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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

17649

Edited by John Dowson



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The volume comprises nine articles dealing with minor histories and historians reproduced from volumes IV and VII of the original edition of the work.

The Memoirs of Khawas Khan and Shuja't Khan, the Extracts from *Waki'at-i Mushtaki*, *Tarikhi Hafiz Abru* and *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* appeared in the Volume IV, and the rest are drawn from Vol. VII of the original edition.

The Editor in course of his prefatory remarks observes :

"The extracts from the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki* will show the true value of a work once often quoted, but now little known. It is a favourable specimen of the anecdotal literature of the age, and though asserting to claims to be considered as a consecutive historical record, it contains numerous interesting passages better worthy of attention than many of the stories recorded by the professed historians.

"The *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi* now makes its first appearance. It is an exceedingly rare work, and a knowledge of it has long been anxiously desired, for it covers that "hiatus of about sixty years" which Col. Lees thought it would be difficult to fill up from "contemporaneous historians." It is not a work of any literary pretensions, and it can only be regarded as a plain unvarnished chronicle of the period over which it travels. Such as it is, however, it is a contemporary record, and all later writers have been directly or indirectly indebted to it for the history of the troublous times which followed the invasion of Timur. Sir H. Elliot's MS. is incomplete, but as Nizam Ahmad, the author of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, made great use of this work, and often quoted long passages verbatim, the deficiencies of the former have been supplied, by quoting

from the latter such passages as were required to complete the history of the Saiyid dynasty down to the end of the reign of 'Alauddin in 1450 A.D."

The following is a list of articles in this volume with the names of the writers.

1. Memoir of Khawas Khan—Sir H. M. Elliot. 2. Death of Shujat Khan—Sir H. M. Elliot. 3. *Waki'at-i Mushataki*—A Munshi and Sir H. M. Elliot. 4. Tarikh of Iradat Khan—Capt. Jonathan Scott. 5. Tarikh-i Bahadur Shahi—Lt. Anderson. 6. Tarikh-i Shah Alam Bahadur Shah—Editor. 7. *Ibrat Nama*—Editor. 8. *Tarikh-i Hafiz Abru*—Sir H. M. Elliot and Editor. 9. Tarikh-i Mubarak-Shahi—Editor.

CONTENTS

| | | PAGE |
|---|-----|------|
| 1. Masnad 'Ali Khawas Khan ... | ... | 2 |
| 2. Death of Shuja'at Khan ... | ... | 5 |
| 3. <i>Waki'at-i Mushtaki</i> ... | ... | 7 |
| 4. Khan Jahan Lodi ... | ... | 11 |
| 5. Mian Zainu-d din ... | ... | 14 |
| 6. Khawas Khan ... | ... | 19 |
| 7. The Nobles of Sultan Sikandar's Reign ... | ... | 20 |
| 8. Mughula and the Raja of Champaran ... | ... | 21 |
| 9. Other nobles of Sultan Sikandar's reign ... | ... | 23 |
| 10. Mian Ma'ruf Formuli ... | ... | 24 |
| 11. Sher Shah ... | ... | 25 |
| 12. Sulan Mahmud of Mandu ... | ... | 28 |
| 13. Account of Sultan Ghisu-d din Khilji, King of Mandu ... | ... | 30 |
| 14. Tarikh-i Iradat Khan ... | ... | 34 |
| 15. A'zam Shah ... | ... | 37 |
| 16. Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah ... | ... | 48 |
| 17. The sons of Bahadur Shah ... | ... | 50 |
| 18. Character of Bahadur Shah : His Court ... | ... | 51 |
| 19. Prince Kam Bakhsh ... | ... | 53 |
| 20. Ghaziu-d din Khan Firoz Jang ... | ... | 54 |
| 21. Death and Character of Khan-khanan ... | ... | 56 |
| 22. Death of Bahadur Shah ... | ... | 57 |
| 24. Letters of Aurangazab ... | ... | 63 |

| | | | PAGE |
|-----|-------------------------------|-----|------|
| 25. | <i>Tarikh-i Bahadur Shahi</i> | ... | 65 |
| 26. | Tarikh-i Shah Alam | | |
| | Bahadur Shah | ... | 68 |
| 27. | <i>'Ibrat-Nama</i> | ... | 68 |
| 28. | Murder of Husain Ali Khan | ... | 71 |
| 29. | Tarikh-i Hafiz Abru | ... | 72 |
| 30. | <i>Tarikh-i Mubarak-Shahi</i> | ... | 77 |
| 31. | Reign of Sultan Feroz shah | ... | 78 |
| 32. | Reign of Tughlik Shah | ... | 90 |
| 33. | Sultan Muhammad Shah | ... | 92 |
| 34. | Sultan 'Alau-d din | | |
| | Sikandar Shah | ... | 99 |
| 35. | Sultan Mahmud Shah | ... | 100 |
| 36. | Mubarak Shah | ... | 125 |

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. VI



MASNAD 'ALI KHAWAS KHAN

THERE is no connected account of this officer in any of the Afghan histories. Those who treat of him separately fill their statements with what to us are the most uninteresting events of his life. Thus, in the *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* (MS., pp. 187-190), there is a long eulogy upon his great Muhammadan virtues, and especially his lavish prodigality¹ in behalf of lazy *fakirs*. The *Waki'at-i Mush-taki* (MS., pp. 112-17) gives these and other particulars; but, notwithstanding its prolixity, is not complete even in these five long pages, as an hiatus occurs before we come to the time of his death. The *Tarikh-i Daudi* (MS., pp. 291-7) also celebrates his indiscriminate liberality to these sanctimonious vagabonds, and gives as an illustration that he had no less than 2500 apartments in his palace, in each of which 100 of these obese vermin were pampered at the rate of two *sirs* of corn per diem, great and small. Doubtless, the exaggeration of numbers is enormous; but admitting even one hundredth part to be true, it again leads to the reflection which similar laudations have excited—What misery must have been entailed upon the wretched plundered people to supply the extravagances and establish the piety and benevolence of these ostentatious patrons of professed devotees.

With respect to his death, this work simply tells us that he was killed without having committed any fault. In short, all these authors dwell more upon the excellence and liberality of his cuisine, than upon his tragic end, and the deliberate perfidy and knavery of the base king at whose instigation he was murdered. There is no occasion to notice any of the political events of his life, for they will be found frequently mentioned in the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah; but it is curious to remark

¹ This will be found translated in the annotations of Dr. Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, part ii., pp. 106-8. In a little book entitled the *Shajrat Afghania* (MS., p. 136), this profusion is attributed to Sher Shah, but he was too wise and practical a man for such follies.

that, on his first introduction to public life, when he succeeded to the title of Khawas Khan, upon the occasion of his elder brother's being drowned in the ditch of the fort of Gaur, he came into slight collision with his future murderer Islam Shah, then Prince Jalal Khan. Khawas Khan urged an immediate attack, to which Jalal Khan gave his reluctant consent; but generously attributed the victory, when gained, to the courage and energy of Khawas Khan.²

It has been remarked elsewhere, how confused is the record of his career at the beginning of Islam Shah's reign. It may, therefore, be necessary to mention that, after flying from Mewat with all his artillery, in which he was strong, he remained some time in Sirhind, whither 'Azam Humayun advanced against him by Islam Shah's orders, with 40,000 men; but they had a secret understanding with each other, and Khaswas Khan retired leisurely on his advance, and entered Rohilkhand, where, after for a long time desolating the royal *parganas* at the foot of the Kamaun hills, he joined the Niazis before the battle of Ambala, and on the day of action deserted them on the plea of their wishing to exclude any man of the Sur family from the succession to the empire. His movements here appear to have been very extraordinary, for instead of joining Islam Shah, to whom he had communicated his intentions, and from whom he might have expected to receive the immediate reward of his perfidy, he again returned to his haunts under the hills, and finally sought the protection of the Raja of Kamaun, who conducted himself with great magnanimity during the events we shall now have to record. He entered the Raja's country by the pass of Dabar, and fixed his residence at Alhahi. Ahmad Yadgar is the author who gives by far the fullest and most consistent account of his death in a passage extending from pp. 336 to 342 of his history, which I here proceed to abstract.

² See "Sher Shah", P. 74.

After the Raja of Rajauri had presented a white elephant, and so ingratiated himself with the King that he was reinstated in his territories, Islam Shah returned from those parts, and remained some time at Agra.

Here intelligence was brought him by his spies, that Khawas Khan had established himself upon a lofty mountain in the dominions of the Raja of Kamaun, who had assigned him some villages for his support, as well as a daily allowance of cash. Upon this, Taj Khan Kirani, who held the Suba of Sambhal,³ was directed to use every possible means to get the refugee into his power. "If his hand could not reach there, he was to do it by messages, promising royal benefactions—such as the imperial districts at the foot of the hills, which would be made over to him. By holding out hopes such as these, Taj Khan might be able to send him in chains to Court."

Several messages were despatched at the same time to the Raja, who indignantly replied, "How can I throw into fetters a man who has sought my protection? As long as I have breath in my body, I never can be guilty of such baseness."⁴ Islam Shah himself then wrote to Khawas Khan, to say that he forgave him, and wished that what had passed should all be forgotten between them; that the Rana of Udipur had again raised his head, and plundered several of the royal possessions, and carried off the wives and children of Musulmans; that none of the nobles had succeeded in their measures against him; and that all their hopes were now centred in Khawas Khan. "All this is asserted with all the sincerity than can attach to an oath before God; and after that, an engagement and guarantee was engrossed on saffron-

³ This ungrateful scoundrel had owed his preferment to Khawas Khan. In the subsequent history of the Afghans, we find him in rebellion against his liege-lord, and supporting his usurpations by the same means of lying and forgery which he found so successful on this occasion.

⁴ The *Makhzan-i Afghani* represents that the Raja said he was incapable of affording him protection any longer, and that Khawas Khan came himself to Dehli and surrendered himself.

coloured cloth, and despatched. And Taj Khan was at the same time instructed to use every kind of cajolery and flattery, in order to lull that bird into security, and entice him into the net; for the wounds which his conduct had implanted in the King's breast could not be healed but by the salve of his murder."

On the receipt of these missives, Khawas Khan's immediate impulse was to obey them, but he was strongly dissuaded by his adherents and the Raja, who represented that the King was perfidious, that he had destroyed most of his nobles, and how then could he allow Khawas Khan to escape, who had been ten times opposed to him in battle? These remonstrances were, however, of no avail.

When Taj Khan wrote to inform His Majesty that Khawas Khan had arrived within twenty *kos* of Sambhal, "The king, who entertained in his heart the most inveterate hatred, forgot his sacred promises and his oath before God, and wrote, saying, 'The moment he arrives slay him, and having stuffed his body with straw, despatch it to Dehli.'"

When Khawas Khan arrived at the town of Sirsi, Taj Khan advanced with his army to meet him, and at night sent his myrmidons to assassinate him. "On the morrow, when preparing to execute the royal commands, they found, on the removal of the sheet from his body, that it was covered with about ten *sirs* of flowers. Taj Khan was alarmed at what he had done. Nevertheless, under the preremptory instructions he had received, he cut off that head, which was the ornament of prostration in prayer, and bound it on a spear-head, like that of a common malefactor or murderer, and sent it on to its destination accompanied by the body stuffed with straw."⁵ "On its arrival, Islam Shah ordered that it should be impaled in the front of the Red Gate; and it is said, that when this was done, a black wind arose which darkened

⁵ Briggs ascribes this event to 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.), but not on the authority of his original.

the whole world, and such an earthquake was felt that the loftiest buildings fell to the ground. From that date, moreover, calamities befell the reign of Islam Shah."

He seems to have been buried in Dehli; for the *Makhzan-i Afghani* informs us that when, after exposure for three successive nights, a load of roses, notwithstanding the doubling of the guard, was found to have been thrown over the body, Islam Shah was inspired with remorse, and ordered that he should be solemnly interred. Firishta also says that his corpse was interred at Dehli after his assassination by Taj Khan; that his tomb is frequented even at the present day; and that the common people, esteeming him to be a saint, go there to offer prayers for success in their undertakings.

But I have also had his tomb pointed out to me at Khawaspur in the Upper Panjab, between the Jelam and the Chinab. He is in that neighbourhood also held in high repute for his piety and courage; and there are several popular songs sung in his praise, under the appellation of "Sakhi" or "generous."

DEATH OF SHUJA'AT KHAN

We read so much respecting the actions of this gallant officer during the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah,¹ that there is no need here to expatiate upon them. Most of the authors who have made any mention of his death² concur in representing it as a natural one, but as the following details appear highly probable, and are illustrative of the ignominy and baseness which prevailed at this period, I will abstract an account of them from Ahmad Yadgar (MS., pp. 345-350).

Shuja'at Khan, Ghazi Khan Sur, and Haji Khan were directed by Islam Shah to lead an expedition against

¹ Amongst other monuments of his rule, is the town of Shuja'atpur, near Ujjain.

² See *Makhzan-i Afghani* (MS., p. 326), and *Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan* (MS., p. 221). Firishta says he died at Malwa in 962 H. and the others also say after the death of Islam Shah.

Surat Sing Rathor, whose principality was Chonsu. The sole reason for this wanton attack seems to have been that he had a white elephant and a beautiful daughter. The elephant, though so remarkable for its docility in the stable that even children might play with its trunk and tusks, was equally celebrated in the field for its valour and ferocity, insomuch that no strange driver dare approach it.

Surat Sing chanced to be at Dwarka when he heard of the arrival of this formidable force; but two Rajput chieftains, Kumpa and Pampa, having been left behind to manage the army during his absence, collected ten or twelve thousand veteran soldiers, and erected an earthen circumvallation round Chonsu, with a deep ditch, protected by outworks in different places.

One day, after the army of Islam Shah had reached that neighbourhood, they came suddenly upon the village of Nakar, where the Rajputs were standing negligently in detached bodies, and had taken no means for securing their outposts in that portion of the defences. The three nobles, after a short consultation, determined upon an immediate attack, and the lot fell upon Shuja'at Khan to lead the advance, with 4000 cavalry and seven or eight elephants. Haji Khan and Ghazi Khan were to support him respectively on the right and left. The Rajputs maintained their ground against every attack of Shuja'at Khan, though directed with the utmost vigour and impetuosity; and at the same time, "the two nobles retired, both on the right and left, because Islam Shah was ill-disposed towards Shuja'at Khan, though he pretended to be otherwise, on account of Daulat Khan Ujjala, the Khan's adopted son, who was a catamite of the King's. He had, therefore, directed them secretly on the day of battle to let him advance heedlessly, and not give him any support when he required it, in order that he might be slain." Consequently, when Shuja'at Khan found himself deserted by his colleagues, being determined to sell his life dearly, he put himself at the head of two

thousand of his own cavalry, and astonished even his infidel opponents by his deeds of gallantry, "until his horse fell covered with wounds; when, being driven to defend himself on foot with his bow and arrows, he made every bolt which he sped send an infidel to hell."

The next day, the Hindus being defeated by the other two generals, performed the *jauhar*, when one thousand women became victims in that sacrifice. Immense plunder fell into the hands of the victors, and treasure was carried off which it had taken three or four generations to amass. "The King was highly rejoiced to hear of Shuja'at Khan's death, and ordained a splendid festival to be held. He recounted to Daulat Khan Ujjala all the feats of valour which had been achieved by Shuja'at Khan and in order to assuage his grief, elevated him to the rank which had been enjoyed by his adoptive father."²

What a paternal king! What loyal and obsequious nobles!

WAK'AT-I MUSHTAKI

THE author of this work, Shaikh Rizku-lla Mushtaki, was born in 897 H., and died in 989 H., (1492-1581 A.D.).¹ In the body of the work he names his father Shaikh Sa'du-lla. He speaks of himself in his preface as having associated from early youth with the most learned men of his age, and having greatly benefited by their colloquies. From

¹ Before this (if we except Ujjain, which his father was compelled to give up to him) he appears to have held no specific rank, but perhaps took precedence of all the nobles, as being the personal favourite of the King. The *Makhzan-i Afghani* tells us he was at liberty to draw at any time a *lac* of rupees from the Treasury. This young and favoured person appears, from some few traits recorded of him, to have been better than the general run of his vile contemporaries. He was murdered, after his father's death, by his perfidious brother Baz Bahadur, who has left behind him a name of celebrity in Malwa.

² Nia'mutu-lla calls him Maulana Mushtaki, without giving his name (*Makhzan-i Afghani*, MS., fol. 2 r.).

them he used to hear several extraordinary relations of bygone times, which, together with what he had derived from the exercise of his own powers of observation, he used to recount for the instruction and edification of his friends. They were so much struck with the marvels he related, and the value of his communications, that they would bring him pen and ink, and beseech him to record in a more permanent form the result of his researches; and at last, upon a particular friend of his suggesting that the author should compile an historical work for the advantage of those who were partial to such inquiries, he undertook the task, and we have the result in the *Wahî'at-i Mushtaki*.

He is spoken of in terms of high commendation by Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk and Shaikh Nuru-l Hakk in the *Tarikh-i Hakki* and the *Zubdatu-t Tawarikh*. He is styled uncle by both these writers;² but as 'Abdu-l Hakk was the father of Nuru-l Hakk, he must necessarily stand in a remoter relation to one of them. He is represented as a great traveller, as having mixed with many celebrated men, as an eloquent and learned man, consistent and pure in his conduct, much devoted to spiritual exercises, and especially in the doctrines and practices of Sufi-ism, fully acquainted with the history of politics of his time, and his conversation as very engaging and replete with wit, repartee, and anecdote. In his Persian compositions he styled himself *Mushtak*, in his Hindui *Rajan*. He possessed the rare accomplishment at that time of considerable knowledge of the Hindui language. He quotes several distichs in the course of his history, and "his *Paimaban Job Niranjan* and other treatises in Hindi³ are celebrated throughout the world." He had eight brothers, all possessed of rare qualifications; and as far as his grand-

² 'Abdu-l Hakk's *Essay on the Literary History of Dehli* (MS., fol. 20 v.), and Nuru-l Hakk's *Zubdatu-t Tawarikh* (MS., fol. 80 r.), and *Akbaru-l Akhyar* (MS., fol. 191 r.).

³ The distinction between the Hindui and Hindi is observed both by 'Abdu-l Hakk and Nuru-l Hakk, but they are evidently meant to apply to the same language.

nephew can be understood, it would appear that their contemporaries were unanimous in ascribing to them the merit of having effected a considerable improvement in the popular language of the country. The family appears to have had a bias towards historical composition; for, independently of the two works noticed above, our author's grandfather, by name Shaikh Firoz, who is said to have excelled equally with his pen and sword, wrote an heroic poem upon the war between Sultan Bahlol and Sultan Husain Sharki. 'Abdul Hakk mentions that he had it in his possession, but had lost it, leading us to infer that it was very scarce. Shaikh Firoz died in 860 H. (1456 A.D.).⁴ He appears to be entitled to a portion of the saintship which attaches to the name of his grandson, for he was much devoted to spiritual exercises, indulged in visions and ecstasies, and was especially learned in the doctrines and practices of Sufi-ism. His religious preceptor was Shaikh Muhammad Miskin, who resided at Kanauj, and was much revered by his credulous disciples. It is related of him that when his house was destroyed by fire, a store of rice was burnt along with his other goods. "It matters not," said he, "the harvest of us who are scorched (with fire as well as the light divine) will not all be destroyed," and threw the grain upon the ground, when lo! every seed of the grain, when they came to reap it, was found to be double. When this marvellous produce was brought before Sultan Sikandar, he devoutly thanked God that such men were produced in his time.⁵

CONTENTS

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-------|
| Sultan Bahlol Shah | ... | pp. | 3-13 |
| Sultan Sikandar | ... | pp. | 13-81 |
| Sultan Ibrahim | ... | pp. | 81-84 |
| Babar Badshah | ... | pp. | 84-86 |
| Humayun Badshah | ... | pp. | 87-91 |
| Akbar Badshah | ... | pp. | 91-92 |

⁴ *Akharu-l Akhyar* (MS., fol. 323 v.).

⁵ There is an account of this saint in the *Akharu-l Akhyar* (MS., fol. 191), and at the end of it there is a laudatory notice of *Mush-taki*. See also *Tabakat-i Shah-Jahani* (MS., fol. 137 v.).

| | | |
|---|-----|-------------|
| Sher Shah | ... | pp. 93-111 |
| Islam Shah | ... | pp. 111-143 |
| Sultan Mahmud ('Adali) and Sur dynasty | ... | pp. 143-146 |
| Ghiyas-ud din Khilji (of Malwa) | ... | pp. 146-155 |
| Nasru-d din Khilji | ... | pp. 155-165 |
| Sultan Muzaffar Shah (of Gujarat) | ... | pp. 166-167 |
| Miscellaneous Anecdotes | ... | pp. 168-210 |

Size—Small Folio, containing 210 pages of 17 lines each.

But it is not to be supposed that the treatment of the history is so methodical as the above table would leave one to suppose. On the contrary, the work is very ill-arranged, long digressions are frequently introduced, and reference is again made to reigns which have been previously disposed of, and to matters which he confesses he had forgotten. Thus, in the middle of the reign of Islam Shah, we have an account of some of the nobles of Ibrahim Shah, and then of Sultan Sikandar, so as to leave the impression, that here at least there must be some error of the copyist or the binder; for such a strange transposition could scarcely have taken place either by design, or the most treacherous lapse of memory. Anecdotes are also interspersed of the celebrated chiefs and saints of the time, and silly stories of miracles, apparitions, demons, enchantment, and jugglery deform the work—exhibiting the extraordinary credulity of the author, as well as of the age in which he lived. It contains, however, much that is interesting, and we are occasionally favoured with a few illustrations of the manners of the times. It affords, therefore, a rather copious field for extract, especially as it is exceedingly rare. Many of the stories attributed to the author's heroes are popularly related of other sovereigns.

Besides the one in my own possession, I know of only one copy of this work in India, and that is an excellent copy in the *naskh* character in the Moti Mahal library at Lucknow.* It is strange that the *Waki'at-i Mushtaki*

* [Col. Lees had never seen a copy; and although he had met with the name of "Maulana Mushtaki," he did not know the title of his book. Journ. R. A. S., vol. iii., n.s., p. 454.]

should be so uncommon, for it was much quoted by contemporaries,⁷ and contains abundance of trivial stories well suited to the tastes and intellects of the present generation.

Khan Jahan Lodi

IN giving an account of the nobles of Sultan Sikandar's time, I shall not speak of those whom I have not seen, but only those with whom I was personally acquainted. I commence with those who were in his service while at Agra.

Masnad 'Ali Husain Khan, who was called Khan Jahan Lodi, had made it a rule that whatever fixed salary⁸ he gave to his soldiers, he never deducted anything from it; but when, after the lapse of ninety years, the sovereignty departed from the Afghans, their allowances were stopped.

It was also his rule, that every one of his attendants should be present whenever he was in his camp; but when he was in his palace, if any person went to him there, he would ask him why he came. If the man replied, he came to salute him, he would say, "You have come of your own accord, there is no necessity for your attendance, except when I am in the camp. Now, though I am at home, you still come to me. It appears that you have no love for your own family. What must they think of you?" After saying this, he would immediately dismiss him, not even allowing him to sit down.

If any person died, his allowances were transferred to his son. If he had no son, they were given to his sister's or brother's son, or son-in-law, or any of his relations who survived him. If there was no such relation, his wife was ordered to bring her brother or nephew, and the allowance was given to him. If she also had none.

⁷ Besides the instances quoted above, see Nizamu-d din Alimad. *Tabakat-i Akbari* (MS., fol. 2 v.), and Allah-dad Faizi Sirhindi, *Akbar-nama* (MS., fol. 1 v.).

⁸ *Istiqamat* a new use of the word.

she was advised to adopt a son from her other relations; and if she had no relation, then any well-born child. If she had any fit slave, she was allowed to adopt him, but she was enjoined to send him to school, and teach him the arts of archery and riding. In short, in no manner was any fixed allowance ever stopped. If any learned or religious man had an interview with him, he was favoured with the grant of a village, a piece of land, or some pension. He always took care of his neighbours, and repaired the mosques which had fallen into disrepair.

One morning, Bandagi Mian Ladan Danishmand went to the Khan Jahan, and when he asked him what brought him there so early, he answered that he wished to eat *khichri*, but that he thought he could not have it prepared in time; he had therefore thought of some rich man in whose house he could find it ready. He remembered the Khan, and immediately came to him. The Khan said that he never ate *khichri*, but other things were being made ready; if he liked *khichri*, it should be prepared for him. The Mian answered, "The same difficulty exists here: while you are getting it ready, the time for eating it will have passed. The Khan said, "While it is getting ready I will send for some sweetmeats for you from the *bazar*." The Mian said, "Very good, but tell the man to bring the money to me. I will direct him what he should bring." When the money was brought, the Mian said to the man, "Give it to me, and you go and prepare the *khichri*." In short, when it was ready, and the Mian had finished it, he said he had eaten too freely, and it would be very troublesome for him to stand the motion of a litter. The Khan asked, "Why do you go in a litter, have you no horse?" He replied that a horse which goes uneasily is worse than a litter, and that his horse had very unpleasant paces. The Khan said, "I will give you one of my own horses which goes very easily." The Mian exclaimed, "Why should I not ride if there be such a horse at my disposal!" The Khan ordered his men to bring a cer-

tain horse, and it was brought just as it stood in the stable, with only its clothing on it. He ordered it to be made over to the Mian, who said, "In consequence of my belly being so full, I complained of the litter; but now a greater difficulty has arisen, for I never can ride a horse with a naked back." The Khan smiled, and sent for a saddle, which was brought and put on the horse. The Mian then asked whether he was to keep the animal at his house, or send it back. "Keep it at your house," replied the Khan. The Mian said there was nobody to take care of it. On this he was told that a servant should be employed on monthly wages for the purpose. The Mian again asked what it ate, and was told that it always ate pulse, coarse sugar, and clarified butter. The Mian said, "Where are such things to be got in this poor man's house?" So these were also ordered to be given to him. Again he said, "When this saddle becomes old, another will be required, and new clothing will also be needed when the old is worn out." He was told to take away those articles also. He then said, "It would be very troublesome to send the horse-keeper every day for its food; it would be a great favour if you were to grant me a village, the income of which will do for all these expenses at once, viz., the wages of the groom and the horse's food, and its saddle, and its clothing, and its green fodder." This request of his was also complied with, and a village was granted him in the district of Badaun. On his taking leave, he said he had taken his dinner and received a horse and a village, but the litter-carriers who had brought him there had got nothing. On this some money was given to them, and then at last the Mian took his departure. Such was the generosity of Khan Jahan Lodi!

When he died, his son, whose name was Ahmed Khan, neither got the title of Khan Jahan nor his father's rank. Mian Zainu-d din and Mian Zabaru-d din were two officers of the deceased Khan Jahan, and his army and *parganas* were given over to their charge. A royal

farman was also sent at the same time to the address of Zainu-d din, informing him that these privileges were granted by His Majesty of his own free motion, and not in consequence of Zainu-d din's connection with Khan Jahan Lodi. From that time Zainu-d din took the muster of the army, and had charge of the *parganas*. The *jagir* of the archers was maintained, to be enjoyed by them. To Ahmad Khan, son of Khan Jahan, a tract was granted from the district of Kaithal, in the name of his mother, besides an annual allowance of one *lac* of *tankas* for the purchase of horses, one *lac* of *tankas* for his clothing, and another *lac* for betel-leaves and other miscellaneous expenses. * * *

Mian Zainu-d din

I shall now mention some of the moral qualities of Mian Zainu-d din, in order to show that the officers of those days were so excellent that even divines of the present age are not equal to them. He rose so early that he bathed and read all his prayers and performed all his religious duties before sun-rise. In the daytime, he read the ten divisions of the *Kur'an*, standing all the time on his legs. He went over seventeen divisions of that book every day, and never sat down while he was performing this duty. He also read one of the *takmilas* of Ghausu-s Siklain, and the whole of *Hisn-i Hasin*, besides other miscellaneous prayers, and went through five hundred different postures of devotion, all standing. From midnight till noonday he was always employed in worship. During this time he never spoke on worldly subjects; if there was anything necessary to be done, he directed his servant to do it by signs. While he was taking his meals he discoursed on scientific subjects. He dined always with learned and religious men, and took a little rest after his dinner. In the afternoon he used to speak on secular subjects, and give directions respecting household business, and other matters which it might be necessary for him to speak of. After this, he again attended his prayers,

and performed other religious duties. He then read the evening prayers, repeating them much oftener than is enjoined by his religion. He did not obtain leisure from these religious performances till four hours and a half of the night had passed; and then he sat a little with his friends, and took as a supper some fruit or rice boiled in milk. Having done this he retired to his chamber. None of his servants of either sex neglected to read their prayers. Whenever he brought any slave from the market, he first placed him under the care of a tutor, in order that he might learn his prayers and become acquainted with the precepts of the Muhammadan law, till which time he gave him no employment. On Friday nights, from the time of evening prayer, if there was any Hindu in his assembly, he turned him out, and would not even look on the face of a Hindu during that night. One day three persons came from the Sultan to call him, but he would not go; and it was reported to His Majesty that although three men had been sent for Mian Zainu-d din, yet he had not chosen to come. The Sultan replied that it was Friday night, and he will not come; he may be called after he has done with his prayers. He kept fast on Thursdays and Fridays, besides the common fasting days. He never neglected these duties in any season—summer or winter. He always attended public prayers on Fridays, even if he was ten *kos* off. His kitchen was so large that food was given to every one three times a day, whether he belonged to his own people or was a stranger, and from whatsoever place he came. In the month of Ramazan, rice boiled in milk was given to every applicant in the evening, when they broke fast, and also early in the morning. Whatever any person wanted to eat was given to him.

Every year he called all his relations, male and female, from Dehli to Agra, to see them. On their departure he asked them all what they wished to have, and gave them what they asked. Whenever, by way of charity, he paid the expenses of a marriage ceremony,

whether the bridegroom was his relation, neighbour, or a stranger, he gave the bride money, clothes, a bed with its appurtenances, and also a *palki* if she were of sufficient rank. In short, he did all that is required of a father. If any guests came into the house of those who lived on his estate, he sent all kinds of food for them from his own kitchen in such quantity that not only was it sufficient for them, but for their servants also. During the anniversary days of the Prophet's death (may peace be to him!) food of the value of two thousand *tankas* was daily prepared during the twelve days. On the first and last day of the festival, victuals of all kinds, and of good flavour, and *halwa* were prepared in large quantities, at the expense of four thousand *tankas*. It should be considered what would now be the value of four thousand *tankas* of those days. At last, when Sultan Sikandar died, he lost his Government. Ahmad Khan, son of Khan Jahan Saiyid, and he both continued without any employment; and they had saved no money to live on. Still many people continued faithfully to serve him, and he also continued benevolent to all, according to the extent of his means; but he was often in want of money to meet his expenses.*

One day Shaikh Sa'du-lla, father of the writer of this book, who from infancy was attached to him, went to him unexpectedly, and saw papers before him which he tore one by one into pieces and gave to his slave, who steeped them in a basin of water. The Shaikh asked him what he was doing. The Mian replied that some great and noble persons had taken money from him which he did not give them with the intention of receiving back. They, however, had sent him the bonds. Now that he was without employment or means of subsistence, he

* The vicissitudes of such an ostentatious fool affect us with no sympathy. The only excuse that can be advanced for this vicious extravagance is, that if the chiefs did not expend all their extortionate gains as fast as they were acquired, the Sultan would have done it for them.

thought that he might not be able to resist the temptation of knowing himself to be in possession of these bonds, which amounted in value to three *lacs* of *tankas*, and might wish to avail himself of them. Also that his sons after his death might come forward and claim the money, if he did not destroy these bonds during his lifetime.

His friends also had similar noble dispositions. My father, for instance (may God be merciful to him!), had a numerous family. When Zainu-d din's expenses were reduced, my father's family and friends remonstrated with him for continuing on his establishment, observing that other persons holding offices of greater emoluments no longer remained in the service of the Mian, whereas he remained for two or three years. He replied that it was through the wise dispensation of God that he got his employment, that people who are compelled to work for their livelihood, if pay be withdrawn, will no longer serve, and that what he wished was moderate, and that his desires were satisfied. He had accumulated, he said, enough during his service to enable him to maintain himself and the Mian for two or three years. And upon his friends again remarking that they well knew he had nothing of his own, he said he would sell his houses and books, he would have no care as long as anything remained in his possession. So, without receiving any salary, he remained three years with Mian Zainu-d din, and after his death, four years with his sons, serving the family altogether for a period of fifty-five years.

There was a Mughal by name Mamun. Having resigned his situation at some other place, he entered the service of Mian Zainu-d din. Soon after Sultan Sikandar died, and the Mian became poor, the Mughal remained still faithfully attached to him, for he was a very good man. * * *

One day, his son was leading a mare to the river to water, and in the sand he felt something under his foot.

The boy took it up, and saw that it was a scabbard of gold. He brought it immediately to his father, and showed it to him, saying that he had found it in the bed of the river. Mamun took the boy by the hand and brought the scabbard to Mian Zainu-d din, requesting him to make it over to its owner. The Mian sent it to the *wazir's* office. In those days it was a rule that if any person found a thing lying in any place, he was to bring it to the police, and it was hung at the arch of the city gate. If an owner appeared, and on inquiry established his claim, it was delivered to him. It appeared, that a Hindu named Jugraj, was passing through the gate, when he recognized the scabbard, and informed the police that it belonged to him. They asked him if he remembered how much the gold on it weighed. He replied fifteen *tolas*. After inquiry the article was given over to him. * * On ascertaining who the discoverer was, Jugraj offered him two hundred *tankas*, but he would not accept them. His friends advised him to take the money, because it was offered to him as a free gift. But he strenuously declined to receive any remuneration.

On every Monday the Mian repeated the prayers *khatam durud* 200,000 times; and gave boiled rice worth four hundred *tankas* in alms to the name of the Prophet, may peace be to him! On Thursdays he repeated the *ikhlas* 100,000 times, and prepared sweetmeats at the expense of four hundred *tankas* to be offered in the name of the Saint Ghausu-s Saklain. These oblations were made without any deviation twice every week. What a fortunate time it was when the King was so good, and the officers so worthy of him!

The second brother, whose name was Mian Zabrau-din, was also exceedingly pious. * * * He generally lived eight months in Dehli, and four months in Agra. As long as he was in the former place he every Monday invited to the *Shams-i Hauz* an assembly of learned and religious men, Sufis, poets, literary persons, singers, and musicians. He had a very large and liberal kitchen, from which vic-

tuals were freely distributed. On Wednesdays, an assembly of the same people was convened in the monastery of Sultanu-l Mashaikh, on the banks of the Jamuna. In the same manner the party assembled every Thursday at the place where the print of the Prophet's feet was preserved in one of the palaces in Firozabad. On Fridays he attended the weekly prayers in the city. Again, on Saturdays a party was collected in a palace at the village of Mulcha, and there he amused himself with hunting for two days. He also took there his female establishment and tents with him ; but if he went to any place for one night only, they never accompanied him.

* * * * *

Khawas Khan

Khawas Khan, who was the predecessor of Mian Bhua, having been ordered by the Sultan to march towards Nagarkot, in order to bring the hill country under subjection, succeeded in conquering it, and having sacked the infidels' temple of Debi Shankar, brought away the stone which they worshipped, together with a copper umbrella, which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindu characters, representing it to be two thousand years old. When the stone was sent to the King, it was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it for the purpose of weighing their meat. From the copper of the umbrella, several pots were made, in which water might be warmed, and which were placed in the *masjids* and the King's own palace, so that every one might wash his hands, feet, and face in them, and perform his purifications before prayers. Previous to the time when Khawas Khan was appointed, the *jagirs* of some people of that part of the country amounted to three *lacs* of *tanks*. He increased them to fifteen *lacs*. When he returned to the Court, being seized by a fatal sickness, he intimated that he had something to say to the King, and was asked whether he would send the message, or wished to speak himself. He replied he wished to speak

personally. The King said if he had strength enough to come, he might, and if not he himself would go to him. Upon this, the Khan came to Court, seated in his *palki*, and informed the King that he had brought the *diwan's* and his own accounts, and requested that somebody might be ordered to examine them. His Majesty replied, "I had appointed you my Viceroy, invested with full power. What accounts have I to settle with you? What you did was just as if I had done it myself." The Khan again said, "I have given some things to people without your royal orders; if you maintain the grants, it is good; if not, you may deduct their value from my pay." There were some meritorious people who had very little maintenance, and some again were entirely destitute. Their provision formerly amounted only to three *lacs of tanhas*, which he had increased to fifteen *lacs*. His Majesty said, "I have just told you that you were my Viceroy, and I know that whatever was done, was for my advantage, and therefore I readily sanction it." He then ordered the papers to be brought, and had them all steeped in water and obliterated.

* * * * *

The nobles of Sultan Sikandar's reign

Among the great nobles of Sultan Sikandar's time was Saif Khan Acha-khail. He had 6000 horse under him, and was deputy of 'Azam Humayun, the *jagirdar* of Karra, who used to buy 2000 copies of the *Kur'an* every year, and had 45,000 horse under his command, and 700 elephants. There were also Daulat Khan-khani, who had 4000 cavalry; 'Ali Khan Ushi, who had 4000 also; Firoz Khan Sarwani, who had 6000. Amongst other nobles there were 25,000 more distributed. Ahmad Khan also, the son of Jumal Khan Lodi Sarang-khani, when he was appointed to Jaunpur, had 20,000 cavalry under him. Sultan Sikandar went twice against the infidels of Bhata, when the *raja* fled, and placed the river between

him and pursuit. But his country was ravaged before the Imperial troops returned.

Mughula and the Raja of Champaran

Mian Husain Farmuli was *jagirdar* (*makta'*) of Saran and Champaran, which are called *Jal-khet*, or field of water. He was a very brave man. Besides the villages comprising his *jagir* (*muwajib*), he had taken 20,000 villages from the infidels. At one time, when he himself was proceeding towards the territory of Champaran to attack the Raja, and was encamped on the banks of the Gandak, Mughula Kirani, who was one of his nobles, wanted to know how far the Raja was from there. He was told that he was in the fort on the other side of the river. He again asked how many *kos* it was. The people said that the river alone divided them, but that the breadth of the stream was seven *kos*. Mughula, on hearing that only the stream intervened, said, "The infidel chief is on the other bank, and I am sitting on this. What kind of Islam is this if I delay? He then made a vow that until he had attacked him he would hold every kind of food and drink as unlawful as a carcase. Saying this he rose up, and mounted his horse, exclaiming, "In the name of God!" All the people advised him not to be so precipitate, as the stream was seven *kos* in breadth. He said he would not mind even if it were seventy *kos*, because he had taken a vow upon himself, let the event be what it may! He then plunged his horse into the stream. In some places he obtained a footing on the bottom: in others, where it was deeper, he was obliged to make the animal swim. His people also followed him in the same manner. Haibat Khan, Bahadur Khan, and Ikhtiyar Khan, who were also nobles of the Kirani tribe, when they heard that Mughula had thrown himself into the river, followed the example, and all the soldiers of the army, wheresoever they were encamped, went and plunged into the stream.

Mian Husain, who was in his tent, asked what the uproar was about, and was told that the whole army had gone towards the river; that Mughula had entered it first, and afterwards every person that heard of his feat had emulated the example. The Mian also took horse, and overtook Mughula in the water, and urged him to go back. He replied, "You employed me for service, and now I shall do my duty. When the work cannot be done by a servant, it is time for the master to take the trouble upon himself. To-day you shall see my exertion. Do you return in safety—I will not." Although he was much dissuaded, he would not listen to anything; so the Mian was also obliged to go on, because the whole army had thrown themselves into the water. At sunset they approached the infidel Raja, reposing happy in the thought that a large river was between him and his enemy, and that even in a whole year it would be impossible for them to cross it. Suddenly an uproar arose in the city, for it was reported from the watch-tower that the Afghans had arrived, but the Raja would not credit it, and was engaged in his pastimes when the Afghans were upon him, and forced him to fly for his life. By the will of God, that day Mughula became a martyr. Mian Husain greatly lamented his loss, and said, "Would to God that to-day there had been no victory, for that and the plunder combined are no compensation for the loss sustained in the death of Mughula!"

Thus, after a duration of two hundred years, destruction fell upon the kingdom of the Raja; and all the riches and treasures which were amassed during that period were dispersed in plunder. The shoes of the infidels who lost their lives in this action were collected by Shaikh Daud Kambu,¹⁰ who was a *shikhdar* of Mian

¹⁰ We find this monster mentioned elsewhere in the *Wahī'at-i Mushṭakī* as taking out his dagger, and boasting that no less than 20,000 men had fallen its victims, by way of intimidating the Shaikhzadas of Chanderi, where he was employed by Husain Khan to superintend his police arrangements.

Husain; and when melted down no less than 20,000 *mohurs* of gold were obtained from them.

* * * *

Other nobles of Sultan Sikandar's reign

One half the whole country was assigned in *jagir* to the Farmulis, and the other half to the other Afghan tribes. At this time, the Lohanis and Farmulis predominated. The chief of the Sarwanis was 'Azam Humayun, and the principal chieftains of the Lodis were four, viz. Mahmud Khan, who had Kalpi in *jagir*; Mian 'Alam, to whom Etawa and Chandwar were assigned; Mubarak Khan, whose *jagir* was Lucknow; and Daulat Khan who held Lahore. Amongst the Sahu-khails, the chiefs were Husain Khan and Khan Jahan, both descended from the same ancestor as Sultan Bahlol; Bahlol, son of Kala, son of Bahram; Husain Khan, son of Firoz Khan, son of Bahram; and Kutb Khan Lodi Sahu-khail, who flourished in the time of Sultan Bahlol.

I shall now give an account of the Farmulis. The districts (*ikta*) of Saran and Champaran were held by Mian Husain; Oudh, Ambala, and Hodhna, by Mian Muhammad Kala Pahar; Kanauj by Mian Gadai; Shamsabad, Thanesar, and Shahabad by Mian 'Imad; Marahra by Tatar Khan, brother of Mian Muhammad; and Haryana, Desua, and other detached *parganas* by Khwajagi Shaikh Sa'id. Each of these possessed surpassing bravery and courage, but the sons of Shaikh Sa'id were pre-eminent above all for their learning and generosity. Shaikh Sa'id also himself, besides his nobility, possessed a great many excellences. He was a great favourite of Sultan Sikandar, who said one day, that it was thirty years since the Khwajagi had been associated with him, and yet he had never done anything to offend him. He never told any story twice over; and every difficult question that he put to him, always met with a ready solution.

* * * *

Mian Ma'ruf Farmuli

He was a saintly, courageous, and generous man. From the time of Sultan Bahlol to that of Islam Shah, he fought in every battlefield, but always escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or present from any king, and would never eat food from the house of any Hindu. At the time that the Rana of Chitor invited Mian Husain Farmuli and other nobles to an entertainment, the Rana took a favourite dish, and stood offering it to Mian Ma'ruf, saying, "All the other nobles have honoured me by partaking of my viands, and have eaten; pray do you gratify me and do the same, by turning your hands towards this repast." He replied, "I never yet have eaten from the house of a Hindu." The Rana said, "Only be so kind as to accept the hospitality of your slave." He reiterated his refusal, "In the whole of my life I have not done such a thing, nor can I now consent to do so." Mian Husain, addressing him in the Afghan language, said, "Many things should be done for expediency's sake. To-day, there is an object in the concession; so put your hands into the dish." Mian Ma'ruf replied, "You are my superior, it is for you to gratify him." At last, when all the nobles vehemently pressed him to comply, he took up a little with two of his fingers and placed it in the corner of his napkin, promising that he would eat it. But when he departed thence, he opened the napkin and threw its contents upon the ground. So determined was he, when he had once taken a notion into his head.

In the action between Sher Shah and Mal Deo, he was wounded with a sword. At that time he was one hundred and seven years old. One of the anecdotes related of him on this occasion is illustrative of his usual self-denial. Sher Shah sent him 300,000 *tankas* as a recompense for the wound he had received. But he sent it back with the remark, that he had never accepted remuneration from the King, and still less could he do so

now, as the infliction of a wound had been sustained solely in the cause of God.

* * * * *

Sher Shah

During the reign of Sher Shah many regulations were made, and many forts built. He resumed the rent-free tenures, and made new grants on his own part. No person of high or low degree who went into his presence departed empty and without receiving something. He fixed a daily payment of 500 *tolchas* of gold upon the poor-house (*langar-i fukara*), and night and day he was considerate and liberal to the needy. He settled allowances upon the blind and helpless of every place and village and city. Two institutions were kept up during his reign without any interruption: one, the religious establishments (*'imarat khanah*), and the other the houses for the poor; for these two institutions confer a general benefit. His private kitchen was very extensive, for several thousand people fed there every day. Whoever wanted food went to his kitchen and ate under an order which he had issued. He himself used to take his meals with learned men and *shaikhs*. There was such security in the country during his reign that thefts and highway robbery were unknown. When such a thing occurred, the *mukaddams* of all the surrounding villages were seized, and restitution for the robbery was exacted from them. Examinations were held in the villages, and precautions taken that the like should not occur again. From Gaur to the confines of his dominions, in every direction, he had built *sarais* and halting places at every *kos*; and pots of water were placed at the doors of the *sarais* for the use of Musulmans and Hindus. At every *sarai* a *masjid*, a royal chamber (*khanah-i badshahi*), and a well were constructed; and to every mosque a *mu'azzin* (crier), an *imam* (priest), and *shikhdar* (manager) were appointed, and lands were allotted at the place for their support.

From Gaur to the confines of Oudh,¹¹ a road was made having *sarais*, gardens, and shady and fruit-bearing trees. Another road with gardens and *sarais* from Benares to the country of Mandu near to Burhanpur. Another road with gardens and *sarais* from Agra to Judhpur. Another from Bayana to Jaunpur and to Ajmir. There were 1700 *sarais*, and at every *sarai* there were pairs of horses ready, so that news travelled 300 *kos* in one day. [Here follows the story quoted in the note on page 141 of "Sher Shah".]

Sher Shah was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were issued and acted upon; there was no need of further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning (*fajar*) arrived. When it was time for prayers, he performed his devotions in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the horses brought to receive their brands. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and audited accounts. He summoned to his presence the officers of every country from which he received revenue and tribute, and received their accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace. He kept money (*khazana*) and revenue (*khôra*) in all parts of his territories, so that, if necessity required, soldiers and money were ready. The chief

¹¹ Oudh (Persian).

treasury was in Rohtas, under the charge of Ikhtiyar Khan. In the country of the Gakhars he had a fort upon the top of a hill, and he maintained a large force there, to the command of which the three great chiefs Masnad-i 'Ali Khawas Khan, Haibat Khan Niyazi, and 'Isa Khan Niyazi and other *amirs* were (at different times) appointed. He had 3000 elephants in his stables, and the number was daily increasing. The whole of the territories in his possession contained 13,000 *parganas*, for which *shikhdars* were appointed. His forces were numerous, and of every kind of horse and foot. Every man who came was entertained. 25,000 infantry and *lasgandars* were attached to his person; 7000 *lasgandars* were in the fort of Handu (Mandu?); 3000 *lasgandars* were at Chitor; 1800 at the fort of Rantambhor; 500 at the fort of Bayana; 1000 *lasgandars* at Gwaliyar (Gwalior); and 1000 infantry at the fort of Rohtas. It was known that a suitable garrison was maintained in every fort in the country. The force of horse under the royal command consisted of 150,000, some of whom were appointed on service, and others were sent to their own homes. In every *pargana* there was a *shikhdar*, a *munsif*, a treasurer, a Persian writer, and a Hinduwi writer, and in every *sarkar* there was a chief *Shikhdar* and a chief *munsif*. At the branding time every man came forward and showed his horse¹² and rendered his account. *Munsifs* were appointed for examining the brands in the armies on the frontiers, and the King himself occasionally made visits to different parts for this purpose. He kept one army in the upper country, as has been already mentioned, one army in Bengal, one at Rohtas, one in Malwa, one at the fort of Chitor, one in Khajwara, one in the country of Dhandhera, one in Nagor and Judhpur, and in the fort of Rantambhor and Bajwara. No fort in the country was without a garrison or a commandant.] See Vol. IV of this series—*Sher Shah* by Abbas Khan Sharwani.

¹² The word in the MS. is *yaraq* 'arms'; but in the translation it has been read as *yaragh* 'a horse.'

*Sultan Mahmud of Mandu*¹²

[The beginning of this passage is defective.] One day a merchant arrived with a large company. Amin Shah, according to his custom, demanded a present. The merchant replied that he was a trader under Sultan Firoz, who had strengthened the fort of Karnal, and that he was taking grain thither. Amin Shah said, no matter who he was, he must pay the regular due, and go on his way. The merchant told Amin Shah he was going to the King, and that if he would forego the duty, he (the merchant) would induce the King to grant him the country of Mandu, and to send him a horse and a robe. Did he prefer this or the custom duty? Amin Shah said, that if this were done, he also would become one of the servants of the King, and would serve him to the best of his power. So he allowed the merchant to pass. When the merchant came into the presence of the King, he represented that there was a man by name Amin Shah, who was *zamindar* of Mandu, and had all the roads in his power. If the King were to send a *farman* conferring on him the territory of Mandu, which was entirely desolate, he would secure tranquillity. The King sent a robe and a horse by that same merchant, who proceeded to Amin Shah, and presented them to him, and expressed his devotion. From this day forth Amin Shah gave up walking on foot, and took to riding. He also made his friends ride, enlisted horsemen, and promoted the cultivation of the country.

After his death, his son named Hoshang succeeded him. He became King, and assumed the style of royalty. The country of Mandu became prosperous, forts were built at different places, and armies were raised.

A man by name Mahmud Mughis Khilji came to Hoshang, and entered his service. He advised him to confer eighteen places in *jagir* on his (the King's) eighteen sons, so that no stranger might obtain admission, and that

¹² In this work also the name is written Mandu, not Māndu.

they might acquire power during the King's lifetime. Hoshang acted accordingly. This Mahmud was a treacherous man, and aspired to sovereignty. He first separated the King's sons from him. Afterwards he became his minister, and gave his daughter in marriage to the King, in order to secure a position by this relationship. Thus he first became minister, and afterwards a relation of the King. Twelve years he cherished his schemes without imparting them to any one. He consulted only with himself. He had constructed a place in his house where he used to sit. When he came from the King's Court, he went into it, and there he talked to himself about what he had done, and what he must do if the result were as he expected. One day his father remarked that whenever Mahmud returned from the King's Court, he attended to nothing else, but went straight into that room. He was curious to know what his son did there. So when Mahmud went into that place, his father also secretly repaired thither, and listened to what he said. He heard him speaking of sovereignty. So the father stepped in, and struck him on the head with both his hands, demanding why he entertained designs of royalty, and asking if he wished to ruin himself and all his family. Mahmud said, "O imprudent man! you have disconcerted my scheme of twelve years, and have broken down a throne." His father went out from the place, and told the King his son's insane design, and warned him against the intended treachery. Hereupon Mahmud feigned sickness, hung up curtains at his door, and took to his bed. When it was daybreak, the King sent some servants to see him. The King sent some physicians to ascertain the facts. Mahmud drew the curtains close, and made the room dark. He placed a pot near him, and having caused an animal to be butchered, he drank its blood. When the physicians came, he called them to him, but they could not see anything through the darkness. It is customary for physicians when they pay a visit, after waiting a little while, to

feel the pulse of the patient. As it was very dark, they required a little light that they might see him and feel his pulse. He arose hastily and asked for the basin. When it was placed before him, he forced himself to vomit, and then called for the lamp that they might see what he had thrown up. He then drew back his head, and rolled about as if in pain. When the lamp was lighted, and the basin was put before the physicians, they saw it was full of blood. So they did not feel his pulse, but went and told the King that he was in a very bad state. Whether he was loyal or unloyal, he had only a few minutes to live, for he must die in a short time. The King sent his wife to take a last look of her father. When she came, he (Mahmud) told her that Hoshang had numerous sons, and that what he had done was to obtain the throne for his grandson. She, however, must help him in one matter. When she asked what that was, he said she must give some deadly poison to Hoshang. She confessed she had such a thing, and promised to give it to him. So he sent her back, and she went and performed her task.

On the night when Sultan Hoshang died, Mahmud arose and placing his grandson upon his knee he seated him upon the throne. He surrounded him with men on whom he could rely, and raised the canopy over his head. He issued a proclamation to the nobles, and had robes of honour prepared. Then he called them before him one by one. Every one that recognized him received a robe, and was dismissed by another door; but every one that refused was killed there and then, and his body put out of sight, so that at length all his adversaries were removed. After a time he killed his grandson also, and himself became King. So he who had been *wazir* was now King. In the course of his reign he made his eldest son, (afterwards) Sultan Ghiyasu-d din, his *wazir*.

*Account of Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Khilji,
King of Mandu*

He was a religious and righteous king. He was a careful

observer of religion, but he also enjoyed the pleasures of the world. It was his custom that he kept every night some thousand gold *mohurs* under his pillow, and in the day he gave them away to deserving people. In his *haram* there were seventy women who knew the *Kur'an* by heart, and it was the rule that when the Sultan was dressing they were to read it out, and not to leave off till he had finished putting on his clothes.

One day a person brought a hoof of an ass, and said it was the hoof of the ass of Christ (may peace be to Him !). He gave him 50,000 *tankas*, and took it from him. Well, four persons brought four hoofs. He took them all, and granted 50,000 *tankas* to each one of them. Afterwards another person came and brought another hoof, and the same sum was ordered to be given to him. One of his courtiers observed, "My lord, an ass has only four feet, and I never heard that it had five, unless perhaps the ass of Christ had five." He replied, "Who knows ? It may be that this last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. Go and give this man also 50,000 *tankas*."

He had ordered his private servants and personal attendants that when he was in the enjoyment of pleasure or engaged in any worldly pursuit, they should place a piece of cloth before him, and tell him it was his coffin shroud. This they did, and he took warning from it. He would rise up, perform his ablutions, beseech forgiveness from Almighty God, and then engage in worship. He had also enjoined the attendants in his *haram* to awake him from sleep ; and if he did not arise, to throw water on him, or pull him off from the bed, so that he might not neglect the night prayers. Also, that if he were even sitting in a pleasure party, and the time for the night prayer arrived, they should take him by the hand and lead him away. He never uttered to them any improper or querulous words. Intoxicating liquors he would never look upon with his eyes nor hear of. One

day a portion (*ma'jun*) was made for him, and when it was ready he was informed of it. He said it was not to be brought to him until he had heard the names of the ingredients in it. Accordingly, the list was brought and read to him. He heard it. There were three hundred and more ingredients in it, and among them was one drachm of nutmeg. He said the medicine was of no use to him. More than a *lac* of *tankas* had been spent for it, but he ordered it to be brought and thrown into the drain. A person begged that it might be given to somebody else; but he replied, what he could not allow himself to take, he would not give to others. One day, the horse on which he used to ride fell sick. On it being reported to him, he ordered medicine to be given to it. Next morning, the horse was well. He asked if it was better, and the people replied yes. He then asked if it recovered of itself, or if medicine had been administered. He was told that medicine had been given. He then asked what medicine. The people said, what the physicians prescribed. The King thought it might be something that was prohibited by religion, and therefore they would not tell what it was. He ordered the horse to be turned out of his stable, and left free in the jungle. He was told that such a horse should not be set at large in the forest, but should be given to somebody. The King again said, why should he allow to others what he did not approve of for himself.

On one occasion one of the neighbours of Shaikh Mahmud Nu'man, who was with the Sultan, left the city of Dehli, as other people had left that city and had returned successful. He told Shaikh Mahmud that, having remembered the King, he had come from Dehli; for he had his daughter to marry, and he wanted the Shaikh to get the King to give him something. The Shaikh said he would give him as much as he required. But the man refused, saying that as other people had received the King's bounty, he also hoped to obtain something from him, and that he would gain respect

among the people of his tribe by obtaining the bounty of the King of Mandu. The Shaikh said, what he was going to give, the recipient might represent as having been received from the King; for who would know that the King had not given it? The man replied that he had set his heart upon gaining his object, and that he would do it himself without the intervention of another. The Shaikh replied, the other people who had come there were the descendants of great men, and he had obtained property for them through their ancestors' names, or they themselves possessed some merit which he could praise. But, said the Shaikh, "You are neither noble nor eminent. How can I recommend you to the King?" The man replied that he did not know, but that he had come to the Shaikh, and that he must by some means or other introduce him to the King; for His Majesty was very generous, and would give him whatever fate had ordained. The Shaikh was in a great difficulty. When he went to His Majesty's Court, this man also went after him. When they reached the palace gate, wheat was being dispensed in alms to *fakirs* and women. The Shaikh said, "Take a handful of wheat." The man went and brought it. The Shaikh gave him his handkerchief to keep the grains in it, and the man took it and did accordingly. When the Shaikh went before His Majesty, this man also followed him thither. The King asked who the man was that was standing behind him. The Shaikh replied, he had learnt the Kur'an by heart; that he had come from Dehli, and had brought some grains of wheat, over each of which he had read the whole Kur'an. The King said, "Then I ought to go to him; why have you brought him here?" The Shaikh replied that the man was not worthy that His Majesty should go to him. "Let him be what he is," said the King, "but the present which he has brought is such that I should go on my head." The Shaikh observed that His Majesty would act according to his goodness, but that, as a servant of his Court, he was afraid he should be blamed by the ministers of the age

for taking his Sovereign to the house of an unworthy person. The King told him not to consider the outward appearance, but to have regard to what concerned religion and the soul. At last the Shaikh decided that the man should be in the *jami' masjid* on Friday, and that His Majesty might take the present from him there. This was approved of by the King, and on Friday the man came. The Shaikh, when the prayers were over, reminded the King, who ordered him to tell the man to ascend the pulpit. When he did so, the King spread out the lower part of his garment, and the man cast down the grains.

TARIKH-I IRADAT KHAN

THIS is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrukh Siyar's. It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott. It first appeared in a separate volume, and was subsequently incorporated in the second volume of his "History of the Deccan," of which the first portion was translated from Firishta.

We are told in the *Ma-asiru-l umara* that the author, Mir Mubarakullah Iradat Khan Waza, was the son of Is'hak Khan, son of 'Azim Khan. Both his grandfather and father were noblemen of high rank. The former was *Mir-bakhshi* to the Emperor Jahangir, and the latter held various offices of importance under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He died soon after his appointment to the government of Oudh. His title was also Iradat Khan. One of his sons (our author) had his title conferred on him, and in the thirty-third year of Aurangzeb was appointed *Faujdar* of Jagna, and at other periods of Aurangabad and Mandu. In the reign of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah he was governor of the Doab, and the intimate friend of Mu'azzam Khan *wazir*. He died in

the time of Farrukh Siyar. His abilities as a poet were great, and he left a volume of poems behind him.¹

[The author opens his work with a statement of his removal from the command of the fort of Imtiyaz-garh (Adoni), and of his subsequent appointment to the government of Ahsanabad (Kulbarga), and afterwards to the *kila'dari* and *faujdari* of Mandu. He left the latter place to follow the fortunes of Prince Bedar Bakht as detailed in the following pages.

In his Preface the author says, "During the short period of my age, which has this day arrived at the sixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy Hijra (1714 A.D.), such vicissitudes in worldly affairs, the destruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houses and noble families, the fall of worthy men and the rise of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by history to have occurred in such number or succession for a thousand years.

"As, on account of my office, and being engaged in these transactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events, and what to others even information of must be difficult, was planned and executed in my sight; and as I was a sharer as well as spectator of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

"My intention, however, not being to compile a history of kings or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend writing to a friend would use, for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is consulted, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation."

The author's account of his work is fair and accurate.

¹ This is taken from the Preface to Scott's translation.

The book is written in a plain straightforward style, and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative. Iradat Khan was a good soldier, and was much trusted; and not without reason, for he evidently was clear-sighted, prompt, and energetic, and he possessed great common sense and unusual veracity. In his account of the battle between Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar he observes, "Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impossible for a single person to see more of the operations than those on the immediate spot of his own post; how then, can I say, I distinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurangzeb a long account of one of his battles. The Emperor observed at the conclusion, that he must certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had seen so minutely, as he himself, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had described."

The following Extracts are taken from Scott's translation, with only a slight change here and there of the wording. The original work is divided into many short chapters, but Scott did not maintain the divisions in his translation. At the end will be found two letters written by Aurangzeb. They were translated by Scott, and added as notes to his translation. It is not said from whence they were obtained, but they are very characteristic, and, no doubt, authentic.]

EXTRACTS

My attachment and regard to His Majesty (Aurangzeb) were so great, that observing his life drawing to a close, I did not wish to quit the presence. * * On the evening before my departure, the Emperor, opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him, and said, "Separation now takes place between us, and our meeting

again is uncertain. Forgive then whatever, wittingly or unwittingly, I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words *I forgive!* three times with sincerity of heart. As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly or otherwise thou mayest have done against me." Upon hearing these expressions, sobs became like a knot in my throat, so that I had not power to speak. At last, after His Majesty had repeatedly pressed me, I made a shift to pronounce the words *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and, after blessing me, ordered me to retire. * *

The Prince Bedar Bakht, being appointed to the government of Malwa, I paid my respects to him at Ujjain. In a short time such a friendship grew up between us, that a greater between a prince and subject cannot be conceived. He would not be an instant without me: he would not eat of anything but he sent me part of it: he did nothing of importance without asking my advice, and considered my opinion as religiously decisive. In short, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but on this account I became envied by all his dependents. * *

A'zam Shah

A'ZAM Shah, being informed of the (death of Aurangzeb) by his agents and the nobles who affected to embrace his interest, arrived on the 3rd of Zi-l hijja at the camp at Ahmadnagar.* * Many of the chief Imperial servants, as * * had a real attachment to him. Some neither loved nor hated him, and a few, though they disliked, yet from inability to oppose prudently submitted to his authority. Three Mughal chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance—Firoz Jang, his son Chin Kalich Khan, and Muhammad Amin Khan.

On the 10th Zi-l hijja, 1118, A'zam Shah ascended the throne of empire amidst the usual rejoicings, and conferred favours on the nobility according to their stations, but on few in a manner affording satisfaction. * * While

he was only a prince, most of the nobility were attached to him, and regarded him as possessing every approved quality for empire; but almost immediately after his accession to the throne, the general opinion was altered, through his own conduct. He slighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parsimony to the army, acting as if he had no occasion for their services. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppose him, and that his elder brother, Shah 'Alam, relinquishing to him such a vast empire as Hindustan without a struggle, would fly for safety to another clime. At the same time he openly declared his jealousy of his own son, Bedar Bakht, whose favour with the late Emperor had displeased him. He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would say publicly that they were not fit for his service.

Azam Shah proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Agra by regular stages, taking the route by the *ghat* of Tumri. * * * The route of Tumri was hilly, full of woods, and for many long spaces void of water; so that during two days' march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals perished through want of water. * *

Bedar Bakht had the greatest and most sincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him. * * In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Gujarat without delay, at the head of only 3000 horse, his own dependents, and carried with him about thirty *lacs* of rupees in treasure, property of his own, not presuming to touch twenty *lacs* in the Imperial treasury, lest it should raise suspicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father. For the same reason, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with ease have raised a great army, and might have procured a *kror* of rupees from the bankers and renters. * * On the eve of his march he despatched a letter to me, and several others on his route; but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers who

had orders to search all messengers and inspect letters. * * At length, on the 1st Muharram, the Prince's letters were brought to me all at once, and immediately after I departed from Mandu. * * The Prince was moving into Ujjain when he perceived me at a distance, and said to his attendants, "Is not that Iradat Khan that I see?" He stopped his train, and opening wide his arms he cried, "Come, come, my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been strained even to dimness."

Bedar Bakht did not enter the city and palaces of Ujjain, but pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a *kos* distant. Here he was attended by 'Abdu-llah Khan, the *Subadar* of Malwa, and continued one month and twenty days expecting the arrival of his father, when that rash prince wrote him the following *farman* : "Why have you not hastened on, nor sunk the boats in the Satlej, to prevent the approach of the enemy? Though he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect."

Bedar Bakht, agreeably to the orders of his father, moved towards Agra, and was joined from the presence by Zu-l fikar Khan, Ram Singh Hada *Zamindar* of Kota, and Dalpat Bundela, also by Amanu-llah Khan, who were sent by A'zam Shah as much to watch the Prince's motions as to assist him. Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Khan-'alam, a Dakshin chief, with his brother Munawwar Khan, and other officers, also joined from the presence with about 6000 horse.

Prince Muhammad A'zimu-sh Shan, who had by Aurangzeb's orders left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had reached the vicinity of Agra when he heard of the Emperor's decease; upon which he marched to secure that city for (his father) Shah 'Alam. * * When Bedar Bakht approached the banks of the Chambal, and A'zam Shah arrived near Gwalior, A'zimu-sh Shan detached a considerable body from Agra, under Muhtasham Khan, to guard the fords. Bedar

Bakht was fond of enterprise, jealous of his honour, and of high mind, tempered with prudence. A rivalry for glory had always subsisted between him and his father. A'zam Shah, who was of rash courage, never looked beyond the present in his conduct. Like the whisker-twisting vaunters of Hindustan, if his son made any delay on his march, he would jest and sneer, attributing it to cowardice and dread of the enemy. On this account Bedar Bakht resolved to cross the Chambal immediately, and attack the posts of Muhtasham Khan; but this proceeding was strongly opposed by Zu-l fikar Khan, an experienced general of approved conduct. * * As Zu-l fikar Khan, in the opinion of some, was suspected of treachery, they seized this opportunity to persuade the Prince that he corresponded with Shah 'Alam, and wished to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his designs of desertion to his cause. * *

The day following, suddenly, before morning prayer the march for battle was sounded, and the Prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of battle. I speeded to attend him. He had moved some distance from the tents before I came up. I found him with an angry countenance, uttering contemptuous exclamations and reproachful terms of Zu-l fikar Khan as deceiver, traitor, false wretch and the like, to some servile attendants round his elephant. * *

In the difference between A'zam Shah and his son Bedar Bakht, justice was on the side of the father; for Bedar Bakht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him. As for me, I was never in the service of A'zam Shah, nor had ever made him professions of duty, being wholly devoted to his son. Being alone with Bedar Bakht one night, he suddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breast said, "If a sovereign and parent seeks the life of a son, and that son is truly informed of his intention, how should he act in self-defence? Have you a precedent for it?" I replied, "Such a question is unnecessary. The

behaviour of your grandfather to his father is sufficient precedent ; and sovereigns are forced to expedients which are not justifiable in other men." Conversation of this sort often passed between us ; and one evening he asked me how he might gain an opportunity of seizing his father. I replied, "An opportunity will offer thus. When he has gained the victory over Shah 'Alam, you will be the first to congratulate him. The troops will then be separated here and there in search of plunder, or looking after the dead and wounded ; and as the tents will not be ready, your father will only be under a *shamiyana* (canopy), surrounded by a few *kanats* (screens). You will be admitted to audience, attended by such of your followers as may have deserved notice for their gallant conduct in action ; and at such a time they will be allowed their arms. It is probable that your father will not have many persons with him between the *kanats*. Then is your time." The Prince eagerly exclaimed, "You have spoken well ! Dare you at such a time strike the blow ?" I replied that though the act was easy, yet a sacred oath rested on our family never to shed the blood of a prince unless by chance in battle, if engaged in the cause of a rival, when it would be excusable. I then said, "Your other opportunity will be thus. Should the enemy fly, an army will be sent in pursuit, and probably under your command, while your father, setting his mind at ease, will be employed, without suspicion, in pleasure and rejoicing. You may return suddenly upon him, and gain your wishes. Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldest son and have seen much service, he will certainly appoint you to the government of the Dakhin. You will then have a powerful army at your disposal. As your father's behaviour is offensive to the people, and many of the courtiers dislike him, they will aid your pretensions. Use open force and try for whom God will decide."

Bedar Bakht, having crossed the Chambal at an unobserved ford, the troops of 'Azimu-sh Shan, who were

stationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery at the various posts and fled to Agra, happy to save their lives. Zu-l fikar, who had advised the Prince to remain on the other side, seeing he had crossed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the success of his march. * *

Some days after this, A'zam Shah approaching near, Bedar Bakht moved a *kos* in front, the spot he was upon being chosen for his father's tents, and on the morning of his arrival he went forth two *kos* from the camp to meet him. A'zam Shah loved him as a son, though from the attention shown him by Aurangzeb he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him after a long absence, paternal fondness for the instant overcame his jealousy, and he received him with strong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely *khi'l'at*, etc.

Empire having been decreed to Shah 'Alam, from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of A'zam Shah, that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of Tur and Sallam, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth ; as was formerly the case with the Emperor Humayun during the rebellion of the Afghan Sher Shah. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence ; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.

At length Shah 'Alam, having reached Mattra, sent by a celebrated *darwesh* the following message to A'zam Shah : "By the divine auspices, we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent to shed the blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire between us. Though I am the elder son, I will leave the choice in your power." A'zam Shah, vain-glorious and haughty, replied that he would answer his brother on the

morrow in the field, and upon this the messenger departed. A'zam Shah marched the next morning, and encamped between Jaju and Agra, on a barren plain, void of water, so that the army was much distressed. Intelligence arrived during this day, that Shah 'Alam was encamped seven *kos* distant, and intended moving on the morrow, but to what quarter was not known.

I have already mentioned that my design is not to write the history of kings, but of myself and what I have seen. Accordingly, of the battle between the two brothers, I shall only relate such circumstances as I was an eye-witness of.

Prince Bedar Bakht, who commanded the advanced corps of the army, having given the necessary orders, began his march. * * The main body marched next, in the centre of which rode A'zam Shah. * * We had not yet learned the position of the enemy, or what was the design of Shah 'Alam. Bedar Bakht reached a village, near which was a stream of clear water, and there was some wells also around it. The troops at this time were much separated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved as he chose. Seeing which, I represented to the Prince, that the main body was far behind, that the country in front was destitute of water for some miles, and the day promised to be distressingly hot. Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he hasten? I remarked the scattered march of his followers; Zu-l fikar Khan obliques so far to the left as scarcely to be visible, and other chiefs were equally distant in every quarter. I observed that if he halted here till some news arrived of the enemy, there was sufficient water to refresh the troops; the artillery would come up; the Emperor would have time to join, and order would be restored in the line; also, that should the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is just. Go and inform my father I shall follow it."

It happened also that Shah 'Alam had no advice of the route of our army, and as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning despatched his main body under Mun'im Khan, while he, with his sons and personal attendants, hunted along the bank of the river Jumna. His *pesh-khana*, with the usual escort, under Rustam-dil Khan, was coming on in front of our army, in the same route as our line.

Upon delivery of my message to A'zam Shah, he replied, "Very well. Go and inform my son I am coming up." I returned to the promised place of halt, but what did I behold? The Prince had marched on, and left the village unguarded. I speeded after him, and upon gaining the line, saw a joyful scene of congratulation on victory. When the Prince saw me, he eagerly exclaimed, "I congratulate you on victory." I replied, "How comes victory without a battle?" Upon which His Highness, turning to a courier, said, "Tell Iradat Khan what you have seen." The foolish wretch then affirmed that he had seen the elephant of Shah 'Alam without a rider, and with but few attendants, running off to Agra. The Prince then said our left wing had defeated the enemy, and taken all their baggage. The cause of this imaginary victory was this. The advanced baggage of Shah 'Alam, falling in with our left wing, was attacked, and, the escort being small, was soon taken. The elephant running away belonged to Rustam-dil Khan, who commanded the escort.

The Prince, however, now ordered me to go and inform his father of the victory. * * I declined going, and observed I would not carry intelligence so very ridiculous and groundless. Upon which the Prince was angry, and exclaimed, "What do you mean?" I replied, * * "Accidents will happen to the baggage of armies, and this boasted victory is no more. Your troops have plundered his advanced tents, but woe to those who have been thus employed! If important work should now offer, they will be useless, confused as they are and en-

cumbered with spoil." To these remarks the Prince angrily exclaimed, "You are always apprehensive and foreboding ill." He then ordered Kasim, the *darogha* of his *diwan*, to carry the intelligence of victory to A'zam Shah.

Scarce half an hour after this had elapsed, when a great dust arose upon our right. Upon beholding this, I said to the Prince, "Behold the consequence of our victory, and the flight of Shah 'Alam! Yon cloud precedes at least 50,000 horse." Just as I concluded, another dust arose, which certified a second body of troops approaching. I desired His Highness to prepare for action, while yet the enemy was at some distance. He then said, "Will you now go and inform my father of the enemy's approach?" To this I replied, "Though I wish not to quit Your Highness's person, yet as I am ordered I must obey," and having said this, I rode off with speed to A'zam Shah. On my way I beheld strange disorder. Amanullah Khan, a reputed good officer, who acted as advanced guard to Prince Walajah, I met with only two or three hundred straggling horse. A'zam Shah was a *kos* and a half farther in the rear, and his troops were separated into three divisions, so that I could not easily distinguish the royal post, for the train of artillery had been left in the Dakshin. For when the commander applied for orders respecting it to A'zam Shah, he was much enraged, and passionately exclaimed, "Do men think that I will use cannon against a breeder of cattle? I will not even draw the sword, but will bruise his head with a staff."

When A'zam Shah saw me, he made a signal for me to advance; but such was the crowd I could scarce push through it. At length, having come near to his litter, I alighted from my horse, and said, "The Prince informs Your Majesty of the enemy's near approach. What shall I say?" A'zam Shah, starting as if stung by a scorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his custom when angry, pulling up his sleeve, exclaimed, "Comes an

enemy to me!" Being vexed at his manner, I replied, "So it appears." He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner, whirling a crooked staff, stood upright on his throne, and tauntingly said, "Be not alarmed, I am coming to my son." Hurt at this insult to the spirit of my prince, I said, "His Highness is son to yourself, Asylum of the World, and knoweth not fear. He only represents the enemy's approach, that Your Majesty may advance with the troops, and take the post usual for the Emperor in the day of battle." Having said this, I rode off to rejoin Bedar Bakht. * * Just as I reached him, a ball struck the breast of an attendant close to his person. * *

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a rocket's flight of our line. One of these was headed by the Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan; the other by Mun'im Khan, with whom also were the Princes Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah. Our line was so pressed upon each flank and in the rear by baggage elephants, cattle, and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops and render them useless. Shah 'Alam's artillery played upon us incessantly, and did great execution, and his sons advancing, fired showers of musketry, which fell like hail. * * * At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy's cannon, prepared to charge. * * I saw Khan 'Alam move towards the enemy with great rapidity. As he advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminished, gradually lagging behind, and not above 300 stuck by him to the charge. When I saw this, I well knew that all was lost. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant of 'Azimu-sh Shan, and hurled his spear at the Prince; but it missed him, and struck the thigh of an attendant, when the Prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khan 'Alam, and he died on the instant. * * A body of the enemy, under Baz Khan Afghan, now attacked Zulfikar Khan, but was repulsed with great loss, and the chief badly wounded; but by the decrees of Providence,

Ram Singh Hada and Dalpat Rao Bundela, on whose valour and conduct most depended, were killed at the same instant by a cannon-shot, upon which their *Rajputs* lost all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs. Zu-l fikar Khan, however, yet remained firm, with his own followers; but on being charged by the whole of 'Azimu-sh Shan's division, he left the conduct of the battle to Saiyid Muzaffar, and retired to the rear of A'zam Shah's post, with Hamidu-d din Khan, and having dismounted from his elephant, fled on horseback to Gwalior, where he was received by his father, Asad Khan. His flight determined the rout of our army.

The principal followers and personal attendants of A'am Shah now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to await the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and his brother, Husain 'Ali Khan, of the illustrious house of Barha, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed the most gallant actions, if possible superior to their sires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and there was great slaughter on both sides. Husain 'Ali Khan received several wounds and fell down faint with the loss of blood. * * At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Bedar Bakht, and he sank down dead on his elephant.

A'zam Shah, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shah 'Alam. From this now issued with a select band the Princes 'Azimu-sh Shan, Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah, and Jahan Shah. A'zam Shah soon received a mortal wound from a musket-ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Walajah also sank down in the sleep of death. I now made my escape to Agra, not choosing to go to the enemy's camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

Rustam-dil Khan, who commanded the escort of

Shah 'Alam's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his escape cut off, paid his respects to A'zam Shah, and had continued near his elephant during the battle till his death with great firmness. Seeing him dead, he ascended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpse, remounted his horse and hastened to the camp of Shah 'Alam. With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince's feet; but the compassionate Shah 'Alam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave Rustam-dil nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten. Mun'im Khan took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their harems with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. * *

Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah

I shall now relate some particulars necessary to be known concerning Shah 'Alam, his march from Kabul, and other proceedings to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother A'zam Shah.

Some time before his death, Aurangzeb had appointed Mun'im Khan to be *diwan* to Shah 'Alam, who was governor of Kabul. This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind. He soon arranged the Prince's affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confusion, owing to the ascendancy of unworthy favourites. * * A superfluous army was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and being consequently ill-paid, was ever mutinous and discontented. * * He diminished the Prince's army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, so as to leave no room for discontent, or excuse for licentiousness. * * When he heard of

Aurangzeb's illness, in order to prevent cabals in favour of A'zam Shah, he circulated a report that Shah 'Alam would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia. Shah 'Alam had himself indeed made this declaration long before, and with such apparent resolution that it was believed and dreaded even by his sons who resided with him. Mun'im Khan related to me afterwards the following anecdote in these words : "When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity, and abilities had properly impressed Shah 'Alam's mind, and that he was convinced I was a prudent, faithful, and secret servant, being alone one day with him conversing on the affairs of the empire, I took the liberty of thus addressing him : 'It is reported that Your Highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence, that even the Princes, your sons, assure me by sacred oaths of its truth.' He replied, 'In this rumour there lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement ; and should he even now think that I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother Muhammad A'zam Shah, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme of rashness, would exert all his force against me. From this report my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security ; but, by the Almighty God who gave me life' (laying his hand on the Kuran by him), 'and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet A'zam Shah in single combat, wherever he may be. This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it !'"

When news of Aurangzeb's death reached Mun'im Khan at Lahore, he wrote immediately by express to Shah 'Alam, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedi-

tion towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the Prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies. Shah 'Alam soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehli, and Mun'im Khan entered the city with a select party.* * Muhammad Yar Khan, the commander of the palace, was so awed with the *wazir's* gallantry, and the arrival of Shah 'Alam, that he saw no security for himself but in resigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treasures of Hindustan collected from the days of Akbar. * * * Mun'im Khan then advanced with some chosen troops before the Prince of Agra. * * Baki Khan, an old Imperial servant, and governor of the fortress which he had refused to resign to 'Azimu-sh Shan, being certified that Shah 'Alam was approaching, did not choose to resist longer, but sent offers, that if Mun'im Khan would come first alone into the citadel, he would resign the command. Mun'im Khan accordingly, without the least distrust, entered over a narrow plank, only passable for a single person, which was placed over a deep ditch from a small wicket to admit him. * * After refreshment, he sealed up the treasury, posted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to visit 'Azimu-sh Shan, who was encamped at the distance of six *kos*. * * Without doubt Shah 'Alam's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister.

The sons of Bahadur Shah

It is now necessary to say something of the four sons of Shah 'Alam, their dispositions and behaviour, both in public and private. Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah, the eldest, was a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave

himself no trouble about State affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be seen when I come to narrate his reign. 'Azimu-sh Shan, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners. Auragzeb had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons and employing them in public affairs; for as his sons were ambitious of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controlled them by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bakht to A'zam Shah, and 'Azimu-sh Shan to Shah 'Alam. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, from whence he had now come with a rich treasure and considerable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father and dreaded as a rival; but to relate the causes would be useless prolixity. Rafi'u-sh Shan, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music and the pomp of courtly show. He paid no attention to public affairs or even those of his own household. Khujista-akhtar Jahan Shah had the greatest share of all the Princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne, and afterwards the whole administration of the empire was influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connexion with Mun'im Khan, who, by his interest, was appointed *wazir*.

Character of Bahadur Shah : His Court

SHAH 'ALAM was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit. He had seen the strict exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above their merits; so that the

public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurangzeb, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor. Some narrow-hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion; but it is a fact that the deserving of every profession, and the worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which prior to this the eye of time had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame. His personal qualities and perfections, speech is unable to relate. His valour was such that he had resolved on meeting A'zam Shah, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat. His four sons, possessed of great power and considerable force, he suffered to be constantly near his person, never giving himself a moment's suspicion regarding them, nor preventing them forming connexions with the prime nobility; upon which subject I, the humblest of his slaves, once ventured to present him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done so to Aurangzeb. To what I represented he wrote a wise and just reply. He permitted the sons of those princes who had fallen in battle against him to appear at all times completely armed in his presence. The infant children he let remain unmolested with their mothers, while those arrived at manhood daily accompanied him to the chase unguarded, and shared in all his diversions.

His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shah Jahan. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, sat generally round his throne, in the manner following: On his right hand Jahandar Shah, his eldest son, with his three sons; his third son, Rafi'u-sh Shan, with his three sons, and Bedardil, son to his nephew, Bedar Bakht. On his left Muhammad 'Azimu-sh Shan, with his two sons, and Jahan Shah with his son. 'Ali Tabbar, the only surviving son of A'zam Shah, sat on the right hand of 'Azimu-sh Shan; and a little to the

right, somewhat advanced, the two sons of Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. Behind the royal Princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Sikandar 'Ali Shah of Bijapur, and Kutb Shah, King of Golkonda; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. How can I mention every particular of the splendid scene?

On the *'ids* and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the *betel* and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal. When in private he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious devotee, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himself in the great tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Kuran, with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians. He never missed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious or learned men. He himself related traditions (of the Prophet), in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the Holy Law. He had explored the different opinions of all sorts, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the ignorance of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a small part, therefore I will desist.

Prince Kam Bakhsh

KAM BAKHSH was a prince of an excellent memory; was

learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a *slightness* that approached near to insanity. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misbehaviour he was reproved, degraded or confined; and some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. * * What follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying visionaries! * * His flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aurangzeb. However, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments on the ladies of his *harem*, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw nor ear heard.* *

Ghaziud din Khan Firoz Jang

GHAZIUD din Khan Firoz Jang, who had acquired a most powerful influence in the Dakhin, and was chief of the Turani Mughals, kept on foot a great army. He had withdrawn himself from A'zam Shah, and he was also much in dread of Shah 'Alam's resentment, because he had advised that Prince's being confined when Aurangzeb was before Golkonda. He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man; therefore, whatever wishes he might have to enjoy the honour of making an Emperor, yet he soon saw the follies of Kam Bakhsh, and declined his cause as ruinous and lost. * * Mun'im Khan Khan-khanan opened a correspondence with Ghaziud din, to whom he gave much consolation, assurances of favour,

and friendly advice. That experienced statesman, opening his eyes on the vicissitudes of life, saw it was his interest, if His Majesty would forget the past and not molest him in his fortune, to bend his head in submission and retire from business to a life of devotion. His only son, Chin Kalich Khan, had long disagreed with him, and his brother, Hamid Khan, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had separated from him and gone over to the presence. The Turan chiefs of his household also, when they saw his fortunes on the decline, had left his service. All these events made him glad to embrace the promises of the minister and thankfully accept the *subadari* of Ahmadabad in Gujarat.

Intrigues of the four Princes

THE four Princes were constantly intriguing against each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occasioned much delay and confusion in business, so that the Khan-khanan thought it happy to steer his vessel safe through four such great seas, and could not act so independently as he wished, being obliged to attend to the capricious interests of others, among which he found it difficult to preserve his own.

Among the remarkable occurrences was the decline of Jahan Shah's influence with his father, and the rise of that of 'Azimu-sh Shan, of whom till now the Emperor had even been suspicious. The Prince Jahan Shah was of haughty and independent spirit, ready to take fire on the smallest neglect. This, with the behaviour of his servants, alarmed and displeased the Khan-khanan, who for his own safety watched an opportunity to destroy the Prince's influence in public affairs: a task of no great difficulty to one well acquainted with the disposition of Shah 'Alam, almost equally warm with his son, who had more than once displeased him by his behaviour. The Prince upon this thought to prove his disinterestedness and independence by neglecting to frequent the *darbar*,

and engage in business as usual. 'Azimu-sh Shan, who had reaped experience in office, and was well versed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving coolness taking place between Jahan Shah and the Khan-khanan, paid so much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees he gained his confidence. This gave still more offence to Jahan Shah, who had too much pride to expostulate, but neglected the minister in return. He soon after fell sick, and his indisposition continuing a long time, gave 'Azimu-sh Shan ample opportunities of acquiring influence over Shah 'Alam. * * * 'Azimu-sh Shan, having thus gained the credit he aimed at with his father and the minister, employed it in softening the rigour of government against those who laboured under its displeasure; thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily return his favours, by embracing his cause, whenever the death of his father should give him a claim to the empire.

Death and Character of Khan-khandan

THE Khan-khanan [*having invested the fort to which the Sikhs had retreated*], sure of having the Guru in his power, gave orders for his troops to cease their attack till the morning should enable him to finish it with success. He had, however, unluckily neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, either because he had not perceived it, or was satisfied that it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were posted. * * During the night the Guru changed his dress, and left the fort undiscovered. The Khan-khanan about dawn renewed the attack, and gained the place after a short struggle, sword in hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the Guru dead or alive to the Emperor, whose displeasure at his disobedience of orders² would by this service be changed to approbation; but who can relate his weight of grief and disappointment on finding that his promised prize had escaped, without leaving a trace

² He had been directed not to assault without orders.

behind him? * * He for an instant lost almost the use of his faculties, which were absorbed in dread of the Emperor's anger, and not without reason. As he was, agreeably to custom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph on his way to the royal tents, orders arrived commanding him to stop the drums, and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents. * * * Shah 'Alam, regarding his former services, received him again into favour after a few days; but this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude. This grief, added to the pain of seeing three of the Princes and the *Amir-ul umara* using all their arts to complete his ruin, stuck like a poisoned arrow in his breast. He lost all satisfaction in worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.), who never in the uncounted ages of his office seized on a soul more pure and less defiled with the frailties of human nature.

Death of Bahadur Shah

SHAH 'Alam Bahadur Shah died on the 21st Muharram, 1124 A.H. (18th February, 1712 A.D.). * * It happened that one day as Jahandar Shah and 'Azimu-sh Shan were sitting near his bed, the latter perceiving under a corner of his pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Jahandar Shah, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic. He started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, he rode off to his tents with all the speed and hurry possible. This

occasioned much alarm in the camp. I met the Prince with his attendants, pushing on his elephant with frantic haste, upon seeing which I endeavoured to pass unobserved; but he knew me and sent a messenger to call me. As I had previously attached myself to 'Azimu-sh Shan, I did not obey the mandate, but passed on to the Emperor's tents. * * The *Amiru-l umara* called for me, and desired me to send my grandson 'Inayatu-llah to 'Azimu-sh Shan, to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and slight as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of hundred, written in the hand of his confidant as follows: "As the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this Court, and most have already repaired to it, the *Amiru-l umara* must also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception in the presence." When the *Amiru-l umara* read this, he shed tears, and said to me, with much emotion, "You see the manners of the Prince and his advisers. Alas! the errors of a favourite unacquainted with government often endanger the very existence of the master." * * After saying this, he collected his followers, and moved his tents and effects to the quarter of Prince Jahandar, where he thought his services most likely to answer his own interest. * * He had formerly been disgusted with 'Azimu-sh Shan, for preferring to himself the Khan-khanan and Mahabat Khan, and he now swore to assist the three brothers in effecting his destruction, and in making an equal division of the empire and treasures among them.

Jahandar Shah

WHEN Jahandar Shah, by the intrigues and support of the *Amiru-l umara* Zu-l fikir Khan, had triumphed over his three brothers, and ascended the throne of empire, without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the customs of time were changed. He was himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person, fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had

also blemishes and vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious ancestors. He made the vast empire of Hindustan an offering to the foolish whims of a courtesan. The delations, friends and minions of the mistress usurped absolute authority in the State; and high offices, great titles and unreasonable grants from the Imperial domains were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two *krors* of rupees annually were settled for only the household expenses of the mistress, exclusive of her clothes and jewels. * *

The *Amirul umara* Zu-l fikar Khan, seater, nay even creator of emperors, with such a puppet of humanity in his hands, became absolute and filled with pride. He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put great men to death, or disgrace them that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He established such exactions and abuses as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a hand so sparing that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed *jagirs* to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near and distant, friends and strangers, were turned against him and wished his destruction. Hindus and Musulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of a hundred years.

Kokaltash Khan, foster-brother of Jahandar Shah, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of *Khan-Jahan*. His wife, daughter, and whole family also possessed great influence with Jahandar, and claimed from him the performance of a promise he had of the office of *wazir*. At the same time they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of Zu-l fikar Khan *Amirul umara*. With this

view all their relations and dependents were raised to a high rank, and a great number of the nobility, distressed by the pride and rapacity of Zu-l fikar Khan, joined their party. They insinuated to the Emperar that the *Amiru-l umara* entertained designs too ambitious for a subject, to attain which he would dare to shed the blood of princes; that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to seize the throne for himself, or if he found that too dangerous, to bestow it on one of the confined princes more favourable to his will than His Majesty.

The weak Jahandar, unendowed with the least judgment or courage, was alarmed almost to madness with the frightful picture of his own situation; but he had not firmness to oppose the dreaded evils, nor sense to keep his fears secret. The intrigues of Kokaltash Khan soon became evident to the whole Court, and only served to stimulate the vigilance of Zu-l fikar Khan, who took measures for his own safety by removing his enemies. Rustam-dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and some others were put to death, and a great number of the nobility cast into confinement on various pretences. The family of the late Khan-khanan (Mun'im Khan) was reduced so low as to want the common necessities of life. In short, the disposition of the *Amiru-l umara* changed altogether from gentleness to the highest pitch of tyranny, so that he now punished with cruelty the persons who had years before, knowingly or otherwise, given him the slightest causes of offence. I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of the late Bedar Bakht, and frequently warned the late Emperor against his aspiring views, had also been the friend and confidant of his late mortal enemy, the Khan-khanan, and of a different party in the late struggle, had not a hope of escaping from his hands, or those of Jahandar Shah, who had commanded me to be searched for and put to death.

Thinking it vain to attempt concealment in Lahore, I wrote the following verses: "I am of the family of 'Ali, * * * of the family of which thou art head: look

not on me, but upon our mutual ancestors," and sent them to him by my grandson, who was much in his favour. He invited me to see him, * * * and upon his solemn oath that he meant no injury to me, I went without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed as usual, and treated me in every way with much kindness, more than I had expected; after which he dismissed me with assurances of protection. He the same day asked the Emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately passed; but His Majesty observed, that though he forgave, he would not on any account employ me in his service. The *Amir-ul umara*, too, made me promise that I would not accept any office in the State otherwise than through his patronage. I complied with this desire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a state which had in fact no head; for the ministry was a collection of petty tyrants and abusers of power.

In the height of his power and authority, all at once a report was heard that the Prince Farrukh Siyar, son to the martyred 'Azimu-sh Shan, had marched from Bengal towards Bihar, intending to revenge his father's death and seize the throne. * * Great numbers of the Imperial servants wished secretly for the success of this rebellion. Zu-l fikar Khan advised Jahandar not to remain more than a week in Dehli, but to proceed to Agra, and if necessary to the eastern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impressed fully in the breasts of his subjects while Farrukh Siyar refused to pay allegiance. Jahandar Shah, on his arrival at Dehli, fascinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his minister, and chose to remain, indulging himself in low pleasures, moving only from place to palace, and garden to garden. Kokaltash Khan and his party persuaded him that the *Amir-ul umara* had excited this rebellion, and had engaged privately with Farrukh Siyar, to whom he would deliver His Majesty a prisoner,

should he prevail upon him to march from the capital. These ideas served to increase the fears of the weak Jahandar Shah. He would often exclaim, "I did not kill 'Azimu-sh Shan; it was the *Amiru-l umara*, who must now go and answer the claims of his son for satisfaction." The other plans of an Emperor who was thus overcome by fear may easily be guessed, and need no explanation. The *Amiru-l umara*, offended at the distrust of his master, did not attend as he ought to business, but employed his time also in pleasure, and forwarding his own immediate interest.

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan Barha and his brother Husain 'Ali Khan had gained great honour by their behaviour in the service of A'zam Shah, after whose death they attached themselves to 'Azimu-sh Shan, by whom they were honoured, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter with that of the province of Bihar. * * 'Abdu-llah Khan pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours in order to avoid further trouble from the Court, but which he had resolved to serve no longer than he found necessary. When Farrukh Siyar arrived in Bihar, he was immediately joined by Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan, who was faithfully attached to him as the son of his patron, 'Azimu-sh Shan.

On the night of the 13th Zi-l ka'da, intelligence was received that the Saiyids had by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gao-ghat, and crossed the river with their advanced corps and all their artillery; also that Farrukh Siyar with his whole army intended to follow next day. * * A little after midday the battle began. * * Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confusion took place. * * Numbers fled, but the *Amiru-l umara* stood firm, and the enemy was kept long at a stand by his gallantry and steadiness; but he was ill supported, though Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan fell wounded in the field, and Chhablia Ram was not more successful in his charge on Kokaltash Khan. It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were

thus doubtful; but just then Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan charged Jahandar Shah, who stood with his troops already alarmed, some distance in the rear of the *Amiru-l umara*. They scarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confusion on all sides. * * Thus, in the space of a few hours, one government was destroyed and another became possessed of absolute authority. The robe of empire graced the august person of Farrukh Siyar, who sounded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the service of any one, I remained in the field till the *Amiru-l umara* had retired, when, thinking it best to provide for my own safety, I entered the city about a hundred persons who sought my protection. * * In the morning I wrote to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendship, expressing my desire of leave to visit him, and to be introduced to the new Emperor. He replied to my letter with kindness, * * and next morning, when Farrukh Siyar entered the city, I was allowed to pay him my respects.

LETTERS OF AURANGZEB

To Shah A'zam Shah

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which has passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me; but nothing remains of me but skin and bone. My son (Kam Bakhsh), though gone towards Bijapur, is still near; and thou my son are

yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shah 'Alam, is far distant ; and my grandson ('Azimu-sh Shan), by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindustan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself, full of alarms, restless as quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet regarding my actions, fear will not quit me ; but when I am gone reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel in the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bakht), whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begam (his daughter) appears afflicted ; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell. Farewell. Farewell.

To the Prince Kam Bahsh

My son, nearest to my heart ! Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the Divine will, you did not attend with the ear of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me ? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence ! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great ; but, alas ! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the power of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and has left not even hope behind it. I have

committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. A'zam Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or that their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shah is till where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindustan. Bedar Bakht is in Gujarat. Hayatu-n Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begam as without concern. Udipur, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, haver deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shukoh, though of much judgement and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what effences I have done unto yourself, that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul, but I see that mine is departing.

TARIKH-I BAHADUR SHAHI

[THIS is a small anonymous work extending from the death of Aurangzeb to the accession of Muhammad Shah, written, as the author states, forty years after the death of Aurangzeb, and therefore in 1747 A.D. As its title indicates, Bahadur Shah is its leading subject, and the history of the reign of that monarch takes up about half

the volume. It is written in a prolix tedious style. The reign of Bahadur Shah was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by "Lt. Anderson, 25th Native Infantry," but there is very little in it which has not been told far better elsewhere. A few short Extracts follow. There are two copies of the work among the MSS. One is a small 8vo. of 138 pages of nine lines each.]

EXTRACTS

When the news of that "unavoidable event," the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb, reached Dehli, an extraordinary commotion spread through Hindustan, and wonderful events followed. On the third day after it became known in Dehli, on the 21st Zi-l ka'da, 1118 of the holy Hijra (18th February, 1707), after sunset and before the cry to evening prayer, such a noise arose on the west as might be taken as a sample of the noise there will be at the day of judgment. If hundreds of thousands of men were to collect together and simultaneously raise the most dreadful shouts, there would be no resemblance to that noise. It exceeds all my powers to describe it. Forty years have passed up to this time, but that strange noise is still in my ears, and whoever heard it must certainly remember it. The noise lasted for about half an hour, and then subsiding, nothing was heard of it after the lapse of two hours.

On account of the death of Aurangzeb, and in consequence of the confusion in Hindustan, the price of grain in all the provinces remained unsettled. In some places it was more, in others less. Thus in the first year after the death of His Majesty, in 1119 of the Hijra, the price of grain in Dehli became known to Asafu-d daula, viz. the rate at which it was sold for ready money. Wheat was twenty *sirs* per rupee; barley twenty-seven *sirs*; gram twenty-five *sirs*; *suhkdas* rice ten *sirs*; *dal mung* (a kind of vetch) fifteen *sirs*; *mash* (pulse) eighteen *sirs*; *moth*

twenty *sirs*; 'adas eighteen *sirs*; ghi two *sirs*; pungent oil (*raughan-i talkh*) seven *sirs*; red sugar twelve *sirs*.

When Bahadur Shah arrived at Burhanpur (on his march against Kam Bakhsh), a severe pestilence (*waba*) broke out amongst the royal troops. Those attacked suffered from such unnatural heat that they generally died in the course of a week, and those who lived longer than a week, after undergoing great pain and torment, recovered. The army continued its march towards Haidarabad. Twenty rupees was the hire paid to the porters for carrying a sick man for a march of three *kos*. Pioneers were sent on ahead of the camp to dig graves, and when the army reached its new camping ground, the tents were filled on one side, and graves upon the other.

At the time the army was marching southwards towards Burhanpur, Guru Gobind, one of the grandsons of Nanak, had come into these districts to travel, and accompanied the royal camp. He was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics, and all sorts of people. One day an Afghan, who frequently attended these meetings, was sitting listening to him, when certain expressions, unfit for the ears of the faithful, fell from the tongue of the *Guru*. The Afghan was enraged, and regardless of the *Guru's* dignity and importance, he gave him two or three stabs with a knife and killed him.

The son of Jahandar Shah was Sultan 'Azizu-d din. The sons of 'Azimu-sh Shan were Sultan Farrukh Siyar, Sultan Karimu-d din, and Sultan Humayun Bakht. The sons of Khujista Akhtar Jahan Shah were Sultan Far-khanda Akhtar the eldest; the second Roshan Akhtar, afterwards the Emperor Muhammad Shah; the third son was Sultan Mubarak Akhtar, also called Achhi Miyan.

The son of Prince Rafi'u-sh Shan was Rafi'd Daraja. The son of 'Ali Jah was 'Ali Tabar. The sons of Bedar Bakht were Bedar Dil, Sa'id Bakht, and Hayatu-llah. The sons of Prince Kam Bakhsh were Sultan Muhiu-s Sunnat, and Yahyau-s Sunnat. Of the grandsons of Shah Jahan and sons of Dara Shukoh were Dara Bakhsh, Yazdan Bakhsh, and Sultan Sipih Shukoh.

TARIKH-I SHAH 'ALAM BAHADUR SHAH OF DANISHMAND KHAN

[THIS is another history of Bahadur Shah, but it reaches only to the month of Rajab, in the second year of his reign. It is the work of Danishmand Khan, already noticed in (*Wakai*, of Ni'amat Khan). The author is best known by his title *Ni'amat Khan*, but in the present volume he calls himself Danishmand Khan, and tells us that he had received the title of *Mukarrab Khan* in the reign of Aurangzeb. It appears also from this work, that he wrote a book called *Badshah-nama*,¹ which was presented to the Emperor, and for which he received an augmentation of his *mansab*. The work is divided into months; and the two years and few months fill 262 leaves of fourteen lines to the page. It is written in an ambitious style, and abounds with quotations from the Arabic and of Persian verse.]

'IBRAT-NAMA OF MUHAMMAD KASIM

THIS work is sometimes called *Tarikh-i Bahadur-Shahi*. It is a well-written history, composed by Muhammad Kasim, who describes himself as a dependent of *Amiru-l umara* Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan. It commences with the death of Aurangzeb, and terminates with the death of

¹ Probably the same as the *Shah-nama* referred to in *Wakai*, of Ni'amat Khan.

Kutb-ul Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, the author having accomplished his purpose of writing a history of the times of the two great Saiyids of Barha. One copy I have in small octavo contains 224 pages of eighteen lines to a page. Another imperfect copy of a work of the same name, and by the same author, carries the history down to A.D. 1736. The language also occasionally varies, so that it is probable the latter may be a second edition of the former, especially as it seems to be more elaborately got up, and to be written in a more polished style. There are, however, several works known by this name, and there is a later history bearing this title.

The following is a list of the contents, with the number of pages occupied by each chapter :

Reasons of writing the *'Ibrat-nama*, 2 pp.—Cause of the author's becoming an attendant in the Court of *Amir-ul umara* Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan the Martyr, 9 pp.—Account of the Death of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir, 11 pp.—Happy Accession of Bahadur Shah to the Imperial Throne, 11 pp.—March of Muhammad A'zam Shah with the object of making war against Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah. The armies meet in the field of Haju in the vicinity of Agra, 5 pp.—Battle between Muhammad A'zam Shah and Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah and his sons. Victory gained by the latter, 4 pp.—Rejoicings at the victory of Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah. Rewards and gifts granted by him to his old and new servants, attendants and relations, 18 pp.—Departure of Bahadur Shah towards the Dakhin against Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, 2 pp.—His return into Hindustan after gaining the victory over Kam Bakhsh, his younger brother, 13 pp.—Disturbances caused by the Sikhs in the Panjab. Ruin of Sirhind. Eulogy of Nanak Shah Fakir, 2 pp.—War of the four Princes close to the garden of Shalimar in Lahore, 42 pp.—The two Princes Jahan Shah and Rafi'u-Shan. War with Muhammad Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah, 12 pp.—Happy accession of Muhammad Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah to the

Imperial Throne of Dehli, 11 pp.—Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, hearing the news of the battles of the four Princes at Lahore, prepares to take revenge for his father and brother, 7 pp.—The troops of Sultan 'Azzu-d din, son of Jahandar Shah, defeated by the two Saiyids. His flight, 10 pp.—Muhammad Farrukh Siyar's Accession to the Throne at Agra, 12 pp.—Isa Khan, *Zamindar* of the Doab, his family and relations, all killed by Shahdad Khan, an Afghan of Kasor, 19 pp.—Cause of disturbance in the Government of Farrukh Siyar, 3 pp.—Nawab Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan appointed to superintend the affairs of the Rajputs of Ajmir and of the great *amirs*, and to bring Raja Ajit Singh's daughter to Farrukh Siyar, 6 pp.—Farrukh Siyar marries the daughter of Raja Ajit Singh Rathor on the banks of the Ravi, 7 pp.—The *Subadari* of the Dakhin committed to the charge of Husain 'Ali Khan, and that of the Eastern Division to Hamla Bahadur, 6 pp.—Muhammad Rafi'u-d Darajat raised to the throne; death of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, 4 pp.—Tumults and seditions at Agra. Prince Neku Siyar raised to the throne; Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan's march to Agra with Rafi'u-d Daula Shah Jahan the Second. Reduction of the fort of Agra, 14 pp.—Accession of Muhammad Ghazi to the throne, by the aid of the Saiyids, at Fathpur, 19 pp.—Disturbances at Allahabad by Giridhar Bahadur, brother of Raja Chhabila; Haidar Kuli Khan sent against him; departure of Raja Ratan Bahadur, 4 pp.—Muhammad Shah's departure towards the Dakhin; Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan killed by the treachery of a Mughal, 36 pp.—News of Saiyid Husain Khan being killed received by Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, his elder brother; and his affliction, 23 pp.—War between Muhammad Amin Khan and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan Kutbu-l Mulk; capture of the aforesaid Saiyid, 13 pp.

Size of one copy 9½ inches by 7—108 pages of 12 lines each.

[There are four copies of this work among Sir H. M. Elliot's MSS.]

EXTRACTS

[The exaltation of the Saiyids ('Abdu-llah and Husain 'Ali Khan) exceeded all conception, and passed the bounds of description. They became envied by many of the nobles, and their names were upon every tongue. Mir Jumla on his part never lost an opportunity of making malicious insinuations and charges against Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and he especially complained that the Saiyid, in pursuit of his own pleasure, had left all the control of business in the hands of Ratan Chand, who had a maw as insatiable as the nethermost hell for swallowing gold and silver. Against the younger brother *Amiru-l umara* Saiyid 'Ali Khan, it was alleged that his bearing was proud and haughty, unbecoming in a subject. By such insinuations the mind of the Emperor was poisoned. Khan-dauran was ostensibly intimate and friendly with the two brothers, but he considered himself one of the most trusted counsellors of the Emperor. He was never absent from Court night or day, and whatever entered his mind, whether exalted or low, pleasant or unpleasant, he imparted to the Emperor. * * It was often proposed that the two brothers should be seized in the Emperor's private council chamber, and committed to close confinement.]

Murder of Husain 'Ali Khan

[The chief nobles having, according to practice, attended the Emperor to his tents, where returning to their own quarters, *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali, unmindful of the designs of his enemies, proceeded to his tents in a *palki*, escorted by seven or eight of his attendants. Muhammad Amin Khan, Sa'adat Khan, and some other of the conspirators, were with him. Muhammad Amin resorted to artifice, and pretending to be faint, he wished to lie down on the ground. He was brought round by means of rose-water and musk. Thereupon he directed that they should bring to him Haidar Kuli Khan, the commander of the artillery. They ran to fetch that crafty partner in the

conspiracy. At this time there were only two or three of the attendants and valiant brothers of the Saiyid near his *palki*. A man named Haidar Beg, from the station of Muhammad Amin, accompanied by several Mughals, came forward complaining of Muhammad Amin, and desiring to present a petition. * * The attendants wanted to take the petition from his hands, but he would not allow them. The *Amir-ul umara* kindly told them to let the man approach. Haidar Beg advanced to present the petition, and as the *Amir* took it, the assassin drew a dagger from his waist, and stuck the *Amir* in the side, so that he rolled out of the *palki*, and his blood spurted over the by-standers. He called out, "Will no one come to my aid?" and as he lay with his bowels protruding, he cried, "Bring me a horse, I will ride." A youth of fourteen years of age, named Saiyid Mir Khan, son of the *Amir's* elder brother Asadu-llah Khan Bahadur, was walking near the *palki*, and as soon as he saw what was passing, he cried out, "Some rascals are killing the *Nawab*!" Then he attacked Haidar Beg fiercely with his short sword, and wounded him in two or three places, stretching him dead upon the ground beside his victim. The other Mughals attacked the youth, and slew him with many wounds. The murdered *Nawab's* head was then cut off, and carried to Muhammad Amin Khan, and those who bore it expected great rewards in fulfilment of the promises made to them.]

Death of Kutbu-l Mulh Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

[The Mughals at length so worked upon the Emperor by their importunities and artifices, that he consented to the poisoning of the Saiyid.]

TARIKH-I HAFIZ ABRU

Nuru-d din bin Lutfu-llah, better known as Hafiz Abru, was born in the city of Hirat, but passed his infancy and youth in Hamadan, where he received his education. He attained by his writings a distinguished rank among con-

temporary authors, and was fortunate enough to secure the esteem of Timur, who gave him numerous proofs of his consideration, admitted him to his intimacy, and sought every occasion of doing him service. After the death of that tyrant, he attended the court of Shah Rukh, and received from the young prince Mirza Baisanghar every demonstration of kindness and regard. To him he dedicated his great work, under the name of *Zubdatu-t-Tawarikh Baisanghari*, which contains a complete history of the world, and an account of the institutions and religions of different people down to A.H. 829¹ (A.D. 1425). The author died five years afterwards in the city of Zanjan.² A short notice is given of him in the *Tarikh-i Chaghatai*.

The work is more generally known as *Tarikh-i Hafiz Abru*, and under that name it is quoted by Haidar Razi, Mirkhoud, Khondamir, and the *Tarikh-i Alfi*, and by Abu-l Fazl in the *Ayin-i Akbari* as a fabulist. D'Herbelot refers to it, and Sir W. Ouseley frequently quotes it in his *Travels* as abounding in geographical details.

I have never seen the work, nor am I aware that a copy exists in India, but it is frequently quoted as an authority on subjects connected with Indian History. The only copies in Europe which are spoken of are those in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, and in Sir Gore Ouseley's Collection.

[Sir H. Elliot subsequently had access to a copy of this work belonging to John Bardoe Elliot, and among his MSS. there is a volume containing extracts

¹ Sir W. Ouseley, as editor of the "Critical Essay on various Manuscript Work," says that he has examined a copy of this History dated A.H. 817. He also observes that as Hafiz Abru had travelled in many parts of Asia, his geographical statements, which are numerous, are well worthy of consideration. The Vienna Jahrbucher says, the history is carried down to A.H. 825. See Sadik Istahani's Chron. Tab. a. 829. [It could not have been written earlier, for the table of contents shows that it extended beyond 820 H., and it quotes the *Zafar-nama*, which was written in 827 H.]

² For its position see Index to Wilken's *Historia Samanidarum*, p. 222, v. *Zendschan*.

copied from it by a *munshi* at Patna. These extracts comprise the introductory part of the work and the portions relating to the history of Kirman. From this volume the following synopsis of the Contents and the Extracts have been translated. A large portion of the work is confessedly borrowed without alteration or addition from older historians, from Tabari, Rashidu-d din, and the *Zafar-nama*. The table of Contents gives no clue as to the extent and value of the part devoted to India, but the work is so frequently quoted by later writers that the Indian portion would seem to be original and of some length. The Extract is a specimen of the author's method, and will afford the means of forming a judgment as to his worth as a geographer.]³

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

Form of the earth.—The Creation.—Division into Climes.—The equator.—Oceans.—Seas.—Rivers.—Mountains.—Countries of Arabia.—Countries of the West.—Cities of the West.—Distances in the Countries of the West.—Andalusia.—Islands of Rum and the Ocean.—Countries of Egypt.—Holy Temples.—Armenia and Syria.—Frangistan.—Mesopotamia.—Irak.—Khuzistan.—Fars and its provinces ; Persepolis ; Territories of Darabjard, Ardashir, Shahpur, and Kubad.—Islands, Rivers, Seas, Valleys, Forts, and Distances of Fars.—Kings and Rulers of Fars, Dilamites, Saljuks, Atabaks, Nobles of Changiz Khan, Rulers after Abu Sa'id.—Kirman.—Rulers of Kirman.—Abiward.—Countries of Khurasan.—Rulers of Khurasan.—The Ummayyides, Preface, with a Map.

Volume I.—Preface.—Reasons for writing the history ; Definition of history ; Nature of the science, bene-

³ Compare *Coll. Or.* Tom I. p. ciii., and II. p. lv. Wiken, *Hist. Ghaznevidarum*, pp. xiv., 212, 227, 244. *Gesch. d. Gold Horde*, pp. xvi. and xxii. *Wien Jahrb.* No. lxxiii. pp. 21, 25. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Tom. III. p. 426. *Critical Essay*, p. 34. Mirkhond, *Rauzat-u-Safa*, Vol. I p. 8. Fraehn, *Indications Bibliographiques*, No. 188. Gosche's Berlin Extracts from Haidar Razi. Dorn's *Geschichte Tabaristans*. Haji Khalifa II 124, III. 535. *Journ. des Sav.*, Jan. 1847.

fits of history.—List of the subjects treated of in the 469 sections of this work founded on the work of Muhammad bin Tabari, from the Creation down to the Khalifa Muktafi bi-llah.—The remainder of the 'Abbaside Khalifas from the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*.

The histories extracted from the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* are comprised in two volumes. The first containing the *Tarikh-i Ghazan* is divided into two Babs. The first Bab contains four sections, and the second two sections, comprising the history of the various Turk and Mughal princes, and of Changiz Khan and his successors, down to Uljaitu Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda. The second Bab comprises the history of the Ghaznivides, Dilamites, Buwaihides, Saljuks, Khwarizmshahis, Shalghazis of Fars, Ism'ailis in two chapters, Ughuz and the Turks, Khatai, Children of Israel, Franks, Indians.

History of the kings who reigned in Tabriz, Baghdad, and those parts from the year 705 A.H., which closes the history of Rashidi, as the events are related in the *Zafar-nama* and the *Tarikh-i Hazrat Saltanat Shi'ari*.—Uljaitu Sultan and his successors.—The Kings who reigned in Yazd, Kirman, Shiraz, and Isfahan.—Princes of Hirat and parts of Khurasan.—Princes of Mazandaran, Sarbadaris of Naishapur and Sabzawar.—Arghun Shah of Tus and Mashhad.—'Usman, Murad, and Bayazid of Rum.—Kings of Egypt.—Kings of the Franks.

History of Timur and his successors from the *Zafar-nama* to the end of the year 820, to be completed from other sources to the end of the dynasty.]

EXTRACT

RIVER SIND.—This river has its source in the skirts of the mountains of Kashmir, and runs from the western side of those mountains into the country of Mansura. Its course is from north to south, the end turning to the east. In the neighbourhood of Multan, the river Jamd joins it, and it flows into the Indian sea, which is called the Bahru-i akhzar.

River Jamd.—The source of this river is also in the mountains of Kashmir, on the south side.—It runs from north to south and passes into the land of Hind.—Its waters are used for agriculture and gardening.—Agriculture in these parts is generally dependent on the rain.—In the neighbourhood of Multan it joins the Sind, and falls into the Bahru-l akhzar.

Biyah.—This is also a large river which rises to the east of the mountains of Kashmir.—It runs into the country of Lahawar (Lahore), and to the neighbourhood of Uch.—It falls into the sea in the country of Kambaya.

Jamna.—This is a large river which has its rise in the Siwalik hills to the north of Dehli.—It passes to the east of that city and joins the Indian sea near Gujarat.—In the reign of Sultan Feroz Shah, 760 A.H., the countries (about this river) were very flourishing, for in the *Doab*, which is the name given to the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, there were 80,000 villages enrolled as paying revenue to the exchequer.—It has been said in reply to this statement, that it rests with the author to prove it.

Ganges.—This is a large river in India to the east of the Jumna.—In the Hindi language it is called Gangu. Its source is on the east of the country of Kanauij.—The longitude of Kanauij is 114 degrees 50 minutes, and the latitude 26 degrees 35 minutes. Where the river passes Kanauij, it is forty parasangs from that city, this adds two degrees more. When Sahib Kiran, the fire of God (Timur), formed the design of conquering Hindustan in the year 801 A.H., after capturing Dehli, he crossed the Jumna, and led his forces through this country until he reached the Ganges. Crossing that river, he came to a celebrated place of worship of the Fire-worshippers (*gabran*) of India, where he fought against the infidels and slew many of them. There are other large rivers to the east of this which are mentioned by men who have travelled in India; but names, sources, and embouchures, have not been accurately stated. So also there are many

large rivers in China, but it is not known whether they run to the east or to the west, nor where they rise, nor where they discharge. They are therefore passed over.]

TARIKH-I MUBARAK-SHAHI

OF

YAHYA BIN AHMAD

THE author of this work, Yahya bin Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindi,—or Sihrindi, the older form of the name which he uses,—wrote this work, as Firishta tells us, with the express object of recording the events of the reign of Mubarak Shah, whose name he has given to the history. The work commences with the reign of Muhammad Sam, the founder of the Ghorî dynasty, and the only copy of the MS. available terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultan Saiyid Muhammad, in 852 A.H., (A.D. 1448); how much, if any, later the history extended, we have at present no means of deciding. In his Preface the author informs us that he wrote this work in the hope of presenting an acceptable tribute to his sovereign, for "no more worthy offering can be made to a king than a record of the achievements of his predecessors." Up to the time of the accession of Firoz Shah, he acknowledges his obligations to "various histories;" from and after that period he wrote upon "trustworthy information and personal observation." As to his own position and connexions he is quite silent.

Yahya has no claims to be ranked as an historian, but he is a careful, and apparently an honest chronicler. His work is the source of all our knowledge of the Saiyid dynasty. Nizam-ud din Ahmad refers to the *Tarikh-i Mubarak-Shahi* as an authority in his Preface to the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, and his whole account of the Saiyid period is a mere reproduction of the statements of that work, very often copied *verbatim*. Badauni acknowledges his obligations to the work, and follows it very closely, but he uses language of his own, and but rarely copies

from his predecessor. Firihta twice refers to this history, and he often borrows its very words. So Yahya is not only a contemporaneous writer, but the only original authority available upon the times of the Saiyids.

The MS. in Sir H. M. Elliot's library is a copy that was made for him, and bears no statement as to the original from which it was taken. A note of Sir Henry's in another place seems to show that he received a copy of the work from Madras. The MS. is in fair handwriting, but it is full of errors, the production of a mere scribe, who brought no special knowledge or intelligence to bear upon his work. It is deficient in a few places, but this is probably owing to the original MS. having here and there lost a leaf. As the work is thus defective and ends abruptly a few years before the extinction of the Saiyid dynasty, the *Tabakat-i Akbari* has been called upon to repay a portion of its obligations. The missing pages have been supplied from that work, and from it the translation has also been carried down to the close of the Saiyid rule, completing at once this historical era. The translation is the work of the editor. The MS. is a small octavo consisting of 263 pages of thirteen lines in a page.

EXTRACTS

Reign of Sultan Firoz Shah

IN the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.), on the 3rd Jumada-l awwal, Prince Muhammad Khan was born in the capital (*shahr*). * * In this same year (the Sultan) founded the *masjid-i jami'* near the palace, and the college at the top of the *hauz-i khass*; * * and Kiwamu-l Mulk Makbul, *naib-wazir*, became *wazir* of the State, and received the title of Khan-i Jahan. * *

In the year 755 H. (1354 A.D.), the Sultan marched with an army against Lakhnauti, leaving Khan-i Jahan at the capital in charge of all affairs of State. * * When he reached Kurakhur, Adi Singh waited upon him, and offering a tribute of twenty *lacs* of *tankas* in cash and two

elephants, was received into favour. On the 28th Rabi'ul-awwal, he arrived at the fort of Ikdala, and some hard fighting ensued. The Bengalis were defeated, and many were slain. Shah Deo, their leader, with several others, was killed. On the 29th of the month, the army marching from that place, encamped on the banks of the Ganges. Ilyas Haji was shut up in the fort, and on the 5th Rabi'ul-akhir, he marched out with his countless Bengali followers and forces. The Sultan marshalled his army, and as soon as Ilyas Haji beheld it, he was dismayed and fled. The army (of the Sultan) made the attack; the canopy and forty elephants were captured, and innumerable horsemen and infantry became food for the sword. For two days after the Sultan remained encamped, and on the third he marched for Dehli. Some months afterwards he founded the great city Firozabad.

In the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.), the Sultan proceeded to Dibalpur, and conducted a stream (*ju*) from the river Satladar (Sutlej), for a distance of forty *kos* as far as Jhajjar. In the following year he brought the stream of Firozabad from the mountains of Mandati (*sic*) and Sirmor, and having thrown into it seven distinct streams, he conducted it to Hansi. From thence he led it to Araman, and there he built a strong fort, which he called Hisar Firozah. Below the palace (*kushk*), he dug an extensive tank, and filled it with the waters of that canal. He formed another canal from the Khakhar (Khagar), to the fort of Sarsuti, and from thence to Harbi-khir.¹

¹ Firishta closely follows our author, and helps us to understand him. There are several inaccuracies in the passage as given in Briggs' translation, so the following is offered as a more correct rendering of the lithographed text. "In the month Sha'ban, 756 H. (the Sultan) went towards Dipalpur hunting, and having dug a large canal (*ju*) from the river Sutlej, he conducted it to Jhajjar, forty-eight *kos* distant. In 757 he cut a canal from the river Jumna, in the hills of Mandawi and Sirmor, and having turned seven other streams into it, he brought it to Hansi, and from thence to Abasin, where he built a strong fort which he called Hisar Firozah. Below that fort and near the place, he dug a tank which he filled with the waters of that canal. He formed another canal from the river Khagar, and conducting

There he built a fortified place which he called Firozabad. He brought another canal from the river Jumna, and threw it into the tank of that city, from whence he carried it on farther.

In the month of Zi-l hijja, on the day of the 'Id-i azha, in the year before named, a robe of honour and a diploma arrived from the Khalifa al Hakim bi amr-illah Abu al Fath Abu Bakr Abu al Rabi' Sulaiman, the Hindustan. * * *

In the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) * * * an army of Mughals came into the neighbourhood of Dibalpur, and Malik Kabul, Lord of the Bedchamber (*sar-burdah-dar*), was sent against them. Before his forces the Mughals retreated to their own country. * * At the end of this year, Taju-d din Betah, with several other *amirs*, came from Lakhnauti to Court as envoys, bringing with them presents and tribute, and they received a gracious reception.

In the year 760 H. (1359 A.D.), the Sultan marched with a large army against Lakhnauti, leaving Khan-i Jahan in Dehli and Tatar Khan as *Shikhdar* at Multan, (to guard) the Ghazni frontier. When the Sultan reached Zafarabad, the rains came on, so he halted there. Here he was waited upon by Malik Shaikhzada Bustami, who had left the country by royal command. He brought a robe of honour from the Khalifa,² and the Sultan being graciously disposed towards him, granted him the title of 'Azam Khan. Saiyid Rasuldar, who had come with the envoys from Lakhnauti, was now sent back thither, and Sultan Sikandar again sent him to Court with five elephants and rich presents. But before he arrived, 'Alam Khan came to Court from Lakhnauti, and he was told (by the Sultan) that Sultan Sikandar was foolish and

it by the fort of Sarsuti, he brought it to the river Sar-khatah (*nahar-i-Sar-Khatrah*) where he founded the city of Firozabad. He also brought another canal from the Jumna, and threw it into the tank of that city." The words "river of Sar-khatrah" are clearly wrong. In the translation, which was made from MSS., the name is given as "Pery Kehra," which is more like the Harbi-khir of our text. The real name is possibly Hari-khira.

² Firishtha says "of Egypt."

inexperienced, and had strayed from the path of rectitude. The Sultan at first had no desire to draw the sword against him; but as he had not discharged the duties of obedience, he must now understand that the Sultan was marching against him.

After the rainy season, the Sultan proceeded towards Lakhnauti, and on the way Prince Fath Khan received the insignia of royalty, such as elephants. A coin was struck in his name,³ and tutors were appointed for him. When the Sultan reached Pandwah, Sultan Sikandar shut himself up in Ikdala, where Sultan Shamsu-d din, his father, had before taken refuge. On the 16th Jumada-l awwal, 761 (5th May, 1360), the Sultan sat down against Ikdala, and passed some days in besieging it. The garrison perceived that they could not withstand the assailants, so they were compelled to capitulate, and seek for peace by sending elephants, treasure, and goods as tribute. On the 20th Jumada-l awwal, the Sultan marched from Ikdala on his return, and when he reached Pandwah, Sultan Sikandar sent him thirty-seven elephants and valuable offerings as tribute. By successive marches he reached Jaunpur, and the rains coming on he rested there. After the rains were over, in the month Zi-l hijja of the same year, he marched with his victorious army by way of Bihar to Jainagar. Orders were issued that the baggage animals (*lashkar-sutur*), women, horses out of condition, and weak men should not proceed.⁴ Malik Kutbu-d din, brother of Zafar Khan the *wazir*, was left behind with the elephants and baggage at Karra. The Sultan then marched. When he reached Sikra,⁵ he attacked it, and the *Rai* took to flight. There Shahr Khatun, daughter of Rai Sadhan, with Adayah,⁶ was taken prisoner. The

³ *Sikkah ba-nam awardand.*

⁴ The MS. writes *biayad*; but it must mean *niyad*.

⁵ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* and *Firishta* have "Sankra," Badami has "Satghara."

⁶ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* gives the name of the *Rai* as "Saras," but *Firishta* makes it "Sadhan." *Shams-i Siraj* calls the *Rai* of Jainagar, "Adayah." See *Firoz Shah*—13th Mukaddama.

Sultan placed her in the place of his daughters. When he advanced farther, he left Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk one stage behind with the prisoners and baggage. At this place Ahmad Khan, who had come up from Lakhnauti, joined the Sultan in the hills of Ranthor,⁷ and was received with honour. The Sultan then proceeded to the city of Banarasi, which was the residence of the *Rai*. Having left the Mahanadi, the *Rai* had fled to Tilang. The Sultan pursued him for one day's march, but when he found that the *Rai* was far in advance, he returned. In this neighbourhood he hunted. *Rai* Bir Bhandee⁸ sent some persons to sue for peace, that his people might not be killed. The Sultan, according to his wont, turned aside, and (the *Rai*) sent in thirty-three elephants and rich offerings as tribute. From thence the Sultan fell back and hunted in Padmavati and the elephant fields, where he killed two elephants. Afterwards he marched on to Karra, and from Karra he proceeded to Dehli, which he reached in Rajab, 762 H. (1361 A.D.), and entered as a conqueror.

Some time afterwards he heard that there was in the vicinity of Bardar⁹ a hill of earth, through the midst of which a large river flowed and fell into the Satladar (Sutlej). This river was called Sarsuti. On the hither side of the mountain there was a stream called Salimah. If the mountain of earth were cut through, the waters of the Sarsuti would fall into that stream; which would flow through Sihrind¹⁰ (Sirhind) and Mansurpur, and from thence to Sannam, keeping up a perpetual supply.

⁷ This reading of the *Tabakiat-i Akbari* seems preferable to that of the MS., "Zinthor."

⁸ Firishhta writes the name in the same way, but the translation has "Rajah of Beerbhoom."

⁹ "Parwar," Firishhta.

¹⁰ "Sihrind" and "Tabarhindh" are used indifferently throughout as the names of the modern Sirhind. The use of the latter has already been noted elsewhere. Varaha Mitra mentions the Sairindhas, or people of Sirindha, as being in this neighbourhood. See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 145. See *Ghaznivide, Ghor and Slave Dynasties*—M. Siraj, p. 50.

The water was brought, but some time was occupied in cutting through the hill. Sirhind, to as far as within ten *kos* of Samana, was separated from the *shikk* of Samana, and given into the charge of Malik Ziaul Mulk Shamsuddin Aburja, to bring it into cultivation.¹¹ A fortress was built there, which received the name of Firozpur.

When the Sultan saw that the excavation of the mountain was¹² possible, he left the spot and went to Nagarkot, and after conquering it, he proceeded against Thatta. The Jam and Babiniya were in possession of Thatta. By dint of great exertion the place was invested, and fighting went on for some time, but such a scarcity of provender and grain arose in the Sultan's army, that many men died, so that of necessity, and after a great struggle, he was obliged, to retreat into Gujarat.

After the rainy season, he resolved again to march against Thatta. The fief (*ikta'*) of Gujarat was placed under Zafar Khan, instead of Nizamu-l Mulk, who was dismissed and proceeded with his followers to the capital, where he afterwards became *wazir* of the State. On the Sultan's reappearing before Thatta, Jam and Babiniya made their submission and waited upon him. They were graciously received, but were carried off with all the chiefs of the country to Dehli. After having for a while shown obedience, the Sultan reinstated the Jam in the fief (*ikta'*) of Thatta, and sent him there in state.

In the year 772 H. (1370-1 A.D.), Khan-i Jahan died, and his eldest son Jaunan Shah attained the dignity of Khan-i Jahan. In 773 Zafar Khan died in Gujarat, and his eldest son succeeded him in the fief. In 776, on the 12th of the month of Safar, Prince Fath Khan died at Kanthur. The Sultan was greatly affected by his death, and his constitution received a manifest shock.

In 778 H. (1376-1 A.D.), Shams Damaghani offered

¹¹ This passage is imperfect in the MS., and has been translated with the help of Firishita.

¹² Here the MS. has a negative, which it is necessary to suppress.

forty *lacs* of *tanhas* in excess of the revenue paid for Gujarat, 100 elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves, children of Hindu chiefs (*muhaddam bachagan*), and Abyssinians annually. Malik Ziaul Mulk Malik Shamsu-d din Aburja was deputy (of the governor) of Gujarat, and an offer was made to confirm it to him on his consenting to these enhanced terms. But he knew he could not pay them, and that Shams Damaghani had made an extravagant offer, so he refused to accept. Shams Damaghani then received a golden girdle and a silver palankin, and was appointed to Gujarat as deputy of Zafar Khan. When he arrived in Gujarat, wild dreams and fancies entered his brain, and he raised the standard of rebellion, for he found that he could not raise the increased revenue and tribute which he had undertaken to pay. At length the new *amirs* (*amir-i sadah*) of Gujarat, such as Malik Shaikhu-l Mulk Fakhrudin, rebelled against Shams Damaghani in the year 778 H., and having slain him they cut off his head, and sent it to Court. His revolt was thus put down. During the prosperous reign of this good and gracious sovereign, his justice and equity had such an effect over every quarter of his territories, that no rebellion had ever broken out, and no one had been able to turn his feet from the path of obedience until the revolt of this Shams Damaghani, and he quickly received the punishment of his perfidy.

The frontiers (*sarhadd*) of the empire were secured by placing them under the charge of great and trusty *amirs*. Thus on the side of Hindustan, on the Bengal frontier, the fief (*ikta*) of Karra and Mahoba, and the *shikk* of Dalamau, were placed under the charge of *Maliku-s Shark* (Prince of the East) Mardan Daulat, who received the title of Nasiru-l Mulk. The fief (*ikta*) of Qudh and Sandila,¹³ and the *shikk* of Kol were placed under Malik Hisamu-l Mulk and Hisamu-d din Nawa.

¹³ The MS. has "Sadid," but Firishta gives the right reading, see post.

The fief of Jaunpur and Zafarabad was given to Malik Bahruz Sultani. The fief of Bihar to Malik Bir Afghan. These nobles showed no laxity in putting down the plots of the infidels, and in making their territories secure. Thus the Sultan had no anxiety about the safety of these parts of his dominions; but on the side of Khurasan there was no *amir* capable of withstanding the attacks of the Mughals. He was therefore compelled to summon Maliku-s Shark Nasiru-l Mulk from Karra and Mahoba, and to send him to Multan, in order to put down and punish the assaults of these accursed foes. The fiefs (*ikta's*) of this quarter were conferred upon him, and the fief of Hindustan, that is to say Karra and Mahoba, was also ordered to be confirmed to Maliku-s Shark Shamsu-d din Sulaiman, son of Malik Mardan Daulat. After the murder of Damaghani, the fief of Gujarat was granted to Malik Mufarrih Sultani, who received the title of Farhatu-l Mulk. * * *

In the year 781 H. (1379 A.D.), the Sultan made a progress towards Samana, and when he arrived there, Malik Kabul Kuran Khwan, *amir* of the privy council and chief of Samana, presented his tribute, and the Sultan showed him great favour. Passing from thence through Ambala and Shahabad, the Sultan entered the hills of Saharanpur, and after taking tribute from the *Rais* of Sirmor and the hills, he returned to his capital. Just at this time information came of the rebellion of Khargu, the Hindu chief (*mukaddam*) of Katehr.¹⁴ This Khargu had invited Saiyid Muhammad, who held the fief of Badaun, and his brother Saiyid 'Alau-d din, to a feast at his house, and had then basely murdered them. In 782 H. (1380 A.D.), the Sultan proceeded there to avenge this murder, and ravaged the district of Keteher. Khargu fled, and took refuge in the mountains of Kamaun, in the country of the Mathas.¹⁵ The Sultan also attacked them.

* * Every year he used to proceed to Kather, ostensibly

¹⁴ See note 75 *infra*.

¹⁵ *Mahtagan*.

to hunt, and that country became so devastated that nothing but game lived there.

In 784 H. (1382 A.D.), he built a fortress at Beoli, seven *kos* from Badaun, and called it Firozpur, but the people named it *Pur-i akhirin* (the last town). The Sultan now grew old and feeble, for his age was nearly ninety years, and Khan-i Jahan, the *wazir*, exercised unbounded authority. All the affairs of the State were in his hands, and the *maliks* and *amirs* were entirely subservient to him. If any one opposed him, he got him removed from the presence of the Sultan in any way he could. Some he killed, others he put in confinement. At length it came to this, that whatever Khan-i Jahan said the Sultan used to do. So the affairs of the kingdom fell into disorder, and every day some loss occurred. One day Khan-i Jahan represented to the Sultan that Prince Muhammad Khan had allied himself to certain nobles such as Darya Khan, son of Zafar Khan, *amir* of Gujarat, Malik Ya'kub Muhammad Haji, master of the horse [*etc., etc.*], and was on the point of raising a rebellion. As the Sultan had given over everything to the charge of the Khan, he, without thought or consideration, gave the order that they should be taken into custody. When the prince heard this, he did not come to the palace for several days, and although Khan-i Jahan sent for him, he made excuses. Then the Khan, upon the pretext of a balance of accounts, kept Darya Khan, son of Zafar Khan, *amir* of Mahoba, confined in his house. This alarmed the prince still more, and he made a statement of his position to his father. The Sultan gave orders for the dismissal of Khan-i Jahan, and for the release of Darya Khan. The prince having done this, Malik Ya'kub Beg, master of the horse, brought out all the royal horses, and Malik Kutbu-d din Faramurz, keeper of the elephants, brought out the elephants with their *howdas* and armour, and took them to the prince. The slaves of Sultan Firoz, the *amirs*, and other people of the city, also joined the prince.

In the month of Rajab, 789 (July, Aug., 1387 A.D.), being fully prepared, the prince proceeded late one night, with a large body of men, to the house of Khan-i Jahan. When the Khan heard of their approach, he took Darya Khan, son of Zafar Khan, out of prison and put him to death. Then he came out with a few chosen followers, and was attacked by the prince. Being defeated, he fled to his house, and received a wound as he was entering. Unable to make further resistance, he again left his house with a few followers and fled into Mewat, where he sought refuge with Koka Chauhan, at Mahari. The prince plundered Khan-i Jahan's house of all its gold and wealth, and arms, horses and effects; he then returned with his followers to the palace. Next he caused Malik Bihzad Fath Khan, [*and several other adherents of*] Khan-i Jahan, to be brought to the palace and to be beheaded. When these proceedings were reported to the Sultan, he gave over his authority to Prince Muhammad Khan, and the *maliks* and *amirs* and slaves of Sultan Firoz, and the people in general, rallied round the prince. The Sultan was old and feeble, so of necessity he gave to the prince the reins of government, with all the horses and elephants, wealth and state. He conferred upon him the title Nasiru-d din Muhammad Shah, and then he retired to his house to serve his God. In all the chief mosques throughout the dominions the *khutba* was repeated in the names of the two sovereigns, and in the month of Sha'ban of the same year Muhammad Khan took his seat upon the throne in the palace of Jahan-numa. The titles and offices, fiefs, and allowances, pensions and gifts, and whatsoever had been enjoyed by any one during the late reign, were confirmed. Malik Ya'kub, master of the horse, was made Sikandar Khan, and received the fief of Gujarat. * * He was then sent with an army to Mahari against Khan-i Jahan. When this force reached Mahari, the accursed Koka seized Khan-i Jahan and sent him prisoner to Sikandar Khan, who killed him, and carried his head to Court. Sikandar Khan then departed to his

fief of Gujarat, and the prince devoted himself to the duties of government.

In the month of Zi-l ka'da of the same year, he went to the mountains of Sirmor, and there spent two months in hunting the rhinoceros and elk.¹⁶ While thus engaged, information was brought to him of the death of Sikandar Khan, whom Malik brought to him of the death of Sikandar Khan, whom Malik Mufarrih, *amir* of Kambay, and the new *amirs* of Gujarat, had risen against and slain. The retinue that had marched with him from Court, some of them wounded and some of them despoiled, returned home with Saiyid Salar. When Prince Muhammad Khan heard this intelligence, he became thoughtful and anxious, and returned to his capital. But he was young and inexperienced, and he gave himself up to pleasure. For five months longer the old rules and arrangements kept the affairs of the kingdom in order, but at length great irregularities arose. The slaves of the late Government of Firoz Shah, of whom there were about a *lac* in Dehli and Firozabad, stirred up by the opposition shown by Malik Samau-d din and Malik Kamalu-d din, abandoned the prince, and joined themselves to the late sovereign; hence arose contention and strife. When the prince became aware of the facts, he sent Malik Zahiru-d din Lohari to parley with the insurgents, which had assembled in the *maidan*; but they pelted him with bricks and stones, and after wounding him they made a display of their force and rejected all propositions for peace. Zahiru-d din returned wounded to the prince, who was ready for action. He proceeded with all his force of horse and foot, and elephants, to the *maidan* against the rebels; and when he attacked them, they fled to the palace and sought refuge with the old Sultan. Fighting went on for two days, and on the third the prince was prepared to renew the struggle, when the insurgents brought out the old

¹⁶ *Kark wa gavzan*.

Sultan from the palace. The soldiers and elephant-drivers, directly they saw the face of their Sultan, deserted the side of the prince and joined themselves to their old master. Finding that he could no longer maintain the struggle, the prince turned and fled with a small band of followers to the mountains of Sirmor. The insurgents plundered his house, and those of his adherents. That day tranquillity was restored, and the people were satisfied. The Sultan then appointed Prince Tughlik Shah, his grandson, son of Fath Khan, to be his heir, and delivered over all the affairs of Government to him. Amir Husain Ahmad Ikbāl, son-in-law of the Sultan, who had separated from the party of the prince, was made prisoner, and the prince had him beheaded before the entrance of the palace. Orders were also sent to the new *amirs* of Samana directing them to seize 'A'li Khan, the *amir*, and bring him to Court. When he was brought in, the prince sent him away to Bihar, and granted the fief of Samana to Malik Sultan Shah.

On the 18th Ramazan, 790 H. (26th September, 1388 A.D.), Sultan Firoz died, worn out with weakness. Veracious historians and truthful chroniclers of venerable age have recorded that since the days of Nasir-u-d din, son of Shamsu-d din Altamsh, who was a second Naushirwan, there has been no king in Dehli so just and merciful, so kind and religious, or such a builder. His justice won for him the hearts of his subjects. If any poor traveller, by the visitation of God, fell in the road and died, the feudal chiefs, the officers, and the *mukaddams* having called together the *kazis* and all Musulmans, they examined the body, and drew up a report under the seal of the *kazi*, certifying that no mark of a wound was discernible upon the body, and after that they buried it. Thus by inquiries of the *kazis*, all the injunctions of the law were fulfilled, and it was in no way possible that during the reign of this Sovereign, any strong man could tyrannize over the weak. God Almighty took

this gentle, beneficent, and just king to his everlasting rest, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months.¹⁷

Reign of Tughlik Shah, son of Fath Khan, son of Firoz Shah, the late Sultan

THIS Sultan, with the concurrence of several of the *amirs* and *maliks* and servants of the late Sultan, took his seat upon the throne in the palace at Firozabad, on the day of his predecessor's death, and took the title of Sultan Ghiyasu-d din. Malik-zada Firoz,¹⁸ son of Malik Taju-d din, was made *wazir*, and was honoured with the title *Khan-i Jahan*. Khudawand-zada Ghiyasu-d din Turmuzi was placed over the armoury. Firoz 'Ali was taken out of prison, and his father's office of *sar-jandar* was conferred upon him. The fief of Gujarat was granted to Malik Mufarrih Sultani, who held it under the late Sultan. The various other fiefs and appointments were confirmed to the holders. Malik Firoz 'Ali and Bahadur Nahir were sent with a considerable force against Prince Muhammad Khan. The *amirs* of the fiefs (*ikta's*), such as Sultan Amir Shah of Samana, Rai Kamalu-d din and others, were sent along with them. In the month of Shawwal the army entered the mountains of Sirmor, and Prince Muhammad Khan retired to the top of the mountains by hostile roads, till he reached the fort of Baknari.¹⁹ The royal army

¹⁷ He was ninety years of age. "He was buried by the side of the *Hauz-i khass*; a splendid dome (*gumbad*) was erected over his grave, and it has become famous."—*Badauni*. The *Tabakat-i Akbari* gives a summary of his public works, which Firishita has adopted, with some alterations. It is as follows:—"5 Canals (*band-i jui*), [Firishita says "50"]; 4 Mosques [Firishita says "40"]; 30 Colleges; 20 Monasteries (*khankah*); 100 Palaces (*kushk*); 200 Caravanserais (*rabat*); 300 Towns; 5 Tanks (*hauz*); 5 Hospitals; 100 Mausolea; 10 Baths; 10 Monumental Pillars (*minara*); 150 Wells; 100 Bridges; and gardens beyond number." The text of Firishita omits the "300 towns," but the translation states them as "200." With the exceptions noted, the two lists agree; but there are some discrepancies between the text of Firishita and Briggs's translation.

¹⁸ The text has "Firoz Shah."

¹⁹ *Tabakat-i Akbari*, "Baktari."

also entered the mountains, and when it reached the valley (*darra*) of Baknari, some little fighting followed, but the place being strong, the prince was not subdued. From thence he ascended the mountains and went towards Sakhet. (The royal army)²⁰ then marched from Baknari to the town of Aru, and encamped in the *darra* of Aru, near to the station (*chautara*) of Kimar. The prince then left Sakhet, and went to the fort of Nagarkot. The royal forces followed to the confines of Gwaliyar in pursuit, but they met with opposition on the way, so Malik Firoz 'Ali and the other *amirs* gave up the pursuit, and returned. The prince secured himself in Nagarkot.

Tughlik Shah was young and inexperienced. He knew nothing of politics, and had seen none of the wiles of fickle fortune. So he gave himself up to wine and pleasure. The business of the government was entirely neglected, and the officers of the late Sultan asserted so fearlessly their power, that all control of the State was lost. The Sultan imprisoned his brother Salar Shah without any reason. Abu Bakr Shah, son of Zafar Khan, having fled for refuge, Malik Ruknu-d din Janda, deputy *wazir*, and several other *amirs* and slaves²¹ of the late Sultan, made common cause with him, and raised a revolt. They despatched with the sword Malik Mubarak Kabiri, in the palace at Firozabad, as he was retreating through the door. A great outcry thereupon arose in the palace, and the Sultan hearing it, escaped through the door opening on the Jumna. Malik Firoz, the *wazir*, was with him; but the traitor, Rukn Janda, being apprised of his escape, followed him with his own adherents, and with a party of the late Sultan's slaves. When they reached the ford of the Jumna, they killed Sultan Tughlik Shah and the prince Firoz. Then they cut off their heads, and threw them down in front of

²⁰ The introduction of this nominative seems necessary to the sense.

²¹ The word so translated is "*bandagan*," literally bondsmen or slaves. It makes its appearance frequently in these pages.

the palace. This happened on the 21st Safar, 791 H. (19th February, 1389 A.D.)

After this they brought Abu Bakr Shah out from his dwelling, and seating him upon an elephant, with a canopy over his head, they proclaimed him under the title of Sultan Abu Bakr. Rukn Janda was made *wazir*. After a few days, Rukn Janda conspired with several slaves of the late Sultan Firoz, with the intention of slaying Abu Bakr, and of making himself king. But certain others, who were unfriendly to him, anticipating his action, killed him, and put his confederates to the sword. Abu Bakr was in possession of Dehli, the royal elephants and treasure were in his hands, and his power was day by day increasing. Just at this juncture the new *amirs* of Samana treacherously slew Malik Sultan Shah Khush-dil, with their swords and daggers, at the tank of Sannam, on the 4th Safar. Then, taking possession of Samana, they plundered the houses of Malik Sultan Shah and slew all his dependents. They cut off the head of Malik Sultan, and sent it to Nagarkot, to Prince Muhammad Khan, with offers of assistance. The length of the reign of Sultan Tughlik Shah was six months and eighteen days.

Sultan Muhammad Shah, younger son of the late Sultan Firoz Shah

WHEN the intelligence of the death of Malik Sultan Shah reached Muhammad Khan at Nagarkot, he marched thence to the town of Jalandhar, and so into the district of Samana. There, on the 6th of the month of Rabi'u-l-akhir, of the year above named, he, for the second time, mounted the throne of the empire. The new *amirs* of Samana, and the *mukaddams* of that district and of the hills, all joined him, and renewed their vows of allegiance. Several *amirs* and *maliks* also of Dehli deserted Abu Bakr Shah, and came to join him. So there assembled round him in Samana about twenty thousand horse, and an innumerable host of foot. From Samana he marched to

Dehli; and by the time he reached its neighbourhood, the horse had increased to about fifty thousand. Abu Bakr Shah was informed of his approach, and the slaves of Sultan Firoz, having before opposed the new Sultan, now allied themselves with Abu Bakr.

On the 25th Rabi'u-l akhir, 791 (23rd April, 1389). Sultan Mahammad took up his position at the palace of Jahan-numa, and Abu Bakr also, with his adherents and forces, was at Firozabad. On the 2nd Jumada-l awwal, the adherents of Abu Bakr, having taken the streets and walls of Firozabad, gave battle to the forces of the new Sultan. On that very day Bahadur Nahir²² came into the city with a party of his followers; and Abu Bakr Shah, being emboldened by his arrival, marched on the following day into²³ Firozabad with his horse and foot. The battle began, and by the decree of God, Sultan Muhammad was defeated. He fled towards his own territories. With a party of about two thousand horse, he crossed the Jumna, and penetrated into the Daob. From thence he sent his second²⁴ son, Prince Humayun Khan, to Samana, to assemble his forces; and he sent with him Malik Ziaud din Aburja, Rai Kamalu-d din Mian,²⁵ and Rai Khul Chain²⁶ Bhatti, whose fiefs were in that quarter. The Sultan himself took up his position at the village of Jalesar,²⁷ on the banks of the Ganges. The *amirs* of Hindustan, such as Malik Sarwar, governor of the city (*shahna-i shahr*), Maliku-sh Shark Nasiru-l Mulk the holder of Multan, Khawassu-l Mulk the holder of Bihar [*and others*]; and Rai Sarvar²⁸ and other *rais* and *ranas*, making in all about fifty thousand horse, with an in-

²² "The Mewatti"—*T. Badauni*.

²³ Firishta says "Out of," and the *T. Badauni* says "into the *maidan* of Firozabad."

²⁴ Literally, "middle son."

²⁵ Mina?

²⁶ Probably Kul Chand.

²⁷ The Text has "Jaser" and "Jater," and Badauni makes it "Chetar," but the *Tabakat-i Akbari* and Firishta agree in reading "Jalesar." See *post*.

²⁸ "The text has "Sabir," but Firishta says "Sarvar." See *post*.

numerable force of foot, joined the Sultan. Malik Sarwar received the title of *Khawaja-i Jahan*, and was made *wazir*. Malik Nasiru-l Mulk became Khizr Khan,²⁹ Khawassu-l Mulk was made Khawass Khan, and Saifu-d din became Saif Khan.

In Sha'ban of the same year Sultan Mahammad again marched against Dehli. Abu Bakr Shah came forth to meet him, and encountered him at the village of Kundali. Both sides arrayed their forces, and a battle ensued. By the will of God, the army of Sultan Muhammad was defeated, and Abu Bakr was victorious. His camp equipage and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, who kept up the pursuit for three *kos*. Sultan Mahammad then returned, and took up his abode at Jalesar. Abu Bakr Shah went back to Dehli.

On the 19th Ramazan the slaves of the Sultan Firoz who were living in the various districts and cities, as at Multan, Lahor,³⁰ Samana, and Hisar, and the fort of Mansi, were unjustly put to death in one day by the chiefs and people of the different places, under the orders of Sultan Mahammad. In consequence of the contention among the Musulmans for the throne, the Hindu infidels gathered strength, and gave up paying the poll-tax and tribute. They moreover threatened the Muhammadan towns.

In the month of Maharram, 792 H. (January, 1390 A.D.), Prince Humayun Khan, having collected the various *maliks* and *amirs* who had been appointed to act under him, such as Ghalib Khan, *amir* of Samana [*etc., etc.*], pitched his camp at Panipat, and plundered the environs of Dehli. When Abu Bakr Shah was informed of this, he sent Malik Shahin 'Imadu-l Mulk, with four thousand horse and guards and many foot soldiers, towards Panipat; and the two forces drew up in battle array at the village of Basina, near Panipat. The Almighty gave the

²⁹ The translation of Firishta errs in making this title "Khowas Khan."

³⁰ Invariably called "Lohor."

victory to Abu Bakr Shah, and the army of the prince being defeated fled back towards Samana. His camp and baggage and equipments, all became the spoil of the victors. The forces of Dehli, under the grace of God, being thus everywhere victorious, Sultan Muhammad and his army could no longer resist the enemy, and he became very much depressed in spirit. Still the *maliks* and the soldiers and the people of the capital were entirely on the side of the Sultan, and Abu Bakr dared not leave the city to pursue his defeated enemy.

In the month Jumada-l awwal of the same year Abu Bakr Shah collected his army and marched towards Jalesar. He encamped about twenty kos from Dehli, and Sultan Muhammad, being informed of this, left his army and baggage at Jalesar, and started off with four thousand light horse for Dehli. Some guards who had been left in charge of the city shut themselves up at the Badaun gate, and made some show of resistance; but the assailants set fire to the gate, and the defenders fled. Sultan Muhammad entered the city through this gate, and took up his quarters at the Humayun palace. All the people of the city, high and low, and the *bazar* people, joined him. When intelligence of this reached Abu Bakr, he set off early on the same day with a party of his followers, and entered the city by the same gate, and Malik Bahau-din, who had been left in charge of the gate by Sultan Muhammad, was killed on the spot. The Sultan was in the palace, unaware of what had happened; but when Abu Bakr drew near, and he was apprised of the fact, he escaped with a small party of followers through a back door of the palace, and making his way out of the city by the gate of the *Hauz-i khass*, he returned to Jalesar, to his army and baggage. The *amirs* and *maliks* and soldiers who were unable to escape out of the city with the Sultan were, some of them taken prisoners, and some killed; Khalil Khan *naib-barbak* and Malik Isma'il, son of the daughter of Sultan Firoz Shah, were taken alive, and were put to death.

In the month of Ramazan of the same year Mubashir Hajib³¹ Sultani, who had the title Islam Khan, with several old slaves (*bandagan*) of Sultan Firoz, with any reason, turned against Abu Bakr Shah, and opened communications with Sultan Muhammad. When this fact became known, Abu Bakr Shah was unable to overcome them, so he left Dehli, accompanied by some of his most devoted followers, such as Malik Shahin 'Imadu-l Mulk, Malik Bahri, and Safdar Khan Sultani, and proceeded to the *kutila*³² of Bahadur Nahir. On the 17th of the month Ramazan, Mubashir Hajib and the old Firoz Shahi men sent letters to Sultan Muhammad, informing him of the facts, and of the flight of Abu Bakr Shah. They placed Khan-i Khanan, the youngest son of the Sultan, on an elephant, and, raising a canopy over his head, they conducted him to Jalesar. On the third day, the 19th Ramazan, the Sultan started from Jalesar, and entering the city he took his seat on the throne in the palace of Firozabad. Mubashir Hajib received the office of *wazir*, and the title of Islam Khan was confirmed to him. The old guards of Firoz Shah and the people of the capital joined the Sultan. After a few days, he left Firozabad, and went into the fort (*hisar*) of Jahan-panah to the Humayun palace. He took the elephants from the charge of the Firoz Shahi slaves, and placed them under the old elephant keepers.³³ This excited great discontent among them; but as the Sultan was strong, and the elephants had all been taken into the charge of his servants, they could not withstand him; so they fled in the night, with

³¹ This is according to Firishhta, but the text has "Jab," the *Tabakat-i Akbari* "Hat," and *Badauni* "Chap."

³² The word seems to be used here as a common noun, not a proper name. It is invariably *kutila*, not *hupila*. See note in *Autobiography of Timur*, p. 73.

³³ *Pilbanan-i kadim*. Taken literally this is unintelligible, for the officials of an older standing than the reign of Firoz must have been very few in number. It must mean that Sultan Muhammad reinstated those officers who held charge when he was before on the throne in his father's days. See Firishhta.

their wives and children, and joined Abu Bakr Shah at the *kutla* of Bahadur Nahir. Such of these old slaves as remained in the city next morning received notice that they must quit it within three days, so the city was cleared of them. The *amirs* and *maliks* of the various parts of the kingdom (*balad-i mamalik*) now came to Court, and the Sultan's power and dignity increased. Prince Humayun Khan, with Islam Khan [*and others*], was sent with a powerful army to suppress Abu Bakr Shah and the old Firoz Shahi slaves. They had reached the town of Mahindwari; and in the month of Muharram, 793 (Dec. 1390 A.D.), Abu Bakr Shah, Bahadur Nahir, and the old Firoz Shahi slaves, having assembled, made a sudden attack upon the royal forces early in the morning, and killed several men. But Islam Khan made ready his division, and fell upon the assailants; the prince also mounted his horse, with his followers, and defeated the enemy at the first charge. The royal army pursued, and the bulk of the defeated forces took refuge in the fort of Kutila, but some were killed, and some were taken prisoners. When the news of the victory reached the Sultan, he started off for the scene of the conflict; and arriving at Kutila, he encamped on the banks of the Dahand. Abu Bakr Shah and Bahadur Nahir begged for mercy, and came to meet the Sultan. Bahadur Nahir received a robe, and was sent back. Abu Bakr was carried away by the Sultan as far as Khandi, from whence he was sent to be kept a prisoner at Mirat, and there he died. The Sultan proceeded to Etawa, and there he was waited upon by Nar Singh,²⁴ who received a robe, and was sent back. Proceeding along the bank of the Jumna, the Sultan arrived at Dehli.

In 794 H. (1392 A.D.), Nar Singh above mentioned, and Sarvadhara²⁵ and Bir Bahan, broke out in rebellion.

²⁴ The MS. and the *Tabakat-i Akbari* agree in calling him "Bar Sing," which is an improbable name. Firishta calls him Nar Singh, which is perhaps right, though Har Singh is possible.

²⁵ This is the reading of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, and seems probable. Our text has "Sabir wa Adharan," two names, saying,

The Sultan sent Islam Khan against Nar Singh, and he himself marched to Etawa against Sarvadharan and the other infidels. The accursed Nar Singh encountered the forces of Islam Khan, and, by God's grace, was defeated and put to flight. The victors pursued, sending many infidels to hell, and laying waste their country. Nar Singh at length sued for mercy, and came to wait on Islam Khan, who carried him to Dehli. Sarvadharan attacked the town of Balaram,³⁶ but when the Sultan reached the banks of the Biyah³⁷ (*sic*), the infidels fled and shut themselves up in Etawa. The Sultan continued his march thither, and on the first day of his arrival some little fighting took place. In the night the rebels abandoned the fort of Etawa and fled, and next day the Sultan destroyed it. From thence he marched towards Kanauj, and crossing the Ganges, he punished the infidels of Kanauj and Dalamau, and returning went to Jalesar, where he built a fortress which he called Muham-madabad.

In the month of Rajab, a letter arrived from Khwaja-i Jahan, who was the Sultan's *locum tenens* in Dehli, bringing the information that Islam Khan was about to depart for Multan and Lahor, with the object of stirring up a rebellion. The Sultan immediately left Jalesar, and proceeded to Dehli, where he held a Court, and questioned Islam Khan about the intentions imputed to him. He denied them. But an infidel named Jaju,³⁸ his brother's son, a bad fellow who had a spite against him, gave false evidence, and Islam Khan was unjustly condemned to death. Khwaja-i Jahan was made *wazir*,

"Sabir the accursed, and Adharan," Firishta's text has "Sarvadhan Rahtor;" and the translation "Sirvodhun."

³⁶ This is the name as given by our text, and by Badauni and Firishta; but the *Tabakat-i Akbari* and the translation of Firishta make it Balgram or "Bilgiram." See Elliot's Glossary, ii., 290.

³⁷ For "the banks of the Biyah" the *Tabakat-i Akbari* has "Etawa."

³⁸ The text has "Jajan," but the *Tabakat-i Akbari* says Jaju, which is confirmed by Firishta, who has Hajju, the *h* of which is a clear mistake.

and Malik Mukarrabu-l Mulk was sent to Muhammada-bad in Jalesar, with an army.

In the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.), Sarvadhara and Jit Singh Rahtor, and Bir Bahan *mukaddam*, of Bhanuganw, and Abhai Chand *mukaddam*, of Chandu, broke out in rebellion.⁹⁹ "The Sultan sent Mukarrabu-l Mulk to put down this outbreak. When the two parties came in sight of each other, Mukarrabu-l Mulk adopted a conciliatory course, and by promises and engagements, induced the *rais* to submit. He carried them with him to Kanauj, and there treacherously had them put to death; but Rai Sar [vadhara] escaped, and entered Etawa. Malik Mukarrab then returned to Muhammadabad. In the month of Shawwal, the Sultan attacked and ravaged Mewat. Having gone from Muhammadabad to Jalesar, he there fell sick. Just at that time intelligence reached him that Bahadur Nahir had attacked and plundered several villages in the vicinity of Dehli. Notwithstanding his weakness, the Sultan proceeded to Mewat, and on reaching Kutila, Bahadur Nahir came out to fight; but he was defeated, and took refuge in Kutila. Unable to remain there, he fled and hid in Jhar. After this, the Sultan proceeded to Muhammadabad, in order to inspect the buildings which he had there begun. His sickness grew worse. In the month Rabi'u-l awwal, 796 H., he appointed Prince Humayun to march against Shaikha Khokar, who had rebelled, and had got possession of Lahor. Just as the prince was about to march, he received intelligence of the death of the Sultan on the 17th Rabi'u-l awwal (15th Jan. 1394 A.D.); so he remained at the capital. Sultan Muhammad Shah reigned six years and seven months.

Sultan 'Alau-d din Sikandar Shah

"THE late Sultan's second son, Humayun Khan, remained for three days engaged in the duties of mourning; but

⁹⁹ Here the MS. is faulty. Probably a leaf has been lost or passed over. What follows is quoted from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, which is generally in close accord with this work.

on the 19th Rabi'u-l awwal, he ascended the throne, with the approbation of the *amirs and maliks*, the *saiyids* and *kazis*, and all the great men of Dehli. Khwaja-i Jahan was made *wazir*, and the various other officers were confirmed in their appointments. On the 5th Jumada-l awwal, he fell sick and died, after a reign of one month and sixteen days.

Sultan Mahmud Shah, youngest son of Muhammad Shah

"On the death of Sultan 'Alau-d din, otherwise known as Humayun Khan, several of the nobles, such as Ghalib Khan of Samana, Rai Kamal Main, Mubarak Khan, Malajun (?) Khawass Khan governor of Indri and Karnal, were about to leave the city and proceed to their respective territories, without taking leave of [Prince] Mahmud Shah. But Khan-i Jahan reard of their intention, and encouraged them to return to the city. On the 20th Jumada-l awwal, by the efforts of the *amirs and maliks*, and great men, Prince Mahmud was placed upon the throne in the Humayun palace," and the title Sultan Nasiru-d din Mahmud Shah was given to him. The office of *wazir* was confirmed to Khwaja-i Jahan, Mukarrabu-l Mulk became Mukarrab Khan, and was named heir-apparent of the Sultan.⁴⁶ 'Abdu-r Rashid Sultani was entitled Sa'dat Khan, and received the office of *Barbak*. Malik Sarang was created Sarang Khan, and received the fief of Dibalpur. Malik Daulat Yar, the *dabir* (secretary), was created Daulat Khan, and received the office of *'imadu-l mulk* and *'ariz* of the State. Through the turbulence of the base infidels, the affairs of the fiefs of Hindustan had fallen into confusion, so Khwaja-i Jahan received the title of Maliku-sh Shark (King of the East); and the administration of all Hindustan, from Kanauj to Bihar, was placed in his charge. In the month of Rajab, 796 H., he proceeded to Hindustan with twenty elephants; and after chastising the rebels of Etawa, Kol, Kahura-kanil,

⁴⁶ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* and *Badauni* agree in this, but Firishta says he was made "*Vakilu-s saltanat* and *Amiru-l umara*."

and the environs of Kanauj, he went to Jaunpur. By degrees he got the fiefs of Kanauj, Karra, Oudh, Shadidah,⁴¹ Dalamau, Bahraich, Bihar, and Tirhut, into his own possession. He put down many of the infidels, and restored the forts which they had destroyed. God Almighty blessed the arms of Islam with power and victory. The Rai of Jajnagar and the King of Lakhnauti now began to send to Khwaja-i Jahan the elephants which they used to send [*as tribute*] to Dehli.⁴²

About the same time, Sarang Khan was sent to Dibalpur, to get possession of the fiefs, and to suppress the rebellion of Shaikha Khokhar. In the month of Sha'ban, he proceeded to Dibalpur, where he recruited and disciplined the soldiers and officers, and got possession of the fief (*ikta'*). In Zi-l ka'da, 796 H., having taken with him Rai Khul Chain Bhatti and Rai Daud Kamal Main, and the army of Multan, he crossed the Satladar (Sutlej) near the town of Tirharah, and the Biyah, near Duhali, and came into the country of Lahor. When Shaikha Khokhar heard of Sarang Khan's advance, he also collected his forces, and attacked the neighbourhood of Dibalpur, and laid siege to Ajodhan; but on being informed that Sarang Khan had passed Hindupat, and had sat down [*against Lahor*], he left Ajodhan in the night, and proceeded to Lahor. On the next day the hostile forces prepared for battle, and placed themselves in array at Samuthalla, twelve *kos* from Lahor. Sarang Khan obtained the victory, and Shaikha Khokhar went into Lahor. In the night, however, he collected his wives and children, and fled to the Jud mountains. On the following day, Sarang Khan obtained possession of the fort of Lahor, and giving his brother Malik Kandhu the title of 'Adil Khan, he left him there, and himself returned to Dibalpur.

In the month of Sha'ban, the Sultan, taking with him Sa'dat Khan, went on an excursion to Bayana, leav-

⁴¹ Sandila.

⁴² This was the beginning of the *Sharki* dynasty of Jaunpur.

ing Mukarrab Khan at the capital, in charge of the elephants and royal family. When the Sultan approached Gwaliyar (Gwalior), Malik 'Alau-din Dharwal, Mubarak Khan son of Malik Raju, and Mallu Khan brother of Sarang Khan, formed a conspiracy against the latter; but he got information of it, and seizing Malik 'Alau-din and Mubarak Khan, he put them to death. Mallu Khan fled, and took refuge with Mukarrab Khan in Dehli. The Sultan returning from his journey, encamped near the city, and Mukarrab Khan came forth to meet him. He received the honour of an interview, but fear and apprehension filled his heart, so he went back into the city and made ready for war. Next day the sultan, having placed Sa'dat Khan over all the *amirs*, *maliks*, and elephants, approached the *maidan* gate in battle array, Mukarrab Khan shut himself up, and the fight began. For three months the war continued, till at length some of the Sultan's friends took him into the city, in the month of Muharram, 797 H. (November, 1394 A.D.). But then the elephants and royal horses, and all the paraphernalia of government, were left in the hands of Sa'dat Khan. The position of Mukarrab Khan was strengthened by the presence of the Sultan, and next day he assembled the soldiers and *bazar* people, and led them out in a sortie against the investing forces. Sa'dat Khan got timely notice of the sortie, and drew up his men in the *maidan*. Sharp fighting followed, but Mukarrab Khan was worsted, and obliged to retreat into the city, with his men, greatly disheartened. Still Sa'dat Khan could not take the fort, and fell back. He encamped near the *hauz-i khass*; and finding the fortifications of Dehli impregnable, and the rainy season coming on, he raised the siege, and marched to Firozabad. He conspired with the *amirs*, who supported him, to raise some one of the sons of the late Sultan Firoz Shah to the sovereignty, and place him on the throne in Firozabad. Nusrat Khan, son of Fath Khan, son of Sultan Firoz Shah, was in Mewat. They brought him forward, and in the month Rabi'u-l

awwal raised him to the throne, in the palace of Firozabad, under the title of Nasiru-din Nusrat Shah. But he was a mere puppet, and all the direction of affairs was in the hands of Sa'dat Khan. Only a few days had passed, when some of the old Firoz Shahi slaves, and some of the elephant-keepers, attached themselves to Nasiru-din, and while Sa'dat Khan was unsuspecting of danger, they placed Nasiru-din upon an elephant, and suddenly attacked him, before he could gather his friends around him. Unable to resist, he escaped from the palace by the door of the harem. Some of his soldiers joined him, and with them he fled to Dehli, and presented himself to Mukarrab Khan, by whom, a few days afterwards, he was treacherously seized and killed.

The *amirs* and *maliks* who remained in Forizabad, such as Muhammad Muzaffar, *wazir*; Shahab Nahir, Malik Fazlu-llah Balkhi, and the old Firoz Shahi slaves, all joined Sultan Nasiru-din [Nusrat Khan], and pledged their faith to him. Muhammad Muzaffar was made *wazir*, and received the title of Tatar Khan, Shahab Nahir became Shahab Khan, and Fazlullah became Katlagh Khan, and Malik Almas Sultani received the command of the royal slaves. He became sovereign in Dehli and Firozabad.⁴³

Mukarrab Khan had secured Bahadur Nahir and his adherents, and had placed him in charge of the fortress of Old Dehli. Mallu was entitled Ikbal Khan, and received charge of the fortress of Siri. At length fights came to be daily occurrences between Dehli and Firozabad, Musulmans shed the blood of each other, and neither party could obtain the mastery. The districts (*shikk*) in the Doab, and the fiefs (*lkta's*) of Sambhal, Panipat, Jhajhar, and Ruhtak, were in the possession of Sultan Nasiru-din [Nusrat Khan], while Sultan Mahmud held no place except the forts above named. The *amirs* and

⁴³ There is clearly an error here. The true version is no doubt that given in the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, "In Dehli and Firozabad there were two kings."

maliks of the outlying territories (*balad-i mamalik*) set themselves up as rulers, at their own pleasure, and kept all the wealth and revenue in their own hands. Things went on thus for three years. Deadly contests were of daily occurrence between Dehli and Firozabad, and of varying results. Sometimes the men of Dehli had to throw themselves into their fortress, sometimes they drove their adversaries into the fort of Firozabad.

In the year 798 H. (1396 A.D.), Sarang Khan quarrelled with Khir Khan, *amir* of Multan, and much fighting went on between them. At length some of the people (*ghulam*) of Malik Mardan Bhatti joined Sarang Khan, and with their assistance he got possession of the district (*shikk*) of Multan. Having assembled a considerable force, he in the month of Ramazan, 799 (May, 1397 A.D.), marched against Samana, and besieged the *amir* Ghalib Khan. When he was no longer able to hold out, Ghalib Khan fled, with a small party of horse and foot, to Panipat, to join Tatar Khan. As soon as Sultan Nasir Shah (Nusrat Khan) heard of this, he sent Malik Almas, commander of the slaves, with ten elephants and a small army, to Tatar Khan, with orders to march against Samana, expel Sarang Khan, and to reinstate Ghalib Khan. On the 15th Muharram, 800 H. (9th October, 1397 A.D.), a battle was fought at the village of Kurila,⁴⁴ and Tatar Khan gained the victory. Sarang Khan fled towards Multan, and Tatar Khan pursued him as far as Talwandi, when he sent Rai Kamalu-d din Main in pursuit, and returned.

In the month of Rabi'u-l awwal, 800 (November-December 1397), Pir Muhammad, grandson of Amir Timur, King of Khurasan, crossed the river Sind with a numerous army, and laid siege to Uch. 'Ali Malik, who held Uch for Sarang Khan sustained the siege for about a month, when Sarang Khan sent his *naib* Malik Taju-d din, and some other *amirs* with 4,000 horse, to his assistance. Pir Muhammad, on hearing of their approach, left Uch, and fell upon this force at the village of Tamtama,

⁴⁴ See *supra*, p. 97.

on the banks of the Biyah. The attack was unexpected, and resistance was unavailing; many perished by the sword, and many threw themselves into the river and were drowned. Taju-d din fled, with a small party of horse, to Multan. Pir Muhammad pursued him, and Sarang Khan, being unable to oppose him in the field, was obliged to shut himself up in the fortress. The siege went on for six months, and then want of forage and provisions compelled Sarang Khan to surrender in the month of Ramazan, 800. Pir Muhammad made Sarang Khan and his family and dependents, and all the people of the city, prisoners. He also took possession of the fortress, and encamped his army there.

In the month of Shawwal, Ikbāl Khan joined himself to Sultan Nasir-u-din [Nusrat Khan], and a compact was made between them at the tomb of the Shaikh-u-l-mashaikh Nizam-u-l-hakk wa-u-s-shara [Kutbu-d-din Bakhtiyar Kaki]. He placed the Sultan [Nusrat Khan] upon an elephant, and conducted him into the Jahan-panah. Sultan Mahmud, Mukarrab Khan, and Bahadur Nahir, were shut up in Old Dehli. On the third day, Ikbāl Khan treacherously attacked Sultan Nasir-u-din [Nusrat Khan], who, being unable to resist, fled, with a small party of men and elephants, to Firozabad. Ikbāl Khan pursued with his forces, and all the elephants fell into his hands. The prince escaping to Firozabad, fled from thence with his family and dependents, crossed the Jumna, and went to Tatar Khan. Firozabad then came into the possession of Ikbāl Khan. After this, fighting went on daily for two months between Mukarrab Khan and Ikbāl Khan; but at length some *amirs* interfered, and made peace between them. Mukarrab Khan then entered Jahan-panah with Sultan Mahmud, and Ikbāl Khan stayed in Siri. Suddenly Ikbāl Khan proceeded with a party of his followers to the house of Mukarrab Khan, took him, and slew him without mercy. He then kept Sultan Mahmud in his power as a puppet, and himself directed all matters of government.

In the month of Zi-l ka'da, Ikbāl Khan marched against Tatar Khan at Panipat. When information of this reached the latter, he left his baggage and materials of war in Panipat, and marched with a strong force against Dehli. Ikbāl Khan invested Panipat, and captured the place in three days. Tatar Khan also attacked Dehli, but notwithstanding his efforts, he could not take it. When he heard of the fall of Panipat, he gave up the siege, and fled with his army to his father in Gujarat. Ikbāl Khan took the elephants, horses, etc., from Panipat, and returned to Dehli. Malik Nasir-ul Mulk, relation (*karib*) of Tatar Khan, joined the victor, and received from him the title of 'Adil Khan, and a fief in the Doab.⁴⁵ Ikbāl Khan then devoted himself to affairs of State.

In the month of Safar, 801 H. (October, 1398 A.D.), intelligence came that Amir Timur, King of Khurasan, had attacked Talina,⁴⁶ and was staying at Multan, and that he had put to the sword all the soldiers of Sarang Khan, who had been taken prisoners by Pir Muhammad. This intelligence filled Ikbāl Khan with dread and anxiety. Amir Timur continuing his march, besieged Bhatnir, took the *rai* Khul Chain prisoner, and put the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to Samana, and many inhabitants of Dibalpur, Ajodhan, and Sarsuti, fled in terror to Dehli. Many prisoners were taken, and most of these received the glory of martyrdom. Then he crossed over the Jumna into the Doab, and ravaged the greater part of the country. He made a halt at the town of Loni, and there he put to the sword all the prisoners whom he had taken between the rivers Sind and Ganges, in all 50,000 men, more or less : God knows the truth. Such was the terror inspired by him, that Musulmans and Hindus fled before him, some to the mountains, some to the deserts, some to the waves of the

⁴⁵ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says, "Samana as far as the middle of the Doab."

⁴⁶ This name is so given also in the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, and in Badauni.

rivers, and some to Dehli. In Jumada-l awwal, having crossed the Jumna, he halted at Firozabad, and next day he took up his position at the top of the *Hauz-i khass*. Ikbāl Khan came out with his elephants, and gave battle to Amir Timur in the *maidan*. At the first charge, he was defeated by the warriors of Timur, and escaped through a thousand difficulties with his elephants into the city. But as they retreated into the city, many men were crushed under foot and died, and heaps of dead were left. When night came on, Ikbāl Khan and Sultan Mahmud, leaving their wives and children behind, came out of the city. The Sultan fled to Gujarat, and Ikbāl Khan crossed the river Jumna and went to Baran. Next day Amir Timur granted quarter to the city, and took the ransom money from the inhabitants. On the fourth day he gave orders that all the people in the city should be made prisoners, and this was done.⁴⁷

Some days afterwards, Khizr Khan, who had fled in fear of Timur to the mountains of Mewat, Bahadur Nahir, Mubarak Khan, and Zirak Khan, by the favour of Amir Timur, were admitted to an interview, but, with the exception of Khizr Khan,⁴⁸ they were all put into prison. From Dehli, Timur returned, by the skirts of the hills, and made prisoners of those people who had remained in the hills. When he arrived at Lahor, he plundered the city, and he made Shaikha Khokhar prisoner, with his wives and children, and all those who had taken refuge with him. This Shaikha Khokhar, through enmity to Sarang Khan, had early joined Timur,

⁴⁷ Nizamu-d din Ahmad, who is quoted by Firishta, is more explicit in his *Tabakat-i Akbari*. He says: "Timur granted quarter to the people of the city, and appointed a number of persons to collect the ransom-money. Some of the citizens, incensed by the harshness of the collectors, resisted and killed several of them. This daring incited the anger of Timur, and he gave orders to kill or make prisoners the people of the city. On that day many were captured or slain, but at length Timur was moved to pity and issued an edict of mercy."

⁴⁸ "Whom Timur knew to be a *saiyid* and a good man."—*Tabakat-i Akbari*.

and had acted as his guide, in return for which he had received mercy and favour. Timur granted the fiefs of Multan and Dibalpur to Khir Khan, and sent him thither. Then he marched through Kabul to his own territories, and arrived at his capital, Samarkand.

After the departure of Timur, the neighbourhood of Dehli, and all those territories over which his armies had passed, were visited with pestilence (*waba*) and famine. Many died of the sickness, and many perished with hunger, and for two months Dehli was desolate. In the month of Rajab, 801 (March, 1399 A.D.), Sultan Nasiru-d din Nusrat Shah, who had fled from the malevolence of Ikbāl Khan into the Doab, advanced with a small force to Mirat, where he was joined by 'Adil Khan, who brought four elephants. By craft he (Nusrat Khan) got him into his power, and took possession of the elephants.⁴⁸ The people of the Doab, who had obtained deliverance from the hands of the Mughals, began to rally, and he entered Firozabad with about 2,000 horse. Dehli, although ruined, came into his power. Shahab Khan came from Mewat, with ten elephants and his adherents; Malik Almas also joined him from the Doab. When a large force had collected round him, he sent Shahab Khan to Baran to overpower Ikbāl Khan. On his way, a party of Hindu footmen fell upon him in the night and killed him. His followers dispersed, and the elephants were abandoned. Directly Ikbāl Khan heard of this, he hastened to the spot, and got possession of the elephants. His power and dignity increased daily, and forces gathered round him, while Sultan Nasiru-d din [Nusrat Khan] grew weaker and weaker.

In the month of Rabi'ul-l awwal, Ikbāl Khan left Baran, and proceeded with his army to Dehli; the Sultan [Nusrat Khan] then left Firozabad, and went into Mewat. Dehli fell into the power of Ikbāl Khan, and he took up

⁴⁸ This is not mentioned in the *Tabakat-i Akhbari*, or by Badauni. Firishta confirms it, but the fact does not appear in the translation.

his abode in the fort of Siri. Some of the people of the city who had escaped the Mughals, came back and resumed their habitations. In a short time the fortress of Siri became populated. The districts (*shikk*) in the Doab, and the fiefs in the neighbourhood of the capital, came into the possession of Ikbāl Khan; but the territories in general remained in the power of the *amirs* and *maliks* who held them. Thus Gujarat, and all its districts and dependencies, was held by Zafar Khan Wajib-ūl-Mulk; the *shikk* of Multan, Dibalpur and parts of Sind, by Khizr Khan; the *shikk* of Mahoba and Kalpi, by Mahmud Khan, son of Malik-zada Firoz; the fiefs (*ikta's*) on the side of Hindustan, such as Kanauj, Oudh, Karra; Dalamau, Sandila, Bahraich, Bihar, and Jaunpur, were held by Khwaja-i Jahan; the *shikk* of Dhar, by Dilawar Khan; the *shikk* of Samana, by Ghalib Khan; and the *shikk* of Bayana, by Shams Khan—into so many portions were the territories of Dehli divided.

In the month of Rabi'ū-l-awwal, Ikbāl Khan marched towards Bayana against Shams Khan, who was at the town of Nuh o Batal.⁵⁰ A battle followed, and fortune (*ikbal*) favoured Ikbāl Khan. Shams Khan fled into Bayana, leaving two elephants in the hands of the victor. Then Ikbāl Khan marched against Katehr, and after exacting money and tribute from Rai Singh, he returned to Dehli. In the same year, Khwaja-i Jahan died at Jaunpur, and his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, became king in his stead, assuming the title of Mubarak Shah, and taking possession of all the fiefs (*ikta's*).

In Jumada-l-awwal, 803 (December, 1400), Ikbāl Khan again marched towards Hindustan, and was waited upon by Shams Khan, of Bayana, and Mubarak Khan, [son of] Bahadur Nahir. He carried them with him, and in the same month he reached Pattiali, on the banks of

⁵⁰ *Nuh wa Batal*; Badauni confirms this, but writes Patal, instead of Batal.

the black river.⁵¹ Here he encountered Rai Sir⁵² and other infidels, with a numerous army. On the following day a battle took place, and God, who defends the Muhammadan religion, gave the victory to Ikbāl Khan. The infidels fled, and he pursued them to the confines of Etawa, killing many, and making many prisoners. From thence he proceeded to the district (*khitta*) of Kanauj, and Sultan-u-sh Shark Mubarak Shah came up from Hindustan. The river Ganges flowed between the two armies, and neither was able to cross. This state of affairs continued for two months, when each party retired to his own home. On his journey, Ikbāl Khan became suspicious of [Mubarak Khan and] Shams Khan, and having got them into his power [he put them to death.]⁵³

In this year Taghi Khan Turkchi Sultani, son-in-law of Ghalib Khan, *amir* of Samana, assembling a considerable force, marched towards Dibalpur, against Khizr Khan. When intelligence of this was brought to Khizr Khan, he prepared for the attack, and marched with a large force into the *khitta* of Ajodhan. A battle was fought there on the 9th Rajab, on the banks of the Dahanda. Khizr Khan was victorious, and Taghi Khan fled to the town of Asahuhār.⁵⁴ Ghalib Khan, and other *amirs* who were with him, then treacherously killed him.

In the year 804 H. (1401), Sultan Mahmud left the *khitta* of Dhar, and proceeded to Dehli. Ikbāl Khan came forth to give him a formal reception, and the Sultan went to the Humayun palace in Jahan-panah. But the reins of government were in the hands of Ikbāl Khan, and so hatred sprang up between him and the Sultan.

⁵¹ "A'b-i siyah," or the "Kala-pani." Badauni and Firishṭa agree in saying "the Ganges."

⁵² Firishṭa agrees with the other authorities in this name, but the translation says, "the Ray of Sirinugur, (the ancient name of Bilgaram, which was at that time a principality)." But see *supra*, notes 35 and 36, pp. 97-98.

⁵³ The necessary words in brackets are from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁵⁴ So in the MS., but the *Tabakat-i Akbari* has "Bahudar," and Badauni "Bahuhār."

Ikbāl Khan again went to Kanauj, and took the Sultan with him. In this year Sultan Mubarak Shah (of Jaunpur) died, and his brother, Ibrahim Shah, succeeded him as king, under the title of Sultan Ibrahim. On hearing of the approach of Sultan Mahmud and Ikbāl Khan, he marched out to meet them with a large force. When the two armies were near to each other, and the battle was imminent, Sultan Mahmud left the army of Ikbāl Khan, on the pretence of hunting, and went to join Sultan Ibrahim, but Ibrahim paid him not the slightest attention, so he departed, and went into the *khilla* of Kanauj. There he expelled Malik-zada Harbui, who had held the place for Mubarak Shah, and installed himself in his place. Ikbāl Khan returned to Dehli, and Ibrahim Shah went to Jaunpur. At Kanauj all ranks of people joined the Sultan, and the scattered guards and dependents rallied round him. The Sultan himself was content with this *ikhtā'* of Kanauj.

In Jumada-l awwal, 805 H (Dec. 1402), Ikbāl Khan marched against Gwaliyar (Gwalior), the fort of which place had been treacherously wrested from the hands of the Musulmans during the Mughal invasion by the accursed Nar Singh. When Nur Singh died, his son, Biram^{ss} Deo, succeeded him in the possession of the fort. It was very strong, and it was impossible to take it by assault; so Ikbāl Khan returned, after plundering the country, to Dehli. Next year he again marched against it. The son of Biram Deo advanced to meet Ikbāl Khan, and fought with him at the fort of Dholpur, but he was defeated, and driven into the fort. Many of the infidels were slain, and during the night he evacuated the fort, and went off to Gwalior. Ikbāl Khan pursued him to Gwalior, and after plundering the open country, he returned to Dehli. In the year 806 H. (1403-4) Tatar Khan, *amir* of Gujarat, basely seized his own father, and sent him prisoner to Asawal (Ahmadabad). He then

^{ss} Probably Brahma Deo, as in the translation of Firishta. In the text of Firishta it is "Baram."

made himself king with the title of Sultan Nasiru-d din Muhammad Shah. He collected a large army, with the object of attacking Dehli. On his march thither he was poisoned by Shams Khan and died. His father Zafar Khan was brought from Asawal by night, and the whole army submitted to him.

In 807 H. (1404 A.D.), Ikbāl Khan marched against Etawa. Rai Sarwar,⁵⁵ the *Rai* of Gwalior, the *Rai* of Jalhar, and other *rais*, had come there and were shut up in Etawa. The siege was carried on against them for four months, but at last they gave tribute and four elephants, on account of Gwalior, and so made peace. In the month of Shawwal, Ikbāl Khan proceeded from Etawa to Kanauj, and fought against Sultan [Mahmud], but the place was strong, and he could not take it, so he returned to Dehli disappointed.

In the month of Muharram, 808 H. (July, 1405 A.D.), Ikbāl Khan marched against Samana. Bahram Khan Turk-bacha,⁵⁷ who had fought against his nephew the son of Sarang Khan,⁵⁸ fled through fear to the mountains of Badhnor.⁵⁹ Ikbāl Khan proceeded to the town of Arubar⁶⁰ in these mountains, and there halted. Finally, Makhdum-zada Shaikh 'Alamu-d din, grand-son of Hazrat Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, interposed, and relying upon him, Bahram Khan came to Ikbāl Khan, and had an interview. From thence Ikbāl Khan marched towards Multan. When he reached Talawndi, Rai Kamalu-d din arrived. Here he seized Bahram Khan, Rai Daud Kamal Main, and Rai Himu [son of] Khul Chain Bhatti.⁶¹ On the third he flayed Bahram Khan, and securing the others, he

⁵⁵ See *supra*, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁷ Firishṭa says he was one of the "*Khana-zadon i Firozshahi*," or son of one of Firoz Shah's Turki slaves.

⁵⁸ The *Tabakat-i Akbari*, Badauni and Firishṭa, all agree in saying, more simply and intelligibly, "who had fought against Sarang Khan."

⁵⁹ "Halhor" and "Hadoz" in the MS., "Dahor" in Firishṭa. "Badhnor" is from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁶⁰ Rupar?

⁶¹ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* agrees essentially, but Firishṭa says, "Rai Daud, Kamal Bhatti, and Rai Habbu, son of Rai Rati."

carried them with him. When he reached the banks of the Dahanda, near the *khitta* of Ajodhan, he was met by Khizr Khan and a large army. On the 19th Jumada-l awwal, 808 H. (12th November, 1405), a battle was fought between them. At the first charge, Ikbāl Khan was defeated, and fled. He was pursued, and his horse fell upon him and wounded him, so that he could not escape. He was killed, and his head was cut off and sent to Fathpur.

Daulat Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan, and other *amirs*, sent a deputation to Sultan Mahmud, urging him to take the government. In the month Jumada-l akhir, the Sultan left Kanauj with a small force, and proceeded to the capital, where he assumed the sovereignty. The family and dependents of Ikbāl Khan were removed from Dehli, and sent into the *khitta* of Kol. Daulat Khan was made *faujdar* of the Doab; and Ikhtiyar Khan received the gift of the palace of Firozabad. Iklim Khan Bahadur Nahir brought two elephants as an offering, and joined the Sultan. In the month of Jumada-l awwal, 809 H. (October, 1406), the Sultan went to Kanauj, and Daulat Khan was sent with an army to Samana. As the Sultan approached Kanauj, Sultan Ibrahim threatened the city, and crossing the Ganges, sat down against it. But after a time he retired to Jaunpur, and the Sultan returned to Dehli. As he proceeded homewards, his army dispersed; the men going off their respective fiefs (*ikhtā's*). Ibrahim Shah (heard of the Sultan's retreat) as he was journeying homewards, and immediately returned to Kanauj, and there besieged Mahmud Tarmati, who had been left in command by Sultan Mahmud. He held out for four months, but when no one came to the rescue, he of necessity surrendered. The fief of Kanauj was then given to Ikhtiyar Khan, grandson of Malik Yar Khan Kampila.

Having passed the rainy season in Kanauj, he (Ibrahim Shah) marched against Dehli in the month of Jumada-l awwal, 810 H. (October, 1407). Nusrat Khan Gurg-andaz, Tatar Khan son of Sarang Khan, and Malik

Marhaba *ghulam* of Ikbāl Khan, deserted Sultan Mahmud, and joined Ibrahim Shah. Asad Khan Lodi was besieged (by Ibrahim Shah) in the fort of Sambhal. On the second day he surrendered, and the fort was given by Ibrahim to Tatar Shah. From thence Ibrahim Shah marched towards Dehli, intending to cross the Jumna at the ford of Kicha. But intelligence was brought to him that Zafar Khan had conquered the territory of Dhar, and having made Alp Khan, son of Dilawar Khan, prisoner, he intended to proceed to Jaunpur. Starting from the ford of Kichar, he (Ibrahim Shah) returned by regular marches to Jaunpur, leaving Marhaba Khan with a small force in the fort of Baran. In the month of Zi-l ka'da, Sultan Mahmud marched from Dehli against Baran. Marhaba Khan came forth to meet him, and a battle followed, in which the Khan was worsted and driven into the fort. The Sultan's men pursued, and entering the fort they killed Marhaba Khan. The Sultan then proceeded to Sambhal, but before he came to the banks of the Ganges, Tatar Khan evacuated the fort and went off to Kanauj. The Sultan left the place in charge of Asad Khan, and returned to Delhi.

Daulat Khan Lodi had been sent against Samana, which, after the murder of Bahram Khan Turk-bacha, had been taken possession of by Bairam Khan. On the 11th Rajab, 809,⁶² a battle was fought between them about two *kos* from Samana, and Daulat Khan was victorious. Bairam Khan fled to Sirhind, but after a time, Daulat Khan forgave him and patronized him. Bairam Khan had previously made an engagement with Khizr Khan, and had promised to serve him, so when Khizr Khan heard of the capture of Samana, he proceeded with a strong force against Daulat Khan. On his reaching Fathabad, Daulat Khan fled across the Jumna, and all the *amirs* and *maliks* who had been connected with him joined Khizr Khan. He confided the *shikh* of Hisar

⁶² The *Tabakat-i Akbari* confirms this date, but Firishta makes it 810, which seems to be the more correct.

Firozah to Kiwam Khan, and the fiefs of Samana and Sannam were taken from Bairam Khan and granted to Zirak Khan, the fief of Sirhind and some other *parganas* were given to Bairam Khan, and Khizr Khan then returned to Fathpur. Bayana, the Doab, and the fief of Ruhtak, were all that now remained in the possession of Sultan Mahmud.

In the month of Rajab, 811 H. (December, 1408), Sultan Mahmud went to Hisar Firozah, and besieged Kiwam Khan in the fort. After some days Kiwam Khan made proposals of peace, and sent his son to the Sultan with tribute. The Sultan then returned through Dhatrath to Dehli. Khizr Khan, when he heard of this, marched quickly to Fathabad and chastised the people who had joined the Sultan. On the 11th Ramazan, he (Khizr Khan) sent Maliku-sh Shark Malik Tuhfa with a strong force to attack Dhatrath, and Fath Khan fled with his household into the Doab. Many of the people who remained there were pondered and made prisoners. Khizr Khan proceeded through Ruhtak to Dehli, and besieged it; Sultan Mahmud being in the fort of Siri, and Ikhtiyar Khan in the palace of Firozabad. A scarcity of forage ensued, and Khizr Khan withdrew across the Jumna into the Doab, but meeting with resistance there, he re-crossed the river and marched to Fathpur.

In the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.), Bairam Khan Turkbacha turned against Khizr Khan, and joined himself to Daulat Khan. On hearing of this defection, Khizr Khan proceeded to Sirhind. Bairam Khan sent his family into the mountains, and proceeded himself with his forces to join Daulat Khan at the ford of the Jumna. Khizr Khan pursued him, and halted on the bank of the river. Bairam Khan having no hope of escape, felt himself vanquished and helpless, so he went [and submitted] to Khizr Khan, who restored to him his *parganas*. Khizr Khan then returned to Fathpur. During this year the Sultan remained in the capital, and made no excursion.

In the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.), Khizr Khan marched to Ruhtak, and besieged Idris Khan in the fort. The war went on for six months, but at length being reduced to extremity, Idris Khan sent out a large sum of money as tribute, and his son as a hostage, and so making peace, he bound himself by engagements to Khizr Khan. After this Khizr Khan returned through Samana to Fathpur. Sultan Mahmud went to Katehr, and after hunting there, returned to the capital. The whole business of the State was fallen into the greatest disorder. The Sultan gave no heed to the duties of his station, and had no care for the permanency of the throne; his whole time was devoted to pleasure and debauchery.

In 814 H. (1411 A.D.), Khizr Khan proceeded to Ruhtak. Malik Idris and Malik Mubariz Khan his brother, received the *khitta* of Hansi, and were honoured by being allowed to kiss the feet.⁶³ They received many other favours. After this Khizr Khan plundered the town of Narnaul, which was in the possession of Iklim Khan and Bahadur Nahir. Then he went to Mewat, and plundered the towns of Tajarah, Sarath, and Kharol, and having pillaged other places in Mewat, he returned, and proceeding to Dehli, he invested the fort of Siri. Sultan Mahmud was in the fort, and Ikhtiyar Khan held the palace of Firozabad for him. The contest went on till Ikhtiyar Khan joined Khizr Khan, who then removed from before Siri, and took possession of the fort of Firozabad. Thus he became master of the fiefs of the Doab, and of the neighbourhood of the capital.

As grain and forage were scarce, in Muharram, 815 H. (April, 1412 A.D.), he proceeded by Panipat to Firozpur. In Jumada-l awwal, Sultan Mahmud went to Katehr, and after spending some days there hunting, he returned to Dehli. On his way home he was seized with illness in the month of Rajab,⁶⁴ and died. He reigned,

⁶³ This shows that Khizr Khan had assumed regal state.

⁶⁴ The other authorities agree in saying Zi-l ka'da.

through all these many vicissitudes and misfortunes, twenty years and two months.

After the death of the Sultan, the *amirs* and *maliks*, and royal servants, pledged their faith to Daulat Khan. Mubariz Khan and Malik Idris abandoned Khizr Khan, and went over to Daulat Khan. During this year, Khizr Khan remained in Fathpur, and did not go to Dehli.

In Muharram, 816 H. (April, 1413), Daulat Khan went to Katehr, where Rai Har Singh and other *rais* came to wait upon him. When he reached Pattiali, Muhabat Khan, *amir* of Badaun, joined him. Intelligence was now brought that Sultan Ibrahim was besieging Kadir Khan, son of Sultan Mahmud Khan [in Kalpi],⁶⁵ but Daulat Khan had not sufficient forces to attempt to relieve him. In Jumada-l awwal, Khizr Khan led his forces out of Dehli, and when he went to Hisar Firozah, all the *amirs* and *maliks* of that country gathered round him. Siege was laid to the fort of Ruhtak, in which Idris Khan was living, and Khizr Khan passing near, went into Mewat. Jalal Khan, nephew of Iklim Khan Bahadur Nahir, came to wait upon him. Turning back from thence, he went into Sambhal, and laid the country waste. In the month Zi-l hijja he proceeded to Dehli, and posted himself in front of the gate of Siri. At length Malik Lona and some partisans of Khizr Khan in the city conspired together, and [gave him such assistance that] he obtained possession of the gate of the *naubat-khanah*. When Daulat Khan saw that his position was desperate, he begged for quarter. Khizr Khan gave him an interview, and then consigning him to the charge of Kiwan Khan, he sent him to the fort of Hisar Firozah. Khizr Khan thus obtained possession of Delhi on the 8th Rabi'u-l awwal, 817 H. (23rd May, 1414 A.D.)

Khizr Khan ⁶⁶

KHIZR KHAN was the son of Maliku-sh Shark Malik

⁶⁵ *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁶⁶ The title of *Sultan* or *Badshah* is not given to Khizr Khan. He wielded the sovereign power, but he professed and wished to be

Sulaiman, who was adopted in childhood, and brought up by Malik Nasiru-l Mulk Mardan Daulat.⁶⁷ Historians record that he was by descent a *saiyid*. The chief of the *saiyids*, Jalalu-d din Bokhari, once honoured the house of Malik Mardan with a visit, and when food was spread before his guest, Malik Mardan ordered Sulaiman to wash the great *saiyid's* hands. The *saiyid* said, "This is a *saiyid*, and is unfit for such work as this". As the great chief of the *saiyids* thus testified to Sultaiman being a *saiyid*, there can be no doubt that he was one. Another proof of his being a *saiyid* is, that he was generous, brave, merciful, considerate, true to his word, and kind : these are all virtues which were conspicuous in the Prophet, and were manifest in him.

When Malik Mardan died, Malik Shaikh his son obtained the fief of Multan, but he died soon after, and Malik Sulaiman succeeded him. He likewise soon afterwards died, and Khizr Khan then obtained Multan, considered the vicegerent of Timur, whose favour he had gained by politic submission while that conqueror was in India. To compensate for the want of the regal style, some curious titles are given to him, indicative of his fealty to Timur. In the heading of this chapter the words *Bandagi rayat-i 'ali*, "service of the exalted (or imperial) standards," are prefixed to his name. In other passages, especially before his attaining the throne, he is entitled *Masnad-i 'Ali*, "the exalted throne." The *Tabakat-i Akbari* styles him *Rayat-i 'ali*, "exalted standards." Badauni prefers the *Masnad-i 'ali*. Firishhta does not employ these expressions, but calls him simply "Saiyid Khizr Khan." The *Tabakat-i Akbari* gives the following explanation, which is quoted by Firishhta. "Although he (Khizr Khan) acquired the dignity of sovereign and the powers of ruler, he professed himself subordinate to Timur. He would not allow himself to be called *Badshah* (king), but was addressed as *Rayat-i 'ali*. At the beginning of his reign, the name of Timur was employed in the coins and in the *khutba*; afterwards the name of Shah Rukh was used; but at length Khizr Khan's name was introduced in the *khutba*, and prayers were offered for him." Firishhta adds, that for several years he sent appropriate tribute to Shah Rukh. As to the coins, see Thomas's "Pathan Kings," p. 328.

⁶⁷ The *Tabakat-i Akbari*, Badauni, and Firishhta all agree that Malik Sulaiman was the adopted son of Nasiru-l Mulk, and the context of our MS. accords. The actual wording of this passage, however, makes Khizr Khan to be the adopted son of Mardan, an evident error, which one little word in the text would rectify, and which has been admitted in the translation.

with all its dependencies, from Sultan Firoz Shah. God Almighty had chosen him for great work and a high station, and his dignity increased daily. The events of his campaigns and victories, before he accomplished the conquest of Dehli, have already been related. On the 15th Rabi'ul awwal, 817 (30th May, 1414 A.D.), he entered the fort of Siri, and posted his army in the palace of Sultan Mahmud. The people of the city, by force of late events, had become impoverished and needy, so he settled allowances and made provision for them. By this kindness, they were all made easy and happy. He gave to Malikush Shark Malik Tuhfa the title of Taju-l Mulk, and made him *wazir*. To Saiyid Salim, chief of the *saiyids*, he gave the *ikta'* and *shikk* of Saharanpur, and all affairs were set in order. He gave to Malik 'Abdu-r Rahim, adopted son of the late Malik Sulaiman, the title of 'Alau-l Mulk, and he confided to him the *ikta'* and *shikk* of Multan and Fathpur. He made Malik Sarwar governor (*shahna*) of the capital, and his *locum tenens* when he was himself absent. Malik Khairu-d din was made *'ariz-i mamalik* (muster-master), Malik Kalu keeper of the elephants, Malik Daud became secretary (*dabir*). Ikhtiyar Khan was appointed to the *shikk* of the Doab. The State officials were confirmed in the *parganas*, villages, and *ikta's*, which they had held in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, and were sent to look after them. Thus the affairs of State were all properly arranged.

In the year 817 H. (1414 A.D.), Malikush Shark Taju-l Mulk was sent out with the army of Hindustan, while Khizr Khan himself remained in the capital. Taju-l Mulk crossed the Jumna, and went to the town of Ahar. Then he crossed the Ganges into the country of Katehr, and chastised and plundered the infidels of that country. Rai Har Singh fled into the mountains of Anwala.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ MS. *kuhwati Anwala*; *Tabakat-i Akbari durrat anwala*; *Badauni jangal anwala*. Firishta says simply the "*kohistan*" (mountains). See note *infra*, pp. 121-22.

When the army of Islam closed in upon him, he was helpless, and paid taxes, money, and tribute (*mahsul o mal o khidmati*). Muhabat Khan, *amir* of Badaun, came to wait upon Taju-l Mulk. After this interview, Taju-l Mulk pursuing the course of the Rahab, he arrived at the ford of Sarg-dwari, and there crossed the Ganges. He chastised the infidels of Khur⁶⁸ and Kambil (Kampila), and passing through the town of Sakina, he proceeded to Badham. Hasan Khan, *amir* of Rapri, and Malik Hamza his brother, came to wait upon him. The infidels of Gwalior, Seori, and Chandwar,⁷⁰ brought their money and taxes (*mal o mahsul*), and bowed their necks to the yoke of obedience. He wrested Jalesar from the possession of the infidels of Chandwar, and gave it to the Musulmans, who had formerly held it. He left his own officers there. Then passing along the Black river, he chastised the infidels of Etawa, and returned to the capital.

In the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.), Khizr Khan gave to his son, the exalted prince Maliku-sh Shark Malik Mubark, who was worthy to be a king, the *khittas* of Firozpur and Sirhind, and all the *ikta's* of the late Bairam Khan. He gave him command over all the west country, and sent Malik Sadhu Nadira to act as his deputy. When all the affairs of that country were satisfactorily arranged, the prince returned with Malik Sadhu Nadira, Zirak Khan, *amir* of Samana, and other *amirs* and *maliks*, to the capital.

In 819 H. (1416 A.D.), Khizr Khan sent Malik Taju-l with a great army to Bayana and Gwalior. When the Malik entered the country of Bayana, Malik Karimu-l Mulk, brother of Shams Khan, gave him a grand reception. From thence he proceeded to Gwalior and plundered the country, and having seized the money and

⁶⁸ "Now known as Shamsabad."—*Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁷⁰ Rapri, or Rapri, and Chandawar are on the Jumna, a few miles below Agra, in a country full of ravines, and well capable of being defended by a few men against thousands.—Elliot, edition of 1849, p. 192.

tribute of [the Rai of] Gwalior and other *rais*,⁷¹ he passed the Jumna opposite Chandawar, and went towards Kampila and Pattiali. Rai Har Singh, the occupier of Katehr, was submissive, so after taking the revenue and tribute from him, the Malik returned to the capital. Malik Sadhu Nadira had been sent to Sirhind as the representative of Prince Mubarak. In the month of Jumada-l awwal, some Turk-bachas⁷² of the family of Bariam Khan treacherously got Sadhu into their power and murdered him. They then seized upon the fort of Sirhind. Khizr Khan sent Malik Daud, the *dabir* (secretary), and Zirak Khan, to put down these rebels. The Turk-bachas fled across the Satladar (Sutlej), and escaped to the mountains. Daud pursued them thither, and for two months carried on operations in the hills. But their mountainous retreats were strong, and he was unable to subdue them, so he returned. While this was passing, intelligence arrived in the month of Rajab that Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat had laid siege to the fort of Nagor. Khizr Khan marched thither, passing between Tonak and Todah, and when Sultan Ahmad heard of his approach, he retreated towards Dhar. Khizr Khan went to new city Jhain (*shar-i nau Jhain*),⁷³ and Ilyas Khan, amir of Jhain, had the honour of an interview. Having repressed the disturbances in that quarter, Khizr Khan returned to Gwalior, and besieged the *rai* in the fort. As the fort was very strong, he could not take it, but he took money and revenue on account of Gwalior, and then proceeded to the *khitta* of Bayana, where Shams Khan Auhadi

⁷¹ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says, "having taken the fixed tribute from the Rai of Gwalior."

⁷² See *supra*, note 57, p. 112.

⁷³ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says, "*shahr-i nau-'arus Jhain*." Badauni has simply "*Jahaban*." Firishta says, "*shahr-i nau*, known as '*'arus-i jahan* (bride of the world)," and his words show that he meant *jahan*, and not Jhain, though he may have misunderstood the *Tabakat-i Akbari*. The title of "bride" was applied to a virgin fortress. See Note to the Translation of the *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* of Ziaud din Barni.

(*amir* of Bayana) also paid money and tribute. After this he returned to Dehli.

In 820 H. (1417 A.D.), Tughan Rais and sundry other *Turk-bachas*, who had slain Malik Sadhu, broke out in rebellion, and Khizr Khan sent Zirak Khan, *amir* of Samana, with strong force, to put them down. When he reached Samana, Tughan, and the other *Turk-bachas*, who had besieged Malik Kamal Badhan, representative of Khan-zada Mu'azzam, in the fort of Sirhind, went off to the mountains. Zirak Khan pursued them to the town of Bail.⁷⁴ Here Tughan Rais consented to pay a fine. He expelled the *Turk-bacha* murderers of Malik Sadhu from his hand, and gave his son as a hostage. Zirak Khan sent the youth and the money to Dehli, and himself returned to Samana.

In 821 H. (1418 A.D.), Khizr Khan sent Malik Tajul Mulk with a numerous army to repress the rebellion of Har Singh, of Katehr.⁷⁵ When this force crossed the Ganges, Har Singh laid waste the whole country of Katehr, and went into the jungle of Anwala, which borders that country for a distance of twenty-four *kos*. The army of Islam encamped near the jungle, and Har Singh being inclosed therein, had to fight. The royal forces were victorious, and all the furniture and baggage and arms and horses of the infidels fell into their hands. Har Singh fled towards the mountains of Kumayun. On the following day about twenty thousand horse were sent in pursuit, whilst Tajul Mulk remained stationary with his army and baggage. The forces of Islam crossed the Rahab, and pursued the enemy into the mountains of Kumayun. Har Singh pressed forward into the mountains, and on the fifth day the royal forces retired, after

⁷⁴ This name is given as *Bail* and *Mail* in the MS., and by the *Tabakat-i Akbari*. Firishta says "Pail."

⁷⁵ The Hindu name of the present province of Rohilkhand. At first the Muhammadan conquerors called all the country to the east of the Ganges Katehr, but subsequently, when Sambhul and Badaun were made separate governments, the country beyond the Ramganga only was called by that name.—Elliot, edition of 1849, p. 192.

having secured great spoil. Taju-l Mulk then fell back, and passing near Badaun, he crossed the Ganges at the ford of Bajlana. Muhabat Khan, *amir* of Badaun, there took leave of him, and he proceeded to Etawa. He ravaged that district, and besieged Rai Sarwar,⁷⁶ who held it; but the Rai offered money and tribute, and so secured peace. From thence Taju-l Mulk returned in the month of Rabi'ul akhîr triumphant to Dehli. He there presented the money and tribute which he had brought to Khizr Khan, and was most graciously received.

In 882 H. (1419 A.D.), Khizr Khan marched against Katehr. First he chastised the rebels in the country of Kol, after that he scoured the jungles of the Rahab and of Sambhal, and overthrew the rebels. From thence he proceeded, in the month of Zil ka'da, towards Badaun, and passed the Ganges near the town of Pattiali. When Muhabat Khan heard of this, his heart was struck with dismay, and he made preparations for standing a siege. In the month of Zil hijja, Khizr Khan invested the fort, and carried on the siege for six months. He was just upon the point of capturing it, when he received information that a conspiracy had been formed against him by some *amirs* and *maliks* of the late Mahmud Shah, who had been overpowered by Daulat Khan. Among them were Kiwam Khan and Ikhtiyar Khan. As soon as this came to his knowledge, Khizr Khan raised the siege of Badaun, and marched towards Dehli. On his march, by the banks of the Ganges, on the 20th Jumada-l awwal, 822 H., having captured Kiwam Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan, and other officers of the late Sultan Mahmud, he put them to death in punishment of their treason, and then repaired to Dehli.

Information was now given of an impostor who had assumed the name of Sarang Khan. It appeared that a man assuming the name of Sarang Khan⁷⁷ had appeared

⁷⁶ See *supra*, Note 28. Our MS. still calls him "Sabir," and Firishita here names him "Sambir."

⁷⁷ "Who died in the time of Timur's invasion."—Firishita.

in the mountains of Bajwara,⁷⁸ dependent on Jalandhar, and had given himself out to be Sarang Khan. Many foolish ignorant people [believed him, and he had assembled a party around him. Khizr Khan]⁷⁹ gave the *ikta* of Sirhind to [Malik Sultan Shah] Lodi, and deputed him to repress the pretender. Malik Sultan Shah, in the month of Rajab, proceeded with his own forces to Sirhind. The pretender Sarang, with his rustic adherents, then sallied forth from Bajwara, and when he approached the river Satladar (Sutlej), the people of Arubar (Rupar) also joined him. In the month of Sha'ban, he came near to Sirhind, and a battle was fought. Malik Sultan Shah Lodi obtained the victory, and the pretender was put to flight. He fled to the town of Tarsari,⁸⁰ one of the dependencies of Sirhind. Khwaja 'Ali Indarabi, *amir* of the town of Jbath, with his dependents, joined the pretender. Zirak Khan, *amir* of Samana, and Tughan, *rais* (chief) of the *Tark-bachas* of Jalandhar, came forward to strengthen Sultan Shah. Sultan Shah entered Sirhind, and the pretender Sarang then fled to Arubar (Rupar). Khwaja 'Ali now deserted him, and joined Zirak Khan. Next day the royal army advanced to Arubar (Rupar), and there halted, the pretender having fled to the mountains. While this was passing Malik Khairuddin Khani was also sent with a strong force against the pretender. In the month of Ramazan, he arrived at Arubar (Rupar), and there the forces united, and marched into the mountains in pursuit of the imposter. Sarang Khan's followers were vanquished and helpless, but the mountains were not easy of conquest, so the (royal) forces retreated. Malik Khairuddin proceeded to the capital, and Zirak Khan went to Samana, leaving Sultan

⁷⁸ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* and Badauni read "Bajwara," but Firishta makes it "Machiwara."

⁷⁹ There is an evident break in our MS. here, about a line being absent. The first two words are suggested by the context; the others are taken from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁸⁰ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* has "Lahori." Badauni and Firishta do not give the name.

Shah Lodi with a force in possession of Arubar. So the royal army was dispersed.

In 823 H. (1420 A.D.), the pretended Sarang Khan had a meeting with Tughan, chief of the Turk-bachas, when Tughan treacherously got the impostor into his power, and made him prisoner. He afterwards killed him. Khizr Khan remained in the capital, but he sent Malik Tajul Mulk with an army against Etawa. This army marched through the town of Baran, and came into the country of Kol. After suppressing the rebels in that quarter, it advanced into Etawa, and there destroyed the village of Dehli, the strongest place in the possession of the infidels. From thence, it marched against Etawa, and besieged Rai Sarwar,¹¹ who at length made peace, and paid his annual revenue and tribute. The army then proceeded to the country of Chandawar, which it plundered, and laid waste. It then marched into Katehr, where Rai Singh, the possessor of that country, paid further revenue and tribute. After that, Tajul Mulk returned to the capital. In the month of Rajab, intelligence arrived that Tughan Rais had a second time broken out into rebellion, and was besieging the fort of Sirhind, and that he had overrun the country as far as Mansurpur and Bail.¹² Khizr Khan again sent Malik Khairu-d din with an army to overpower him. He marched to Samana, and there united his forces to those of Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan. They then went in search of the rebel, but he being informed of their approach, crossed the river Satladar (Sutlej), at the town of Ludhiyana, and confronted the royal army from the other side of the river. But the waters were low, and the royal forces crossed. Tughan then fled into the country of Jusrath Khokhar. His fief (*ikta*) was given to Zirak Khan, and Malik Khairu-d din returned to Dehli.

In 824 H. (1421 A.D.), Khizr Khan marched to Mewat. Some of the Mewattis joined him, and the others were

¹¹ Still "Sabir" in the MS., and "Saru" in the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

¹² See note 74, *supra*.

besieged in the fortress of Kutila [belonging to] Bahadur Nahir. Khizr Khan sat down against the fort, and the Mewattis sallied forth to fight; but they were quickly defeated, the fort was taken, and they fled to the mountains. After destroying the fort of Kutila, Khizr Khan marched towards Gwalior. On the 7th Muharram, 824 H. (13th January, 1421 A.D.), Malik Tajul Mulk died, and the office of *wazir* was given to his eldest son, Maliku-sh Shark Malik Sikandar. When Khizr Khan arrived in Gwalior, his forces invested the fort, and overran the country. After realizing money and tribute, he proceeded to Etawa. Rai Sarwar of Etawa was dead, and his son being unable to make resistance, paid his revenue and tribute money. Khizr Khan was now taken ill, and returned to Dehli. On the 17th Jamada-l awwal, 824 H. (15th May, 1421 A.D.), after reaching the city, he died, and God in his mercy took him.

*Sultan-i 'azam wa Khudaigan-i mu'azzam Mu'azzam-d dunya wau-d din Mubarak Shah.*⁶³

Khizr Khan, three days before his death, nominated his excellent and worthy son as his heir-apparent. On the 19th Jumada-l awwal, 824, with the approval of the *amirs* and *maliks*,⁶⁴ Mubarak Shah took his seat upon the throne. Khizr Khan being dead, the people in general renewed their vows of allegiance to his throne. The *amirs* and *maliks*, the *imams*, *saiyids*, and *kazis*, and every one else who held appointments and emoluments in the late reign, were confirmed in their *ikta's*, *parganas*, villages (*dih*), parcels of ground (*kati*), and allotments (*mahdud*), by the new sovereign. He even increased them of his own accord. The fiefs of the *shikk* of Hisar Firozah

⁶³ Mubarak Shah, like his father, is in this work rarely called Sultan. He is commonly spoken of as *Khudawand Jahan-panah*, "the Lord, the asylum of the world."

⁶⁴ Briggs (*Firishta*, i., 512) sees in this a proof of the increased power of the aristocracy; but the same terms have been used in describing the accession of many of Mubarak Shah's predecessors, and so no inference can be drawn from them.

and of Hansi were taken from Malik Rajab Nadir and given to Maliku-sh Shark Malik Badah, the Sultan's nephew. Malik Rajab received the fiefs of the *shikk* of Dibalpur. News now arrived of the rebellion of Jusrath Shaikha Khokhar and Tughan Rais.

The cause of this outbreak was, that in 823 H. (1420 A.D.), Sultan 'Ali, King of Kashmir, led his army into the country of Thatta, but as he returned, he was encountered by Jusrath Khokhar. The Shah's army was scattered, part being still in Thatta, and part having come out. Incapable of sustaining the attack, it broke and fled. Shah 'Ali himself fell a prisoner into the hands of Jusrath, and all his baggage and stores were plundered. Jusrath Khokhar was an imprudent rustic. Intoxicated with victory, and elated with the strength of his forces, he began to have visions about Dehli. When he heard of the death of Khizr Khan, he passed the rivers Biyah and Satladar (Sutlej), with a body of horse and foot, and attacked Rai Kamalu-d din Main, at Talwandi. Rai Firoz fled before him towards the desert. Jusrath next plundered the country, from the town of Ludhiyana to the neighbourhood of Arubar (Rupar), on the Sutlej. Some days after, he re-crossed the river, and proceeded to Jalandhar. Zirak Khan withdrew into the fort, and Jusrath Khokhar pitched his camp three *kos* from the town, on the bank of the Beni. Negotiations went on between them, and terms of capitulation were agreed upon by both parties. The fort was to be evacuated and given into the charge of Tughan. Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan was to take a son of Tughan to wait upon the Sultan, and Jusrath was to send tribute, and return home. On the 2nd Jumada-l akhir, Zirak Khan came out of the fort of Jalandhar, and was conducted to Jusrath Khokhar, who was drawn up ready to receive him with his whole force. When Jusrath saw Zirak Khan in his power, he forgot his promise, and carefully guarding him, carried him off a prisoner over the Sutlej, to the town of Ludhiyana. From thence he marched on the 20th Jumada-l akhir, to

Sirhind, where he arrived in the middle of the rainy season. Malik Sultan Shah Lodi took refuge in the fort, and although Jusrath made great exertions, God guarded the fortress, and Jusrath failed to take it. When Malik Sultan Shah's appeals for assistance reached the ears of the Sultan, he, notwithstanding the rains, marched out of the city in the month of Rajab, and proceeded towards Sirhind. He reached the town of Kohila, in the neighbourhood of Samana, and Jusrath hearing of his approach, raised the siege of Sirhind, on the 27th Rajab, and retreated to Ludhiyana. He released Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan,** who then returned to Samana, and joined his sovereign. The royal army then advanced to Ludhiyana, and Jusrath Khokhar crossed to the other side of the river, where he encamped in full view of the Sultan's forces. He had got possession of all the boats, so the royal army was unable to pass. For nearly forty days they thus remained posted in sight of each other, until Canopus rose and the waters fell. The Sultan then retired to Kabulpur, and Jusrath Khokhar, keeping to the bank of the river, made a similar movement. On the 11th Shawwal, the king sent Sikandar Tuhfa, Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan, Maliku-sh Shark Mahmud Hasan, Malik Kalu, and several other *amirs*, with a strong force and six elephants, to cross the river higher up at Rupar. Early in the morning they crossed the river by a ford. On the same day, the king himself marched to the place where they had crossed. Jusrath Khokhar also, still, holding to the bank of the river, advanced by a parallel march; but when he heard that some forces had crossed the river, he was alarmed, and took up a position four *kos* distant from the ford. The Sultan then passed with his whole army, and hastened to meet him. As soon as the royal forces came in sight, the rebels fled without fighting, leaving all their baggage behind. The royal forces pursued, and many horse and foot men were killed. Jusrath

** Badauni agrees that he was released, but Firishta says he escaped. The *Tabakat-i Akbari* simply says he joined the Sultan.

fled hastily with some light-horse, to the town of Jalandhar, and on the second day he crossed the Biyah. When the royal army reached the Biyah, he made off to the Ravi. The Sultan crossed the Biyah at the foot of the hills, and reached the Ravi, near the town of Bhowa. He continued his pursuit across the river, and Jusrath then went over the Janhava,⁸⁶ and proceeded to Tekhar,⁸⁷ in the hills. Rai Bhim, the chief of Jammu, was honoured in an interview with the Sultan, and he then undertook to act as guide. He crossed the Janhava, and conducted the royal army to Tekhar, which was his [Jusrath Khokhar's]⁸⁸ strongest place. They destroyed the place, and made many of those who had there sought refuge prisoners. The royal army then retired victorious towards Lahor.

In Muharram, 825 H. (December, 1421), the Sultan entered the ruined city of Lahor,⁸⁹ in which no living thing except the owl of ill omen had its abode. After a while the Sultan turned his attention to the restoration of the city, and under his royal favour building was recommenced. He stayed there encamped by the side of the Ravi for nearly a month, engaged in repairing the fort and the gates. When this work was completed, he gave the fief of Lahor to Maliku-sh Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan. He gave him also two thousand horse, and having made preparation for the maintenance of this force and of the fort, he left them in his charge, and then returned to Dehli. In Jumada-l akhir of this same year, Jusrath Shaikha crossed the rivers Janhava and Ravi with a large force of horse and foot, and proceeded to Lahor.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ So in the text: Badauni has "Chhinao." The Chinab is meant. See *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*.

⁸⁷ So in the text: The *Tabakat-i Akbari* has "Thankar," and Badauni, "Talhar." Firishhta says, "Beesul," but Bissuli is on the Ravi.

⁸⁸ *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁸⁹ He calls it *shahr-i maimun*, "the happy city"—rather at variance with his description of it.

⁹⁰ "*Shahr-i maimun Mabarak-abad*." The name of its restorer had thus been given to the "happy city."

He pitched his camp near the place (tomb) of the Shaikhul Mashaiikh Shaikh Hasan Zanjani. On the 11th Jumadal akhir, an engagement was fought in the mud fort (*hisar-i kham*), and by God's grace Jusrath was repulsed. The royal forces came out of the fort in pursuit, but did not advance very far, so that the opposing forces maintained their respective positions. On the next day Jusrath held his ground, but on the following day he went down the Ravi. There having assembled the wise men (*'ulama*), he, on the 17th of the month, fell back one *kos* from Lahor. On the 21st he returned and again attacked the fort, but the arms of Islam were once more victorious. The assailants were driven back and pursued, and Jusrath returned to his army. In this way for a month and five days fighting went on outside the fort, but at length Jusrath was compelled to retreat towards Kalanor. Rai Bhim had come into the fort of Kalanor, with the object of rendering assistance to the royal forces. He had (already) excited the enmity of Jusrath, and when the latter approached, constant fighting went on, but neither party could prevail. So the strife continued; but subsequently, in the month of Ramazan, they made peace. Jusrath then went towards the Ravi, and there he gathered together all the people of the territory of the Khokhars who were in alliance with him. Sikandar Tuhfa now arrived at the ford of Buhi with a large force to support Malik Mahmud Hasan, who had been sent by the Sultan against Jusrath. Unable to resist these forces, Jusrath fled across the Ravi and Janhava with his followers, and proceeded to Tekhar.²¹ Malik-u-sh Shark crossed the Biyah at the ford of Buhi, and on the 12th Shawwal, he arrived at Lahor. Malik Mahmud Hasan came three *kos* out of the fort to meet him.

Previous to this, Malik Rajab, *amir* of Dibalpur, Malik Sultan Shah Lodi, *amir* of Sirhind, and Rai Firoz Main joined Malik Sikandar. The army (of Sikandar Tuhfa) marched along the Ravi, and crossed that river

²¹ Here called Telhar.

between Kalanor and the town of Bhoj. On reaching the confines of Jammu,⁹² they were joined by Rai Bhim. After this, some Khokhars who had separated from Jasrath, at the river of Janhava, were defeated, and the army returned to Lahor. His Majesty now gave orders that Maliku-sh Shark Mahmud Hasan should go to the fief of Jalandhar, and having got ready (his followers), should return and join him. Malik Sikandar was placed in charge of Lahor, and in obedience to the royal order, he proceeded with his army into the fort. His Majesty having recalled Mahmud and the other *amirs*, removed Malik Sikandar from the office of *wazir*, and appointed as his successor Maliku-sh Shark Sarwar, then governor of the city. The son of the latter succeeded him in the office of governor.

In the year 826 H. (1423 A.D.), His Majesty made ready his army, and determined to march towards Hindustan. In the month of Muharram he entered the territory of Katehr, and collected the revenue and taxes (*mal o mahsul*). At this time Muhabat Khan, who had felt himself in danger from the Sultan's father Khizr Khan, was admitted to an interview and forgiven. From thence, the Sultan crossed the Ganges, and attacked the country of the Rahtors, putting many of the infidels to the sword. He remained for some days encamped on the Ganges, and then he left Malik Mubaraz, Zirak Khan, and Kamal Khan with a detachment in the fort of Kampila, to put down any outbreak of the Rahtors. The son of Rai Sarwar, who had joined His Majesty, and had followed in his retinue, now took alarm and went off. Maliku-sh Shark Khairu-d din Khan was sent in pursuit of him with a strong force, but could not come up with him. He, however, plundered his country, and descended upon Etawa. The Sultan also marched and joined Khairu-d din in Etawa, when the infidel ruler of that country shut himself up in his fort. But he was unable to hold out, and so this son of Rai Sarwar made his submission, and

⁹² Here called "Jamun."

paid the revenue and tribute which was owing. His Majesty then returned victorious to Dehli, where he arrived in Jumada-l akhir, 826 H. Malik Mahmud Hasan came in with a large body of followers from his fief of Jalandhar to wait upon the Sultan, and was received with great distinction. The office of *'ariz-i mamalik* was taken from Malik Khairu-d din Khani and given to Mahmud Hasan. This worthy and righteous man was a faithful servant of the Sultan; he applied himself diligently to business, and his dignity daily increased. In Jumada-l awwal of this same year, there was fighting between Jusrath Shaikha and Rai Bhim. The *rai* was killed, and the greater portion of his horses and arms fell into the hands of Jusrath. On ascertaining the death of Rai Bhim, Jusrath united a small army of Mughals with his own, and attacked the territories of Dibalpur and Lahor. Malik Sikandar immediately marched after him, but Jusrath fell back, and crossed over the Janhava. About this time intelligence arrived of the death of Malik 'Alau-l Mulik, *amir* of Multan.

Accounts were also brought in, that Shaikh 'Ali,⁹² lieutenant of the prince the son of Sar-'atmash, was advancing with a large force from Kabul to attack the territories of Bhakkar and Siwistan. To repulse this attack and overthrow the accursed invaders, His Majesty placed the districts of Multan and Siwistan under the charge of Muliku-sh Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan, and he sent him with a large army, and with all his family and dependents, to Multan. When he arrived there, he restored tranquillity among the population, and distributing *in'ams*, pensions, and allowances, he made the people joyful and happy. The inhabitants, both of the city and country, felt secure. He repaired the fort which had been damaged in the struggles (*hadisah*) with the Mughals, and he collected a strong army around him.

⁹² Firishhta says "one of the nobles of Mirza Shah Rukh, who was established at Kabul."

News now arrived that Alp Khan,²⁴ *amir* of Dhar, had marched against the Rai of Gwalior. His Majesty hastened thither with a large army, but when he arrived at the district (*khitta*) of Bayana, the son of Auhad Khan, *amir* of Bayana, who had treacherously murdered his uncle, Mubarak Khan, rebelled against the Sultan, and destroying the fort, retired to the top of the hill. His Majesty sat down with his army at the foot of the hill, and after a time, the son of Auhad Khan, being reduced to extremities, paid his revenue and tribute, and placed his neck in the collar of obedience. His Majesty then continued his march towards Gwalior against Alp Khan. This chief held the fords of the Chambal, but another ford was accidentally found, and the royal army passed over. Malik Mahmud Hasan and some other *amirs*, and the Mewattis, and Nusrat Khan, with their horse and foot, plundered the baggage of Alp Khan, and brought many of his men, both horse and foot, back as prisoners. His Majesty considering that both parties were Musulmans, spared the lives of the prisoners and set them free. Next day, Alp Khan sent messengers to His Majesty to make proposals of peace. The Sultan seeing that he was reduced to a state of impotence, consented to make peace, on condition of Alp Khan sending in tribute and retiring from Gwalior. On the following day, Alp Khan forwarded his tribute, and marched back towards Dhar. His Majesty remained for some time encamped on the banks of the Chambal, levying revenue and taxes from the infidels of the neighbourhood according to old custom, after which he returned to Dehli, where he arrived in Rajab, 827 H., and devoted himself to the business of the State.

In Muharram, 828 H. (November, 1424), His Majesty resolved on going to Katchr. On reaching the banks of

²⁴ Our MS. and Badauni give the name as "Alb (Alp) Khan, but the *Tabakat-i Akbari* has "Alaf Khan" (which is a common error for "Ulugh Khan"), and adds that he was known as "Sultan Hushang." Firishta calls him, "Sultan Hushang, prince (*wali*) of Malwa."

the Ganges, Rai Har Singh came to pay his respects, and was received with great condescension; but as he had not paid his taxes (*mahsul*) for three years, he was detained for a while.⁹⁶ The royal army then crossed the Ganges, and having chastised the recusants of the neighbourhood, proceeded to the hills of Kumayun. There it stayed for a time, but when the weather became hot, it marched homewards by the banks of the Rahab. Crossing the Ganges at Gang, the intention was to march to Kanauj; but there was a terrible famine in the cities of Hindustan, and consequently the army advanced no farther. News was brought that the Mewattis had broken out into rebellion, so the Sultan marched into Mewat, which he ravaged and laid waste. The Mewattis having driven off all the population,⁹⁷ took refuge in [the mountains of⁹⁸] Jahra, which was their great stronghold. This place was impregnable, and grain and fodder were scarce, so the Sultan returned to Dehli. He arrived there in the month of Rajab, and took up his abode in the palace. The *amirs* and *maliks* were dismissed to their own estates, and the Sultan gave himself up to relaxation and pleasure.

In 829 H. (November, 1425), he again marched against Mewat. Jallu and Kaddu,⁹⁹ grandsons of Bahadur Nahir, and several Mewattis who had joined them, laid waste their own territories, and took up a position in the mountains of Andwar. They were attacked for several days by the royal forces, who drove them out of Andwar, and then they went to the mountains of Alwar. Next day His Majesty destroyed the fortified post of Andwar, and marched against Alwar. When Jallu and

⁹⁶ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* is more explicit: "In consequence of the balances due for three years, he was kept for some days in confinement; but then having paid the money, he was set at liberty."

⁹⁷ "Having laid waste and depopulated their country."—*Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁹⁸ *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

⁹⁹ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* and *Firishta* agree in these names. For the first of these names our MS. gives "*Khalk*."

Kaddu posted themselves there, the royal forces followed them. At length they were reduced to distress, and were compelled to surrender. His Majesty granted them quarter, and afterwards graciously gave Kaddu a reception.⁹⁹

¹⁰⁰ "The Sultan having wasted the country of Mewat, returned home. Fourteen months afterwards, on the 11th Muharram, 830 H. (12th November, 1426 A.D.), he proceeded to Mewat, and after punishing the disaffected in that quarter, he marched to Bayana. Muhammad Khan, son of Auhad Khan, ruler of Bayana, retired to the top of the hill, and for sixteen days kept up his resistance. Some of his men joined the Sultan, and when he could no longer hold out, he came forth from the fort in the month of Rabi'ul akhir, with a rope round his neck, and made his submission. The horses and arms and goods of all sorts which were in the fort, he offered as tribute. By order of the Sultan, his family and dependents were brought out of the fortress and sent to Dehli. Bayana was given to Mukbil Khan. Sikri, which is now known as Fathpur, was entrusted to Malik Khairu-d din Tuhfa. His Majesty then proceeded towards Gwalior. The Rai of Gwalior and [the Rais] of Bhangar and Chandawar, made no resistance, but paid their revenue according to the old rule.

"The Sultan returned to Dehli in the month Jumada-l awwal. He then changed the territory of Mahmud Hasan, giving him charge of Hisar Firozah, and transferring Multan to Malik Rajab Nadira. Muhammad Khan [son of Auhad Khan] having escaped with his family, fled to Mewat, where several of his scattered followers rejoined him. There he learnt that Malik Mukbil [the

⁹⁹ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* and *Firishta* agree in saying that he (or they) were imprisoned.

¹⁰⁰ The MS. is deficient no mention of the year 830. A lacuna occurs just at this point, as evidenced, by the abrupt wording of the MS., and by the omission of all account of certain events recorded by other writers. What follows, marked by inverted commas, is taken from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

governor] had marched with his army towards Mahawan, leaving Malik Khairu-d din Tuhfa in the fort, and the town empty [of soldiers]. Muhammad Khan seized the opportunity, and being supported by several *zamindars* of Bayana, he went there with a small force. Most of the people of the town and country joined him. Unable to hold the fort, Malik Khairu-d din capitulated, and went to Dehli.

"Mubarak Shah then gave Bayana to Malik Mubariz, and sent him against Muhammad Khan. The rebel shut himself up in the fort, and Mubariz took possession of the country and began to manage it. Muhammad Khan then left a party of his adherents in the fort, while he himself escaped, and with all speed went to join Sultan Ibrahim Sharki. Sultan Mubarak Shah summoned Malik Mubariz to his presence to account for the escape of Muhammad Khan, and marched in person against Bayana. On his way, a letter reached him from Kadir Khan, the governor of Kalpi, informing him that Sultan Ibrahim Sharki was coming up against Kalpi with a strong force. The Sultan therefore deferred his march to Bayana, and turned to meet Sultan Ibrahim Sharki. Meanwhile the forces of Sharki had attacked the town of Bhukanu,¹⁰¹ and were marching upon Badaun. Sultan Mubarak Shah then crossed the Jumna, and attacked the village of Haroli, one of the well-known places of Mawas. From thence he proceeded to Atroli."

His Majesty was now informed that Mukhtass Khan, brother of Sharki, had entered into the territory of Etawa with a large army and many elephants. He immediately sent off Maliku-sh Shark Mahmud Hasan, with ten thousand brave and experienced horsemen, against Mukhtass Khan. The *malik* marched with this force, and came to the place where the *Sharki* army was encamped. When Mukhtass Khan heard of his approach, he retreated, and joined [Ibrahim Shah] Sharki. Malik Mahmud Hasan

¹⁰¹ Firishta agrees with this reading, but Badauni has Bhunkanun.

remained there some days, seeking to take his opponents unawares; but they were on the alert, and he could not find an opportunity. He then returned and joined his own army.¹⁰² [Ibrahim Shah] Sharki now advanced along the banks of the Blackwater¹⁰³ to Burhanabad, in the district of Etawa. His Majesty marched against him from Atroli, and arrived at the town of Payin-kotah,¹⁰⁴ where the two armies were only a short distance apart. When Sharki saw the magnificence and the bravery of His Majesty, and the strength of his army, he retreated in the month of Jumada-l awwal, and went towards the town of Rapri. There he crossed the Jumna to Gudrang, and marching on, he encamped on the river of Katehr. His Majesty crossed the Jumna at Chandawar in pursuit, and encamped four *kos* distant from the enemy. The royal skirmishers made constant attacks upon all points, and carried off prisoners, cattle, and horses. About twenty days passed in this manner, the two armies being in close proximity. On the 17th Jumada-l akhir, Sharki drew up all his forces, horse and foot and elephants, in battle array. His Majesty, Maliku-sh Shark Sarwaru-l Mulk, Saiyid Salim chief of the *saiyids*, and several other great *amirs*, remained in the camp in safety, and some others were sent against the enemy, such as Maliku-sh Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan, and Khan-i 'azam Fath Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar, Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan, Maliu-sh Shark Sultan Shah, who had lately received the title of of Islam Khan, Malik Jaman, grandson of the late Khan-i Jahan, Kalu Khani, master of the elephants, Malik Ahmad Tuhfa, and Malik Mukbil Khan. The battle began and went on from midday till evening, but as night fell, the combatants withdrew to their respective positions. Neither side turned their backs, but remained fighting till the last. There were many wounded in the army of Sharki,

¹⁰² That is, the royal army.

¹⁰³ "A' b-i siyah," meaning the Kalinadi.

¹⁰⁴ The *Tabahat-i Ahbari* has "Mali-kona," and Firishta "Malikota."

so that when next day he saw the strength of the royal forces, he retreated towards the Jumna. On the 17th Jumada-l akhir, he crossed from Gudrang to Rapri, and from thence marched to his own country. The Sultan pursued him to Gudrang; but as the combatants on both side were Musulmans, His Majesty yielded to the intercession of his nobles, and gave up the pursuit. He then marched to Hath-kant, where he took revenue and taxes and tribute, according to old custom, from the Rai of Gwalior, and other *rais*. Turning homewards, he proceeded along the Chambal, and entered Bayana. Muhammad Khan Auhadi had joined Sharki, and consequently being afraid, he shut himself up in the fort. The Sultan invested the fort, which was very lofty and strong, and was deemed impregnable. But the garrison was unable to make a successful defence; their hands were powerless against the assailants, and their feet were unable to flee. So they were compelled to capitulate and ask for mercy. His Majesty, full of royal mercy and compassion for Musulmans, forbore to punish Muhammad Khan, and granted him forgiveness. He directed his forces to remove from the fort, and on the 26th Rajab he marched out with his followers, and went of towards Mewat. His Majesty remained there for some days to set in order the wasted city; then he took effectual care to preserve the district and fortress, by appointing as their governor Malik Mahmud, who had exhibited great resolution and loyalty in the government and protection of provinces, and had successfully accomplished many great duties. Thus, in the beginning of the reign, he had fought against Jasrath Khokhar; and when he held the command at Lahor, he had successfully contended against the prince-deputy of the Prince of Khurasan,¹⁰⁸ and had prevented him from coming to Multan. He was now appointed to command the fort of Bayana, and to manage the territory, and that *ikta'* and all its dependencies were placed under his charge.

¹⁰⁸ The general of Shah Rukh.

His Majesty then departed homewards, and proceeding along the banks of the Jumna, he reached Dehli on the 15th Sha'ban, 831 H. (30th April, 1428 A.D.), and took up his residence in Siri. Then dismissing the *amirs* and *maliks* to their fiefs, he gave himself up to pleasure and enjoyment. * * * In the month of Shawwal, he seized Kaddu the Mewatti, for having allied himself to Sultan [Ibrahim Sharki], and for having kept up a correspondence with him : afterwards he had him put to death privately. His Majesty then sent Malik Sarwaru-l Mulk with an army to Mewat, to repress the turbulence of the people and settle the country. The inhabitants laid waste several of their towns and villages, places flourishing in the desert, and then retreated into the mountains. Jalal Khan brother of Malik Kaddu, and some other chiefs, including Ahmad Khan, Malik Fakhru-d din, and several other *maliks* related to them, collected all their horsemen and footmen, and assembled in the fort of Alwar. When Malik Sarwaru-l Mulk sat down against the fort, the besieged saw that it was hopeless to resist, so they made proposals for peace, engaging to give hostages for the payment of their revenue. In accordance with this engagement, having received the revenue (*mal*), taxes (*mahsul*), and hostages, Sarwaru-l Mulk returned with his army to Dehli.

In the month of Zi-l ka'da, intelligence was brought that Jasrath Khokhar had besieged the town of Kalanor. Maliku-sh Shark Malik Sikandar Tuhfa marched from Lahor to relieve the place ; but Jasrath, quitting his position before Kalanor, advanced some *kos* to meet him. A battle followed, in which Jasrath was victorious ; Malik Sikandar retreated with his forces to Lahor. Jasrath passing by Kalanor, crossed the Biyah, and attacked Jalandhar ; but the place was strong, and he was unable to take it, so he retreated to Kalanor, carrying off the people of the neighbourhood as prisoners. When His Majesty was informed of these occurrences, he ordered Zirak Khan, *amir* of Samana, and Islam Khan, *amir* of

Sirhind, to unite their forces and advance to reinforce Malik Sikandar. But before they reached Lahor, Malik Sikandar had gone to Kalanor, and there uniting with his own forces all the horse and foot belonging to Rai Ghalib of that town, he marched after Jusrath, and met him near Kangra, on the banks of the Biyah. Both armies drew up in battle array, and the fight began. The forces of Islam were victorious. Jusrath being defeated, all the spoils which he had gained at Jalandhar fell into the hands of the victors, and he retreated to Tekhar. Malik Sikandar then returned to Lahor.

In Muharram, 832 H. (October, 1428 A.D.), Maliku-sh Shark Mahmud Hasan having suppressed the rebellion which Muhammad Khan Auhadi had stirred up among the infidels of Bayana, he quitted that district and went to wait upon His Majesty in Dehli. He was received with great favour, and the fief of Hisar Firozah was granted to him.

His Majesty determined to march into the mountains of Mewat, and the royal camp was pitched at the top of the *Hauz-i khass*. The *amirs* and *maliks* from all parts of the country joined it. Marching from thence, the Sultan proceeded to the palace of Hindwari, and rested there for a while. Jalal Khan, Mewatti, and other Mewattis, being reduced to extremities, brought in the money, contributions, and tribute according to old rule, and some of them were granted the honour of paying homage. In the month of Shawwal, the royal standards returned safe and victorious to the capital. Nothing else of importance was done this year. About this time, intelligence was received of the death of Malik Rajab Nadira, *amir* of Multan, and the fief of Multan was restored to Maliku-sh Shark Mahmud Hasan, who received the title of 'Imadu-l Mulk, and was sent to Multan with a large army.

In the year 833 H. (1429-30), the Sultan led his army to Gwalior, and passed through the country of Bayana. Having punished the rebels of Gwalior, he proceeded to

Hathkant. The Rai of Hathkant was defeated, and he fled into the mountains of Jalhar. His country was pillaged and laid waste, and many of its infidel inhabitants were made prisoners. From thence the army proceeded to Rapri, and the fief of Rapri was taken from the son of Hasan Khan and given to Malik Hamza. The army then returned to the capital in the month of Rajab. During the march, Saiyid Salim was attacked by illness and died. His body was placed in a coffin, and carried to Dehli with all speed, and buried. Saiyid Salim was [for thirty years, one of the great nobles in the service of]¹⁰⁶ the late Khizr Khan, and he held many fiefs (*ikla's*) and *parganas* in the Doab, besides the fort of Tabarhindh (Sirhind). His Majesty had also granted to him the *khitta* of Sarsuti and the *ikla'* of Amroha. The late Saiyid was a very avaricious man, and in the course of time had amassed an immense sum of money, and vast quantities of grain and stuffs in the fort of Tabarhindh (Sirhind). After his death, all the *ikla's* and *parganas* were given to his sons. The eldest son received the title of Saiyid Khan, and the other was entitled Shuja'u-l-mulk. In the month of Shawwal, Pulad Turk-bacha, slave of Saiyid Salim, came into the fort of Tabarhindh, at the instigation of the Saiyid's sons, and there began to prepare for rebellion. His Majesty imprisoned the Saiyid's two sons, and sent Yusuf Sarub and Rai Hansu Bhatti, to conciliate the above-mentioned Pulad, and to get possession of the late Saiyid's wealth. When they came near the fort of Tabarhindh, on the first day, Pulad met them and conferred with them in the most friendly way; he also sent them provisions, and made them feel at ease. Next day he sallied out of the fort with his men, and made a sudden attack¹⁰⁷ upon them. Malik Yusuf and Rai Hansu were informed of his treachery, and

¹⁰⁶ These words, wanting in the MS., are taken from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

¹⁰⁷ "*Shab-khun*." Etymologically this means a *night attack*, and is so explained by the Dictionaries, but it seems to be used for any sudden onslaught.

made their forces ready to meet him. Although the *malik's* men were all covered with iron, yet they could not stand before the infamous Pulad.¹⁰⁸ At the first onset they were scattered like drops, and he pursued them for a *parasang*. Then he returned and took possession of their baggage, tents, money, goods, and whatever they had left behind them.

The Sultan, when he heard of this, was much affected, and started for Tabarhindh. He arrived at Sarsuti, where the *amirs* and *maliks* of those parts joined the royal standard. Pulad had made many preparations for the siege, and had strengthened himself in the fort. Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu, keeper of the elephants, Islam Khan and Kamal Khan invested the fort. Maliku-sh Shark 'Imadu-l Mulk, *amir* of Multan, was summoned to come from Multan and advise upon the suppression of Pulad's rebellion. In the month of Zi-l hijja, 'Imadu-l Mulk left his army in Multan, and proceeded hastily¹⁰⁹ to Sarsuti with a small party, where he was admitted to an interview. But before this, Pulad had said to himself that he could depend upon the promise and protection of 'Imadu-l Mulk, and that if through him he could gain his object, he (Pulad) would return to his obedience, and would hope for the honour of being received into the royal presence. 'Imadu-l Mulk was sent forward to Tabarhindh to excite his expectations. Pulad came out of the fort, and had an interview with 'Imadu-l Mulk and Malik Kalu in front of the gate.¹¹⁰ "Pulad, however, talked and made statements,

¹⁰⁸ *Pulad* or *fulad* means *steel*.

¹⁰⁹ The word used is "*jarrara*," to which the Dictionaries give the meaning of "a numerous or encumbered army." In a previous passage it seemed to have the meaning of *express*, *quick*; and that is clearly the meaning of it here. The whole passage runs *lashkarha khesh hum dar multan guzashteh jarareh ba jamiyat madudeh dar khatah sarasti amad*. It is evidently equivalent to *jarida*.

¹¹⁰ Here again there is a break in the MS. What follows, marked with inverted commas, is from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

but determined to persevere in his revolt.¹¹¹ So 'Imadu-l Mulk returned unsuccessful. In the month of Safar, the Sultan ordered 'Imadu-l Mulk back to Multan, and he himself returned to Dehli.

"The Sultan left Islam Khan, Kamal Khan, and Rai Firoz Main to carry on the siege of Tabarhindh. 'Imadu-l Mulk instructed these officers as to the siege operations, and then departed for Multan. Pulad held out for six months. He then sent a sum of money by the hands of some trusty adherents to Shaikh 'Ali Beg, at Kabul, soliciting his assistance.¹¹² In the month of Jumada-l awwal, Shaikh 'Ali went to Tabarhindh. When he came within ten *kos* distance, Islam Khan, Kamal Khan, and all the other *amirs* abandoned the siege, and went to their own homes. Pulad then came out of the fort, and had an interview with Shaikh 'Ali, to whom he paid the two *lacs of tankas* he had promised. Shaikh 'Ali, taking with him the family of Pulad, started on his return. Passing through Jalandhar, he went to Lahor. There Malik Sikandar gave him the money which he paid to him annually, and sent him away. From thence, Shaikh 'Ali proceeded to Talwara, and endeavoured to destroy it. 'Imadu-l Mulk now marched to Tulamba, in order to oppose him, and Shaikh 'Ali not being strong enough to meet him, went off to Khatibpur. Orders now arrived for 'Imadu-l Mulk to leave Tulamba and go to Multan. On the 24th Sha'ban, he accordingly proceeded to Multan, and Shaikh 'Ali being emboldened, crossed the Ravi at Khatibpur, and laying all waste along the banks of the Jhilam, which is well known as the Jinab (Chinab),¹¹³ advanced towards Multan. When he arrived at a village a *kos* distant from Multan, 'Imadu-l Mulk sent out Sultan

¹¹¹ Badauni is more explicit. He says, Pulad "came out and saw 'Imadu-l Mulk, but he did not feel assured; so being afraid, he went back to the fort, and continued the war."

¹¹² "Shaikh 'Ali, Mughal governor of Kabul on the part of Shah Rukh Mirza."—Badauni and Firishta.

¹¹³ Such is the extraordinary statement of the text, and Firishta copies it.

Shah Lodi uncle of Bahlol Lodi to oppose him. This officer met his enemy unexpectedly, and was killed. His army was put to flight, and the men returned in small parties to Multan. On the 3rd Ramazan, the Shaikh occupied Khairabad, near Multan." On the 25th of Ramazan,¹¹⁴ Shaikh 'Ali advanced with all his forces against the gates of Multan, to make an assault; but the troops of 'Imadu-l Mulk and the citizens sallied forth to meet him. A fight took place in the gardens, and the assailants were driven back, with the loss of all the provisions they had brought with them. On the 27th Ramazan, they again made an attack in great force. Dis-mounting his horsemen, in order to push through the gates of the city, 'Imadu-l Mulk fell upon them with his horse and foot, and they, unable to support his attack, retreated. Some were killed, and some succeeded in falling back to the main body. Being thus again defeated, they dared not make any further attack upon the place.

When the report of these events reached the ears of the Sultan, he sent Majlis-i 'ali Khan-i 'azam Fath Khan son of Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati, Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu keeper of the elephants, Khan-i 'azam Islam Khan, Malik Yusuf Sarwaru-l Mulk, Khan-i 'azam Kal Khan, and Rai Hansu Khul Chain Bhatti with a large army, to reinforce Maliku-sh Shark 'Imadu-l Mulk. On the 26th Shawwal, this army arrived in the *hhitta* of Multan, and remained encamped for some days. On Friday, the 3rd Zi-l ka'da, it marched, and approaching the prayer-house (*namaz-gah*), endeavoured to enter the *kutla* of 'Ala-l Mulk. Shaikh 'Ali was informed of this, and he drew up all his horse and foot in opposition. The royal forces also were marshalled ready for the fight. Maliku-sh Shark 'Imadu-l Mulk was in the centre; Majlis-i 'ali Fath Khan, Malik Yusuf, and Rai Hansu on the right; and Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu, Khan-i 'azam Islam Khan, and Khan-i 'azam Kamal Khan

¹¹⁴ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* places this event on the "4th" of the month, and the following one on the "27th."

on the left. At the sight, even from a distance, of the approach of the royal forces, the hearts of the enemy wavered; and when the brave warriors made a general charge on them, they broke and fled. So precipitate was their flight, that they never looked behind them. Several of their generals were killed endeavouring to escape, and the rest of the army took refuge in the fortification which had been raised round the baggage. The victorious army pressed on to the fortifications, and the enemy, unable to withstand the attack, were driven into the Jhilam. Many were drowned,¹¹⁵ and those who escaped the waves were killed or made prisoners. Haji Kar was wounded, and perished among the drowned. Shaikh 'Ali and Amir Muzaffar crossed the river in safety, and proceeded with a few horsemen to the town of Shor.¹¹⁶ All their arms, baggage, and equipments fell into the hands of the victors. So great a disaster had never befallen an army at any former time, or under any reign. All who took to the water were drowned, and all who resisted on the battle-field were killed; neither flight nor fight availed to save them. * * To return to our narrative: Malik-sh Shark Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk, that is, Malik Mahmud Hasan, and the other commanders, on the 4th Zi'l ka'da, pursued Shaikh 'Ali to the town of Shor. Amir Muzaffar¹¹⁷ prepared himself to stand a siege in the fort of Shor, and to fight it out. Shaikh 'Ali, defeated and discouraged, fled with a small body of followers towards Kabul. At this juncture, orders arrived from the Sultan, in accordance with which all the *amirs* who had been sent left the fort of Shor, and proceeded to the capital. In consequence of this business, the *ikhtā'* of Multan was taken from Malik-sh Shark, and given to Malik Khairu-d din Khani. But this transfer was made inconsiderately and imprudently, and hence great troubles and disturb-

¹¹⁵ *Peshitari bifraun ilahi bilashkar-i Firaun rasidand.*

¹¹⁶ Sometimes written "Sor," and sometimes "Seor" or "Sewar"; but the *Tabakat-i Akbari* says, "Shor." Firishita and Badauni agree on "Sewar."

¹¹⁷ "Nephew of Shaikh 'Ali."—*Tabakat-i Akbari*.

ances arose in the *khitta* of Multan, which will have to be narrated in subsequent pages.

In the year 835 H. (1431-2) it was reported to the Sultan that Malik Sikandar Tuhfa had marched towards Jalandhar.

For Jasrath Shaikha Khokhar had come down with a strong force from the mountains of Telhar, and having crossed the Jhilam, Ravi and Biyah, had come near to Jalandhar on the river Pani. Malik Sikandar was incautious, and encountered him with a small force. At the first charge he was defeated, and by the decree of fate fell into the hands of Jasrath Khokhar. Some of Malik Sikandar's men were killed in the fight, and some fled to Jalandhar. Jasrath carried off Sikandar and some others who had been made prisoners with him, and marched in triumph to Lahor, to which fortress he laid siege. Saiyid Najmu-d din, lieutenant of Sikandar, and Malik Khush-khabr, his slave, held the fort, and carried on a constant fight with the besiegers. While this was passing Shaikh 'Ali collected a band of accursed wretches, and attacked the frontiers of Multan. He made prisoners of the people of Khatibpur, and several other villages on the banks of the Jhilam, as he descended that river. On the 17th Rabi'u-l awwal he reached Tulamba, and having got the people of the town to surrender, he kept the chiefs of them prisoners. Then he gave his accursed followers permission to take possession of the fort. Next day, all the Musulmans became the prisoners of the unclean ruthless infidels. Although many good men of the place were *imams*, *saiyids*, and *kazis*, no respect for the Musulman religion, no fear of God, could restrain that accursed wretch, devoid alike of feeling and shame. Women, youths, and little children were all dragged to his house. Some of the men were killed and some were set at liberty. The fort of Tulamba, which was very strong, he caused to be destroyed.

About this time Pulad Turk-bacha came out of Tabarhindh with his followers, and attacked the country

of Rai Firoz. As soon as the *rai* heard of this, he marched with his horse and foot to oppose him, and a battle followed. The *rai* was slain, and the victorious Pulad cut off his head and carried it to Tabarhindh. He also secured many horses and a large supply of grain. When the Sultan received information of these events, he himself marched towards Lahor and Multan, and he sent Malik Sarwar on in advance with a strong force to repress the rebellion of Pulad. When the army came near to Samana the infamous Jasrath Khokhar abandoned the siege of the fort, and went into the hills of Telhar, carrying with him Malik Sikandar. Shaikh 'Ali also, fearing the royal army, retreated towards Bartot.¹¹⁸ The fief of Lahor was taken from Maliku-sh shark Shamsu-l Mulk, and given into the charge of Khan-i 'azam Nusrat Khan Garg-andaz. Malik Sarwar brought the family of Shamsu-l Mulk out of Lahor, and sent them to the capital. Nusrat Khan thus became possessed of the fort of Lahor and the fief of Jalandhar. In the month of Zi-l hijja Jasrath Khokhar came down with his followers from the hills, and attacked Nusrat Khan at Lahor, but, in the end, he was worsted and returned to the hills. The Sultan pitched his royal camp on the river Jumna, near to the *khitta* of Panipat, and there he remained for a time. From thence, in the month of Rajab, he sent Maliku-sh Shark 'Imadu-l Mulk with a strong force to Bayana and Gwalior, with orders to punish the rebels and infidels of those parts. He himself then returned to the capital.

In 836 H. in the month of Muharram (Sept., 1432), the king marched from Dehli to Samana, to punish the disaffected in that neighbourhood. He proceeded as far as Panipat. News was then brought that Makhduma-i Jahan, his mother, was very ill. He immediately returned to the capital, leaving his army and baggage in charge of the *amirs* and *maliks*. A few days after his return his mother died. After performing her obsequies he

¹¹⁸ "Martot."—*Tabakat-i Akbari*.

remained for a day in the capital, and then returned to his army. On his arrival he ordered Malik Sarwar to march with an army, appointed for the purpose, against the fort of Tabarhindh, where Pulad Turk-bacha had made himself stronger than he was before, having thrown into the fort all the arms and implements and grain which he had gathered from the country of Rai Firoz. The fort was invested and operations were begun. Malik Sarwar-ul Mulk, when the dispositions were made, left Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan, Islam Khan, and Malik Kahun Raj in command, and proceeded with a small escort to join the Sultan at Panipat. The Sultan having given up his design of proceeding on his intended expedition, took the fiefs of Lahor and Jalandhar from Nusrat Khan, and gave them to Malik Allah-dad. [When Malik Allah-dad arrived at Jalandhar, Jasrath Shaikha crossed the Biyah and attacked him.]¹¹⁹ Jasrath was victorious and the Malik being obliged to flee went into the mountains of Kothi. In the month of Rabi'u-l awwal the Sultan marched towards the mountains of Mewat, and arrived at the town of Taoru.¹²⁰ Jalal Khan Mewatti, on hearing of his advance, shut himself with a large force in the fort of Andaru,¹²¹ which is the strongest place belonging to the Mewattis. Next day the Sultan prepared to attack the place, but before his forces drew near, Jalal Khan set fire to the fort, and making his way out he went off towards Kutila. The greater part of the provisions and materials and grain, which had been collected in prospect of the siege, fell into the hands of the royal forces. His Majesty then marched away, and encamping at the town of Tajara, he devastated the greater part of the country of Mewat. Jalal Khan, being distressed and helpless, returned to his allegiance; and paying his revenue and taxes according to old rule,

¹¹⁹ The words in brackets are taken from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, to supply a manifest want in our MS.

¹²⁰ The *Tabakat-i Akbari* says "Nadir."

¹²¹ See *supra*.

gave up his rash proceedings, and was pardoned. Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk joined the Sultan at Tajara with a strong force of horse and foot from Bayana. The Sultan sent Malik Kamalu-l Mulk and all the *amirs* and *maliks* from Tajara to coerce the infidels of Gwalior and Etawa, and he himself returned with an escort to the capital, which he reached in the month of Jumada-l awwal.

After he had been there a few days, the intelligence arrived that Shaikh 'Ali was marching with a large force against the *amirs* who were engaged in the siege of Tabarhindh (Sirhind). This troubled His Majesty, for he feared lest these *amirs*, alarmed at the news, should raise the siege, as it had been raised before. He therefore sent Malik 'Imadu-l Mulk to support them; and when that chief arrived, the officers in command were encouraged and strengthened. Shaikh 'Ali, marching quickly from Shor,¹²³ entered the country on the banks of the Biyah, and after making prisoners of many of the men of Sahani-wal and other villages, he went on to Lahor. Malik Yusuf Sarwar, Malik Isma'il nephew of Majlis-i 'ali Zirak Khan, and the son of Bihar Khan, had been left in charge of the fort of Lahor. They now closed the fort, and opposed the assailants. The people of the city were negligent of their watch and ward; consequently Malik Yusuf and Malik Isma'il left the city by night and fled. Shaikh 'Ali sent a force in pursuit. Many of the horsemen fell under the attacks of the accursed pursuers, and many were taken prisoners, including Malik Raja. Next day the accursed Shaikh 'Ali made all the Musulmans of the city, both men and women, prisoners. This wretched graceless fellow had no better object or occupation than to lay waste the seats of Islam and to make Musulmans captive. After making prisoners of the men of Lahor, he remained there for some days, and repaired the walls of the fortress which

¹²³ The MS. of this work, Badauni and Firishta, all write "Shewar," or "Sewar," but the *Tabakat-i Akbari* seems correct in giving "Shor."—See *supra*.

had been damaged. Then leaving about 2,000 men, horse and foot, behind, with the means of standing a siege, he marched towards Dibalpur. Malik Yusuf Sarwaru-l Mulk was about to abandon the fort of Dibalpur and flee, as he had abandoned that of Lahor; but Maliku-sh Shark 'Imadu-l Mulk at Tabarhindh, being informed of his intention, sent Maliku-l umara Malik Ahmad, his brother, with a body of men, to hold the fort. Shaikh 'Ali had (formerly) escaped alive with a thousand troubles from before Maliku-sh Shark, and dread of that chief still ruled in his heart, so he was unable to go to Dibalpur.

In Jumada-l akhir the Sultan received intelligence of these movements. The brave monarch, prompted only by his courage, and without hesitation, marched with the limited force which was ready at his command to Samana. There he waited some days for Maliku-sh Shark Kamalu-l Mulk. When that chief, with the force under his command, joined the Sultan, he left Samana and marched to Talwandi (belonging to) Rai Firoz Main, where he encamped. Here he was joined by Maliku-sh Shark 'Imadu-l Mulk and Islam Khan Lodi, who had been sent to Tabarhindh. Giving orders to his other *amirs* not to delay the investment of the fort, he hastened on and crossed [the Ravi]¹²³ at the ford of Pohi. When the enemy heard of these movements, he was alarmed, and took to flight. The royal forces arrived in the neighbourhood of Dibalpur, and, crossing the Ravi, encamped on the other side, when the accursed foe had already crossed the Jhilm. Maliku-sh Shark Sikandar Tuhfa now received the title of Shamsu-l Mulk, with the siefs of Dibalpur and Jalandhar.¹²⁴ The Sultan marched on unopposed towards Shor, which was in the possession of the enemy, and crossed the Ravi near the town of Tulamba, sending on Maliku-sh Shark in pursuit of the

¹²³ Badauni.

¹²⁴ There is a broken sentence here which is not supplied by the other writers.

foe. But he fled precipitately, never staying to look behind him, and many horses and much baggage and goods which he had got in boats fell into the hands of the victors. Shaikh 'Ali's nephew Amir Muzaffar, was in command of the fort of Shor, and held out for nearly a month; but he was at length compelled to capitulate in the month of Ramazan. He gave his daughter to the king's son, and paid a large sum of money as tribute. The band of Mughals who were besieged in Lahor capitulated to Maliku-sh Shark Shamsu-l Mulk in the month Shawwal, and he then took possession of the place..... Maliku-sh Shark 'Imadu-l Mulk had been successful in several important charges, so the Sultan took the fiefs of Dibalpur, Lahor, and Jalandhar from Malik Shamsu-l Mulk and gave them to 'Imadu-l Mulk; he also gave the fief of Bayana which 'Imadu-d din had held to Shamsu-l Mulk. Leaving his elephants and horses, his army and baggage and followers, in charge of Maliku-sh Shark Kamalu-l Mulk, the Sultan hastened with all speed to Dehli, which he reached on the day of the 'Id [of *Kurban*]. * * * On the 1st Zi-l hijja Kamalu-l Mulk also arrived with the army. The duties of *diwan* and *wazir* were not effectively discharged by Sarwaru-l Mulk; so as Kamalu-l Mulk had shown himself in all his duties to be trustworthy, capable and loyal, the *diwan i ashraf* was transferred to him, and the office of *wazir* only was confirmed to Sarwaru-l Mulk. They were both ordered to carry on the affairs of the State in concert, but they acted falsely to each other. [Kamalu-d din was the more competent man],¹²⁵ so the government officials consulted him about their affairs. Sarwaru-l Mulk's thoughts were now turned towards blood. His deprivation of the fief of Dibalpur had rankled like a thorn in his heart, and his mind was now set upon effecting some revolution in the State. Some villainous infidels, such as the sons of Kangu and Kajwi Khatri, whose families, from the days of their

¹²⁵ *Tabahat-i Akbari*.

ancestors, had been patronized and protected by the royal house, and who had become masters of many servants and followers and much territory and power; some treacherous Musulmans also, Miran Sahib, deputy of the 'ariz-i mamalikh, Kazi 'Abdu-s Samad Khan *Hajib* and others, conspired with Sarwaru-l Mulk, and were intent upon their design [of killing the Sultan].¹²⁶ They did not find an opportunity, but no fear of God or shame of man restrained their hands from this wicked and senseless deed.

The Sultan had determined to build a city on the banks of the Jumna, had on the 17th Rabi'ul awwal, 837 H. (31st October, 1433), he laid the foundation of a city at Kharababad.¹²⁷ The name given to that ill-omened city was Mubarakabad. He knew not that the foundation of his existence was shaken, and that his life had turned its face towards departure. He devoted much time and care to the direction of this building. At this time intelligence was brought of the reduction of the fort of Tabarhindh by the *amirs* who had been sent against it, and of the death of the evil Pulad, whose head had been cut off and sent to the Sultan by the hands of Miran Sadr. The Sultan now set out, as if for hunting, to settle and make quiet the country of Tabarhindh. After staying there a few days, he returned in good health and spirits, and went to the city of Mubarakabad. Subsequently he proceeded towards Hindustan, for he had heard of war having broken out between Sultan Ibrahim and Alp Khan, on account of Kalpi. He had previously contemplated leading his armies in that direction; and on hearing this intelligence, his course was decided. Orders were sent in every direction for the *amirs* of the capital, and the *maliks* of every country, to gather their

¹²⁶ Badauni and Firishta.

¹²⁷ Neither the *Tabakat-i Akbari* nor Firishta say anything about Kharababad. Badauni's statement is different. "He founded a city which he called Mubarakabad (blessed city), but which in reality, was Kharababad (ruined city)."—See Thomas's "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings," p. 332.

forces with the greatest celerity, and to join His Majesty. When a large army was assembled, in the month of Jumada-l akhir, the Sultan left the city to begin his march to Hindustan, and he encamped for a few days at the *chautara* of Shir-gah. Thence he proceeded with only a small escort, and without ceremony, to Mubarakabad, in order to see the progress of the buildings. The unworthy Sarwaru-l Mulk had been watching his opportunity, and he now set the vile infidels and the traitor Miran Sadr to work, lest his secret plots should become disclosed. A time of privacy was what his plans required. On Friday, the 9th Rajab, 837 H. (19th January, 1434), the Sultan had reached Mubarakabad with his small party, and was preparing for prayers, when Miran Sadr craftily removed the *amirs* who were on guard, and like a cunning fox and bloodthirsty jackal, brought in his wretched infidels armed and mounted on horseback upon pretence of taking leave. Sadharun Kangu stood with his party outside the door, to prevent any one from going in to the rescue. The confiding sovereign, having full confidence in them, took no notice of these preparations. He had been exceedingly kind and generous to these foes of God and enemies of himself. Sidhu Pal, grandson of Kaju, from his ambush, dealt the king such a blow upon the head with his sword, that his life's blood flowed upon the ground. Ranu the black, and the other conspirators, then rushed out with loud hellish cries, and respatched that righteous sovereign. * * Mubarak Shah reigned thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days.

Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Farid Shah bin Khizr Shah

A clement and generous sovereign, full of excellent qualities. . . . When the august Mubarak Shah had received his martyrdom, the vile infidels and the traitor Miran Sadr hastened to Sarwaru-l Mulk, and informed him of the completion of their work, which filled him and them with joy and exultation. Then, with the assent of the *amirs* and *maliks*, *imams* and *saiyids*, soldiers and civilians,

on the same day, Friday, the 9th Rajab 837, the new Sultan ascended the throne. Sarwaru-l Mulk, although he gave his adhesion to the new sovereign, was still intent upon his own designs, to such an extent indeed, that he kept the treasures and stores, the horses and elephants, and the arsenal under his own command. He received the title of *Khan-i Jahan*, and Miran Sadr was ennobled as Mu'inu-l Mulk. The vile infidels (assassins) grew conceited and arrogant, and in all things they sought their own advantage; but in the end they got their deserts. Malikush Shark Kamalu-l Mulk, a man versed in the business of government, was outside of the city with all the *amirs* and the soldiers, and the elephants, and the royal stud and servants; but he came in, and pledged his fealty to the king. Revenge was his object, for he was resolved to kill Sarwaru-l Mulk and the other conspirators, as they had slain Mubarak Shah. But he could not get an opportunity, and so resigned his vengeance to the Lord, who in time worked such a retribution as has never been rehearsed in tale or history.

* * To return to our narrative: Next day, Sarwaru-l Mulk, under pretence of requiring the vow of allegiance, summoned several of the officials of the late king, all of whom were men of position and importance. He apprehended them all, and put Malik Su, *amir* of Koh, to death on the *maidan*. Malik Makhdum, Malik Mukbil, Malik Kanauj, and Malik Bira he put in prison, and exerted all his powers to uproot the family of Mubarak Shah. Some of the *ikta's* and *parganas* of the country he kept for himself, and some, such as Bayana, Amroha, Narnaul, Kuhram, and some *parganas* in the Doab, he gave to Sidhi Pal, Sadharan, and their relations. Ranu, the black, a slave of Sidhi Pal, was sent with a numerous band of turbulent followers, and all his family, to take possession of Bayana. He approached Bayana in the month of Sha'ban, and on the 12th of that month he entered the district. Halting for the night, he wanted to get possession of the fort, and next day he went forth with

all his forces in great array. Yusuf Khan Auhadi had been informed of his approach, and drawing his forces out of the town of Hindwan, he boldly marched with a strong body of horse and foot to oppose him. The opposing forces met near the *khatira* of the prince,¹²⁸ and being drawn up in array the battle began. The vile infidels were unable to make a stand, but broke at the first charge. Ranu the black, and many others, were put to the sword. His foul head was cut off and suspended over the gate, and all his family, his wives and children, fell into the hands of the army of Islam. God is the protector of the religion of Islam, and He gave the victory to Yusuf Khan, enabling him to avenge the death of Mubarak Shah on that vile heretic.

The noise of the perfidy of Sarwaru-l Mulk, and of his leaguings with base infidels, spread through all the country, and many *amirs* and *maliks* who had been recipients of the bounty of the late Khizr Khan now withdrew from their obedience. Sarwaru-l Mulk being disaffected like them, strife and disturbances arose. Malik Allah-dad Kaka¹²⁹ Lodi *amir* of Sambhal, and Ahar Miyan holder of Badaun and grandson of the late Khan-i Jahan, Amir 'Ali Gujarati and Amir Kambal Turk-bacha [had formed a party against Sarwaru-l Mulk who,]¹³⁰ on being informed of their proceedings, appointed Maliku-sh Shark Kamalu-d din and Khan-i 'azam Saiyid Khan, son of Saiyid Salim, to repress their rebellion. Malik Yusuf, son of Sarwaru-l Mulk, and Sadharan Kangu, were sent along with them. In the month of Ramazan, his forces being in readiness, he (Kamalu-d din) marched out and encamped at the top of the *hauz*, and a few days afterwards he proceeded to the banks of the Jumna. Crossing the river at the ford of Kicha, he arrived and halted at Baran, intent upon his schemes of vengeance. On being apprised of his approach, Malik Allah-dad, desirous of

¹²⁸ *Khatirah-i-shahzadeh*.

¹²⁹ "Kaka,"—*Tabakat-i Akbari*.

¹³⁰ The MS. is here defective in more than one passage. The words in brackets are borrowed from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

avoiding an action, was about to cross the Ganges and go elsewhere ; but when he was enlightened as to Kamalu-d din's real intention of exacting a full revenge, he was reassured, and halted at the town of Ahar. Sarwaru-l Mulk got intelligence of these proceedings, and sent his slave, Malik Hushyar, under the pretence of assisting Kamalu-d din, [but in reality, to ascertain his treachery, and watch over the safety of Yusuf.]¹²⁰ In a short time also, Malik Charan drew out his forces in Badaun, to assist Malik Allah-dad, and joined him at the town of Ahar. Malik Yusuf and Hushyar and Sadharan were suspicious of Kamalu-d din, and new their apprehensions grew stronger. Wavering like a ball tossed from hand to hand, their fears prevailed, and they fled to the capital. On the last day of Ramazan, Malik Allah-dad, Miyan Chaman, and the other *amirs* with them, joined Kamalu-l Mulk. Having thus drawn a large and imposing force around him, on the 2nd Shawwal, he crossed [the Ganges] at the ford of Kicha. On hearing of his approach, Sarwaru-l Mulk, although in a forlorn condition, made every preparation for standing a siege. * * Kamalu-l Mulk advanced and sat down against the place. The vile infidels and the wretched Hushyar sallied forth and joined fight ; but they soon turned their backs, and retreated to the fortifications.¹²¹ Many were killed, and many were made prisoners. Next day, Kamalu-d din pressed on against the fort of Siri, and many *amirs* and *maliks* of the neighbourhood joined him. During the month of Shawwal, the place was so closely invested that it was impossible for any one to make his way out. But although the besiegers made daily attacks upon the fortifications, and effected breaches in several places, it held out for three months. In the month of Zi-l hijja, Zirak Khan, *amir* of Samana, died, and his fief was granted to his eldest son Muhammad Khan. Although His Majesty

¹²¹ The author here indulges in rhetorical flourishes, which are suppressed in the translation.

was in appearance friendly to those in the fort, he was in reality desirous of taking revenge for the murder of the late Mubarak Shah, but he did not find the opportunity. They on their side were in the greatest apprehension lest the Sultan should betray them. Thus, both parties were suspicious of each other.

On the 8th of Muharram, 838 A.H. (14th August, 1434 A.D.), the traitor Sarwaru-l Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Miran Sadr proceeded with treacherous intentions to the residence of the Sultan. But he was ready, and on his guard. * * * Sarwaru-l Mulk was killed with blows of the sword and dagger, and the sons of Miran Sadr were taken prisoners and put to death before the *darbur*. The vile infidels, being informed of these events, shut themselves up in their houses and prepared for resistance. The Sultan conveyed information to Kamalu-din, directing him to come into the city with a party of his followers. Kamalu-l Mulk entered by the gate of Baghdad, with other *amirs* and *maliks*. Sidhi Pal, the accursed, set fire to his house, making his wives and children fuel for hell. He himself came out and died fighting. Sadharan Kangu, and the band of *khatris* who were taken alive, were taken to the *khatira* of the martyred Sultan, and there put to death. Malik Hushyar and Mubarak Kotwal were taken prisoners, and were beheaded before the Red gate.

Next day, Malikush Shark Kamalu-l Mulk, and all the other *amirs* and *maliks* who were outside [the city,] renewed their oaths of allegiance to the Sultan, and he again, with general consent, took his seat upon the throne. Kamalu-l Mulk was made *wazir*, with the title of Kamal Khan. Malik Jiman received the title of Ghazi-u-l Mulk, and the fiefs of Amroha and Badaun were confirmed to him. Malik Allah-dad Lodi would not take any title himself, but obtained the title of Darya Khan for his brother. Malik Khunraj Mubarak Khani received the title of Ikbāl Khan, and the fief of Hisar Firozah which he held was confirmed in his possession. All the *amirs*

were favoured with great honours and rich gifts; and all men who held offices or fiefs, or villages or grants, or pensions, received confirmation, and even an increase of their possessions. The eldest son of Saiyid Salim was entitled Majlis-i 'Ali Saiyid Khan, and the younger one Shuja'u-l Mulk. Malik Madh 'Alam, his nephew, was entitled 'Alau-l Mulk, and Malik Ruknu-d din was called Nasiru-l Mulk. They also received golden girdles, and splendid head-dresses and fiefs. Maliku-sh Shark Haji Shudani was made governor of the capital. Having thus arranged for the administration of the kingdom, the Sultan determined on going to Multan. In the month of Rabi'u-l akhir, he encamped at the *chautara* of Mubarakabad, and gave orders to the *amirs* and *maliks* to make ready their forces and join him. Maliku-sh Shark [Imadu-l Mulk]¹³² came and waited upon the Sultan. He received rich presents and great honours, and was confirmed in many dignities. [Those *amirs* and *maliks* who delayed their coming—FINIS].

¹³² "Muhammad Shah, after visiting the holy men of Multan, and having left Khan-i Jahan there, returned to Dehli."

"In the year 840 H. (1436 A.D.) the Sultan himself proceeded to Samana, and sent an army against Shaikha Khokhar. The country of this chief was ravaged, and the Sultan then returned to Dehli.

"In 841 H. (1437 A.D.), intelligence arrived that anarchy prevailed in Multan, in consequence of the insubordination of the tribe of Langahs. And intelligence was also brought that Sultan Ibrahim Sharki had seized upon several *parganas*. The *rai* of Gwalior, and other *rais*, ceased to pay their revenue. Still, the Sultan took no measures to secure his possessions, but gave himself up

¹³² *Tabakat-i Akbari*.

¹³³ The following Extracts, completing the history of the Saiyid dynasty, are taken from the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, the work which has so frequently been drawn upon to supply the deficiencies in the MS. of the *Tarikh-i Mubarak-shahi*.

to indulgence and neglect. All men's heads were crazy, and every heart was anxious. Some *amirs* invited Sultan Mahmud Khilji, King of Malwa, and in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.), he proceeded towards Dehli. Muhammad Shah equipped his army, and sent it forth with his son, under the command of Bahlol Khan Lodi. On the other side, Sultan Mahmud Khilji sent his two sons Ghiyasuddin and Kadar Khan to meet them. The battle raged from morning till night, when both sides withdrew to their respective positions. Next day Muhammad Shah made proposals of peace. Just at this time Sultan Mahmud was informed that Sultan Ahmad Gujarati was marching against Mandu, so he immediately accepted terms of peace and returned home. This peace degraded Muhammad Shah still lower in the estimation of all men. As Sultan Mahmud of Malwa was retreating, Bahlol Lodi pursued him, and carried off part of his baggage and valuable effects. This success of Bahlol Khan's delighted Sultan Muhammad; he honoured Bahlol with great distinction and favour, and called him son.

"In 845 (1441 A.D.), the Sultan went to Samana. He conferred upon Bahlol Khan the country of Dibalpur and Lahor, and sent him against Jusrath Khokhar. Then the Sultan returned to Dehli. Jusrath made peace with Bahlol Khan, and flattered him with hopes of the throne of Dehli. Aspirations of sovereignty now inspired Bahlol Khan and he became intent on forming a party. He called together the Afghans from all parts around, and enlisted them, so that in a short time he assembled a large force. He also took possession of all the surrounding *parganas*. On a slight pretence he declared war against Sultan Muhammad Shah, and marched against Dehli in great force, and besieged it for some time, but was eventually obliged to fall back unsuccessful. The business of the State day by day fell into greater confusion, and affairs came to such a pass that there were *amirs* at twenty *kos* from Dehli who shook off their allegiance, and made pretensions to independence. At length, in the

year 849¹³⁴ (1445, A.D.), Sultan Muhammad Shah died, after a reign of ten years and some months.

*Sultan 'Alau-d din, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Mubarak Shah, son of Khizr Khan.*¹³⁵

"Upon the death of Muhammad Shah, the *amirs* and nobles assembled and raised his son to the throne, under the style of Sultan 'Alau-d din. Malik Bahlol and all the *amirs* proffered allegiance to him. In a very short time it became evident that the new Sultan was more negligent and incompetent than his father in the duties of government, and the mad ambition of Malik Bahlol grew stronger. In 850 H. (1446 A.D.), the Sultan went towards Samana; but as he was on the road, news arrived that the king of Jaunpur was on the march against Dehli; on hearing which the Sultan returned immediately to Dehli. Hisam Khan, *wazir* of the State,¹³⁶ and vicegerent in the king's absence, then represented to the Sultan, that it was unworthy of a sovereign to return upon hearing a false report of the approach of an enemy. This remark went against the Sultan's feelings, and wounded him deeply.

"In 851 H. (1447 A.D.), the Sultan went to Badaun, and after staying there some time, returned to Dehli; when he said that he was much pleased with Badaun, and wished to stay there always. Hisam Khan, in all sincerity, told him that it was impolitic to leave Dehli, and to make Badaun the capital. This answer incensed the king still more, and he separated the *wazir* from himself, and left him in Dehli. He made one of his wife's brothers governors of the capital, and to the other he gave the title of *amir*.

"In 852 H. (1448 A.D.), he again went to Badaun, and gave himself up to pleasure, resting satisfied with the little territory that remained to him. After a time, dis-

¹³⁴ The MS. says "844," which is clearly wrong. Badauni makes it "847"; but Firishta seems correct in making it "849."

¹³⁵ This heading is borrowed from Badauni, that in the MS. being very defective.

¹³⁶ *Sic*, see *infra*.

sensions broke out between his wife's two brothers in Dehli. They made war against each other, and one was killed. Next day the citizens killed the other brother in revenge, at the instigation of Hisam Khan. Disaffected men now incited the Sultan to kill Hamid Khan, the *wazir* of the State.¹³⁷ The Khan took to flight, and proceeding to Dehli, he, with the connivance of Hisam Khan, took possession of the city, and invited Malik Bahlol to assume the sovereignty. Full particulars of these transactions are given in the history of the reign of Bahlol. The result was, that Malik Bahlol Lodi came to Dehli with a large force, and took possession of it. After a short time, he left a party of his adherents in Dehli, and went to Dibalpur to organize an army. Then he wrote to the Sultan, stating that his opposition was really for the Sultan's benefit and that he was his devoted servant. To this 'Alau-d din replied, 'My father called you his son, and I have no means of resisting you. I will content myself with the single district of Badaun, and resign the sovereignty to you.' Thus successful, Malik Bahlol clothed himself with the garments of royalty. Leaving Dibalpur, he proceeded to Dehli, and ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Bahlol. The nobles who remained with 'Alau-d din were confirmed in their privileges. After a while, 'Alau-d din died, and the world went on according to the wish of Sultan Bahlol. The length of the reign of Sultan 'Alau-d din was eight years and some months."

¹³⁷ *Sic*, see *supra* preceding page.





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