, p. 234, bottom.

Akbar also prohibited the export of horses (Bad. II, p. 390, l. 4 from below), but he encouraged the import by wise regulations *Āin*, p. 133).



brokers of the market, were fined, and overthrown, and both themselves and the chief brokers were banished to distant fortresses. By the establishment of this regulation for the suppression of purchasing on the part of dealers, the current price of horses began to be very much reduced.

The *third* regulation for the above purpose, was the coercion and castigation of the chief horse brokers, who were a most arrogant, rebellious, and audacious class of people. These they treated with immense rigour and severity, and expelled some from the city, until the price of horses began to get cheap ; for these chief brokers are in reality the rulers of the market, and until they are brought into order by coercion and castigation, and cease taking the bribes which they receive from mediating between the buyer and the seller, the price of horse flesh can never fall. It was a matter of some difficulty to bring these bare-faced brokers into order, nor would they have behaved themselves properly except through fear of the Sultān's harsh disposition, whereby it was no longer possible for them to prevaricate and tell falsehoods.

The *fourth* regulation for the above purpose was, the investigation into the quality and price of horse flesh before the throne. Every month of six weeks, Sultān 'Alāuddīn used to summon before him [ for a day or two ] a specimen<sup>59</sup> of all these qualities of horses, together with the chief brokers, when he both examined and tested the quality of the animal, and

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<sup>59</sup> Major Fuller's MS. seems to read *namoona* for *mehmī* (?) which the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 314, l. 6, has.

ascertained its prices. If any variation appeared between its sterling worth, and the specification of its quality and price, the brokers suffered penalties and punishments accordingly. Owing to this scrutiny, inasmuch as the chief brokers were liable to be summoned quite suddenly before the throne, it was impossible for them to set up a price and quality of their own, or to take any thing from the buyer and seller, or to enhance or diminish, or to exceed the standard [ and yet pass in muster before the throne. ].

The institution of laws for cheapening slaves and cattle was managed on the same principle, as that which I have just written regarding the cheapening of horses. It was not possible for dealers and moneyed men to go about the market, and shew [ get a glance even at the hair of ] a slave in any way. The standard value of a working girl was fixed at from 5 to 12 *tankahs*, and the price of a singing girl at from 20 to 30 or 40, while one or two hundred *tankahs*, was a price seldom fetched by any slave ; and should a slave, such as is not to be procured in these days for a thousand or two thousand *tankahs*, appear in the market, who was there that could buy him for fear of the watch ? The price of a handsome young slave boy<sup>60</sup> ranged from 20 to 30 *tankahs*, and that of working men [?] from 10 to 15, while ill-favoured boys [?] were procurable at 7 and 8.

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<sup>60</sup> Major Fuller passes mildly over the obscene phrases of the text (p. 314, the last six lines.) *Kanīzak i Kinārī* means, of course a girl for embracing (*Kinārah*), a concubine, not necessarily a singing

Such penalties were inflicted on the chief brokers, that life even became distasteful to them ; and they longed eagerly for death.

In the cattle market, by the introduction of these regulations, the price of the best beasts of burthen which in these times fetch 40 *tankahs*, was 4, or at the outside 5 *tankahs*. A cow for slaughtering fetched a *tankahs*, and a half, while a milch cow was valued at from 3 to 4. The price of a cow buffalo in milk averaged from 10 to 12 *tankahs*, ( one for slaughtering, from 5 to 6 *tankahs* ), and that of a fat kid from 10 to 12 [ and 14 ] *jetals*.

The cheapness of all the the three markets mentioned above was so securely established, that it would be impossible to improve upon it ; and as further precaution, police men were stationed throughout the three markets, who girl. The words *Ghulāmān i Kār kardāh* and *bachagān i naukārī*, which Major Fuller translates 'working men and ill-favoured boys' have another meaning. *Kār kardāh* is the same as *maḥūl*, not 'working', but worked upon, a *catamitus* ; hence *ghulāmān i kār kardāh*, slaves that are practised and may be used by sodomites. *Ghulān bachagān i naukārī*, who fetched of course less money, are 'novices in the art'.

To the great joy of Baranī 'beardless slaves, beautiful eunuchs, pretty slave girls fetched ( during the next reign ) 500 to 1000 *tankahs*, and even 20000 *T.*' ; vide Ed. Bible. Indica, p. 384, where, *passim*, we have to read on the last lines *arzishhāi* (prices) for the absurd *az* (on one line) and *rishtahāi* (on the other line.)

used to take cognizance of all the good and bad, obedience and disobedience, and fair and unfair dealing that was going on in them, and were bound to furnish daily reports of the same to the Sultān. Whatever therefore reached the Sultān through the reports of the police, it was impossible that it could escape the most rigorous scrutiny and investigation nor could the culprit's guilt fail to be brought to light, and punishment to be inflicted upon him. From fear of the police, people both high and low, whether belonging to the market or not, became very careful to their behaviour, obedient, and submissive, and subdued with fear and awe ; nor did any one dare to swerve a needle's point from the letter of the law, to increase or diminish any of the royal standard prices, to indulge in vain desires and excesses of any sort, or to accept anything from buyers and sellers.

In this establishment of laws for the market people which belongs to the financial department [ *dīwān i riyāsat* ] of the state, and for the establishment of the price of articles sold in the stalls of the market, a great deal of trouble was taken ; and with immense toil, everything connected with the market, from caps to socks, combs to needles, sugarcane to vegetables, [ *Harīṣah* to broth, *Śabunī* sweetmeats to Reoris,<sup>61</sup> cakes and baked bread to rice bread and fish cakes, from *pān* leaves ] to betel nuts, roses, and greens, was put thoroughly in order.

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<sup>61</sup> *Rēori* is perhaps familiar to all in India. For *Harīṣah*, we have Abul Fazl's recipe, *Āin* translation, p. 60, 1.18 ; and p. 53, *Note*,

Sultān 'Alāuddīn effected this and reduced everything to cheapness by instituting of his own accord the following measures : the appointment of a superintendent of ability and judgment, with a stern, relentless disposition and parsimonious<sup>62</sup> character ; the strict supervision and control over the traffic of every person in the market ; the appointment of a magistrate in every market on the part of the finance department ; and the severe coercion, intimidation, and castigation of the market people, even to the cutting of the flesh of both cheeks.

For the establishment of regulation for the public markets too, the advantages of which extend to the whole population at large, Sultān 'Alāuddīn made strenuous efforts, and was constantly employed in appraising every articles, however slight it might be, such as needles, combs, slippers, shoes, cups, pitchers, and goblets ; and the prices of all these he determined according to the estimated cost of the articles, with a fair profit to the seller ; and schedules of the prices fixed before the throne were given into the office of finance.

The first measure of establishing the cheapness of articles, appertaining to public markets, was the appointment of an able superintendent, and a stern harsh-tempered magistrate ; [ for the people of the markets are shameless, bold, cunning, and debauched, they 'burn' fools and lie, and...(?) ; they arbitrarily fix the prices of articles themselves. Kings have been unable

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<sup>62</sup> *Kotahdast*.—Barani means a man who will not take a bribe.

to reduce them to obedience by laying down price lists, and ministers have failed to devise laws and regulate the transactions of this forward set of people. After much reflection, 'Alāuddīn appointed Ya'qūb, the superintendent (*Nāzir*), to the new office of *Dīwān i riyāsat* ; for he knew the whole town, and the transactions and the sales and purchases of every class, and was not only a trustworthy and upright man, but also ill-tempered, hard and close, cruel and coarse. But on account of respect in which he was held, and the obedience which people shewed to his orders, the Sultān gave him the *riyāsat*, in addition to his duties as *nāzir*, and the *Muhtasib*ship of the Empire. Such a *ra'īs* conferred indeed every honour on the office. From the numerous corporeal punishments which he inflicted and had inflicted, from the imprisoning and fettering, and the ignominies which he heaped on the *bāzār* people, every one of them stood in awe of him, and sold his things cheap ; but notwithstanding all severities and scoldings, they could not keep from giving less, or shewing purchasers one thing as a pattern and then giving something inferior, or from burning fools, and cheating and falsifying. ]

[ The *second* regulation for keeping *bāzār* prices low was this, that the Sultān should continually make enquiries ; for if a king wishes to regulate the doings of *bāzār* people who never were subject to regulations, he should not befriend...(?)<sup>63</sup> nor

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<sup>63</sup> The misprints in the H̄d. Bibl. Indica are again so numerous, that it is difficult to get any sense at all. P. 316, l. 6, read *Zawābit* for *Zawabita* ; l. 11, *Kalās* for *Kalāye* ; l. 14, *barāurd* (an estimate)

neglect continually to enquire into their doings ; for kings of olden times have said that it was an easy matter to clear the outskirts of a jungle, and subject distant nations, but it was difficult to clear a jungle from within and suppress rebellious bāzār people. But Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn inquired personally so carefully into the sales and purchases of the articles of every bāzār as to astonish every one ; and in consequence of his minute examination of the prices, the prices of the bāzār—a very difficult matter—did get low. ]

for *darbarāud* ; l. 18, *beh* for *dar* ; *bāzārḥāi* for *bāzārḥā* ; *nasab rais* for *rais* ; l. 20, *Safih Sozindah* for *Safih wa Sozindah*. P. 317, l. 5, read *bā nāzarat riyāsāt* for *bā riyāsāt nazarat* ; l. 9, *Kam dehī wa-wajh* for *Kam dehī wajh* ; l. 10, *na moodan* for *namoodand*, and *wajha* for *wajha hu* ; l. 11, *Shuddat wa taklamay* for *Shuddat woo taklamay* ; l. 14, either *ulfat* is wrong, or a word has fallen out before it, as *bā ghaflat ulfat nakunad* ; l. 15, read *na namāyed* for *namāyend* ; l. 17, *bāz ārand* for *bāzarand* ; l. 19, *istiqzā* for *istiqzā i* ; l. 20, *Kar-i-nirkha arzānī* for *Kar-i-nirkha-wa-arjānī*, and *dele pesh* ; l. 22, *asta* for *anda*. P. 318, l. 1, read *ba-an* for *bān* and *tazkīrahāi* for *tazkirah* ; l. 3, the word *ashyāi* is twice written with a *yā*, though no adjective follows ; l. 4, for *nabayed* read *nayābad* ; l. 6, the whole line has no sense ; l. 7, again *ashyāi* with an impossible *yā* ; l. 16, *Kibār* is doubtful ; l. 20, the first word is *ghulām-bachagān*. P. 319, l. 1, read *bayārad-wa-Kasay* for ; *bayarad Kasāy* ; l. 3, *dele* the first *wa* ; and for *arand*, read *arad* ; l. 5, read *ashyāi* with a *yā* for *ashyā* ; l. 8, *Kam dadah* for *dadah* ; l. 9, put the words *urā az dukan* ; at the end of the line, and *dele* the *wa* after *dukan*, which is moreover a bad Indian spelling for *dukkān* ; l. 12, *ashyā* has

[ The *third* regulation for keeping prices low referred to the appointment of *Shihnahs* in the part of the *Dīwān i Riyāsat*; Ya'qūb, the *Nāzir* and *Raīs* of the town, selected and appointed *Shihnahs* for each *bāzār*, gave each *Shihnah* a copy of the price lists which had emanated from the throne, and ordered them, whenever *bāzār* people should sell things, to write down the prices at which they had been sold ; and should they have no opportunity to write down the sales, the *Shihnah* should always enquire from the purchasers how much they had paid for anything. Should then a market-man be found out to have sold things at a price not sanctioned by the price lists, he should be taken before the *Raīs*, and the responsibility of that *bāzār* which if they give less weight...(?) the *Shihnah*...(?). The appointment of a *Shihnah* for each *bāzār* was very conducive to keeping prices low. ]

received a Hamzah, the editors being doubtful as to the propriety of a final *yā* ; l. 15, for *hazār* read *az-hazār* ; l. 16, for *an* read *in* and *dele hā* ; l. 17, read *bista wa see wa hazār* ; l. 21, *dele wā*. The sentence, moreover, is either one of Barani's bad sentences, as there are two different subjects, *Sultān 'Alāuddīn*, and on p. 320, l. 1, the *Mughuls* ; or the editors have not looked up the MSS. P. 320, l. 1, *dele wā* after *mā kard* ; l. 10, the *wā* before *Alī* has no sense ; l. 11, read *changaz* for *changar* ; l. 13, for *nayak* read *atābak* ; l. 15, read *tartāk* for *taryāk*. l. 17, read *bahar bagāh* for *harbagāh* ; l. 21, read *indrāpat* P. 321, l. 1, *dele* the Hamzah, which is against Persian Grammar ; l. 7, *dele wā* ; l. 15, read *rah hāi* for *rāh geer* ; l. 17, *burd* for *bood*.



[ The *fourth* regulation calculated to keep prices low, was this, that the Nāzīr Ya'qūb should illtreat and beat the people of the bāzār and cut off pieces of flesh from their cheeks, if they did not give proper weights. Young and old people in the city were unanimous that no *Dīwān i Riyāsat*, in any age, could have been harsher than the Nāzīr Ya'qūb ; for in every bāzār he used (daily) ten, twenty times to enquire into the prices at which articles were sold, and at each enquiry he discovered deficiencies in weight and lashed the trades-people mercilessly, and illtreated them in every possible way. But notwithstanding his harshness and his lashes and punishments, the bāzār people would not desist from giving short weight ; for though they sold things at the fixed rates, they would cheat in the weights and decrease the quantity of the wares (?), and would 'burn' the buyers, especially such as were simple or young. When the Sultān 'Alāuddīn enquired and saw that the people of the bāzār would not be submissive as behoved them, and did not desist from giving short weight, falsifying, and 'burning' the simple and the young, he called sometimes simple slaves from his pigeon houses, gave them ten or twenty *dirhams* (i.e., *tankahs*), and told them to go to the bāzār, ordering one to bring bread and roast meat, and another to fetch bread and *Yakhnī*, a third to bring *Halwā*, a fourth to bring *Reorī*, a fifth, melons, a sixth, cucumbers, and so on ; and when the boys returned with the things they had bought, the Sultān sent for the Raīs, and had the articles brought by the boys weighed in his presence. Whatever was found to be deficient in the articles the boys had brought, was given to the Raīs, and

he went and stood before the shop of the fraudulent seller, cut a quantity of flesh equal to the deficiency from his two cheeks, and then kicked him out of the shop. These punishments were continued for some time till, at last, the bāzār people became quite submissive, and discontinued giving short weight, and cheating and falsifying, and burning inexperienced purchasers and cheating the young ; nay, they even gave so much and so correct weights, that on enquiry it was found out that they had given above the fixed quantity. ]

[ But this rule, these enquiries, the strictness with which the orders were carried out, and the punishments inflicted on the bāzār people, came to an end with the death of 'Alāuddīn, and of all the thousand regulations of the 'Alāi reign, his son Sulṭān Quṭbuddīn could not enforce this regulation.

*Effect of 'Alāuddīn's Administrative measures. (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 319 to 326)*<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The following errors occur on pp. 322 to 325 in the *Ed. Bibl. Indica* :—

P. 322, l. 2, read *narāyenaḥ* ; l. 6, read *juye* ; l. 9, the name is wrong (*vide* below). P. 323, l. 1, we expect *qaweem* for *qadeem* ; transfer the last *Alīf* to the end of the third line ; l. 12, *dele bātin* ; l. 13, read *gadḥ* or *mondal gharah* ; l. 14, read *dhār* for *dhā*, and *alāyīpur* or *alāpur* for *alāipur* ; l. 17, read *baghāzī* for *baghārī* ; l. 18, *jhāyan* for *jhāban* ( a blunder which goes through the editions of Barani and Badāoni) ; *mecartī*, according to Fullers MS., is a mistake for *meertī* ; l. 21,

[ As soon as the prices had become low and things were cheap, a *Murattab* (p. 23) could be enlisted for 234, and a *Duaspah* for 78 *tankāhs*, and the army was numerous and was never disbanded. The recruits also the whole Empire in passing muster before the 'Arz i *Mamālik* were examined in archery, and such only were entered (*Śahīh Shudan*) as were archers and had good armours. By order of the Sultān also, the prices of horses and the brand (*dāgh*) were regulated. ]

[ As soon then the cheapness of all necessities of life had been secured, and a large standing army could be entertained, the Mughuls were defeated each time they invaded Delhi or the Delhi territory, and were slain, or captured, and the standard of Islām obtained one signal victory after the other over them. Several thousand Mughuls with ropes on their necks were brought to Delhi and trampled to death by elephants. Of their heads, they formed a large platform (*chautarah*), or made turrets of the Mughul skulls, and the stench in the city of the dead bodies of such as had been killed in battle or had been executed in Delhi, was very great.

insert a *wā* after *barā*, and write *kābar* for *kābeer*. P. 324, l. 9, *dele wā* after *kulliyāt* which like *tamāmi* has the *Izāfat*; l. 16, *dilkhast* is very doubtful for *dilkhah*; for *andesha* read *andeshdā*; l. 18, *rezā* is absurd. P. 325, l. 5, read *āyed* for *āmad*; l. 10, read *manzoor i-nazar* for *natar* only; l. 11, read *alāi*; l. 12, read *āyed*; l. 13, read *muta addiyah* for *mutad bih*, or *mutad bihi* (many); l. 22, *dele the wā* before *hisār*, where the apodosis commences.

The army of Islām gained in fact such victories over the Mughuls, that a *Duaspah* would bring in ten Mughuls with ropes on their necks, or a single Musalmān trooper would drive one hundred Mughuls before himself. ]

[ Thus on one occasion 'Ali Beg and Tartāk (?) who were the leaders of the Mughul army (the said 'Ali Beg was supposed to be a descendant of Chingiz Khān, the accursed), occupied with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls the foot of the hills in the district of Amrohah, and Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn sent against them Malik Atābak (2), the master of horse. He attacked them in the confines of Amrohah, and God gave the army of Islām the victory. The said 'Ali Beg and Tartāk were both caught alive, and the greater part of their army was slain and completely overthrown; on the battlefields heaps were erected of dead Mughuls, and a rich harvest was brought in. 'Alī Beg and Tartāk and several others, with ropes on their necks, were taken before 'Alāuddīn, who had given orders for a splendid darbār to be held in the chautarah i Subhānī, from which place as far as Indarpart the army stood drawn up in two lines. The crowds that were present were so great, that on that day people gladly paid twenty *Jetals*, and half a *tanḳah*, for a goglet of water. 'Ali Beg and Tartāk, together with the other captives and the spoils, were brought to this Darbār and marched past the throne, and all the captives were trampled to death by elephants in this very Darbār, and torrents of blood flowed along, ]

[ On another occasion, in another year, the army of Islām engaged the Mughuls under Gung (?) the accursed, at Khekar (on the G'haggar ? *vide* p. 45, 1, 12,) and God again gave the Musalmāns the victory, and Gung, the accursed, was captured alive, taken before the Sultān, and trampled to death by elephants. On this occasion also, a great number of Mughuls were killed, both on the battlefield and in the town, and of their heads a tower was raised before the Badāon gate, at which tower people look at to the present day and think of Sultān 'Alāuddīn. ]

[ In the following year, three or four commanders of *tumāns* fell blindly with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls over the districts in the Sawālik Hills, plundering and carrying off spoil. 'Alāuddīn sent an army against them, and ordered it to occupy the roads by which the Mughuls would return, and to encamp on the banks of rivers, in order to chastise them on their return, when want of water would bring them to the rivers. ] The army of Islām seized the roads by which the Mughuls would have to return, and bivouacked on the banks of the river. By the will of the Almighty, it chanced that the Mughuls having overrun the Sawāliks, and performed a long journey from thence, arrived at the river bank with their horses and themselves both parched with thirst, and disordered. The army of Islām, who had been looking out for their arrival for several days, thus gained a most advantageous opportunity over them ; and the Mughuls putting their ten fingers into their mouths, begged for water of the army

of Islām, and the whole of them, together with their wives and children, fell into the hands of the latter. A glorious victory accordingly fell to the lot of the army of Islām, who carried several thousands of the Mughuls as prisoners to the fort of Narāinah, and conveyed their wives and children to Delhi, where they were sold in the [ slave ] market, like the slave boys and girls of Hindustān. Malik Khāś, the Hājib, was deputed from the throne to proceed to Narāinah, and on his arrival there, the whole of the Mughuls were put relentlessly to the sword, and their polluted blood began to flow in torrents.

Next year Iqbālmindah headed an invasion with a large body of Mughuls, and Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn despatched an army to repel them. On this occasion also the army of Islām joined battle with the Dardmandah force of Amīr Alī [?]<sup>65</sup> and gained the victory over them. Iqbālmindah himself was slain, and some thousands of the Mughuls fell a prey to the sword. Such of the Mughul Amīrs as were [ commanders of one thousand or one hundred ] and were taken prisoners alive, were conveyed to Delhi, and there trampled under foot by elephants.

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<sup>65</sup> So Major Fuller. The Ed. Bibl Indica p. 322, 19) has *joined battle of a place called Tambuzai Ameer alī wāhan* which has no sense. If Badānī is correct, we might expect a phrase to *avenge the death of Amīr 'Ali Beg*. My MS. of the Ṭabaqāt, however, has *at Dihindah Ameer alī wa Āhan*. *Dihindah* ( Bad 9, p 274, l. 1. ) was the name of a river near Ajodhan ( Patan i Panjab ), S. W. of Deopālpur Ghāzi Malik's *aqṭā*.

After this victory, in which Iqbālmandah was slain, and not one of the Mughuls managed to return alive, they conceived such a dread and terror of the army of Islām, that the desire of invading Hindustān was altogether erased from their hearts ; and until the close of the Quṭbi reign, the Mughuls never again allowed the name of Hindustān to escape from their mouths, nor did they wander about the frontiers. Through fear of the army of Islām, in fact, they could not enjoy a satisfactory sleep ; for during sleep even they used to see the the swords of their adversaries hanging over their heads.

The incursions of the Mughuls were thus totally removed from Delhi, and its adjoining districts, and perfect peace and security prevailed throughout the country, so that the inhabitants of those quarters which were usually invaded by the Mughuls, engaged to their hearts content in farming and agriculture.

Sultān Tughlug Shāh, who in those days is called Ghāzi Malik, acquired a great name and reputation in Khurāsān and Hindustān, and became, until the close of the Quṭbi reign, the great bulwork against the advance of the Mughuls in [ his ] districts of Deopālpur, and Lāhor. He was appointed in the place of Sher Khān, the former<sup>66</sup> commander, and

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<sup>66</sup> The words of the text (*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 323, l. 1) *ba jāi Sher Khān qadīm o mustaqīm gashtah* have no sense. If the *o* is correct, we must read *qawīm* for *qadīm*. Fuller leaves out the *o*, and reads *Sher Khān i qadīm*, 'Sher Khān the former commander' ; but this is doubtful.

every year during the cold season he used to march out of Deapālpur with a select force of his own, and advance to the Mughul frontiers, and there publicly challenge<sup>67</sup> them to an engagement ; while the Mughuls could not even approach their own frontiers for the purpose of guarding them. Such security prevailed at last, that not only did no outbreak of the Mughuls occur at Delhi,<sup>68</sup> but their name even never passed any body's lips.<sup>69</sup>

At first, he nominated Malik Nāib Kafoor Hazār Dināri with Sāyābānlal in Deogir with the nobles and kings and sent Khawaja Hāji Nāib Arz Mamālik for administration of goods, elephants and booties. Later on, when Sultān 'Alāuddīn invaded Deogir, troops were not sent from Delhi to Deogir. Ramdeo disobeyed and did not send tribute to Sultān 'Alāuddīn's court in Delhi. Malik Nāib went there with an armed force, invaded and destroyed Deogir, arrested Ramdeo with his sons, and captured his wealth with seventeen chains of elephants. The soldiers got a lot of booties. The victory-letter over Deogir reached Delhi. It was read from the pulpits and celebrations were made. Malik Nāib, being

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<sup>67</sup> Or rather, *he advanced to the Mughul frontier, and having kindled the lamp he searched for the Mughuls (an Indian phrase for searching carefully for anything) and the Mughuls found it impossible to approach their own frontiers by way of visiting them.*

<sup>68</sup> So Perhaps Major Fuller's MS. The Ed. Bibl. Indiça reads, *not only did outbreaks of the Mughuls occur to no one (dar dile- not dihli mīguzasht) but their name, etc.*

<sup>69</sup> Here ends Major Fuller's translation.



victorious and triumphant, came back to Delhi with Ramdeo, his sons, wealth and elephants and, placed them in the court. Sultān 'Alāuddīn rewarded Ramdeo the "Chattar" and gave him the title of "the King of Kings" (*Rāi Rāiyān*). He granted him one lakh of gold coins and sent him back to Deogir with his sons, subordinates and troops with honour and respect. Deogir fell under his administration and since then Ramdeo obeyed Sultān 'Alāuddīn up to his last breath. He never dared to disobey the Sultān and passed his life in his services. He always used to send tribute (presents) to Delhi. Next year, in the months of 909 A.H. 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Nāib with Sāyābānlal to Artakal with a big force accompanied by other great nobles and kings and told him to give wealth, diamonds, elephants and horses while capturing the fort of Artakal ; to accept the goods and elephants in coming years ; not to act hurriedly and demand more by force ; not to give directions and mix with the commons that Rai Laddardeo would overcome him or give informations to Delhi only for name and fame. "You are going to a foreign land. But you should not abide long there. You should keep contact with the nobles and kings, be polite, and give necessary facilities to military officers according to their rank and status. You should not start on any expedition without the advice of Khawaja Hājī and other great kings. You should administer with love and gravity and keep aloof from unnecessary strictness. There is a great distance between Delhi and the countries you are going to. So you should not say or do anything which might create troubles. You should overlook

the minor faults and misappropriations of the soldiers which you will notice or hear. You will be neither so kind to the generals, managers and known persons that they would be so insolent, as not to carry out your orders nor so strict that they would become your enemy. You will not be blind to the good and evils of the military officers. You will not allow the nobles and known persons to be united in a group. You will not give up the fifth part of the booties which excludes wealth and silver. If some nobles wish to have a horse from the self-brought, you will have full control over them; if the nobles and kings require a loan for themselves or for their soldiers, you will have a bond from them and grant the same. If the horses of any of the nobles, known persons and soldiers are killed in the battle or carried off by a thief or die, give them better horses than those which they had previously only when the authority concerned strikes off the dead and lost horses of the soldiers from the register, because to have a record of these is necessary for administrative purposes." They said good-bye to Malik Nāib and Khawaja Hājī Sulṭān and went to Rabari, a village under the administration of Malik Nāib and brought the soldiers together. From there, they began to proceed continuously towards Deogir and Warangal via Kotch. The Indian kings and nobles joined Malik Nāib with their troops and foot-soldiers at Chanderé. The soldiers got themselves recorded there and Malik Nāib entered the borders of Deogir with the troops. The soldiers of Islam were welcomed by Ramdeo, the king of kings, who gave all sorts of services to

Malik Nāib. The kings and nobles received presents. He used to come daily and bow down before Sayābānlal during those days when the soldiers were passing by the borders of Deogir. When the Islamic soldiers entered the area of Deogir, Ramdeo fulfilled all the conditions of obedience. He provided Malik Nāib with food including all other kings and nobles according to their position. He attended to Sayabanlal daily with all his officials and subordinates and fulfilled the conditions of obedience. He opened the shops of Deogir upon the soldiers and ordered the shop-keepers to sell goods at cheap prices among the soldiers. The soldiers stayed in Deogir for a few days and got refreshed. Ramdeo sent his men to all those villages which were on the way of Jilang (Jilangana) before the soldiers had departed so that they may provide the animals and soldiers with food and other necessary thing on all the haultages of Deogir which are on the way of Warangal, be answerable even to a lost of thread of a soldier, be faithful and obedient like the subjects of Delhi, show the way to the lost soldiers and to send them safely back in the army. Ramdeo sent some of the Marhata horse-men and foot-soldiers with Sayabanlal, went himself to some stopages with Malik Nāib and told him good-bye and came back. The wise and experienced men of the soldiers watched the obedience, sincerity and faithfulness of Ramdeo and admitted that, in fact, nobles and noble-borns like Ramdeo are worthy to rule, Kingship suirs. the persons like him. When Malik Nāib entered the border of Jilang (Jilangana) he found the towns and villages on the

way completely destroyed. When the nobles and landlords heard the pomp and splendour of the Islamic soldiers, they fled away and took refuge in the fort of Warangal. All the important persons escaped in the wide earthen fort of Warangal. The kings with all their nobles, officials and courtiers, together with elephants and wealth, took refuge in the strong fort. Malik Nāib besieged the earthen castle. War broke out between the inside and outside soldiers. Soldiers of both sides were wounded in attack and exchange of firings went on. In this way, some days passed by. Afterwards, the brave and daring soldiers of Islam threw lasso at the tower, reached there as quickly as birds and captured the castle by fighting with arrows, swords and other dangerous weapons. After having lost this strong castle, the besieged people became desperate and the clouds of gloom cast their shadow over them. When Laddardeo found the castle at stake, he sent the noble Brahmins and famous Bhats together with many servants to Malik Nāib and requested him for peace and safety. He promised to give all the wealth, elephants, horses, diamonds and other valuable things which were being collected from many years in the castle. In addition to these, he promised to send the same quantity of wealth and the same number of elephants every year to the Head Treasury and the Chief Stable of Delhi. Malik Nāib on this condition, ordered cease fire and left the castle. He took from Laddardeo all the wealth which was being collected from years including one hundred elephants, seven thousand horses and many other valuable things. Having

received a bond from Laddardeo to pay elephants and wealth in future he returned from Warangal with all these booties in the beginning of the year 710 and reached Delhi via Deogir, Vidhar and Jahabun. He had sent a letter of victory to Sultān 'Alāuddīn before his arrival which was read from a pulpit before the public and great celebrations were made. Sultān 'Alāuddīn had given lustre to the seat which was constructed in front of the door of Badaon before Malik Nāib arrived. Malik Nāib presented all the wealth, elephants and horses to Sultān 'Alāuddīn before the public.

Malik Nāib was engaged in the conquest of the fort of Warangal. During this period, one or two posts (Chouki) were abolished which disconnected the path of the soldiers. As a result, some of the soldiers did not reach Delhi as yet which worried the king very much. He asked Shaikh Nezā-muddin of the welfare of the soldiers by his miraculous and spiritual power. It was the habit of the Sultān to establish police-stations upto the last destination of the soldiers if possible, whenever he was to send the army anywhere in the suburbs of Delhi. He had horses and asses on all these stations and guides were appointed on all the ways at the distance of a mile or two, In all the towns, officials and reporters were appointed to inform Sultān of the actual place and activities of the soldiers. The soldiers, too, had the information about Sultān. On account of this management neither rumours could spread in the cities nor the soldiers could dare to give wrong information. There were many

administrative utilities in conveying the informations about the welfare of both the soldiers and Sultān. When Malik Nāib was busy in seizing the earthen fort of Warangal, the paths of Jilang ( Jilangana ) were very dangerous and certain posts (Chouki) were abolished. More than forty days passed by, but the king did not get any information about the welfare of the soldiers which caused great anxieties in Sultān's mind. All the aged and the noble persons of the city thought that the soldiers have faced any accident causing disconnection in the news. One day, in this anxiety, Sultān sent Malik Jorabeg and Quazi zi Moghisuddin Beyana to Shaikh Nezāmuddin and directed them to tell the Shaikh that he was very anxious to get the news of the welfare of the soldiers. "You are more anxious for Islam than I. Please send the happy news about the soldiers, if you have any, with the half of your inward light." He also told the messengers to repeat word by word what the respected Shaikh would utter after hearing the details. There should be no addition or subtraction in the utterance of the Shaikh. Hence, these two messengers went to the Shaikh to convey the royal message. After having heard it, the Shaikh announced the victory and added that he was hopeful of greater victories than this. Malik Jorabeg and Quazi Moghisuddin came back happily with this good news and told the king what they had heard from the holy tongue of the Shaikh. The king was very glad by hearing this from the Shaikh and felt sure that Warangal had been subjugated and the goal has been achieved. He took his turban in his hand, gave a knot to it and said

that he had taken the utterance of the Shaikh as a good augery. "I know that the Shaikh never utters a single meaningless word. So, there should be no doubt in the conquest of Warangal and now we should think about other victories." On the same day by the grace of God, the mule-drivers sent by Malik Nāib reached with a victory-letter of Warangal after the second prayer. It was read from the pulpit and celebrations were made all over the city. The Sultān believed in the miraculous power and greatness of the Shaikh. Although the king did not meet Shaikh Neẓāmuddīn personally, nevertheless, he did not utter a single troublesome word from his mouth against the Shaikh, during the whole period of his reign. Although the envious persons and the enemies of Shaikh reported to the king, a large number of persons went to the Shaikh, received gifts and were regularly invited at dinner, but he never listened to these nonsense reports and absurdities and in the last period of his reign, he too, became the follower of the Shaikh. But in spite of that the chance of meeting the Shaikh did not come. In the end of 710, Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Nāib towards Dhaur Sumundar and Moabbar with a big force. Malik Nāib and Khawaja Haje Nail Arz went to Rabari, proceeded with the soldiers and destination after destination reached Deogir. Ramdeo had deid. Malik Nāib went on proceeding continuously from Deogir and reached the border of Dhaur Sumundar. In the very first attack, Belal Rai of Dhaur Samundar was defeated by the soldiers of Islam and Dhaur Samundar was subjugated. Seventeen chains of elephants and

wealth were captured and a letter intimating victory was sent to Delhi. Now, Malik Nāib led his force from Dhaur Samundar against Moabbar. As soon as he reached there, he conquered Moabbar, destroyed its golden temple and broke the age-old gods of the Hindus of the land, and appropriated all the gold, the broken golden idols and other jewels. There were two kings (Rais) in Moabbar. He took elephants and wealth from the two (monarchs). He had sent the news of victory to Sultān 'Alāuddīn before he started. In the beginning of 711, he reached Delhi with 612 elephants, 96 thousand maunds of gold, boxes of the same quantity of jewels and pearls and twenty thousand horses and placed all these bootis before the King. The King distributed gold as a reward among the nobles and the governing bodies at the rate of half a maund, one maund, two maunds and four maunds according to their rank and status. The aged and elderly persons of Delhi opined that this kind of booties, so many elephants and so much of gold neither ever reached Delhi from anywhere as from Dhaur Samundar and Moabbar since the conquest of Delhi nor any history of Delhi gives any such trace. During this time, twenty chains of elephants reached Delhi from Laddardeo, the king of Jilangana, according to a treaty. He also wrote a letter to Sultān seeking his permission to send all the wealth obtained from Sayabanlal, according to a contact with Malik Nāib, to Deogir or to act in accordance with Sultān's wish.

Sultān 'Alāuddīn saw many great victories in the last period of his reign. Now he was disgusted and his evil days



began. All his sons came out of the court and began to act in an indisciplined manner. The king turned out the wise and experienced ministers from his court and gave up the habit of taking advice. He began to regard himself as supreme relating to all administrative matters and took his every wrong step as right. There was not a single advisor experienced enough like Aristotle and Bajurchemehar to give him right advice and keep him aloof from the wrong. When Sultān was busy in destroying the Mughuls, some of the newly converted Muslim nobles who were unemployed from a long time and were not getting adequate food and clothing according to their needs, began to complain and discharge their duties unfaithfully. The Sultān was informed that certain newly converted Muslim nobles talk of their poverty with one another and say in bad faith that the king has oppressed the commoners. He has filled his treasury with gold taken by force from the common people. Wine and other intoxicating things have been prohibited and a heavy tax has been levied. Hence, when we, the newly converted Muslims, shall revolt, the newly converted Muslim soldiers who are also poor and depressed will join us and will be our supporters. All others who want to get rid of the king's rudeness will also encourage and join us in this revolt to be free. So, it was decided when the king comes in the garden to fly the sparrow-hawk most of the chiefs remain busy in the scene of flying the sparrow-hawk with him and none of them has any weapon in his hand. They are also unaware of any revolt in the country. So, if twenty to thirty

thousands newly converted Muslim horse-men may be ready to enter the walking field together and arrest the king with his chiefs, we shall be successful in our plans without doubt.

The King was informed of their conspiracy and all their activities. The root cause of the King's rudness of mind and the strictness in politics was his aim of the reform of the country. Religious, tribal, (and) blood relationships and other rights were not allowed to interfere. He cast aside the religious orders and neglected the paternal and blood-relationships at the time of dealing with the politics of the country. Due to this reason, he ordered to murder all the newly converted Muslim landlords. So, many were murdered in a day that not a single newly converted Muslim escaped. Their houses were destroyed and their women and children were left houseless. All the Bodhakis and the Ebahatis born during the said years were found out, brought and badly killed. After this punishment none dared to name the Ebahatis in the city again. During the whole periods of Sultān 'Alāuddīn's reign, the situation of the country was very good and prosperous due to bravery, mutual co-operation and the foresightedness of the officials and soldiers. Administration was carried on efficiently and successfully.

Three periods of his reign are observed :

First Period :

Ulugh Khan, Nusrat Khan, Zafar Khan, Ulub Khan,

Malik Alaul Mulk, Malik Fakhruddin, Junadadbak, Malik Asghari, Sir Dawatdar, Malik Iajuddin Kafoori were the best and the most efficient advisors, who have no equals in the administrative affairs of the country as well as in tactfulness. Many countries were won and revolts were brought to an end with the help of their tactfulness, administrative efficiency and the faithful discharge of the duty.

#### Second Period :

The efficient and the dutiful ministers who strengthened the foundation of 'Alāuddīn's reign were Hamiduddin, Malik Aazzuddin, the sons of 'Alāuddīn, Malik Ainul Mulk Multani, Dabir Ulugh Khan, Malik Sharf Quaninir and Khawaja Haji etc. Malik Hamiduddin was the vice-Attorney and Malik Aazzuddin was the Home Secretary. Malik Sharf Quanini was the Deputy Minister and Khawaja Hazi was the Deputy Arz ( Naib Arz ). These four wise and efficient men were in charge of the four departments through which the whole administration of the country was carried on. They controlled these four departments very wisely and in an exemplary manner. In fact, they proved themselves to be worthy of these four departments more than anybody else in any period.

#### Third period :

During four or five years Sultān lost the power of determination and firmness in thought. As a result, unsound-

mind, shortsighted, corrupted and ungrateful persons were included in the court and were entrusted with the responsibility of the government. An unwise man like Bahauddin was in charge of the finance. Malik Hamiduddin, Malik Aazzuddin and the sons of 'Alāuddīn Dabir were discharged and Sharp Quanini was killed as a result of which the army-court, the ministry and the court of art became inoperative. The three Diwans, with the exception of Diwan Arz, lost their importance. Due to these inefficient officials, the administration of the country became upside down. Although, in the last period of 'Alāuddīn's reign, Quoūran and Malik Quoūra Beg Moazzam and Mokarram got access to the King but they were not entrusted with any important administrative responsibility. They were only included among the chiefs.

*Attributes, character, rudeness and tenacity of Sultān 'Alāuddīn :*

The character and manners of Sultān 'Alāuddīn were strange. In politics, he did not care for religious and unreligious matters due to his rudeness of mind, harshness of speech and unfearfulness which were included in his nature. Blood-relations and other rights were not allowed to interfere in his politics. A general order was given for all, either criminals or innocents. Even the influential courtiers and chiefs did not dare to request him for an innocent or to influence him for his sons and brothers before his pomp and dignity. Sultān used to do what he thought to be right without the advice of anybody else. In

the beginning of his reign there were some sincere advisors no doubt, but, later on, he gave up the habit of taking advice and acted according to his own will. Due to his ignorance, he thought that matters of administration have nothing to do with religious laws. He did not think compulsory the performance of the religious duties for himself. He was not careful at all for prayer and religious fasting. But in spite of that he had a firm belief in Islam and was its blind follower. He himself neither used abusive and indecent language against faith and religion nor liked to hear such from anybody else. Due to his ill-temper he took him for the enemy of and malevolent to the country whom he punished or with whom he grew angry and was never kind to him. He did not think of bringing them back whom he banished or to release them who were imprisoned or kept in the dark-cabins. Hence, thousands of banished and imprisoned persons were brought back and set free in the reign of his son, Sultān Kutubuddin after his death. But in spite of these defects and Sultān's rudeness, the experienced persons and foreseers notice some such wonderful merits of Alāuddīn's reign which have neither been seen in any period nor are expected to be seen in the future. These merits were either due to Sultān's ability and efficiency or they should be regarded as the gift and will of God, the almighty. Firstly, it is a wonder that corns and other necessities of life were so cheap and abundant that inspite of draught no fluctuation was marked in their rates. This is, no doubt, a wonder that these things were cheap so long as Sultān was alive.

Secondly, the subjugated countries and the enemies became his ardent supporters. Such a conquest has never been seen or heard in any period. All the enemies and the antagonists were brought before him, dead or arrested, according to his will. People used to forecast his conquest beforehand whenever his soldiers attacked any fort or country.

Thirdly, Alāuddīn's reign is marked by the total destruction of the Moghuls, a supremacy never attained by any king in any period. Such a large number of the Moghuls were killed and imprisoned in his reign the like of which bloodshed of the Moghuls was never seen in any war or politics.

Fourthly, Alāuddīn's reign is marked by pomp and glories which were neither ever acquired nor are found in any history nor anybody remembers.

Fifthly, the act of bringing under the rebels and disobedients and the abundance of sincere and faithful persons has not been seen in any period as in Alāuddīn's reign. All the Kings, disobedients and the rebels bowed down their heads and obeyed him. The subjects were so obedient and faithful that they paid the tax even by selling their wives and children and lighted the lamp on the way for the guidance of the travellers and caravans. Such obedience and faithfulness are not found in any period.

Sixthly, ways and routes were quite safe and peaceful throughout the country. The opponent groups of dacoits and

enemies became the guards of the ways themselves. Not a single thread of the passengers was ever reported to be lost. Peace and safety like this and up to this extent is not found in any period.

The seventh wonder which can be said "the wonder of wonders" was the honesty, sales at reasonable prices and the maintenance of Sultān's rates by the traders. To maintain a balance between the marketeers and the traders is the most difficult task and none of the Kings could do it. But this wonder is observed in 'Alāuddīn's reign that he governed the traders with an iron hand and made them sincere and faithful.

The eighth wonder is the construction of buildings, forts and cisterns and their maintenance like mosques and towers. The construction of so many great buildings is neither found nor expected to be found in any period. Seventy thousand masons were at work. Only two or three days were enough to construct a building and a fort was constructed only in two weeks.

The ninth wonder which is noticed in the last ten years of 'Alāuddīn's reign is this that sincerity, truthfulness, justice and piety got root in the hearts of the majority of the Muslims. People were accustomed to understand the facts of matters. Obedience and faithfulness were so common among the Hindus the type of which is not found in any other period.

The tenth wonder which is "the wonder of wonders", is the gathering of the sages and saints of all communities, the masters and experts of all arts in the whole period of 'Alāuddīn's reign without any proper management. The world did not see a gathering of so many masters and experts in any period. This gathering of incomparable and distinguished persons made the capital of Delhi an object of envy to Baghdad and Egypt and an equal to Constantinople and Jerusalem. Among the sages of 'Alāuddīn's reign, Shaikhul Islam Nezamuddin, Shaikhul Islam 'Alāuddīn and Shaikhul Islam Rukunuddin were those whose presence graced Delhi and by whose teachings the world was enlightened. Majority of persons took oath of allegiance on their hands (i.e. administered by them). The sinners had repented and thousand of criminals and unprayerfuls had become the permanent and sincere prayerfuls by repenting their sins and crimes. They were bent towards religious performances and had followed virtues by giving up worldly greed and allurements which are hindrances to virtues and obedience of God. Miracles took place due to the abundance of supererogatories of the truthfals and devotees. There was also a complete "righteousness" in public works due to the blessings of prayer. God bestowed His blessings under the influence of the character and love of these religious lords. The door of natural adversities was closed. People never suffered from draught and epidemic diseases due to the goodness and blessings of these sages. The great revolt of the Moghuls was quelled in India by the grace of God due to their sincere and eager prayerfulness. The blissful personalities of these



three nobles were the cause of the greatness of the Islamic culture and charm in religious laws in those days. O God ! what a wonder the last ten years of 'Alāuddīn's reign were, that all kinds of intoxicants, sins, crimes and adulteries were forcibly prohibited by laws and acts for the reform and betterment of the country. Wealth, the cause of crime and sins against the religion and the country by the selfish, the cause of bribery and hoarding by the greedy and the misers, the cause of rebel and stubbornness by the mischievous and rebellious, the cause of pride, the cause of idleness and negligence, was taken by Sultān 'Alāuddīn from the wealthy and the extravagant people by applying whip or by arresting them or making them prisoners by any pretence he could make. He compelled the marketeers and the traders, who are the greatest liars and fraudulents, to speak the truth and to weigh and sell rightly. They were often killed even for a minor fault or crime. On the other hand, Shaikhul Islam Nezamuddin's door of allegiance was open to all. The sinners and criminals came and bowed their heads in faithfulness by repenting their sins. Chiefs and commons, rich and poor, saints and kings, free and slave, townsmen and villagers, warrior and striver, every one who regarded himself as the disciple of the Shaikh completely kept aloof from prohibitions and sins. If anybody committed any crime accidentally, the oath of allegiance was renewed. All of them showed eagerness in obedience and prayer. Everyone, man and woman, old and young, children and middle-aged, master and slave, prayed timely. They regarded the prayer of sun-rise and middle-

hour as compulsory. Platforms and sheds for prayer were made, earthen Jars and vessels were provided, wells were dug and prayer-mats were spread by the good-doers at different places from the city to Gayaspur. Guards and servants were appointed to provide the disciples and other travelling pious men with facilities of ablution and prayer. On all praying-platforms and under every sheds people mustered strong to perform the voluntary-prayers and tried to surpass each other. The effect of the blessings of these religious men was such that even in the palace of Sultān the nobles, soldiers, servants and the armed-guards became the followers of the Shaikh and what to speak of the compulsory prayer, they performed even the prayer of the sun-rise and middle-hour punctually. They were off from all sins and evils and had inclination towards good. Sultān 'Alāuddīn was also the follower and obedient of the Shaikh. Thus the hearts of the chiefs and the commoners were attracted towards good and beneficence. There was no sign of wine, gambling, sin, crime and luxury. The very idea of taking interest and hoarding was regarded as anti-religious. In 'Alāuddīn's reign, the master of the art of reading and pronunciation like Maulana Jamaluddin Shaatbi and Maulana 'Alāuddīn Maqri, an unselfish orator like Maulana Omaduddin Hasan Darweshi, famous poets of the age like Amir Khusru and Amir Hasan Sangari, the distinguished master of history like Amir Arsalan Kolahi and Kabiruddin, son of Tajuddin Iraqi, the master of physics like Maulana Badruddin Damishqi and Maulana Sadruddin, son of Maulana Hesam Marikali and masters of the science of astronomy

and palmistry like Sharfuddin Monajjim and Maulana Sadruddin Loti were the graceful personalities of the king's court. This was the good fortune of Sultān 'Alāuddīn that such distinguished masters of art and knowledge were present in his court, the example of which is not found in any period.

*The end of 'Alāuddīn's reign and wealth*

When Sultān 'Alāuddīn lost his wealth and the sun set over him, he committed certain mistakes which brought about the end of his reign and wealth.

Firstly, he grew angry and envious. He appointed incapable, haughty, idle slave-borns and the eunuches by discharging the able and experienced courtiers of his kingdom. He did not think that these incapables and the eunuches cannot govern. Owing to this, disturbances broke out in the country.

Secondly, he got his sons back from school before the maturity of wisdom and declared Khijir Khan his successor. He caused to write a bond and got it signed by all the kings. He did not appoint any wise and experienced tutor for his sons as a result of which they indulged in luxuries and began to set among the buffoons and the slave-girls. A never-ending programme of luxuries, merriments and hospitalities began in their palaces which worsened the situation of the country.

Thirdly, Sultān was afraid of the growing power of Malik Naib. So, he made him the chief of the country's

army and entrusted him with the responsibility of its ministry. He discharged all his well-wishers and helpers to weaken his position. On the other hand, Alap Khan, the guardian of Khijir Khan, and Malik Naib were at daggers drawn with each other. This enmity continued to get root and the foundation of 'Alāuddīn's kingdom went on becoming weak day by day. In the meanwhile, when there was a disturbance in the country and the princes indulged in luxuries, merriments and hospitalities, the tug of war between Alap Khan and Malik Naib began. Sultān was attacked by a fatal disease like dropsy. When the pain went on increasing day after day, Sultān began to lose hope of his life. Malik Naib and Alap Khan were called from Deogir and Gujrat respectively. When the treacherous and ungrateful Malik Naib saw that Sultān is not careless about Harem and Khijir Khan, he created disturbances, got Alap Khan murdered and sent Khijir Khan to Gwalior by causing him to be arrested and imprisoned. Khijir Khan's mother was driven out of the palace. On the day when Alap Khan was murdered and Khijir Khan was imprisoned and banished, a great disturbance and revolt took place in Gujrat. Malik Kamaluddin Gurg, who was appointed to bring under the rebellious, was murdered by them and the kingdom of 'Alāuddīn became upside down. During this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn passed away from this perishable world to the permanent abode. Some opine that ungrateful Malik Naib killed the Sultān in the very extreme of his illness. The administration of the country was in the hands of the incapables. A wise and experienced politician like Bajurchemahar was no longer

alive to control and save the country from destruction. As a result, every one began to act according to his own will and the country reached nearer to ruin. In the last night of the sixth Shawal, the dead body of Sulṭān was brought out from the palace and was buried in his special tomb in front of the Jama Masjid.



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